Chapter Four: Latino Identity

General Identity - Books

Note: The authors could not locate enough books citations in this category to warrant its division into sub-categories similar to those specified for journal articles.


Colonial discourse in the United States has tended to criminalize, pathologize, and depict as savage not only Native Americans but Mexican immigrants, indigenous peoples in Mexico, and Chicanas/os as well. While postcolonial studies of the past few decades have focused on how these ethnicities have been constructed by others, *Disrupting Savagism* reveals how each group, in turn, has actively attempted to create for itself a social and textual space in which certain negative prevailing discourses are neutralized and rendered ineffective. Arturo J. Aldama begins by presenting a genealogy of the term “savage,” looking in particular at the work of American ethnologist Lewis Henry Morgan and a sixteenth-century debate between Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and Bartolomé de las Casas. Aldama then turns to more contemporary narratives, examining ethnography, fiction, autobiography, and film to illuminate the historical ideologies and ethnic perspectives that contributed to identity formation over the centuries. These works include anthropologist Manuel Gamio’s *The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story*, Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Ceremony*, Gloria Anzaldúa’s *Borderlands/La Frontera*, and Miguel Arteta’s film *Star Maps*. By using these varied genres to investigate the complex politics of racialized, subaltern, feminist, and diasporic identities, Aldama reveals the unique epistemic logic of hybrid and mestiza/o cultural productions.


Common conceptions permeating U.S. ethnic queer theory tend to confuse aesthetics with real-world acts and politics. Often Chicano/a representations of gay and lesbian experiences in literature and film are analyzed simply as propaganda. The cognitive, emotional, and narrational ingredients (that is, the subject matter and the formal traits) of those representations are frequently reduced to a priori agendas that emphasize a politics of difference. In this book, Frederick Luis Aldama follows an entirely different approach. He investigates the ways in which race and gay/lesbian sexuality intersect and operate in Chicano/a literature and film while taking into full account their imaginative nature and therefore the specific kind of work invested in them. Also, Aldama frames his analyses within today’s larger (globalized) context of postcolonial literary and filmic canons that seek to normalize heterosexual identity and experience. Throughout the book, Aldama applies his innovative approach to throw new light on the work of authors Arturo Islas, Richard Rodriguez, John Rechy, Ana Castillo, and Sheila Ortiz Taylor, as well as
that of film director Edward James Olmos. In doing so, Aldama aims to integrate and deepen Chicano literary and filmic studies within a comparative perspective. Aldama’s unusual juxtapositions of narrative materials and cultural personae, and his premise that literature and film produce fictional examples of a social and historical reality concerned with ethnic and sexual issues largely unresolved, make this book relevant to a wide range of readers.


Hispanics/Latinos are the largest ethnic minority in the United States – but they are far from being a homogenous group. Mexican Americans in the Southwest have roots that extend back four centuries, while Dominicans and Salvadorans are very recent immigrants. Cuban Americans in South Florida have very different occupational achievements, employment levels, and income from immigrant Guatemalans who work in the poultry industry in Virginia. In fact, the only characteristic shared by all Hispanics/Latinos in the United States is birth or ancestry in a Spanish-speaking country. In this book, sixteen geographers and two sociologists map the regional and cultural diversity of the Hispanic/Latino population of the United States. They report on Hispanic communities in all sections of the country, showing how factors such as people’s country/culture of origin, length of time in the United States, and relations with non-Hispanic society have interacted to create a wide variety of Hispanic communities. Identifying larger trends, they also discuss the common characteristics of three types of Hispanic communities – those that have always been predominantly Hispanic, those that have become Anglo-dominated, and those in which Hispanics are just becoming a significant portion of the population.


Chicana Feminisms presents new essays on Chicana feminist thought by scholars, creative writers, and artists. This volume moves the field of Chicana feminist theory forward by examining feminist creative expression, the politics of representation, and the realities of Chicana life. Drawing on anthropology, folklore, history, literature, and psychology, the distinguished contributors combine scholarly analysis, personal observations, interviews, letters, visual art, and poetry. The collection is structured as a series of dynamic dialogues: each of the main pieces is followed by an essay responding to or elaborating on its claims. The broad range of perspectives included here highlights the diversity of Chicana experience, particularly the ways it is made more complex by differences in class, age, sexual orientation, language, and region. Together the essayists enact the contentious, passionate conversations that define Chicana feminisms. The contributors contemplate a number of facets of Chicana experience: life on the Mexico-U.S. border, bilingualism, the problems posed by a culture of repressive sexuality, the *ranchera* song, and *domesticana* artistic production. They also look at Chicana feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, the history of Chicanas in the larger Chicano movement, autobiographical writing, and the interplay between gender and ethnicity in the movie *Lone Star.* Some of the essays are expansive; others – such as Norma Cantú’s discussion of the writing of her fictionalized memoir *Canícula* – are intimate. All are committed to the transformative powers of critical inquiry and feminist theory.

To succeed in America, ethnic groups have historically been required to give up their distinctive cultural identity in order to achieve economic and political parity. Mexican Americans, who have scored limited gains in their struggle for equality since the 1940s, are proving to be no exception to the rule. In this provocative volume, Mario Barrera compares the situation of Mexican Americans to that of minority groups in four other countries, and concludes that equality does not necessarily require assimilation. This unique comparative study will appeal to a wide audience—especially to students and professors of sociology, ethnic studies, political science, anthropology, and American studies.


This book provides broad coverage of the various research approaches that have been used to study the development of ethnic identity in children and adolescents and the transmission of ethnic identity across generations. The authors address topics of acculturation and the development and socialization of ethnic minorities—particularly Mexican-Americans. They stress the roles of social and behavioral scientists in government multicultural policies, and the nature of possible ethnic group responses to such policies for cultural maintenance and adaptation.


This book focuses on Mexican American ethnic identity, which is an important dimension of ethnicity. “Who am I?” is a basic human inquiry. Eleven essays, whose topics range from historical analysis of Mexican American identity; society’s views of Mexican Americans and how these images can influence ethnic identity of Mexican American women, young children, adolescents, and discussions of the political and policy impacts of Mexican American identity in cross-cultural and American settings. Other aspects discussed are ethnicity and ethnic identity in Mexico and Mexican America; Mexican immigrant nationalism as an origin of identity for Mexican Americans; and specifies the links between ethnic identity and public policy; ethnic dimensions of gender and the dilemmas of high achieving Chicanas.


In this study, Irene I. Blea describes the social situation of La Chicana, a minority female whose life is influenced by racism and sexism. Blea analyzes contemporary scholarship on race, class, and gender, scrutinizing the use of language and labels to examine how La Chicana is affected by these factors. The wide-ranging study explores the history of Chicanas and the meaning of the term “Chicana,” and considers her socialization process, the consequences of deviating from gender roles, and the evolution of Hispanic women onto the national scene in politics, health, economics, education, religion, and criminal justice. To date, little attention has been paid to the
Chapter Four: Latino Identity

political, social, and cultural achievements of La Chicana. The shared lives of Mexican-American women and men at home and inside and outside of the barrio are also investigated. This unique volume highlights the variables that effectively discriminate against women of color. Following a chapter that reviews the literature on Chicanas and focuses on their participation in three major social movements, the text discusses the conquest of Mexico and the blending of Aztec and Spanish cultures. Next, the life of colonial Hispanic women in Mexico and the United States and the role of the Mexican War in shaping the Mexican-American experience are investigated. The following three chapters explore how Americanization disempowered La Chicana; discuss the contemporary cultural roles of la mujer (woman) and their impact on men’s roles; and consider the lives of older women. Chapter Seven looks at how some women are defining new roles for La Chicana. Current social issues are compared with and contrasted to those of the 1960s. The final chapters develop a theory of discrimination based on the academic work of racial and ethnic minority scholars and feminist scholars, exploring new directions in the study of Chicanas. This volume is valuable as an undergraduate or graduate text, and as a reference work, as well as a useful resource for social service providers.


Refusing to take latinidad (Latino-ness) for granted, Marta Caminero-Santangelo lays the groundwork for a sophisticated understanding of the various manifestations of “Latino” identity. She examines texts by prominent Chicano/a, Dominican American, Puerto Rican, and Cuban American writers – including Julia Alvarez, Cristina Garcia, Achy Obejas, Piri Thomas, and Ana Castillo – and concludes that a pre-existing “group” does not exist. The author instead argues that much recent Latino/a literature presents a vision of tentative, forged solidarities in the service of particular and sometimes even local struggles. She shows that even magical realism can figure as a threat to collectivity, rather than as a signifier of it, because magical connections – to nature, between characters, and to Latin American origins – can undermine efforts at solidarity and empowerment.


On the surface, identity politics appears to promote polarization. To the contrary, political scientist José E. Cruz argues that, instead, fragmentation and instability are more likely to occur only when the differences are ignored and non-ethnic strategies are employed. Cruz illustrates his claim by focusing on one group of Puerto Ricans and how they mobilized to demand accountability from political leaders in Hartford, Connecticut. The activities of the Puerto Rican Political Action Committee from 1983 to 1991 illustrate the power of ethnic mobilization and strategy in an urban setting. Cruz examines their insistence on their right to be included in the political process in the context of both a typical mid-sized American city and the unique attributes of Hartford’s predominantly white-collar population. At the same time, this study acknowledges the limitations of the exercise of such power in the political process. Through extensive interviews Cruz brings to light the variety of ways in which politicians and political activists themselves
view their own activities and achievements. This group of Puerto Rican activists attempted to penetrate the power structure of Hartford. Though their success was limited, their work constitutes a springboard for further change.


This unique anthology highlights the diversity of Latino cultural expressions and points out the distinctive features of the three major Latino populations: Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban. It is organized around six central cultural issues: family, religion, community, the arts, (im)migration and exile, and cultural identity. Each chapter focuses on a particular theme by presenting readings from a variety of genres, including short stories, poems, essays, excerpts from novels, a play, photographs, even a few songs and recipes.


Is the capital of Latin America a small island at the mouth of the Hudson River? Will California soon hold the balance of power in Mexican national politics? Will Latinos reinvigorate the U.S. labor movement? These are some of the provocative questions that Mike Davis explores in this fascinating account of the Latinization of the American urban landscape. As he forcefully shows, this is a demographic and cultural revolution with extraordinary implications. With Spanish–surnames increasing five times faster than the general population, salsa is becoming the predominant ethnic rhythm (and flavor) of contemporary city life. In Los Angeles, Houston, San Antonio, and (shortly) Dallas, Latinos outnumber non–Hispanic whites; in New York, San Diego and Phoenix, they outnumber blacks. According to the Bureau of the Census, Latinos will supply fully two thirds of the nation’s population growth between now and the middle of the 21st century when nearly 100 million Americans will boast Latin American ancestry. Davis focuses on the great drama of how Latinos are attempting to translate their urban demographic ascendancy into effective social power. Pundits are now unanimous that Spanish–surname voters are the sleeping giant of US politics. Though the overall vote in the 1996 elections declined significantly, the Latino share rose by a spectacular 16%. Yet electoral mobilization alone is unlikely to redress the increasing income and opportunity gaps between urban Latinos and suburban non–Hispanic whites. Thus in Los Angeles and elsewhere, the militant struggles of Latino workers and students are reinventing the American left. *Magical Urbanism* is essential reading for anyone who wants to grasp the future of urban America.


While Chicago has the second-largest Mexican population among U.S. cities, relatively little ethnographic attention has focused on its Mexican community. This much-needed ethnography of Mexicans living and working in Chicago examines processes of racialization, labor subordination, and class formation; the politics of nativism; and the structures of citizenship and immigration law. Nicholas De Genova develops a theory of “Mexican Chicago” as a transnational social and
Chapter Four: Latino Identity

geographic space that joins Chicago to innumerable communities throughout Mexico. “Mexican Chicago” is a powerful analytical tool, a challenge to the way that social scientists have thought about immigration and pluralism in the United States, and the basis for a wide-ranging critique of U.S. notions of race, national identity, and citizenship. De Genova worked for two and a half years as a teacher of English in ten industrial workplaces (primarily metal-fabricating factories) throughout Chicago and its suburbs. In Working the Boundaries he draws on fieldwork conducted in these factories, in community centers, and in the homes and neighborhoods of Mexican migrants. He describes how the meaning of “Mexican” is refigured and racialized in relation to a U.S. social order dominated by a black-white binary. Delving into immigration law, he contends that immigration policies have worked over time to produce Mexicans as the U.S. nation-state’s iconic “illegal aliens.” He explains how the constant threat of deportation is used to keep Mexican workers in line. Working the Boundaries is a major contribution to theories of race and transnationalism and a scathing indictment of U.S. labor and citizenship policies.


Moving beyond the black-white binary that has long framed racial discourse in the United States, the contributors to this collection examine how the experiences of Latinos and Asians intersect in the formation of the U.S. nation-state. They analyze the political and social processes that have racialized Latinos and Asians while highlighting the productive ways that these communities challenge and transform the identities imposed on them. Each essay addresses the sociopolitical predicaments of both Latinos and Asians, bringing their experiences to light in relation to one another. Several contributors illuminate ways that Latinos and Asians were historically racialized: by U.S. occupiers of Puerto Rico and the Philippines at the end of the nineteenth century, by public health discourses and practices in early-twentieth-century Los Angeles, by anthropologists collecting physical data — height, weight, head measurements — from Chinese Americans to show how the American environment affected “foreign” body types in the 1930s, and by Los Angeles public officials seeking to explain the alleged criminal propensities of Mexican American youth during the 1940s. Throughout this volume contributors interrogate many of the assumptions that underlie American and ethnic studies even as they signal the need for a research agenda that expands the purview of both fields.


Due to the dramatic growth of the Latino population in America, in combination with the relative decline of the Anglo (non-Hispanic white) share, Latino Studies is increasingly at the forefront of political concern. With Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization, and Representation, editors Rodolfo Espino, David L. Leal, and Kenneth J. Meier bring together essays from a number of leading scholars to address the ever-more important issues within the field. Providing an overview of issues surrounding Latino identity and political opinion — such as differences among Latino groups based on national origin, the importance of descriptive representation, and issues of competition and cooperation, particularly with reference to African Americans — the editors speak to the many fundamental debates ingrained in the discipline. In addition to highlighting
important contributions of the study of Latino politics to date, this volume suggests areas that have yet to be explored and, perhaps more importantly, demonstrates how the study of Latino politics relates to broader questions of American politics and society. Foregrounding debates in the overall discipline of political science, the collection will appeal to those who study Latino politics as well as those who are interested in understanding American politics and society with reference to Latino and “minority” concerns.


Rancheros hold a distinct place in the culture and social hierarchy of Mexico, falling between the indigenous (Indian) rural Mexicans and the more educated city-dwelling Mexicans. In addition to making up an estimated twenty percent of the population of Mexico, rancheros may comprise the majority of Mexican immigrants to the United States. Although often mestizo (mixed race), rancheros generally identify as non-indigenous, and many identify primarily with the Spanish side of their heritage. They are active seekers of opportunity, and hence very mobile. Rancheros emphasize progress and a self-assertive individualism that contrasts starkly with the common portrayal of rural Mexicans as communal and publicly deferential to social superiors. Marcia Farr studied, over the course of fifteen years, a transnational community of Mexican ranchero families living both in Chicago and in their village-of-origin in Michoacán, Mexico. For this ethnolin-guistic portrait, she focuses on three culturally salient styles of speaking that characterize rancheros: *franqueza* (candid, frank speech); *respeto* (respectful speech); and *relajo* (humorous, disruptive language that allows artful verbal critique of the social order maintained through respeto). She studies the construction of local identity through a community’s daily talk, and provides the first book-length examination of language and identity in transnational Mexicans. In addition, Farr includes information on the history of rancheros in Mexico, available for the first time in English, as well as an analysis of the racial discourse of rancheros within the context of the history of race and ethnicity in Mexico and the United States. This work provides groundbreaking insight into the lives of rancheros, particularly as seen from their own perspectives.


The focus of this study is on the ways in which skin color moderates the perceptions of opportunity and academic orientation of 17 Mexican and Puerto Rican high school students. More specifically, the study’s analysis centered on cataloguing the racial/ethnic identification shifts (or not) in relation to how they perceive others situate them based on skin color.


While many commentators – from politicians to the authors of the bestselling *Habits of the Heart* – lament the loss of community in America, the debate has focused myopically and almost entirely on the white middle class. Perhaps the most important untold story is that of real,
thriving, growing, if embattled, communities in Latino urban centers all over America, and the way they are reshaping themselves and the United States as a whole. Responding directly to the debate about community, this book paints a vivid portrait of Latino community life, and analyzes its mechanisms and implications. Based on ethnographic work in Latino centers in San Antonio, Los Angeles, New York, San Jose, and Watsonville, California, the book looks at the process of Latino “cultural citizenship” – the use of cultural expression to claim political rights in the larger culture, while still maintaining a vibrant local identity. Chapters detail acts of cultural affirmation in Christmas festival celebrations, cannery strikes, educational programs, and much more. A pathbreaking work of Latino scholarship, this book will help redefine the conversation about the future of community in the United States.


A new ethnic identity is being constructed in the United States: the Hispanic nation. Overcoming age-old racial, regional, and political differences, Americans of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and other Spanish-language origins are beginning to imagine themselves as a single ethnic community which by the turn of the century may become the United States’ largest and most influential minority.


Alma García offers a bold new interpretation of identity formation for second generation immigrants in America. The narratives of Mexican American women in higher education reveal their journeys of self-discovery, a process filled with tensions, contradictions, and ambiguities. García captures the spirit of their struggles to understand their sense of self, culture, and society. Her qualitative analyses reveal the emergent processes by which these women negotiate ethnic, gender, and class identities with their Mexican immigrant parents and with their university communities. García integrates a wide range of theoretical frameworks to study educational life experiences. Her findings offer significant insight into the processes of cultural continuity and change and the potential for upward mobility for immigrants. García proposes new university policies and curriculum changes to improve the situation for second-generation students. She calls for the reform of higher education in the United States, to open its doors more widely to Mexican American students and other underrepresented groups, to make the educational system truly reflective of the ethnic diversity that has always formed the core of American society. García’s new book is a valuable contribution to Mexican American studies, ethnic studies, women’s studies, comparative education, and sociology.


Already the largest minority group in the United States, by the middle of the next century Hispanics/Latinos will outnumber all other minority groups combined. As such an increasingly im-
important presence in American society, their values, views, and rights must be taken into account by the American population at large. But Hispanics/Latinos, far from being homogenous, differ greatly in terms of origin, race, language, religion, political affiliation, customs, physical appearance, economic status, education, and taste, among other things. This diversity raises important questions about their identity and their rights. Is there a single Hispanic/Latino identity, or are there many identities based on such specifics as class and origin? Do Hispanics/Latinos as such have rights, or are their rights based only on their particular origin or situation? Does affirmative action apply to all Hispanics/Latinos, or just to some?


What is it to be Latino? What is the place of Latinos in America? And how do Latinos think about themselves and their identity? This is the first book to ask and answer these questions in a philosophical context. It rejects answers based on stereotypes that feed the fear generated in both the Latino and non-Latino population by the enormous growth of Latino numbers in the United States. And it proposes a new way of thinking about Latinos based on a familial-historical view that allows for negotiation, accommodation, and change. The task is accomplished in three parts. The first goes to the source of misunderstandings concerning Latino identity, the problem of Latino identification, and the significance of the two general labels used to refer to Latinos, ‘Latinos’ and ‘Hispanics’. The second part explores the problems encountered by Latinos in American society, paying particular attention to the marketplace, affirmative action, and language rights. The third part looks into who Latinos think they are by proposing an original conception of Latino philosophy with roots in Latin America, and by discussing the place it occupies in American and world philosophy.


This collection of new essays explores the relation between race and ethnicity and its social and political implications. Although much work has been done on the philosophy of race in the past century in the United States, the concept of ethnicity has only recently awoken the interest of American philosophers, and the relations between race and ethnicity remain largely unexamined. The discussion is divided into two parts dealing, on the one hand, with the nature and the relation between race and ethnicity and, on the other, with the social consequences of the complex relations between them. Part I explores in particular the debated topic of racial and ethnic identities: Does it make sense to speak of racial and ethnic identities, and especially of black and Latino identities? And if it does make sense, how should these identities be conceptualized, and how are they related to gender? Part II examines how race and ethnicity have influenced the lot of some social groups in significant ways: How do racially defined institutions deal with racial assimilation? How do different conceptions of race and ethnicity influence public policy and various forms of racism? How can exploited racial and ethnic groups be effectively recognized? And what is the role of affect in social justice as dispensed by the courts?
Chapter Four: Latino Identity


Arte Público Press’s landmark series “Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage” has traditionally been devoted to lost and historic works by Hispanics of decades and even centuries past. The publications of Black Cuban, Black American marks the first original work by a living author to become part of this notable series. The reason for this unprecedented honor can be seen in Evilio Grillo’s path-breaking life. Ybor City was once a thriving factory town populated by cigar-makers, mostly emigrants from Cuba. Growing up in Ybor City, now part of Tampa, in the early twentieth century, the young Evilio Experienced the complexities and sometimes the difficulties of life in a horse-and-buggy society demarcated by both racial and linguistic lines. Life was different depending on whether you were Spanish- or English-speaking, a white or black Cuban, a Cuban American or a native-born U.S. citizen, well off or poor. (Even U.S.-born blacks did not always get along with their Hispanic counterparts.) Grillo captures the joys and sorrows of this unique world that slowly faded away as he grew to adulthood and was absorbed into the African-American community during the Depression. He then tells of his eye-opening experiences as a soldier in an all-black unit serving in the China-Burma-India theatre of operations during World War II. Booklovers may have read of Ybor City in the novels of Jose Yglesias, but never before has the colorful locale been portrayed from this perspective.


What does it mean to be Chicana/o? That question might not be answered the same as it was a generation ago. As the United States witnesses a major shift in its population – from a white majority to a country where no single group predominates – the new mix not only affects relations between ethnic groups but also influences how individuals view themselves. This book addresses the development of individual and social identity within the context of these new demographic and cultural shifts. It identifies the contemporary forces that shape group identity in order to show how Chicana/os’ sense of personal identity and social identity develops and how these identities are affected by changes in social relations. The authors, both nationally recognized experts in social psychology, are concerned with the subjective definitions individuals have about the social groups with which they identify, as well as with linguistic, cultural, and social contexts. Their analysis reveals what the majority of Chicanas/os experience, using examples from music, movies, and the arts to illustrate complex concepts. In considering ¿Quién Soy? (“Who Am I?”), they discuss how individuals develop a positive sense of who they are as Chicanas/os, with an emphasis on the influence of family, schools, and community. Regarding ¿Quiénes Somos? (“Who Are We?”), they explore Chicanas/os’ different group memberships that define who they are as a people, particularly reviewing the colonization history of the American Southwest to show how Chicanas/os’ group identity is influenced by this history. A chapter on “Language, Culture, and Community” looks at how Chicanas/os define their social identities inside and outside their communities, whether in the classroom, neighborhood, or region. In a final chapter, the authors speculate how Chicana/o identity will change as Chicanas/os become a significant proportion of the U.S. population and as such factors as immigration, intermarriage, and improvements in social standing influence the process of identification.

This compelling account of racial identity takes a close look at the question “Who is a Latino?” and determines where persons of mixed Anglo-Latino heritage fit into the racial dynamics of the United States. The son of a Mexican-American mother and an Anglo father, Kevin Johnson has spent his life in the borderlands between racial identities. In this insightful book, he uses his experiences as a mixed Latino-Anglo to examine issues of diversity, assimilation, race relations, and affirmative action in contemporary United States.


How much does ethnicity matter to Mexican Americans today, when many marry outside their culture and some can’t even stomach menudo? This book addresses that question through a unique blend of quantitative data and firsthand interviews with third-plus-generation Mexican Americans. Latinos are being woven into the fabric of American life, to be sure, but in a way quite distinct from ethnic groups that have come from other parts of the world. By focusing on individuals’ feelings regarding acculturation, work experience, and ethnic identity—and incorporating Mexican-Anglo intermarriage statistics—Thomas Macias compares the successes and hardships of Mexican immigrants with those of previous European arrivals. He describes how continual immigration, the growth of the Latino population, and the Chicano Movement have been important factors in shaping the experience of Mexican Americans, and he argues that Mexican American identity is often not merely an “ethnic option” but a necessary response to stereotyping and interactions with Anglo society. Talking with fifty third-plus generation Mexican Americans from Phoenix and San Jose—representative of the seven million nationally with at least one immigrant grandparent—he shows how people utilize such cultural resources as religion, spoken Spanish, and cross-national encounters to reinforce Mexican ethnicity in their daily lives. He then demonstrates that, although social integration for Mexican Americans shares many elements with that of European Americans, forces related to ethnic concentration, social inequality, and identity politics combine to make ethnicity for Mexican Americans more fixed across generations. Enhancing research already available on first- and second-generation Mexican Americans, Macias’s study also complements research done on other third-plus-generation ethnic groups and provides the empirical data needed to understand the commonalities and differences between them. His work plumbs the changing meaning of mestizaje in the Americas over five centuries and has much to teach us about the long-term assimilation and prospects of Mexican-origin people in the United States.


In the mid-1980s, a relatively new immigrant stream from Brazil began to arrive in New York City. Like other immigrant populations, many of the new arrivals were undocumented, but, unlike other groups, most were from middle-class backgrounds and few wished to extend their stay beyond a few years. Today, there are at least 150,000 Brazilians in the greater New York metropolitan area—many famously employed as the city’s fleet of shoeshiners—and likely over one

The formation of a group identity has always been a major preoccupation of Mexican American political organizations; whether they seek to assimilate into the dominant Anglo society or to remain separate from it. Yet organizations that sought to represent a broad cross section of the Mexican American population, such as LULAC and the American G.I. Forum, have dwindled in membership and influence, while newer, more targeted political organizations are prospering – clearly suggesting that successful political organizing requires more than shared ethnicity and the experience of discrimination. This book sheds new light on the process of political identity formation through a study of the identity politics practiced by four major Mexican American political organizations – the Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice, the Southwest Industrial Areas Foundation, the Texas Association of Mexican American Chambers of Commerce, and the Mexican American Women's National Association (now known as MANA – A National Latina Organization). Through interviews with activists in each organization and research into their records, Benjamin Marquez clarifies the racial, class-based, and cultural factors that have caused these organizations to create widely differing political identities. He likewise demonstrates why their specific goals resonate only with particular segments of the Mexican American community.


Although patriarchy, machismo, and excessive masculine displays are assumed to be prevalent among Latinos in general and Mexicans in particular, little is known about Latino men or macho masculinity. *Hombres y Machos: Masculinity and Latino Culture* fills an important void by providing an integrated view of Latino men, masculinity, and fatherhood – in the process refuting many common myths and misconceptions. Examining how Latino men view themselves, Alfredo Mirandé argues that prevailing conceptions of men, masculinity, and gender are inadequate because they are based not on universal norms but on limited and culturally specific conceptions. Findings are presented from in-depth personal interviews with Latino men (specifically, fathers with at least one child between the ages of four and eighteen living at home) from four geographical regions and from a broad cross-section of the Latino population: working and middle class, foreign-born and native-born. Topics range from views on machos and machismo to beliefs regarding masculinity and fatherhood. In addition to reporting research findings and placing them within a historical context, Mirandé draws important insights from his own life. *Hombres y Machos* calls for the development of Chicano/Latino men's studies and will be a significant and provocative addition to the growing literature on gender, masculinity, and race. It will appeal to the general reader and is bound to be an important supplementary text for courses in ethnic studies, women's studies, men's studies, family studies, sociology, psychology, social work, and law.

Monsivais explores the political and cultural allegiances of Hispanic immigrants to understand the role of both their country of origin and their adopted country in their lives. When the news media broadcasts pictures of Hispanic immigrants waving the flags of their countries of origin, Americans become concerned. Are these immigrants affirming a political allegiance expressing a cultural preference? Monsivais addresses this question by first developing minimum criteria of being "American" by examining historical and current literature and Supreme Court decisions; conducting a secondary analysis of "The National Latino Immigrant Survey" as reported in New Americans by Choice (Pachon and DeSipio, 1994); and reporting the results of focus group interviews conducted with legal Hispanic immigrants. The findings demonstrate that overall they are likely expressing ethnic/racial or cultural concepts and not political preferences.


To be Latino in the United States has meant a fierce identification with one's roots, with the language, art, and food their people brought with them. America is a patchwork of Hispanic sensibilities—from Puerto Rican nationalists in New York to newly arrived Mexicans in the Rio Grande valley—that has so far resisted homogenization while managing to absorb much of the mainstream culture. In Living in Spanglish, Morales pins down a diverse community—of Dominicans, Mexicans, Colombians, Cubans, Salvadorans, and Puerto Ricans—that he insists has more common interests to unify it than traditions to divide it. He calls this sensibility Spanglish, a feeling, an attitude that is quintessentially American. It is a culture with one foot in the medieval and the other in the next century. In Living in Spanglish, Ed Morales paints a portrait of America as it is now, both embracing and unsure how to face an onslaught of Latino influence. His book is the story of groups of Hispanic immigrants struggling to move beyond identity politics into a postmodern melting pot.


Published in cooperation with Sociologists for Women in Society: How do race, class, and gender interrelate? How does the interlocking of race, class, and gender form patterns of social relations and develop into hierarchical orders? What are the dilemmas and contradictions created by the simultaneity of race, class, and gender? How can feminist scholarship based on the complex understanding of the interlocking nature of race, class, and gender transform our knowledge and social life? In Race, Class & Gender, an accomplished cast of contributors with a great diversity of backgrounds—ranging from sociology, African American studies, Chicano studies, ethnic studies, and gender studies—addresses these important issues and much more. This new anthology—significantly derived from a special issue of the journal Gender & Society—seeks to bring understanding to the complex intersections of race, class, and gender. The editors have chosen selections that take the study of race, class, and gender beyond their usual context—that of social stratification—and locate them in the wider sociological world. This informative volume's broad scope and interdisciplinary emphasis make it an invaluable contribution to the study of social
organizations. Offering a comprehensive examination of race, class, and gender, this important volume will be vital to professionals and students in the fields of gender, sociology, race/ethnicity, social problems and theory, and it should appeal to the general public that seeks to enhance personal learning in this subject area.


Hispanic or Latino? Mexican American or Chicano? Social labels often take on a life of their own beyond the control of those who coin them or to whom they are applied. In *Ethnic Labels, Latino Lives*, Suzanne Oboler explores the history and current use of the label “Hispanic” as she illustrates the complex meanings that ethnicity has acquired in shaping our lives and identities. Exploding the myth of cultural and national homogeneity among people of Latin American descent, Oboler interviews members of diverse groups who have traditionally been labeled “Hispanic” and records the many different meanings and social values they attribute to this label. For example, a person of Mexican descent has a different historical relationship with the United States and a different cultural background than an individual of Puerto Rican or Brazilian descent. The different meanings and social values those interviewed attribute to the label “Hispanic” also correspond to their gender and social class position, including racial prejudices and values stemming from their countries of origin. Though we have witnessed in recent years the fading of the idealized image of U.S. society as a melting pot, we have also realized that the possibility of recasting it in multicultural terms is problematic. Oboler discusses the historical process of labeling groups of individuals, illustrating how labels affect the meaning of citizenship and the struggle for full social participation in the United States. *Ethnic Labels, Latino Lives* aims to understand the role ethnic labels play in our society and brings us closer toward actualizing a society that values cultural diversity.


Latinos and Citizenship: The Dilemma of Belonging focuses specific attention on the meaning and social value of citizenship for both the Latino population as a whole, as well as for the specific national origin groups encompassed by the term Hispanic or Latino. This edited anthology brings together broad theoretical considerations of various aspects of the concept, with discussions of historical and contemporary case studies and issues pertaining to Latinos within contemporary debates on citizenship. The essays are grounded in the complex realities of Latinos’ historical and continuing struggles against inclusion. They discuss such issues as access to dual citizenship, multiple national allegiances, transnational political and social participation, as well as their complex political and social status and regional cultural citizenship and loyalties. In so doing, the contributors address broader, fundamental questions about contemporary US citizenship and belonging, including: What does it mean, in the current context of globalization and the consequent changing nature of the state, to belong to a national community of citizens? Who belongs, and how do people experience that belonging today? How do we even “know” that we belong? Who determines who can and will be part of a national community, and on what grounds? In addressing these questions, the main focus of this anthology is to examine the varied ways that
the definition and social value of citizenship are being challenged and reconfigured, both by the
different meanings attributed to citizenship by Latinos, as well as by the social movements and
transnational initiatives undertaken by Latino citizens and immigrants alike.

Longing for their lost homeland unites Cuban exiles and their children, many of whom have
never seen the Island. Yet as decades pass and the hope of “next year in Cuba” fades, the Cuban
American community has had to forge new understandings of where “home” is and what it
means to be “Cuban,” “American,” and/or “Cuban American.” The testimonies gathered in this
book offer over one hundred perspectives on the Cuban diaspora and on what it means to be
Cuban in exile. Through narratives, interviews, creative writings, letters, journal entries, recipes,
photographs, and paintings, Cubans from various waves of the migration and their descendants
piece together a complex mosaic of the exile experience and diasporic identity. In her introduc-
tion, Andrea O’Reilly Herrera describes how she conceived the project and chose the contribu-
tors, including both unknown and established artists and writers such as Gustavo Pérez Firmat,
Sylvia Curbelo, Pablo Medina, Lourdes Gil, Ricardo Pau-Llosa, Heberto Padilla, and José Kozer.
The contributors’ diverse and sometimes conflicting voices offer a more inclusive and complex
understanding of Cuban American identity and the various Cuban “presences” residing through-
out the United States. Likewise, they overthrow a perceived “hierarchy of suffering” among
Cuban Americans, which purports to dictate who can and cannot speak authentically about exile
and loss, as well as what form their expression can take.

Pardo, Mary. 1998. Mexican American Women Activists: Identity and Resistance in Two Los Angeles Com-
When we see children playing in a supervised playground or hear about a school being renovated,
we seldom wonder about who mobilized the community resources to rebuild the school or staff
the park. Mexican American Women Activists tells the stories of Mexican American women from
two Los Angeles neighborhoods and how they transformed the everyday problems they con-
fronted into political concerns. By placing these women’s experiences at the center of her discus-
sion of grassroots political activism, Mary Pardo illuminates the gender, race, and class character
of community networking. She shows how citizens help to shape their local environment by
creating resources for churches, schools, and community services and generates new questions
and answers about collective action and the transformation of social networks into political net-
works. By focusing on women in two contiguous but very different communities – the working-
class, inner-city neighborhood of Boyle Heights in Eastside Los Angeles and the racially mixed
middle-class suburb of Monterey Park – Pardo is able to bring class as well as gender and ethnic
concerns to bear on her analysis in ways that shed light on the complexity of mobilizing for
urban change. Unlike many studies, the stories told here focus on women’s strengths rather than
on their problems. We follow the process by which these women empowered themselves by using
their own definitions of social justice and their own convictions about the importance of tradi-
tional roles. Rather than becoming political participants in spite of their family responsibilities,
women in both neighborhoods seem to have been more powerful because they had responsi-
bilities, social networks, and daily routines separate from the men in their communities. Pardo
asserts that the decline of real wages and the growing income gap means that unfortunately most women will no longer be able to focus their energies on unpaid community work. She reflects on the consequences of this change for women’s political involvement, as well as on the politics of writing about women and politics.


Through the lives and works of three women in colonial California, Bárbara O. Reyes examines frontier mission social spaces and their relationship to the creation of gendered colonial relations in the Californias. She explores the function of missions and missionaries in establishing hierarchies of power and in defining gendered spaces and roles, and looks at the ways that women challenged, and attempted to modify, the construction of those hierarchies, roles, and spaces. Reyes studies the criminal inquiry and depositions of Barbara Gandiaga, an Indian woman charged with conspiracy to murder two priests at her mission; the divorce petition of Eulalia Callis, the first lady of colonial California who petitioned for divorce from her adulterous governor-husband; and the *testimonio* of Eulalia Pérez, the head housekeeper at Mission San Gabriel who acquired a position of significant authority and responsibility but whose work has not been properly recognized. These three women’s voices seem to reach across time and place, calling for additional, more complex analysis and questions: Could women have agency in the colonial Californias? Did the social structures or colonial processes in place in the frontier setting of New Spain confine or limit them in particular gendered ways? And, were gender dynamics in colonial California explicitly rigid as a result of the imperatives of the goals of colonization?


What happens when persons of several Latin American national groups reside in the same neighborhood? Milagros Ricourt and Ruby Danta consider the stories of women of different nationalities – Colombian, Cuban, Dominican, Ecuadorian, Peruvian, Puerto Rican, Uruguayan, and others – who live together in Corona, a working-class neighborhood in Queens. Corona has long been an arrival point for immigrants and is now made up predominantly of Spanish-speaking immigrants from the Caribbean and South and Central America, with smaller numbers from Asia, Africa, and Europe. There are also long-established populations of white Americans, mainly of Italian origin, and African Americans. The authors find that the new pan-Latin American community in Corona has emerged from the interactions of everyday living. Hispanas de Queens focuses on the places where women gather in Corona—bodegas, hospitals, schoolyards, and Roman Catholic and Protestant churches—to show how informal alliances arise from proximity. Ricourt and Danta document how a group of leaders, mainly women, consciously promoted this strong sense of community to build panethnic organizations and a Latino political voice. Hispanas de Queens shows how a new group identity – Hispanic or Latino – is formed without replacing an individual’s identification as an immigrant from a particular country. Instead, an additional identity is created and can be mobilized by pan-Latino leaders and organizations.

Latinos are the fastest growing population group in the United States. Through their language and popular music, Latinos continue to make their mark on America and are becoming more assertive and less content to remain America's "second minority." How then do they fit into America's divided racial landscape and how do they define their own racial and ethnic identity? Are they just another American ethnic group, like Italians or Germans that will assimilate into English-speaking America? Or will they maintain a distinct Spanish-speaking culture for generations to come? Can this diverse group, made up of dozens of separate nationalities, even be considered a single "race?" Can they help bridge the gap between black and white Americans? Through extensive personal interviews and careful analysis of census data, Clara Rodriguez shows that Latino identity is surprisingly fluid, situation-dependent, and constantly changing. She illustrates how the way Latinos are defining themselves, and refusing to define themselves, represents a powerful challenge to America's system of racial classification and American racism.


The new immigration to the United States is unprecedented in its diversity of color, class, and cultural origins. Over the past few decades, the racial and ethnic composition and stratification of the American population—as well as the social meanings of race, ethnicity, and American identity—have fundamentally changed. *Ethnicities*, a companion volume to Rubén G. Rumbaut's and Alejandro Portes's *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*, brings together some of the country's leading scholars of immigration and ethnicity to examine the lives and trajectories of the children of today's immigrants. The emerging ethnic groups of the United States in the 21st century are being formed in this process, with potentially profound societal impacts. Whether this new ethnic mosaic reinvigorates the nation or spells a quantum leap in its social problems depends on the social and economic incorporation of this still young population. The contributors to this volume probe systematically and in depth the adaptation patterns and trajectories of concrete ethnic groups. They provide a close look at this rising second generation by focusing on youth of diverse national origins—Mexican, Cuban, Nicaraguan, Filipino, Vietnamese, Haitian, Jamaican and other West Indian—coming of age in immigrant families on both coasts of the United States. Their analyses draw on the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study, the largest research project of its kind to date. *Ethnicities* demonstrates that, while some of the ethnic groups being created by the new immigration are in a clear upward path, moving into society's mainstream in record time, others are headed toward a path of blocked aspirations and downward mobility. The book concludes with an essay summarizing the main findings, discussing their implications, and identifying specific lessons for theory and policy.


This book lays out the two approaches to language policy—linguistic assimilation and linguistic pluralism—in clear and accessible terms. Filled with examples and narratives, it provides a readable overview of the U.S. "culture wars" and explains why the conflict has just now emerged as a
major issue in the United States. Professor Schmidt examines bilingual education in the public schools, “linguistic access” rights to public services, and the designation of English as the United States’ “official” language. He illuminates the conflict by describing the comparative, theoretical, and social contexts for the debate. The source of the disagreement, he maintains, is not a disagreement over language per se but over identity and the consequences of identity for individuals, ethnic groups, and the country as a whole. Who are “the American people”? Are we one national group into which newcomers must assimilate? Or are we composed of many cultural communities, each of which is a unique but integral part of the national fabric? This fundamental point is what underlies the specific disputes over language policy. This way of looking at identity politics, as Professor Schmidt shows, calls into question the dichotomy between “material interest” politics and “symbolic” politics in relation to group identities.


In *The Hispanic Condition*, Ilan Stavans offers a subtle and insightful meditation on Hispanic society in the United States. A native of Mexico, Stavans has emerged as one of the most distinguished Latin American writers of our time, an award-winning novelist and critic praised by scholars and beloved by readers. In this pioneering psycho-historical profile, he delves into the cultural differences and similarities among the five major Hispanic groups: Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Central and South Americans, and Spaniards. Interweaving historical, literary, and political references with his personal experience, Stavans discusses the divisions within a common heritage; customs of music, love, sex, marriage, and religious belief; the role of the intellectual in society; ideological struggle; and the hopeful visions of the future at the core of a civilization rooted in the trauma of the past.


For those opposed to immigration, Miami is a nightmare. Miami is the de facto capital of Latin America; it is a city where immigrants dominate, Spanish is ubiquitous, and Denny’s is an ethnic restaurant. Are Miami’s immigrants representative of a trend that is undermining American culture and identity? Drawing from in-depth fieldwork in the city and looking closely at recent events such as the Elián González case, *This Land Is Our Land* examines interactions between immigrants and established Americans in Miami to address fundamental questions of American identity and multiculturalism. Rather than focusing on questions of assimilation, as many other studies have, this book concentrates on interethnic relations to provide an entirely new perspective on the changes wrought by immigration in the United States.


Latinos are the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States and will comprise a quarter of the country’s population by mid-century. The process of Latinization, the result of globalization
and the biggest migration flow in the history of the Americas, is indeed reshaping the character of the U.S. This landmark book brings together some of the leading scholars now studying the social, cultural, racial, economic, and political changes wrought by the experiences, travails, and fortunes of the Latino population. It is the most definitive and comprehensive snapshot available of Latinos in the United States today. How are Latinos and Latinas changing the face of the Americas? What is new and different about this current wave of migration? In this study social scientists, humanities scholars, and policy experts examine what every citizen and every student needs to know about Latinos in the U.S., covering issues from historical continuities and changes to immigration, race, labor, health, language, education, and politics. Recognizing the diversity and challenges facing Latinos in the U.S., this book addresses what it means to define the community as such and how to move forward on a variety of political and cultural fronts.


In the tradition of the Latin American *testimonio*, this is the story of Juan Rivera, a.k.a. Juanito Xtravaganza, a Latino runaway youth who ends up homeless in the streets of New York in the late 70s and becomes partner of the internationally famous 1980s Pop artist Keith Haring during some of the most frenetically productive years of his brief life, as told to the author and retold by him. A hybrid text – part *testimonio*, part linguistic and cultural analysis, and part art criticism – this is also a history of New York Latino neighborhoods during this period of devastating disinvestment and gentrification, as well as a personal, heart-felt meditation on the art of listening and the ethical limits of representing queer Latino lives.


The first anthology to focus exclusively on queer readings of Spanish, Latin American, and US Latina lesbian literature and culture, *Tortilleras* interrogates issues of gender, national identity, race, ethnicity, and class to show the impossibility of projecting a singular Hispanic or Latina Lesbian. Examining carefully the works of a range of lesbian writers and performance artists, including Carmelita Tropicana and Christina Peri Rossi, among others, the contributors create a picture of the complicated and multi-textured contributions of Latina and Hispanic lesbians to literature and culture. More than simply describing this sphere of creativity, the contributors also recover from history the long, veiled existence of this world, exposing its roots, its impact on lesbian culture, and, making the power of lesbian performance and literature visible.


Latinos make up the fastest growing population segment in the US, and by the middle of the next century, they will outnumber all other minority groups combined. Even more significant is the fact that within a few years, Latinos will number more than a quarter of the nation’s workforce; this is more than three times their proportion in the general population.
Chapter Four: Latino Identity

*Movements* discusses the socioeconomic and cultural consequences of the changing US population in the light of globalization. It calls attention to the increasing significance of class and the system of global capitalism that underlies political relations of power. Focusing on the place of labor, class, patriarchy and capital, this collection relates these objective realities with the subjective context of popular attempts to transform the existing socio-economic conditions of Latino life.


Latinos Unidos presents an unexpected perspective on Latinos—not only as a highly diverse and rapidly growing population in the United States with distinct social, cultural, and economic features—but as a new political force with a cohesive collective ethnic identity. Indeed, Latinos in this country constitute a new political power coming to grips with their global significance. Within two decades, Latino children will constitute a majority in urban public schools around the country. By the mid-21st century, Latinos (along with African-Americans) will represent half the U.S. population. While much of the literature in the social sciences continues to stereotype Latinos as marginalized, poor, and low-achievers, unable to “assimilate” and function in mainstream society, Latinos are quietly taking important positions in academic, government, professional organizations, and the international world of economics. Their rapid flow into the U.S. has, to an extent, camouflaged this upward social, educational, and class mobility. Trueba, using his unique vantage point as a Latino immigrant and scholar, explores the vital issues of personal identity and resiliency, adaptive strategies, and successes of Latinos in North America in this path breaking book. Among the most fascinating and least known subjects he discusses are bi-national networks, which describe the bilingual and bicultural capabilities of a new generation of Latinos who can function on both sides of the border with Mexico.


Los Angeles: scratch the surface of the city’s image as a rich mosaic of multinational cultures and a grittier truth emerges – its huge, shimmering economy was built on the backs of largely Latino immigrants and still depends on them. This book exposes the underside of the development and restructuring that have turned Los Angeles into a global city, and in doing so it reveals the ways in which ideas about ethnicity – Latino identity itself – are implicated and elaborated in the process. A penetrating analysis of the social, economic, cultural, and political consequences of the growth of the Latino working-class populations in Los Angeles, *Latino Metropolis* is also a nuanced account of the complex links between political economy and the social construction of ethnicity. Lifting examples from recent news stories, political encounters, and cultural events, the authors demonstrate how narratives about Latinos are used to maintain the status quo—particularly the existing power grid—in the city. In media representations of riots, in the recasting (and “whitening”) of Mexican food as Spanish-American cuisine, in the community displacement that occurred as part of the development of the Staples Center—in telling instances large and small, we see how Los Angeles and its Latino population are mutually transforming. And we see how an old Latino politics of “racial” identity is inevitably giving way to a new politics of class. Combin-
ing political and economic insight with trenchant social and cultural analysis, this work offers the clearest statement to date of how ethnicity and class intersect in defining racialized social relations in the contemporary metropolis.


*Latino/a Thought* brings together the most important writings that shape Latino consciousness, culture, and activism today. This historical anthology is unique in its presentation of cross-cultural writings—especially from Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban writers and political documents—that shape the ideology and experience of U.S. Latinos. Students can read, first hand, the works or authors who most shaped their cultural heritage. They are guided by vivid introductions that set each article or document in its historical context and describe its relevance today. The writings touch on many themes, but are guided by this book’s concern for a quest for public citizenship among all Latino populations and a better understanding of racialized populations in the U.S. today.


This groundbreaking text challenges the traditional paradigm of Latina/o studies by focusing on transnational issues and examining the manner in which gender, race, and class emerge out of local and global processes. Divided into three parts, the volume first critiques current theoretical and methodological approaches within the discipline. It then explores alternate propositions concerning material culture and human identity by introducing different frames for analysis. Finally, it moves us beyond nation-based approaches of previous studies as well as attending to emergent rural and urban innovations at the local level. This work expands our understandings and links between Latino and Latin American studies and will be an invaluable resource for students and scholars from both fields.


“By the year 2050, whites will be a numerical racial minority, albeit the largest minority, in the United States.” This statement, asserts George Yancey, while statistically correct, is nonetheless false. Yancey marshals compelling evidence to show that the definition of who is “white” is changing rapidly, with non-black minorities accepting the perspectives of the current white majority group and, in turn, being increasingly assimilated. In contrast, African Americans continue to experience high levels of alienation. To understand the racial reality in the United States, Yancey demonstrates, it is essential to discard the traditional white/nonwhite dichotomy and to explore the implications of the changing color of whiteness.
Chapter Four: Latino Identity

General Identity - Articles


This article examines the specificity of Central Americans in the United States in relation to issues of identity, history and politics. It also examines the contrasting relationship between Central Americans in the United States and Mexican immigrants, by historicizing the dynamics of power between these two Mesoamerican regions since colonial times, with the idea of advancing our understanding of inter-Latino relations in the United States. The article also seeks to address the invisibility of Central American refugees in the United States, arguing that the historical memory of rape and violence on the part of refugees from Guatemala and El Salvador has led Central Americans in the United States to keep themselves on the margins of social visibility and presentability. This strategic non-identity, to some extent, is historically related to Central Americans’ subordination to Mexico, as well as to their illegal status within the US, contrasts the identity politics of reaffirmation that constituted the Chicano and Nuyorican movements, with the present day situation of ‘Central American-Americans.’


Conventional wisdom holds that differences among us prevent the formation of radical alliances that are working for social justice. Implicit in this view is the assumption that each individual or group is the repository of only one set of perspectives, practices and beliefs. Attention to multiple identities in various fields, however, has shown this assumption to be false. Through a case study of Latino/a politics, I show that multiple identities can play a decisive role in the formation of diverse coalitions. I suggest that multiple identities can increase links between individuals and a range of politicized groups. It can underpin a synergistic process of identity and community (trans)formation that can become the basis for radical political alliances.


Language is an important marker of identity. Guided by social identity theory and using a grounded theory approach, this study examined how languages are chosen and shape experiences in the workplace. Results suggest that language use is influenced by both external (norms, business needs) and internal (identity, language comfort) processes. Furthermore, speaking Spanish in the workplace has both positive (inclusion, camaraderie) and negative effects (exclusion, harassment, discrimination), with many more negative effects reported by our participants. Speaking Spanish appears to mark the speaker as an outsider. Together, our results indicate that language use is an important choice, personally and professionally, for employees and plays an important role in the way individuals are treated in the workplace.

We propose and test a theory of opportunities that explains the conditions in which economic status affects support for racial and ethnic group interests among African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans. Using data from a 2001 Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University national survey, our analysis finds that, for all minority groups, the effect of economic status on support for group interests is mediated by the socioeconomic experiences of individuals. Intergroup differences therefore result from varying experiences and perceptions of discrimination among minority groups rather than from group-specific theoretical processes. Compared to Latinos and Asian Americans, African Americans are least responsive to changes in economic circumstances because they are on the whole more pessimistic about their life prospects and more likely to encounter discrimination. But we find in general that, among those minority individuals who perceive equal opportunity and experience less discrimination, higher economic status often leads to a reduced emphasis on race and ethnicity. These results demonstrate that the incorporation of a minority group into American society depends not only on the actions of group members but also on the fair treatment of that group by the majority population.


A growing literature suggests that stronger ethnic identity is associated with higher levels of self-esteem among Hispanic Americans. However, most studies employ a pan-ethnic “Hispanic” category or focus on one ethnic group, leaving open the question of how different Hispanic groups compare in this association. In the framework of social identity theory, the author provides ordinary least squares (OLS) estimates of the relationship between ethnic identity and later self-esteem in a sample of Nicaraguan and Cuban young adults in South Florida (N = 291). Results indicate that stronger ethnic identity is salutary for Cubans’ self-esteem though detrimental for Nicaraguans’. Additionally, Nicaraguans report significantly weaker ethnic identification and lower self-esteem than do Cubans on average. Also, higher perceived ethnic discrimination is associated with stronger ethnic identity for Cubans.


The tensions between individual rights promised to US citizens and group discrimination targeted against African Americans and similar racial/ethnic groups constitute one enduring paradox of US society. This essay examines this paradox by exploring how a gendered family rhetoric contributes to understandings of race and US national identity. Using African American women’s experiences as a touchstone for analysis, the article suggests that African American women’s treatment as second-class citizens reflects a belief that they are ‘like one of the family’, that is, legally part of the US nation-state, but simultaneously subordinated within it. To investigate these relationships, the article examines 1) how intersecting social hierarchies of race and ethnicity foster racialized understandings of US national identity; 2) how the gendered rhetoric of the American family ideal naturalizes and normalizes social hierarchies; and 3) how gendered family rhetoric fosters racialized constructions of US national identity as a large national family.
Chapter Four: Latino Identity


Using the Social Capital Benchmark Survey (SCBS) data sets, the authors conducted a multi-level comparative study of identity politics and political culture in the United States and 30 urban communities. Analysis showed that gender, race, class, and religion predict political ideology, electoral behavior, and political protest in the national sample. Replications in the community samples, however, revealed significant differences in the patterns of relationships among those variables. Some patterns deviated markedly from the national norm, particularly with respect to race as a predictor of political protest. Using an index of new political culture, the authors show that “place matters” as a contextual influence on the strength and direction of relationships between social identity (particularly race and religion) and political outcomes.


The publication of Samuel Huntington’s *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity* provides an opportunity to consider several distinct underlying assumptions about American national identity, and to evaluate the claim that this identity is threatened by growth among native-born and immigrant populations of Latin American origin, particularly – but not exclusively – Mexicans.


Sociolinguists and social identity theorists have found that negative perceptions of groups and/or their language are the key to the understanding, expression and maintenance of their ethnic identities. This study attempts to connect these analyses to politics by using 100 in-depth interviews of Latinos to look at the way Latinos’ relationship to Spanish language affects their ethnic identity and political cohesion. It finds that Spanish is an important part of Latino identity, but Latinos’ relationship to the language is paradoxical – Spanish language skills are both a source of ethnic solidarity and of social stigma. As a result, native-born Latinos often try to dissociate themselves from the immigrant sectors of the community. This selective dissociation has an important negative effect on community cohesion, and could help explain Latino support for anti-immigrant policy proposals.


**Objective:** To explore how Latinos think about their identity, politics, voting, and community activity in order to gain some insight into the attitudes underlying Latino participation patterns.  
**Methods:** This is an analysis of fifty in-depth interviews with Latino high school seniors from neighboring schools. The schools differ in terms of their socioeconomic and generational makeup.
Results: (1) All the respondents have a strong ethnic identity but vary in their degree of identification with the immigrant sectors of their community; (2) most, especially the females, are not interested in formal politics; (3) the respondents felt voting was important but did not feel confident about their ability to participate effectively; (4) the more socio-economically disadvantaged felt more positive about the community’s ability to use non-electoral activities to solve problems. Conclusions: In this sample, the respondents’ feelings of efficacy in the electoral and non-electoral arenas vary more by class and generation than by gender, and operate in the opposite direction of what the SES or segmented assimilation models would lead us to expect. While the Latinas in this sample do not see themselves as part of formal politics, their high levels of community activity could provide the basis for their future mobilization into the electoral arena.


Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, a nationally representative sample of youth in 7th to 12th grades, this study examines how racial and ethnic identification overlap among Hispanic adolescents (N = 6,399). The study examines the choices of friends to evaluate the proximity of race and ethnic identifiers among Hispanics. The result shows evidence that ethnicity and race are distinct stratifiers as evidenced by their friendship choices, but that ethnicity is more significant than race in determining the choice of friends of Hispanics. Racial identification of Hispanics is closely associated with choosing a friend of the same race, whether or not that person is Hispanic. Finally, when Hispanics interact with non-Hispanics, racial identity becomes another determinant of friendships.


Objective: This article examines the neglected role of Hispanic intermarriage and identification on Hispanic population change and Hispanic ethnicity. Methods: A trend analysis of Census data produced rates of Hispanic intermarriage and identification as Hispanic by children of intermarried Hispanics. These rates are applied to a projection model of Hispanic population change to 2025. Results: Hispanic intermarriage has been fairly stable and high, at about 14 percent. Almost two-thirds of children of intermarried Hispanics are identified as Hispanic. The Hispanic population in 2025 is larger by almost 1 million when Hispanic intermarriage and identification rates are included in population projections. Conclusions: Failure to consider Hispanic intermarriage and identification may lead to erroneous conclusions about components of Hispanic population growth. Intermarriage and the propensity of “part-Hispanics” to identify as Hispanic will be significant contributors to future Hispanic population growth, with implications for the meaning of Hispanic ethnicity and ethnic-based public policies.
Chapter Four: Latino Identity


Objective: We document intermarriage patterns between Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites over the 1990 to 2000 period in 155 U.S. metropolitan areas and evaluate the effects of spatial, cultural, and economic assimilation on inter-decade changes in intermarriage. We hypothesize that changes in Hispanic-white intermarriage during the 1990s reflect changing spatial, cultural, and economic assimilation among U.S. Hispanics. Methods: We use data from the 1990 and 2000 Census Public Use Microdata Samples. Results: Analyses show that intermarriage between Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites declined during the 1990s, a result fueled in part by burgeoning immigration of Hispanics, especially Mexicans. The 1990s also ushered in a period of increasing Hispanic segregation from non-Hispanic whites, growing language barriers, and accelerated educational inequality, which also dampened Hispanic-white intermarriage rates. Conclusions: Our results imply that the Hispanic population is at a transition point, if intermarriage rates are an indication, and possibly a new period of retrenchment in the assimilation process.


The author focuses on some of the internalized other within and against which the Latino/a self is asserted in the United States to suggest (1) that class, race, backgrounds and values shape the meaning and social value individuals attribute to the terms they adopt to defined both self and other and (2) that, at least in the present conjuncture, both self and other are fundamental to the formation of the ethos of the Latino/a ethnic group in the United States. The author explores the self/other dichotomy through an analysis of interview with middle- and working class Latinos currently living and working in New York City.


This study is primarily descriptive and exploratory in nature. What I hope to address is the process whereby categorical distinctions emerge and are ordered as a process of self-making and construction by others in the social space of Los Angeles. In this case, my goal is two-fold. First, I want to identify some general patterns in the trajectory and experience of Asians who secondarily migrate from Latin America to Los Angeles. Second, in looking at the experiences of growing up and/or living in Latin America for Asian-descent persons who secondarily migrate to Los Angeles, I am interested in what that complexity says about the categories of difference that characterize Los Angeles – language, nativity, culture, race, and gender. In other words, what difference does difference make? What can the direction and nature of the complexity of multiple migrations, cultural experiences, and identities say about the construction of prototypical and hegemonic representations of Asians, Latinos, and the city of Los Angeles? Although beyond the specifics of this research note, I am interested in the larger question, “What does the Asian Latino experience tell us about race and identity politics in the Americas?”

Increasing anxieties about the growing Latina/o population in the United States have fueled virulent xenophobia toward immigrants. This essay proposes the need to forge strategic political alliances by constructing this population as a bloc, a nexus of diverse groups that differ at the level of national origin, race, residential status, class, gender, and political views. Only in full awareness of our multiple contradictions and commonalities, presented in this essay as eleven theses, can we as Latina/os come together, construct our own fluid identities, and more effectively address the hostile political environment and polemics of the current moment.


On February 2, 2005, newly elected Florida Senator, and former Housing and Urban Development Secretary, Mel Martínez, a Cuban-American immigrant, “shattered a 216-year tradition of the U.S. Senate … when he used the ceremonial occasion of his first floor speech to speak three sentences in Spanish.” This event represents the first time a language other than English was entered in the Congressional Record. He did so in support of Mexican-American Alberto Gonzales’ nomination to the post of Attorney General. Martínez was rhetorically addressing his remarks to immigrants, whom he described as having come to America to seek a better life. He described Gonzales as “uno de nosotros,” or “one of us.”


This article reviews 21 empirical studies in which the relationship between self-esteem and ethnic identity among Latino adolescents was examined. This analysis indicates that for some conceptualizations of ethnic identity there has been a positive relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem, whereas with other conceptualizations the relationships between ethnic identity and self-esteem have been inconsistent. The methodological limitations of the existing work are also examined. Despite the differences in conceptualization and the methodological limitations, the existing research suggests a positive relationship between degree of ethnic identification and self-esteem for Latinos who live in areas where their Latino group composes the majority of the Latino population.


Children of immigrant parents often translate written and face-to-face communication for parents and other adults, also known as language brokering. Fifty-five sixth-grade, Latino adolescents report their experiences and feelings toward language brokering, their level of acculturation, and their ethnic identity in a questionnaire. Generally, the participants view language brokering
positively. Those who are less acculturated are translating more frequently than those who are more acculturated. Feelings toward language brokering also positively influence level of ethnic identity. This study demonstrates that language brokering may result in stronger feelings toward the ethnic group and greater ethnic identity.

### Pan-Ethnic Identity - Articles


This article explores the predicaments that Peruvians in the United States face when adapting their national identity to a North American multicultural context and engaging in contact with other Latino groups. It discusses how migrants construct notions of Peruvianness and examines the conflicts that such an identity gives rise to within the migrant communities in Miami, Los Angeles, and Paterson, NJ. It concludes that although the idea of Peruvianness allows migrants to distinguish themselves from other Latin Americans, it also brings to the fore more universal dimensions of their national and cultural heritage that prompt them to engage in new alliances and adopt a pan-Latino identity.


**Objective:** Assimilation and enclosure models of ethnicity developed for European-American populations predict that ethnic identity is maintained in contexts of structural and cultural isolation, but becomes fluid and optional outside of those contexts. The research tests the applicability of these models to the Hispanic-origin population. **Methods:** We analyze data for respondents who self-identify with a Hispanic origin in response to the first survey administered to the High School and Beyond (HS&B) panel. We estimate a logistic regression model to identify correlated of reporting non-Hispanic identity in response to the second-wave survey, administered two years later. **Results:** English mono-lingualism and attendance at a school with few Hispanic students are strongly associated with inconsistent reporting of Hispanic identity. Increasing socio-economic status has a weaker effect. Inconsistent Hispanic identification is less common in urban areas and in census divisions with large Hispanic populations. **Conclusions:** Assimilation and enclosure models do apply to the sampled population. Hispanic identity becomes inconsistent for Hispanic-origin teenagers who do not speak Spanish. Growth of Hispanic-origin populations may counteract this effect in the future.


Contemporary debates on Latino panethnicity assert that this identity is either cultural or instrumental in nature. The article looks at respondents’ use of primary and secondary ethnic
identification to answer two questions: First, how substantial is pan-ethnic identification among Hispanics? Second, what is the nature of Latino panethnicity? Using data from the Latino National Political Survey, that authors find that Hispanic ethnicity is neither simply instrumental nor cultural. Instead, Latino panethnicity is a complex phenomenon, differing not only by a range of demographic characteristics but also among those using panethnicity as a primary or secondary identification. These findings suggest that one needs to think about panethnicity as part of a constellation of individuals’ multiple identifications and those individuals may manage these identities in very different ways.


**Objectives:** Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), we investigate whether Asian and Latino youth value racial boundaries more than ethnic boundaries. We evaluate the relative preferences of same-ethnic, same-race (but different-ethnic), and different-race friends. **Methods:** We use multilevel multinomial logistic regression models to examine the odds of choosing same-ethnic, different-ethnic (but same-race), and different-race friends net of the opportunity to interact. **Results:** We find strong effects of school racial and ethnic composition, immigrant status, and parental education on the likelihood of crossing boundaries in the selection of friends. In addition, we develop a new scale of pan-ethnicity and find substantial ethnic group variation in pan-ethnic sentiment. **Conclusion:** We find an overwhelming preference for same-ethnic peers over same-race (different-ethnic) and different-race peers.


**Objective:** This article examines pan-ethnic consciousness as it applies to the two fastest-growing minority groups in the United States: Asian Americans and Latinos. Given the challenges of diversity and immigration faced by these two communities, I examine the individual-level factors that help strengthen their pan-ethnic group identity. **Methods:** Drawing from data provided by the 2000 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey and the 1999 National Survey on Latinos, I use ordered probit models to determine the predictors of pan-ethnic consciousness among both Asian Americans and Latinos. **Results:** The models confirm that for Asian Americans, high income, involvement in Asian-American politics, being a Democrat, and the role of racial discrimination encourage pan-ethnic consciousness. For Latinos, the important factors are higher levels of education, gender, being foreign born, involvement in Latino politics, and perceptions of discrimination. **Conclusions:** The findings here stress the importance of social contextual factors such as racial discrimination on the formation of pan-ethnic identity.
Chapter Four: Latino Identity


The increasing diversity of the US population has stimulated interest in racial identification, which is complex for phenotypically heterogeneous groups such as Puerto Ricans. We overcome several limitations of the empirical literature on racial identification among Puerto Ricans with a study that is grounded in the experience of Puerto Rican women in New York City. Our analysis focuses on two questions: How do Puerto Rican women in New York identify themselves racially? What are the sources of racial identification? The results indicate that most Puerto Rican women in New York conflate race and ethnicity by designating their race as either ‘Puerto Rican’ or ‘Hispanic’. Moreover, the decision to ‘become’ pan-ethnic has complex roots. In particular, the effect of skin tone on pan-ethnic identification is conditioned by socioeconomic and neighborhood characteristics.


This article explores the ethnic self-identification of second-generation children whose immigrant parent came to the United States from Latin America. The focus of the analysis is the adoption of the pan-ethnic label, ‘Hispanic’, in contrast to national designators and non-hyphenated American identities. Using data from a recent large survey of children of immigrants in south Florida and southern California, the analysis explores the determinants of ethnic self-identities and the potential consequences of the option of one of these symbolic labels on children’s self-esteem, educational expectations and perceptions of discrimination. Contrary to the commonly-held assumption that the label ‘Hispanic’ denotes greater assimilation into the mainstream of US society, our findings indicate that children who adopt the Hispanic label are the least well assimilated: they report poorer English skills, lower self-esteem and higher rates of poverty than their counterparts who identify themselves as Americans or as hyphenated Americans. Theoretical and policy implications of findings as they bear on prospects for successful adaptation of second-generation youth are discussed.


The impact of three forms of intergroup contact (Mexican descent, other minority, and Anglo) on the social identities and political attitudes of a national sample of native-born persons of Mexican descent was examined. Cast within Tajfel’s Social Identity theory, the various social contexts were expected to predict three distinct types of ethnic identity: Cultural Ethnicity (In-group contact), Politicized Ethnicity (In-group and Minority Out-group contact), and Assimilationist Ethnicity (Anglo contact). Contrasting political orientations were also predicted for the types of contact, with group-conscious attitudes associated with In-group and Minority Out-group contacts and conservative political attitudes with Anglo contact. Support is provided for the expected relationships between In-group and Minority Out-group interactions and identity and political attitudes. Anglo contact was related to conservative political attitudes.

In this article the author analyzes Sandra-Glasser’s article “Los Confundidos: De-Conflating Latinos/as Race and Ethnicity.” His argument is that the black/white paradigm is a predominant organizing – constitutive- theme of Euro-American modernity. The black/white paradigm is inconceivable and incomprehensible without understanding how “European” or “white” identity as created by encounters with others deemed “savages.” According to the author, persistent reference to, and framing of “race” matters in terms of a black/white paradigm is a contemporary, polite euphemistic way of talking about “savages” and “civilization.” Operationally, a black/white paradigm configures all racialized groups, including Latinos, into a web of social relationships with each group pitted against the other and vying for the honorific designation – “civilized.”


This article is part of a special section on Latino politics in the U.S. The writers challenge the longstanding practices abetting the construction of a monolithic and singular identity for U.S. “Latina/os.” Their aim is to nurture a better understanding of the social forces that shape both shared and divergent identities within U.S. Latina/o communities and the implications of these identity-construction processes for U.S. political life. They provide a theoretically-based account of how social group identities are implicated in politics. In addition, they offer brief accounts of the primary historical “fault lines” underlying the diversity and complexity of U.S. Latina/o populations. Furthermore, they discuss social forces that tend to unify those populations. Finally, they consider how diverse Latina/o identities intersect with U.S. politics.


Samuel Huntington’s analysis of the “Hispanic challenge” – his claim that Mexicans are on their way to forming a separate nation within the U.S. – rests on a series of misconceptions that are not his alone. At the heart of his difficulties is a widely shared form of reasoning about racial and ethnic populations that has become increasingly problematic in the contemporary era of mass immigration: it anticipates a single, predominant outcome for group members, such as assimilation or racialized exclusion; instead, it is the diversity within groups of patterns of incorporation into American society that needs recognition today. This is all the more true of Mexican Americans because of the long history across which their immigration stretches and their presence in the Southwest and California before the arrival of European Americans.
“Hybridity” has become a popular concept among scholars of critical race theory and identity, particularly those studying Chicano identity. Some scholars claim that hybridity – premised on multiplicity and fluidity represents a new approach to subjectivity, challenging the idea of a stable and unified subject. In “Patrolling Borders,” I argue that scholars are mistaken in their belief that “hybrid” or “bordered” are inherently transgressive or anti-essentialist. By constructing a typology of Chicano hybridity (i.e. *mestizaje*) I show how Chicano nationalists produced a politicized subjectivity during the Chicano Movement that emerged as the basis for recent notions of hybridity put forward by writers like Gloria Anzaldúa. By tracing the historical construction of the *mestizaje*, I show how hybridity continues to be a discursive practice capable of comfortably co-existing with dreams of perfect knowledge, order, and wholeness.

This article discusses how Brazilians negotiate their Brazilianness and Latinidad in their process of integrating into US society. Drawing from my two-year-long field research among Brazilian immigrants, but focusing mainly on the dynamics of the 1998 and 1999 Hollywood Palladium Carnival balls, I examine some of the problems at stake in Brazilians’ negotiation of identity and space in Los Angeles. I argue that in the racialized and racializing context of US society, all Brazilians have to go through a profound questioning of their racial identities because of their transformation into Latinos. Hence it is not enough for Brazilians to insist on their national identities as Brazilians. For this society racializes arriving Latin American immigrants such that what you look like will impact on both the integration of individual Brazilians into US society and Brazilians’ own definitions of Brazilianness.

This article explores the impact of transnational migration on the cultural identities of Puerto Ricans on the Island and in the US mainland. The author argues that, although Puerto Ricans are US citizens, they cross significant geographic, cultural, and linguistic borders when they migrate between the Island and the mainland, and this displacement helps to reconfigure their national identities. More specifically, the author proposes that the emergence of cultural nationalism as a dominant discourse in Puerto Rico is partly the result of a growing diaspora since the 1940s. The author’s thesis is that cultural nationalism is better attuned than political nationalism to the widespread geographic dispersion and the continuing colonial status of Puerto Rico. This historical trend helps to explain why most Puerto Ricans today do not desire political independence.
According to Samuel Huntington, Latin Americans are eroding our country’s core Anglo-Protestant values. The values, says he, made America great, unified the country, and allowed immigrant upward mobility through assimilation and acculturation. Huntington expresses concern that immigrants from Latin America, now our main newcomers, along with their U.S.-born progeny, are creating another America, culturally and socially distinct. The reason for this, he claims, is that they settle in close proximity to one another; they retain use of their mother tongue, Spanish; and they remain, in the main, committed Catholics. These conditions purportedly are bad both for America and for the immigrants. They impede new immigrant ability to live the American Dream and, by implication, America’s continued global economic preeminence.

To better understand the impact of ethnic identity, it is important to examine people’s social construction, or definition, of that identity. In this study, the social construction of ethnic identity of predominantly low-acculturated, first- and second-generation U.S. Mexicans and Mexican Americans was examined by asking focus group participants to talk about what it meant to them to be members of their ethnic groups. These open-ended responses then were coded along Phinney’s aspects of ethnicity. Several interesting patterns emerged, some of which have not been emphasized in previous literature, such as conflict with African Americans and Chicanas/Chicanos. Discussion centers on the value of listening to people’s social constructions of their ethnic identity to better understand their social realities.

The purpose of the study was to examine the relationship between strength of ethnic identity and perceived group vitality. Mexican Americans in the Phoenix, Arizona, metropolitan area perceived English and Anglos as more vital than Spanish and Mexican Americans. Ethnic identity had a significant influence on perceived in-group vitality but not on perceived out-group vitality. Respondents who strongly identified their ethnic group perceived their group’s vitality to be higher than did those who identified less strongly with their group. First language did not influence vitality perceptions.

In this essay we explore the racial and ethnic self-identification of Dominican immigrants in the United States. This issue is central in understanding how immigrants experience the process
Chapter Four: Latino Identity

of incorporation into American society. We argue that as Dominican immigrants incorporate to American life, they adopt a Hispanic or Latino identity. This identity serves both as a form of racial identification within the American racial stratification system and as a form of assertive pan-ethnic identity. This identity, however, does not supersede national identification, which remains the anchoring identity.


Objective: This study examines how racial/ethnic self-identity interrelates with language ability, skin tone, and years in the United States and with indicators of socioeconomic attainment for Dominican immigrants in Reading, Pennsylvania, a new destination city that had a nearly 800 percent increase in the Dominican population between 1990–2000. Methods: In-depth ethnographic surveys conducted with a sample of 65 Dominican-origin adults are the basis for the descriptive analysis. Results: Based on open-ended responses, nearly 43 percent of immigrants described themselves with a specific ethnic identifier (Dominican) and 41 percent use a more general pan-ethnic identifier (Hispanic or Latino). Pan-ethnic self-identity is interrelated with stronger language ability, lighter skin tone, and more years in the United States, and with better indicators of socioeconomic status. Conclusion: Race/ethnic identity is an important component of Dominican immigrant assimilation in this new destination context.


During the presidencies of Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, Mexican American civil rights went from being an addendum to civil rights for African Americans to a stand-alone policy with a bureaucracy, federal programs, and an independent rationale. Ever since President Harry Truman accepted civil rights in the Democratic platform in 1948, federal policymakers and politicians tried to fit Mexican Americans, and other minority groups, into the civil rights mold they had carved out for blacks in the South. While subject to severe discrimination and disadvantage, Mexican Americans did not face the consistent statutory segregation and discrimination faced by blacks. Federal civil rights policy for Mexican Americans through the mid-1960s consisted of New Frontier and Great Society funding programs to which Mexican American organizations could apply for money to develop and carry out projects in their communities. By the end of Richard Nixon’s first term, a federal bilingual education program was established, agencies and committees existed whose sole function was to coordinate Mexican American programs, and Mexican Americans were recognized by policymakers as a distinct minority group with unique needs that required particular federal remedies.

Recent studies have examined the implications of exposure to U.S. race relations for the racial and ethnic identities of migrants to the U.S. Most investigations are based exclusively on U.S. data. There are few, if any, comparisons of the identities of migrants and their offspring to those of non-immigrants in their country of origin. Using data from a survey of Puerto Rican mother in the U.S. and Puerto Rico, this study provides such comparison. Responses to an open-ended race question show that mainland and island Puerto Rican most often designate their “race” as Puerto Rican, but responses of women who do not self-identify as Puerto Rican diverge between the U.S. and Puerto Rico. Island women primarily identify themselves as white, black, or trigueña, while mainland women identify themselves as Hispanic/Latina, Hispanic American, or American. Mainland-island differences cannot be explained by parental ethnicity, skin tone, demographic factors, and socioeconomic status. The findings suggest that mainland Puerto Ricans more strongly reject the conventional U.S. notion of race than do their island counterparts.


Objective: This article examines the experience of ethnicity among third-plus generation Mexican-American professionals at the workplace and through participation in ethnic identity professional organizations. Methods: A total of 25 face-to-face interviews were conducted in the San Jose, California metro area. Interviewees were initially recruited from two ethnic identity professional organizations. Results: The predicted confluence of acculturation with structural assimilation is supported by the responses of Mexican-American professionals who acknowledge the social pressure to conform to dominant culture expectations. However, changes in the structure of structural assimilation since 1965 related to the emergence of identity politics have meant integration into society’s dominant institutions no longer requires the exchange of ethnic for professional identities. Conclusions: Ethnic identity professional organizations provide a key source of ethnic networking for Mexican-American professionals who typically find themselves in work settings with low levels of minority representation.


This essay offers a conceptual framework with which one can understand the process of identity formation in minority social movement organizations. It is argued that identities are configurations of ethnic symbols, group experiences and history arranged and reinterpreted for a specific political purpose. It is further argued that organizationally generated identities can be studied by examining the positions they take in support of or in opposition to existing social and economic structures. Finally, this article develops a theoretically informed model of identity formation in Mexican-American organizations that centers on their interpretation of three interlocking but distinct issues: racial discrimination, economic disadvantage and cultural hegemony.
Chapter Four: Latino Identity


Goodnow’s (1992) two-step model of intergeneration agreement was applied to parental socialization of ethnic identity. Young adults of Mexican descent (M= 20.3 years, SD = 3.1) completed questionnaires on their ethnic beliefs, their perceptions of their parents’ beliefs, and their relationships with their parents. Parents of the young adults answered questions about their own ethnic beliefs and their childrearing goals and practices. The relation between parents’ beliefs and young adults’ beliefs was mediated by young adults’ perceptions of their parents’ beliefs. The difference between young adults’ beliefs and their mother’s beliefs was a function of the accuracy of young adults’ perceptions of their mother’s beliefs and their desire to be like their mothers. The difference between young adults’ beliefs and their father’s beliefs was a function of the accuracy of young adults’ perceptions of their father’s beliefs.


This article explores the predicaments that Peruvians in the United States face when adapting their national identity to a North American multicultural context and engaging in contact with other Latino groups. It discusses how migrants construct notions of Peruvianness and examines the conflicts that such an identity gives rise to within the migrant communities in Miami, Los Angeles, and Paterson, NJ. It concludes that although the idea of Peruvianness allows migrants to distinguish themselves from other Latin Americans, it also brings to the fore more universal dimensions of their national and cultural heritage that prompt them to engage in new alliances and adopt a pan-Latino identity.


Mexican American children in Grades 2 (n = 22) and 6 (n = 25) were interviewed about their understanding of ethnic prejudice and were administered two indices of ethnic identity (ethnic knowledge and ethnic behavior). Most of the children (n = 19) were third generation or later (no parent or grandparent born in Mexico), but 11 had at least one parent born in Mexico. Parents of the children were administered acculturation and ethnic socialization measures. Study results suggested that (a) parental ethnic socialization about ethnic discrimination was associated with children’s development of ethnic knowledge, (b) low levels of parental acculturation to Anglo norms were associated with children performing ethnic behaviors, and (c) children’s advanced understanding of ethnic prejudice was associated with high levels of ethnic knowledge and higher grade levels. These results support and extend Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampo, and Cota’s multifaceted model of ethnic identity: One aspect of ethnic identity (i.e., ethnic knowledge) was predictive of children’s understanding of ethnic prejudice, whereas another index (i.e., ethnic behavior) was not. Moreover, this study’s results support Quintana and Vera’s model of children’s developmental understanding of ethnic prejudice. This study suggests that children’s understanding of ethnic prejudice represents an important aspect of the development of Mexican American children.

The experiences of middle-class Peruvian professionals who have recently migrated to the United States challenge our notions of the migration experiences of Latin American professionals. Many arrive without legal status, language skills or employment sponsorship. Without these resources, they experience employment instability, downward mobility and greater emotional stress. This paper seeks to explain how these new immigrants reconcile downward mobility with their professional backgrounds and personal identities by exploring their resultant emotional struggles.


This study used structural equation modeling to test a model of ethnic identity development among 513 Mexican-origin adolescents living in the United States. The model examined the influence of ecological factors, familial ethnic socialization, and autonomy on adolescents’ ethnic identity achievement. Findings indicated that lower percentages of Mexican-origin individuals attending adolescents' schools and fewer members of adolescents' immediate family born in the United States were each associated with greater familial ethnic socialization; furthermore, familial ethnic socialization was positively related to ethnic identity achievement. These findings suggest that ecological factors indirectly influence ethnic identity achievement through their influence on familial ethnic socialization.


The authors report on the results of a study on the determinants of ethnic group solidarity among Mexican Americans. Their findings indicate that Mexican Americans who display low ethnic solidarity tend to have fewer ethnic group ties, more economic resources, weaker ethnic identity and weaker class identity. Need to conceptualize ethnic solidarity.

Racial Identity - Articles


Information on Cuban immigrants from the recent ‘Measuring Cuban Opinion Project’ survey is used to determine the extent to which race matters. We use multivariate binomial logistic regression models to determine if race can be predicted by key demographic and economic characteristics of the respondents, their use of mass media outlets in Cuba, their evaluation of and integration to the Cuban state and their participation in the dissidence in the island. The conclusion is
reached that race cannot be predicted because these immigrants are, in general terms, very similar. However, some racial differences in mode of immigration and likelihood of immigration were found.


Current dialogues on changes in collecting race and ethnicity data have not considered the complexity of tabulating multiple race responses among Hispanics. Racial and ethnic identification – and its public reporting – among Hispanics/Latinos in the United States is embedded in dynamic social factors. Ignoring these factors leads to significant problems in interpreting data and understanding the relationship of race, ethnicity, and health among Hispanics/Latinos. In the flurry of activity to resolve challenges posed by multiple race responses, we must remember the larger issue that looms in the foreground – the lack of adequate estimates of mortality and health conditions affecting Hispanics/Latinos. The implications are deemed important because Hispanics/Latinos will become the largest minority group in the United States within the next decade.


**Objective:** Most large data sets solicit “ethnic” identification and “racial” identification in separate questions. We test the relative salience of these two identifications by exploring whether individuals who chose both a Latino “ethnic” label and a “racial” label on separate survey questions still chose both of these labels when they were given a single combined question about their racial and ethnic origins. **Methods:** Using the May 1995 Race and Ethnicity Supplement to the Current Population Survey, we estimate a multinomial logit model of identification choices.1030-1052. **Results:** We find that most individuals who chose a Latino label and a racial label chose a Latino-only identification. Selection of multiple labels was more common for Latinos than non-Latinos, however. Language use, local ethnic context, national origin, and age were all significantly related to these identification choices. **Conclusion:** The format of “race” and “ethnicity” questions on surveys has significant implications for the identification patterns of Latinos.


The authors investigated the content and structure of cultural value orientations associated with how cultural groups view relationships, time, nature, and activity in a group of 107 Latino college and graduate students. The study employed the Visible Racial Ethnic/Identity Attitude Scale and Intercultural Values Inventory. A regression analysis revealed racial identity status attitudes predict value orientation preferences of human nature as evil, lineal and collateral social relationships, and a belief in harmony with nature. Five repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance
revealed a mixed and good view of human nature, a sense of harmony with nature and a future preference. More complex preferences were found with respect to the activity and social relations orientations, reflecting a blending of Eurocentric and Latino cultural values.


Are predictions that Hispanics will make up 25 per cent of the US population in 2050 reliable? The authors of this paper argue that these and other predictions are problematic insofar as they do not account for the volatile nature of Latino racial and ethnic identifications. In this light, the authors propose a theoretical framework that can be used to predict Latinos’ and Latinas’ racial choices. This framework is tested using two distinct datasets - the 1989 Latino National Political Survey and the 2002 National Survey of Latinos. The results from the analyses of both of these surveys lend credence to the authors’ claims that Latinas’ and Latinos’ skin colour and experiences of discrimination affect whether people from Latin America and their descendants who live in the US will choose to identify racially as black, white or Latina/o.


This article analyses the responses of Brazilian immigrant women who live and work in the greater Boston, Massachusetts, area of the United States to questions about their racial and ethnic identity. Based on thirty face-to-face in-depth interviews conducted between June 2004 and July 2005, we explore the many ways by which the women's identities are racialized and the variety of responses to the process of racialization. In particular, we focus on the degree to which the women's reported race, ethnicity and immigrant status exacerbate or protect women from the exclusionary aspects of the racialization process.


Nearly half of all Latinos responding to the 2000 U.S. Census identified neither themselves as “other race,” i.e., neither black nor white. This has become a source of bemusement to the U.S. media. Lurking in the shadows of the news media’s early coverage of the 2000 census numbers was a challenge to the U.S. system of racial classification. In accordance with a well-established pattern, 42% of Latinos identified themselves as “other race,” and 97% of all respondents who declared themselves “other race” were Latinos — a significant trend not emphasized in the press. In addition, 6% of Latinos took advantage of the new “multiple race” option, compared with only 2% of the non-Hispanic population. In fact, of all the multi-race combinations made possible by the new option, the most common was “white and ‘some other race,’ which census officials said was checked mainly by Hispanics.” According to The Washington Post’s analysis, this would all seem to indicate that many Hispanics were “apparently frustrated that they did not see a racial
category that included them.” A more accurate interpretation came from the National Council of La Raza’s Sonia Perez: “Those concepts of black and white are just not at all how [some Latino] people are used to defining themselves.”


The article focuses on the immigrant experiences of Afro-Cubans throughout the U.S. While research has documented the successful adaptation of Cubans in Miami, Florida, this interview survey was conducted in Texas and New Mexico. The study looks at the manner in which racial and ethnic identities are developed in Afro-Cuban immigrants from both self-appraisal and external classification from others. The study describes a complex identification process in which Afro-Cubans attempt to maintain their identity as Cubans and blacks while being externally classified as either black or Hispanic.


Objective: Whites of various European ethnic backgrounds usually have weak ethnic attachment and have options to identify their ethnic identity (Waters, 1990). What about children born to interracially married couples? Methods: I use 1990 Census data – the last census in which only one race could be chosen – to examine how African American-white, Latino-white, Asian American-white, and American Indian-white couples identify their children’s race/ethnicity. Results: Children of African American-white couples are least likely to be identified as white, while children of Asian American-white couples are most likely to be identified as white. Intermarried couples in which the minority spouse is male, native born, or has no white ancestry are more likely to identify their children as minorities than are those in which the minority spouse is female, foreign born, or has part white ancestry. In addition, neighborhood minority concentration increases the likelihood that biracial children are identified as minorities. Conclusion: This study shows that choices of racial and ethnic identification of multiracial children are not as optional as for whites of various European ethnic backgrounds. They are influenced by race/ethnicity of the minority parent, intermarried couples’ characteristics, and neighborhood compositions.


In the 1980 Census 40 percent of Hispanics identified themselves racially as “other.” In 1990 this proportion increased. This note examines why a nonrandom sample of 58 Latinos responded they were “other” to a replica of the 1980 Census question race. The results counter the interpretation that those who say they are “other” are racially mixed or misunderstand the question. The results suggest many Latinos see race as a combination of race and culture.

This essay reviews some of the scholarship of the last twenty years that illuminates significant twentieth-century experiences and the multiple identities of Mexican-origin populations in the United States. The racial/gendered contours of Chicana/o history are explored through research that focuses on the Chicano movement, labor and civil rights organizations, identity and community, education, segregation, and sexuality and power. Throughout the history, complicating notions of mestizaje (morena/o), whiteness (blanca/o) and cultural coalescence (café con leche) influence and explain individual and institutional actions. Therefore, in this essay the situational nature of racial constructs in the historical (and the historians’) moment are discerned by both a focused overview of critical works in the field and specific cases, including a preview of a case study on school desegregation in the Southwest.


The findings of this study suggest that Hispanics see race as a measure of belonging, and whiteness as a measure of inclusion, or of perceived inclusion. The report reveals that Latinos’ choice to identify as white, or not, does not exclusively reflect permanent markers such as skin color or hair texture but that race is also related to characteristics that can change, such as economic status and perceptions of civic enfranchisement. Whiteness is clearly associated with distance from the immigrant experience. Thus, the U.S.-born children of immigrants are more likely to declare themselves white than their foreign-born parents, and the share of whiteness is higher still among the grandchildren of immigrants. In addition, the acquisition of U.S. citizenship is associated with whiteness.


This essay suggests a link between the insufficient strides for full citizenship Latinos have made in American society and their reticence to define themselves in contradistinction to the dominant white majority. Tracing the centrality of race in historical constructions of Americans, the author contends that, because of the survival of white supremacist values in the discourses of cultural identity informing the US Hispanic population, Latino scholarly spokespersons display excessive zeal in the attempt to show that the racial experience of their ‘community’ defies the existing official categories used in this country to classify the ethno-racial segments of the population. He insists that attention should be paid to strengthening the pan-ethnic constitution of the ‘community’ and proposes a fusion of race and ethnicity as a way out of the current anxiety over names. Punctuated by an effort to address intra-Latino racism and injustices, such a stress can bring about the emergence of galvanizing discourses, voices, and structures capable of offering a vision of Latino empowerment that speaks persuasively to each subgroup.
Objective: This article examines variation in displays of affection between interracial and intra-racial adolescent couples. Method: Using the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), a nationally representative sample of adolescents in the United States, we estimate hierarchical linear models to compare characteristics of interracial and intra-racial relationships among white, African-American, Hispanic, Asian American, and Native American adolescents. In our comparisons we highlight three dimensions of relationship attributes: public display, private display, and intimate physical contact. Results: Our findings suggest that interracial couples are less likely than intra-racial couples to exhibit public and private displays of affection, but are not different from intra-racial couples in intimate displays of affection. Conclusions: Social barriers against interracial dating still exist such that even though interracial couples are similar to intra-racial couples in their levels of intimacy in private, they are less comfortable displaying their feelings in public.

Discrimination and Identity - Articles


Researchers have well established the association between discriminatory experiences, life chances, and mental health outcomes among Latino/as, especially among Mexican Americans. However, few studies have focused on the impact of stress or the moderating effects of low acculturation levels among recent immigrants, such as Dominicans. Using the transactional stress model, the present community-based study examines the relationship between discrimination and stress, and whether this association varies by low acculturation levels in a sample of 246 Dominican women. Results indicate a positive relationship between major racist events (e.g., job-related discrimination), everyday discrimination (e.g., not receiving services in a store), and stress levels. Furthermore, low acculturation moderated the impact that discriminatory experiences had on the stress level of Dominican women. Implications for further research on discrimination and stress among Dominican immigrants are discussed.


This paper reexamines the issue of phenotypic discrimination and income differences among Mexican American, originally studied by Telles and Murguia (1990). Using a different functional form and a different estimation technique, the authors fail to find support for the findings of such discrimination reported by Telles and Murguia.
Discrimination and Identity - Articles


Research has shown that experiences of discrimination negatively affect health. However, little is known about whether socioeconomic position modifies the reporting of perceived discrimination. This cross-sectional study of 69 participants investigated the modifying effects of education and income on the reporting of perceived discrimination among Hispanics and Whites. Hispanics, compared to non-Hispanic Whites, of higher education (more than high school) and income ($30,000 or more per year) status are more than 4 times more likely to report perceived discrimination (odds ratio [OR] = 4.09, 95% confidence interval [CI] = 1.31-12.72; OR = 4.43, 95% CI = 1.41-13.93, respectively). However, this difference was non-significant among those with lower education and income levels (OR = 1.71, 95% CI = 0.27-10.92; OR = 1.71, 95% CI = 0.20-15.02, respectively). These results may affect future study sample and effect sizes.


The marketing of cultural identity has been increasingly forwarded as a strategy to improve the social and material circumstances of minority groups who have traditionally been excluded from full political and economic participation in society. But what this article will illuminate in San Antonio, Texas – the largest city in the United States with a municipal economy resting on this strategy – is the emergence of an urban multicultural landscape that is culturally inclusive but materially exclusive – thus producing a celebration of cultural diversity that maintains the existing disparities in material wealth. This process is but a mere fraction of the greater commodification of culture occurring globally. The contention that minority development can be achieved through the marketing of cultural identity is disproved.


**Objective:** Many racial/ethnic policies in the United States – from desegregation to affirmative action policies – presume that contact improves racial/ethnic relations. Most research, however, tests related theories in isolation from one another and focuses on black-white contact. This article tests the contact, cultural, and group threat theories to learn how contact in different interactive settings affects whites’ stereotypes of blacks and Hispanics, now the largest minority group in the country. **Method:** We use multi-level modeling on 2000 General Social Survey data linked to Census 2000 metropolitan statistical area/county-level data. **Results:** Net of the mixed effects of regional culture and racial/ethnic composition, contact in certain interactive settings ameliorates anti-black and anti-Hispanic stereotypes. **Conclusions:** Cultural and group threat theories better explain anti-black stereotypes than anti-Hispanic stereotypes, but as contact theory suggests, stereotypes can be overcome with relatively superficial contact under the right conditions. Results provide qualified justification for the preservation of desegregation and affirmative action policies.
Chapter Four: Latino Identity


The current research is designed to explore the relationship among discrimination stress, coping strategies, and self-esteem among Mexican descent youth (\(N = 73\), age 11-15 years). Results suggest that primary control engagement and disengagement coping strategies are positively associated with discrimination stress. Furthermore, self-esteem is predicted by an interaction of primary control engagement coping and discrimination stress, such that at higher levels of discrimination stress, youth who engaged in more primary control engagement coping reported higher self-esteem. The authors’ findings indicate that Mexican descent youth are actively finding ways to cope with the common experience of negative stereotypes and prejudice, such that their self-esteem is protected from the stressful impact of discrimination and prejudice. Implications of these findings for Latino/a youth resilience are discussed.


It is common for scholars interested in race and poverty to invoke a lack of access to job networks as one of the reasons that African Americans and Hispanics face difficulties in the labor market. Much research has found, however, that minorities do worse when they use personal networks in job finding. Research in this area has been hampered by the complicated and multi-step nature of the job-finding process and by the lack of appropriate comparison data for demonstrating the various ways in which minorities can be isolated from good job opportunities. We seek to specify what it means to say that minorities are cut off from job networks. Building on the literature on social networks in the labor market, we delineate the various mechanisms by which minorities can be isolated from good job opportunities. We examine how these mechanisms operate, using unique data on the chain of network contacts that funnel to an employer offering desirable jobs. We find that network factors operate at several stages of the recruitment process. We find scant evidence, however, that these network factors serve to cut off minorities from employment in this setting. We conclude with a discussion of the theoretical and methodological implications of the case for the study of networks, race, and hiring.


This study provided a test of the minority status stress model by examining whether perceived discrimination would directly affect health outcomes even when perceived stress was taken into account among 215 Mexican-origin adults. Perceived discrimination predicted depression and poorer general health, and marginally predicted health symptoms, when perceived stress was taken into account. Perceived stress predicted depression and poorer general health while controlling for the effects of perceived discrimination. The influence of perceived discrimination on general health was greater for men than women, and the effect of perceived stress on depression was greater for women than men. Results provide evidence that discrimination is a source of chronic stress above and beyond perceived stress, and the accumulation of these two sources of stress is
detrimental to mental and physical health. Findings suggest that mental health and health practitioners need to assess for the effects of discrimination as a stressor along with perceived stress.


This study examines the earnings of Mexican American males and demonstrates that Chicanos with a dark and native American phenotype receive significantly lower earnings than those of a lighter and more European phenotype. Most of the earning differences are unexplained by “personal endowments” known to be linked to income and are thus related to differences in labor market discrimination. However, Mexican American incomes in all phenotypic groups are far below those of non-Hispanic whites.


Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act made employment discrimination and segregation on the basis of race, ethnicity, or sex illegal in the United States. Previous research based on analyses of aggregate national trends in occupational segregation suggests that sex and race/ethnic employment segregation has declined in the United States since the 1960s. We add to the existing knowledge base by documenting for the first time male-female, black-white, and Hispanic-white segregation trends using private sector workplace data. The general pattern is that segregation declined for all three categorical comparisons between 1966 and 1980, but after 1980 only sex segregation continued to decline markedly. We estimate regression-based decompositions in the time trends for workplace desegregation to determine whether the observed changes represent change in segregation behavior at the level of workplaces or merely changes in the sectoral and regional distribution of workplaces with stable industrial or local labor market practices. These decompositions suggest that, in addition to desegregation caused by changes in the composition of the population of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission monitored private sector firms, there has been real workplace-level desegregation since 1964.


Employment discrimination of Hispanics in local government is the result of loopholes in the equal employment policies that keep out a majority of the Hispanics: 40% of the Los Angeles county population. Remedial measures that aim to offset this imbalance of employment rights include support and election of those Hispanic candidates to local governmental bodies who present effective solutions to remove this discrepancy and the development of a Hispanic legal offense fund and public employees associations to formulate legal and political programs. Differences in wages and lack of upward mobility of the Hispanic workforce can be eliminated through the collective efforts of all sections of the Hispanic society.