Culture is historically derived, fluid, composed of both positive and negative aspects, and is malleable conscious action. In domination and resistance, culture is of salient importance. It is inseparably interrelated to the life of a people and their struggle. Culture is the context in which struggle takes place, however conflict or resistance is primarily economic and political and constitutes class resistance. The relationship between culture and class is a historical phenomenon, observable every time.

Antonia Darder and Rodolfo D. Torres

In this important, but neglected essay, published in 1977, Juan Gómez Quinteros, a leading Chicano historian, proclaimed the inseparability of culture and class in an effort to understand and address the political economy of Mexican communities in the United States. Twenty years later, despite the changing political economy and the "unobtrusive" deleterious effects on the Latino population, we find ourselves still struggling to contextualize the analysis of Latinos in this country within an economic sphere that forthrightly engages material conditions, class structure, and cultural change as central to the discourse.

Without question, the closing years of the twentieth century represent the culmination of major shifts in the socioeconomic landscape of US society. Nowhere is this more evident than in the "Latinoization" of the United States. Latinos currently number 24 million and, according to recent Census Bureau data, Latino will become the largest ethnic minority group by the year 2009. Despite this increase in population and the political, educational, and economic advances of Latinos during the last 20 years, 30.3 percent (or 8.6 million) of Latinos continue to live in poverty. Latino workers continue to occupy the lower rungs of the US economy, finding themselves increasingly displaced and recentered in conditions of structural underemployment and unemployment.

LATINOS AND THE GLOBALIZATION OF THE ECONOMY

The current socioeconomic conditions of Latinos can be directly traced to the relentless emergence of the global economy and recent economic policies of expansion, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which have weakened the labor participation of Latinos through the transfer of historically well-paying manufacturing jobs to Mexico and other "cheap labor" manufacturing centers around the world. Such consequences highlight the need for scholars to link the condition of US Latinos to the globalization of the economy. This is to say that the study of the social, cultural, economic, and political changes that have historically taken place in the conditions of Latinos must be understood with respect to the particular role.
that Latinos, as a racialized group, have played in the economic system of this country. In his work on the global economy and Latino populations in the US, William Rivlin [1995] argues that:

Much sociological writing on Latino groups has focused on demographic phenomena, language, culture, and other descriptive orcriptive traits. Other studies have stressed emerging ethnic consciousness, pan Latino political action, and other subjective factors as causal explanations in minority group formation. These factors are all significant. However, in my view there are broad, history "structural linkages" among the distinct groups that constitute the material basis and provide the underlying causal explanation for Latino minority group formation. In other words, cultural and political determinations are relevant, but subsidiary, in that they only become "operationalized" through structural determinants rooted in the U.S. political economy and in its historic process of capital accumulation into which Latinos share a distinct mode of incorporation. (pp. 29-30)

In light of this perspective, the history of US Latinos can only be fully understood and articulated within the context of the US political economy and the new international division of labor. Without question, the United States is the wealthiest country in the world today, yet it is in the natioine state with the greatest economic inequality between the rich and the poor and with the most disproportionate wealth distribution of all the "developed" nations of the world. To overlook these facts in the analysis of Latino populations is to ignore the most compelling social phenomenon in US society -- the growing gap between rich and poor.

Further, we must address the impact of US economic globalization on cultural production, particularly that of popular culture, in this country and worldwide. Stuart Hall's (1991) writings on culture, globalization, and the world system clearly address the relationship between global mass culture (which he identifies as American) and the economy.

Global mass culture is dominated by the modern means of cultural production, domi

nated by the image which crosses and recreates linguistic frontiers much more rapidly and more easily, which speaks across languages in a much more immediate way. It is dominated by all the ways in which visual and graphic arts are conveyed directly into the reconstitution of popular life, of entertainment and of leisure. It is dominated by television and by film, and by image, imagery, and styles of mass advertising. Its ethos is still those forms of mass communica

that one might think of satellite television as the prime example. Not because it is the only example but because you could not understand satellite television without understanding its groundings in a particular advanced national economy and culture and yet in whole purpose is precisely that it cannot be limited any longer by national boundaries. (p. 27)

Hall's analysis of the globalization and its impact on cultural forms has a theoretical and political significance for understanding the concept of mestizaje as transcultural styles of border crossing. Victor Valde and Rodolfo D. Torres (1995) argue that, although the notion of mestizaje has links to Mexican and Latin American history, its lived experience is radica

ly transformed amidst the realities of US political economy. They describe this phenomenon in the following manner.

Mestizaje on this side of the border thus expresses a refusal to confer one language, one national condition, or culture as the expens of others. Culturally speaking, this mestizaje is radica

by definition. As other times, it takes the form of a deliberate transgression of political borders. These transgressions, however, are not overtly ideological, but adaptive and strategic. Stated in economic terms, the globalization of capital, with its power to penetrate int
dominate regional markets and undermine native economies, obliges the Mexican or Guatemalan worker to ignore state boundaries to survive. (p. 148)

The globalization of capital and its changes in class relations form the very backdrop of contemporary Latino politics and cultural formations, but it is conspicuously absent in most contemporary "postmodern" accounts of Latino life in the US — accounts which ignore the increasing significance of class and the specificity of capitalism as a system of social and political relations of power.

LATINOS AND THE "POSTMODERN" PROJECT

At this precipitous historical juncture, when an analysis of and challenge to capitalism is so urgently needed (perhaps more than in previous decades), many Chicano and Latino scholars have largely conceptualized the ideas of capitalism, labor, and class struggle out of existence. They have succumbed to the increasing fashionability of social and literary theories of "post-Marxism," with their rejection of Marxist theories of history, class, and the state, which have failed to engage substantively the dynamics of socialization within the context of the capitalist world economy system.

An acerbic critic of "culturalist" arguments, Ellen Meiksins Wood (1995) forcefully challenges the underlying assumptions that give rise to the postmodern project. Postmodernism claims that an epochal shift from modernity to postmodernity took place in the early 1970s. This "structural" shift is considered to move the economic priorities of capitalism from the mass production of standardized goods and the forms of labor associated with it to "flexible accumulation" with its new forms of production, diversification of commodities for niche markets, a flexible workforce, and mobile capital. This movement is primarily attributed to the development of new technologies, new forms of communication, the internet, and the "information superhighway."

Wood (1990) begins her analysis by challenging the tendency of the postmodernist to equate capitalism with "modernity" and to see capitalism as a "natural" outcome of technological development, a notion which she argues, not only "disguises the specificity of capitalism" as a particular social form of domination and exploitation but is also false. Secondly, she forcefully critiques postmodern "blanket" arguments against the Enlightenment project (particularly its universal human emancipatory ideal) as fundamentally destructive to the project of human rights and social justice. And most importantly, Wood argues that constant technological changes and changes in the marketing strategy do not constitute a major epochal shift in capital's logic and capitalism's laws of motion. In addressing more specifically this point, she writes:

The old adage used the assembly line as a substitute for higher-cost skilled craftsman and machine the control labor process by capital with the obvious objective of exacting more value from labor. Now, the new technologies are used to the same end, to make products cheap and cheap to assemble . . . to control the labor process, to eliminate or condense various stages in both manufacturing and service sectors, to replace higher with lower-wage workers, to downsize workers altogether — again to extract more value from labor. So what is new is not called "new economy" is not that the new technologies represent a unique kind of epochal shift. On the contrary, they simply allow the logic of the old mass production economy to be diversified and extended. (p. 15)

We acknowledge that changes in the economy have occurred, but there is a question as to how we can re-analytically characterize these changes. And if a historical shift actually took place, it would be more accurately identified in the mid-twentieth century when capitalism approached becoming a universal system that managed to permeate every aspect of life, the state, the
LATINOS AND IDENTITY POLITICS

Once the last three decades there has been a tendency among Latino studies scholars to focus primarily on the question of "Latino cultures," following the scholarly tradition of many African American intellectuals who have historically focused on the problem of "race" as the central category of analysis for interpreting the social conditions of inequality and marginalization faced by African Americans. The resulting discourses, which have often focused on a politics of identity, have led to a serious blind spot or absence of depth in much of the theoretical writing about Latino life and culture in the US.

As we consider the constraints of Latino identity today and the responses to these conditions by theorists and practices shaped by identity politics, we must wholeheartedly agree with the criticism articulated by Wood (1994) in her article entitled "Identity Crisis." Here we are reminded that capitalism is the most totallizing system of social relations the world has ever known. Yet, in most "postmodernist" cultural and political contexts of Latinos, capitalism as a totallizing system does not exist. And even when it is mentioned, the emphasis is primarily on an undifferentiated pluralism of identity politics and particular oppressions, while ignoring the overwhelming tendency of capitalism to homogenize rather than to diversify human experience.

No matter where one travels abroad the world there is no question that racism is an ideology integral to the process of capital accumulation. The failure of scholars to confront this dimension in their analysis of Latinos as a "racialized group" or to continue treating class as one of a multiplicity of equally valid perspectives, which may or may not "interact" with the problem of racialization, is a serious shortcoming. In addressing this issue, we must recognize that identity politics, which generally gloss over class differences and/or ignore class contradictions, have often been used by even radical intellectuals and activists within Latino communities in an effort to build a political base. By doing so, they have unwittingly perpetuated the dangerous notion that the political and economic are separate spheres of society which can function independently—a view that firmly anchors versus prevailing class relations of power in society and fails to deconstruct the cultural myth and instrumental notions that serve to perpetuate the advancement of capitalist formations in the US and across the world.

Ramin Gogolzad and Chloe S. Groezars (1996) posit that "social identities are constructed and reproduced in complex and entangled political, economic, and symbolic hierarchies" (p. 193). Given this complex entanglement, what is needed is a more dynamic and fluid notion of how we think about Latino identities in this country. Such a perspective of identity would support our efforts to deconstruct static and frozen notions that perpetuate ahistorical, teleological, and classless views of life. However, how we analytically accomplish this is no easy matter. Yet again, we are inspired by the words of Wood (1993):

We should not confuse respect for the plurality of human experiences and social struggles with a complex dissolution of historical analysis, where there is "nothing but diversity, difference and contingency," to unify struggles, no logic of process, no capitalism and therefore to negotiate of no universal project of human emancipation (p. 20).
We must fundamentally reframe the very tenets that gives life to our understanding of what it means to live and work in a society with widening class differentiations and ever-increasing inequality. Through such an analytical process of reframing, we can expand the terms by which Latino identities are considered, examined, and defined, recognizing that reconfigurations of Latino identities are fundamentally shaped by the profound organizational and spatial transform- mations of the economy.

THE LANGUAGE OF “RACE”

The unproblematized “common sense” acceptance and use of “race” as a legitimate way to frame social relations finds its way into the literature on Latinos in this country. The use of this term among Latino scholars in the 1960s can be linked to academic acts of resis- tance to the term “ethnicity,” and theories of assimilation which were generally applied to discuss immigrant populations of European decent. In radical efforts to distance Chicano (and Latino) history from this definition and link it to a theory of internal colonialism, cultural imperialism, and racism, Latinos were discussed as a colonized “racial” group in much the same manner that Marxist theo- rists positioned African Americans. Consequently, the term’s association with power, resistance, and self-determination has fueled the problematic of “race” as a social construct. Protected by the force of liberation movement rhetoric, “race” as an analytical term remains a “paper tiger”—seemingly powerful to discourse matters but ineffectual as an analytical metaphor, incapable of moving us away from the notion of “race” as an innate determinant of behavior.

We recognize that we would be hard pressed to find a progressive scholar writing about Latinos who would subscribe to the use of “race” as a determinant of specific social phenomena associated with inherent (or genetic) characteristics of a group. Yet the use of “race” as an analytical category continues to maintain a stronghold in both academia and popular discourse. What does it mean to attribute analytical status to the idea of “race” and use it as an explanatory concept in theore- retical discussion of Latinos? The use of “race” as an analytical category means to position it as a central organizing theoretical principle in deconstructing social relations of difference.

Unfortunately, the continued use of the notion of “race” in the literature and research on Latinos upholds a definition of “race” as a causal factor. In other words, significance and meaning are attributed tophenotypical features, rather than the relationship of differ- ence to the historically reproduced complex processes of racialization. Further, the use of the term “race” often serves to conceal the particular set of social conditions experienced by racialized groups that are determined by an interplay of complex social processes, one of which is premised on the articulation of racism to effect legitimation exclusion (Miles and Torres, 1996).

Yet, despite the dangerous forms of distortions which arise from the use of “race” as a central analytical category of theory-making, scholars seem unable to break with the hegemonic tradition of its use in the social sciences. Efforts to problematize the reified nature of the term “race” and consider its elimination as a metaphor in our work are quickly met with major resistance even among progressive intellectuals of all communities—a resistance that is expressed through anxiety, trepidation, fear, and even anger. Often these responses are associated with a fear of delegitimating the historical movements for liberation that have been principally defined in terms of “race” (rare) struggles or progressive institutional interventions that have focused on “race” numbers to evaluate success. Although un- standable, such responses nonetheless demonstrate the tenacious and adhesive quality of socially constructed ideas and how through their historical usage these ideas become common-sense notions that resist deconstruction. As a consequence, “race” is retained as an analytical category not because it corresponds to any biological or epistemological absolutes, but because of the power that collective identities acquire by
means of their roots in tradition" (Gilroy, 1991).

It is within the historical and cultural contexts of such traditions that differences in skin color have been and are regarded as a "race," which suggests the existence of different "races." As a consequence, a primary response among many progressive scholars and writers who call for the elimination of "race" as an analytical category is to seek off all accusations of a "color-blind" discourse. This is not what we are arguing. What we do argue is that the validity of skin color is not inherent in its existence but is a product of significance. This is to say, human beings identify skin color to mark or symbolize other phenomena in a variety of social contexts in which other significations occur. When human practices include and exclude people in the light of the significance of skin color, collective identities are produced and social inequalities are structured (Miles and Torres, 1998).

In order to address these structural inequalities, an analytical shift is required, from "race" to a plural conceptualization of "racisms" and their historical articulations with other ideologies. This plural notion of "racisms" more accurately captures the historically specific nature of racism and the variety of meanings attributed to it at the different stages and analyses of superstructures and inferiority of people. In other words, progressive scholars, whether in the social sciences, humanities, or in the new legal genre of critical race theory, should not be trying to advance a critical theory of "race." For it seems in attributing the idea of "race" with analytical status can only lead us further down a theoretical and political dead-end. Instead, the task is to demystify "race" and detach it from the concept of racism. This is to say, what is essential for scholars to understand is that the concepts of the idea of "race" is embroiled in racist ideology that supports the practice of racism. It is therefore an ideology that obscures the notion of "race," not the existence of "racisms" that produces racism (Guillemain, 1995).

Here, what is needed is a clear understanding of the plurality of racisms and the exclusionary social processes that function to perpetuate the racialization of Latinos. Robert Miles (1992) convincingly argues that these processes can be analyzed within the framework of Marxist theory without retaining the idea of "race" as an analytical concept.

Using the concept of "racisms," racism, and exclusionary practice to identify specific means of effecting the reproduction of the inequitable mode of production, one is able to stress consistently and rigorously the role of historical agency, albeit always constrained by particular historical and material circumstances, in those processes, as well as to recognize the specificity of particular forms of oppression. (p 52)

Miles' work also supports the notion that efforts to construct a new language for examining the nature of differentiating racism requires a, understanding of how complex relationships of exploitation and resistance, grounded in differences of class, ethnicity, and gender, give rise to a multiplicity of ideological constructions of the racialized Other. This knowledge challenges the traditional notion of racism as solely a Black/White dichotomous phenomenon and directs us toward a more accurately constructed, and hence more politically and analytically useful way to identify a multiplicity of historically specific racisms.

There are critics, even within Latin American studies, who cannot comprehend a world where the notion of "race" does not exist. Without question, there effects in undue and eliminate the idea of "race" as an analytical category in the social sciences is that sufficient to remove its use from the popular or academic imagination and discourse of everyday life. Moreover, is a country like the United States, filled with historical examples of exploitation, violence, and murder and racialized by popular"race" opinion and "scientific" ideas, it is next to impossible to convince people that "race" does not exist as a "natural" category. So in Guillemain words "Let us be clear about this. The idea of race is a technical means, a machine, to
committing murder. And its effectiveness is not in doubt (p. 107). But "race" does not exist. What does exist is the unrelenting idea of "race" that fuels racisms around the world."

RETHINKING ETHNICITY

In the sixties, the common academic practice of using "ethno" to refer to Latino popu-
lations declined and "race" became the term of analysis. This shift in terms represented a ma-
jor political strategy by Chicano and other Latino intellectuals to embrace the "race" para-
digm of the internal colony model, widely prevalent in the major writings of rad-
cal scholars addressing the conditions of American Latinos. Thus, in addition to
distancing Latinos from traditional assimila-
tion treaties of ethnicity used to explain the pro-
cess of incorporation of other European eth-
groups, the idea of Latinos as the (brown) "race" provided a discursively powerful
category of struggle and resistance upon which is built in group identity and
cross-group solidarity with African Americans. This mostly unchallenged appro-
priation of the term "race" (or "raca") was widely
deployed in the academic and popular
discourses of Chicano and Puerto Rican intel-
lectuals, heavily written, and activists. This
was particularly the case, for example, with
the identity politics of "Chicanismo" which
"means identifying with 'la raza' (the race or
group), and collectively promoting the interes-
tes of 'canarios' (brothers) with whom they
shared a common language, culture, and reli-
gion" (Gonzalez, 1995: 214).

In rethinking ethnicity and its potential as a
category of analysis in Latino studies, the
intellectual project of diaspora should not be
ignored. A critical definition of "ethnicity" is
also of great concern to diasporan scholars,
particularly those who are rethinking notions
of Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Dominican iden-
tities here and in the homeland. There is no
question that the assumptions of such a term as
"ethnicity" are inextricably linked to the
ideology and figurative language that gives
rise to the media debates and the public policy
discourse on Latinos and other relocalized popula-
tions in the United States. But the assump-
tion that seems most promising to a
radical politics of diaspora is the notion that
ethnicity is "a mobile and unstable entity
which contains many possibilities, including
that of becoming a diaspora" (Tolón, 1996:
27).

Further, Khachig Tololyan (1996) argues
that the lines which divide ethnic groups from
diasporas are not clear-cut, changing in
response to the complex transnational
dynamics of political events and the global
economy. But what seems most characteristic
of diasporan populations is an emphasis on
the collective identity of the dispersed
community and its connection to the home-
land.

For example, the Cuban-American
"community" contains a few assimilated
members identifiable only by name and
kinship affiliation, but otherwise wholly
inactive in and for the community; a much
larger number of others, a group whose size
is fiercely debated, that forms an "exit" com-
"nity, which is committed to the over-
throw of Cuban communism and to a
physical return to the island; and a diaspora
fraction which is active in political and
social representation, cares about main-
taining contact with Cuba and Cuban
communities in other countries, like Mexi-
co and Spain, and in turn, turns repeatedly
towards Cuba, without actually intending a
physical return. (pp. 17-18).

The ideologies of group identity and the
specific terms used to identify particular popu-
lations cannot be overlooked as important
political dimensions of Latino life. As with all
historically racialized populations, Latino
"identities are never complete, never finished
... always as subjectivity itself, in its process"
(Hall, 1996). Further, this process is de-
evolved by a variety of efforts to build
community, engage tensions surrounding class and nation-
al differences, revitalize and expand
cultural boundaries, and redefine the meaning
of group identity within the context of an ever-
warning that the theoretical use of "ethnicity" divorced from its historical and material context would be marred, with a number of "aesthetic, logical, and empirical contradictions" constituting another analytical trap.

The LIMITS OF CULTURAL NATIONALISM

The politics of "cultural nationalism" has commonly been used to consolidate power within Latino communities, often ignoring or deliberately obfuscating serious class differences and severe contradictions present among different sectors of the Latino population. Conflicting views on the validity of this position among Latino intellectuals has been the topic of ongoing debate since the early 1970s. Carlos Montez (1988), in his seminal work on the Chicano movement, documented the criticisms of Chicanos who at a 1973 student conference urged the adoption of a Marxist ideology. These students framed their objections to cultural nationalism in the following manner.

Cultural nationalism ... points to a form of struggle that does not take into account the interconnections of the world and problems as a solution that the capitalist has developed and perpetuated in order to control working people further. It presents the concept of a nation without a reversed bias and solely on a spiritual basis and tends to identify the enemy on a racial basis, ignoring the origin of racism and that it is simply an oppression based on color. (p. 91)

But for Puerto Ricans, Chela Rodriguez (1995) points out, the politics of cultural nationalism was more akin to that of Native Americans. Puerto Ricans shared with Native Americans "a historical and still unresolved issue - political sovereignty in relation to the United States." (p. 224). Unlike the "imagined homeland of Asiland for Chicanos, Puerto Ricans contended with the 1898 invasion and conquest of Puerto Rico (Borinquen) and..."
continued states as a US colony. Drawing strength from the Cuban socialist revolution, there was a greater tendency among Puerto Rican intellectuals and activists to frame arguments about conditions that Puerto Ricans faced within the context of US imperialism and capitalist development. Under the legendary leadership of Frank Bonilla, faculty, staff, and student associated with the Centro de Estudios PuertoRriqueños at Hunter College produced theoretically rich structural analysis of economic factors affecting Puerto Rican in the United States and in the homeland. Many of these works focused on the political economy of migration within the context of a colonial relationship and the world capitalist system.

Yet, in a somewhat different way, Chicano and Puerto Rican cultural nationalists discussed by construction of identity in terms of colonized and the struggle for nationhood, while remaining noticeable silent about gender issues, heterosexism, and racialized relations among Puerto Ricans here in the US and on the island (Pareno, 1995). Addressing this issue of 1960's within the Puerto Rican community, Roberto Rodriguez-Morozumi (1996) explains:

"The question of "race" and nation proved difficult and problematic within the context of a new anti-colonial struggle based on "national" imagination that denied or obscured the significance of the Afro, and divided or subordinated the question of nation as it existed within Puerto Rican society. (p. 157)

Aida García's (1996a) writings on Chicana feminism discourse echo the disagreements of Latina feminisms with the country with the ideological aspects of cultural nationalism.

One source of ideological disagreement between Chicana feminism and cultural nationalist ideology was cultural survival. Many Chicanas feminists believed that a form of cultural survival did not acknowledge the need to alter male female relations within Chicano communities... They challenged the view that machismo was a source of masculine pride for Chicanos and therefore a barrier mechanism against dominant society's racism. Chicanas feminists called for changes in the ideological responsibility for disturbing relations between women and men. One such change was to modify the cultural nationalist position that viewed machismo as a source of pride. (pp. 177-8)

A blatant absence of commitment to address sexism, heterosexism, and homophobia within the social and political reform of cultural nationalism forcefully silenced and alienated Latino gay and Latino lesbians within movement organizations. In a politicized environment that already viewed feminist ideology as divisive and destructive to the Latino community, lesbians and gays experienced much hostility and police action from "within." Without question, a cultural nationalist ideology that utilized its power, on the one hand, to perpetuate stereotypical images of Latina women as sacrificing and long-suffering mothers and wives, and on the other, to legitimate an unrelenting machismo, could hardly support a politics of liberation and equality for homosexuals and lesbians who were considered a danger to the "nation."

In considering these serious limitations, most troubling is the recognition that the primacy of cultural nationalism in political discourse and its effectiveness as a tool of mass mobilization in the Latino community rests on the unfortunate fact that a national (or racialized) consciousness is generally more developed than class consciousness. Furthermore, whatever its historical specifications, cultural nationalism as an ideology tends to not only gravely ignore or negate the legitimacy of class, gender and sexual oppression, but also serve to block the development of critical consciousness in Latino communities.

GENDER, SEXUALITY, AND POWER

The significant omissions in the intellectual and political discourse of Latinos in the US...
can best be attributed to the powerful ideolo-
gical hegemony of patriarchy that shaped
much of the collective ideal of cultural nation-
alismand its steady retreat from class analysis;
over the last 20 years. The ideological forma-
tions of class rooted in the "naturalist discou-
urse of machismo are considered by
many Latina feminists to represent the
building blocks of gender and sexual oppres-
sion. Apostasia Catabeda (1993) argues that
"women are placed in opposition and is an
inherent position to men, on the assumption
that in the divine order of nature, the male sex
of the species is superior to the female." (p. 27)
Here, we can also turn to the writings of
the French sociologist, Coline Guillaumin (1995),
on racism, sexism, power, and the belief in power.

Each of our actions, such of the actions
which we engage in as a specific social
relationship (speaking, breathing, cooking,
giving birth, taking care of others) is attrib-
uted to a race which is supposed to be
essential to us, even though the social
relationship is a class relationship imposed
on us by the modalities and the form of our
life. (p. 229)

Despite the courageous efforts of many
Latina feminists to break down the sexual
barriers which prevented them from partici-
ipation in the movement, their challenge to
patriarchal ideology was often perceived as
a threat to political unity. Unfortunately, attacks
against Latina feminisms were not limited to
men. Chicana "lazarristas," for example,
insisted that Chicana feminisms were anti-
family, anti-culture, anti-men, and therefore
anathema to Chicano movement. Such attacks often
contributed to the suppression of femi-
nist activities and the creation of a central
political attitude (Garcia, 1980). In shedding
light on this conflict and its impact, we once
again turn to the work of Guillaumin.

But an ideology characteristic of certain
social relations is more or less accepted by all
the actors concerned the very ones who are
subjected to the domination share it up to a
certain point - usually casually, but some-
times with pride and insistence. Now the
very fact of accepting some part of the
ideology of the relationship of appropriation
(we are natural things), devalues us as a large
part of our means, and, without our potential,
for political thinking. And this is, indeed, the
aim of this ideology, since it is precisely the
expression of our concrete reduction to
productivity, (p. 232).

The conflicts and inequalities reproduced by
exclusionary practices and the resistance to
address the growing contradictions posed by
class, gender, and sexual differences among
Latino served as primary catalysts for the
development of Latin feminist, lesbian, and
gay scholarship and organizations. Radical
Latinos who had been formerly silenced in
movement organizations boldly challenged
traditional social norms, deconstructed
languages of oppression, and publicly
renounced the power-relations which perpet-
ually used inequality and discrimination within
and outside of Latino communities.

It is worth noting here that, since the early
1960s, the involvement of Latinos in social
movements, labor unions, civil activities, and
church organizations was an important step
forward a growing political consciousness.
The political influence of the Mexican immigrants
in Mexico was definitely felt by Chicana women
in this country. These influences can be linked to
the establishment of feminist organizations
such as the League Feminist Men's Association in 1911,
and direct involvement or support of a variety
of labor strikes in the Southwest (Cron, 1977).
In a similar vein, Puerto Rican organi-
zations such as the League Feminist de Puerto
Rico in 1917 and the Liga Social Sufragista
the 1920s were established. Puerto Rican
women working in the tobacco industry and
needlework joined together, demanding
improved conditions, an end to sexual heter-
norm, and greater social opportunities.
Vasile Azucar Vaque (1950), in her words
on the noon of Puerto Rican feminism, states
that the oppression faced by Puerto Rican
women in the "needlework and other
industries contributed to conditions for...
...emergence of class and feminist consciousness (p. 77). But alongside, she reminds us of the struggle against the Catholic Church for feminist demands, claiming "it could interrupt women's destiny, according to God and Nature, to be mothers and housewives" (ibid, September 4, 1920).

Such opposition points to the fact that as Latinas became more vocal about the power relations that reproduced conditions of sexism within Latinx communities, labor, and social movements, organizations, many of these women were ridiculed, chided, and superata by their male counterparts. In a seminal essay, Maria L. Ayala (1986) eloquently challenges the delineation of women within the Chicana movement.

Chicanas were integral in the Chicano movement, but it was the men who began to question their lack of recognition as leaders within the movement. Their women regarding political strategy and action were also being ignored or considered insignificant. When demands of these women became too loud, at which point Chicano men were forced to accept Chicanas leadership, the-Chicana was shielded for her unconventional behavior. The Chicanas increasing voice within Chicanas began to focus on women's issues, like abortion, forced sterilization, and discrimination on the job. As conflict within the group increased, Chicana began to evaluate both primary and secondary role. It became a question of crossing which came first: change as individual, change as woman, or across-all social change? (p. 105)

In their efforts to counter the sexism they faced within Chicano and Latino organizations, many Latinas turned their focus on the women's movement in its century. For most, this move was disorienting. Although new women's issues arose at the forefront of the political dialogue, issues of working class and racialized women were nowhere to be seen. Latinw women again faced a wall of silence. Some Latinas and Chicanas chose to continue their work for social change with the political constraints of already existing organiza-

izations. Others began constructing and defining their own brands of feminism through the establishment of Latinas communities, civic, and professional organizations. But as Ayala is quick to point out, many of these efforts, founded on liberal feminist ideals, only narrowed the desires of aspiring middle-class Chicanas/Latinas and re-affirmed the political economy of mainstream interests.

Within the academy, scholars criticized, theorized, and documented the lives of Latinas women, seeking to construct feminist perspectives that would more accurately reflect the conditions faced by different populations of Latinas women in the United States. Edna Acuyo-Belen (1992) in her work the emergence of a literary cultural discourse among Latinas writers that moved beyond national origins and more inclusively addressed issues of class position, sexual orientations, and racialized relations. But even with the best intentions, some of the most respected Latinx scholars unwillingly continued to embrace essentialist arguments, depoliticized theories of culture, and or "ace"-centered arguments that often failed to engage with depth the union of class structure and the differences in gendered class formations among Latinas and other racialized women. Regrettably, few scholars responded to Rosaura Sánchez's (1998) call for more theoretical research grounded in a multidisciplinary analysis of Chicanas and Latinas life and culture in the United States.

The denial of natural discourse also resulted in their ugly bristles in vehement attacks against Latinos gay and lesbians, with accusations that they were not only traitors to the movement, but to all Latinos. Addressing one dimension of this issue, Ana Hurtado (1996) speaks to the conflict between biculturalism and parochial notions of the "nature" of women.

Ladinoism is anorexic because it undercuts the biopolitical cultural divide between heterosexual involving women through biological lines. How can race lead to a certain class privilege be maintained if there is no pure biological distinction?
IMMIGRATION AND THE LATINO METROPOLIS*

Despite the "official" national history shaped by the mass migration of European immigrants to the Americas, an increasingly "scapegoated" attitude toward new immigrants has been the prevailing force shaping the policies of immigration in this country. Most of the repression at the heart of immigration public policy today stems from the growing problem left unresolved during the period of industrial urbanization in this country. These unresolved problems became exacerbated as the political economy of the United States strengthened its financial stronghold in the world and expanded its capitalist enterprise into the global arena.

"Today, as militarily, political, and ideological power centres to extend and consolidate the reach of the US global empire, the national economy continues its downward spiral and civil society descends further into breakdown and chaos." (Hamamoto and Torres, 1997: 3).

Although Mexican immigration to the Southwest, heavily influenced by Mexico's historical ties to the region and proximity to the border, represented an everyday occurrence, it was the 1924 Immigration Act restricting European immigration to the United States that accelerated the massive migration of Caribbean immigrants to New York. Several waves of Caribbean immigrants were to follow, along with refugee populations from Central America escaping from poverty and civil war in their countries. James Peters and Morris Massey (1995) argue that the new immigration from Latin America and other parts can be best understood as the direct outcome of the postwar advance of transnational capitalism while at the same time being symptomatic of US imperial decline.

Nowhere have the impacts of anti-immigrant sentiment and the economic consequences of globalization been felt more than in the metropolitan areas of Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Boston, and Miami. The increasing "Latinization" of these cities due to both legal and illegal immigration from Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean, coupled with higher birthrates among Latino immigrants, has come under attack by conservative anti-immigrant organizations. Despite powerful studies that show the overwhelming economic advantage of working-class Latino immigrants have been blamed for poor urban conditions, soaring welfare costs, and the deteriorating national economy. The rapidly increasing immigrant population has also had to face the growing tensions with views from the reconfiguration of "our"
relation" beyond Black and White in the Latino Metropolis.1

In the early 1990s, the new norms manifested itself in a number of Latino anti-immigrant political proposals in the state of California. Most recently, in 1994 Governor Pete Wilson and his constituents fought for the passage of Proposition 187. Latinos educators, students, parents, community advocates, and their supporters launched a statewide campaign across the state to defeat the proposition that, if passed, would not only prohibit school enrollment to undocumented students but eliminate all health services to immigrants who were not in the country "legally." In the end, Proposition 187 passed, but still remains in the courts, creating uncertainty on its constitutionality.

Highly influenced by huge immigrant populations, Los Angeles and Miami represent excellent examples of the archetypal second-generation "global cities." Los Angles has become a refuge to tens of thousands of Central Americans who began their flight to the US in the 1970s. The perception of international capital and resultant economic dislocations, the war between El Salvador and Honduras, domestic political repression, and the availability of low skill jobs in the US caused a huge exodus in the number of Salvadoreans, Guatemalans, and Nicaraguans who joined both newly arrived Mexican and well-established Mexican American communities in the state of California.2

While the historical pattern of Mexican settlement in Southwestern US cities such as Los Angeles continues, the nearly century-old colonial relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico become further strengthened as the world economy becomes ever more closely integrated, redefining existing ethnic enclaves in New York City, New-Jersey, Chicago, and Boston.3 The "circulating migration" of Puerto Ricans between the mainland and a lesser island economy dominated by US corporations benefiting from a combination of favorable tax policies, the availability of low-wage labor, and lack of regulatory controls has resulted in the anomaly of fully 40 percent of the population living outside Puerto Rico. Although formally US citizens since 1917, albeit with limited political rights, the right to vote accruing to Puerto Ricans as a result of such status have been minimal when compared to more recently arrived Latino groups such as Cuban Americans.

The post-revolutionary migration of Cubans to southern Florida during the 1960s illustrates the centrality of collective group identity and social class position as key determinants of immigrant success in the United States.4 For among all Latino groups, Cuban Americans by all objective measures—average income, level of education, occupational status, political representation—stands alone as having achieved solely a privileged class status within the larger society. The valorization, of white European "Spanish" ethnic identity over that of Indian or African influence and the well-educated urban professional composition (Habibists in particular) of first-wave Cuban immigrants served them well in adapting to the new social setting. The rapid, anti-communist fervor of the times further solidified in the perception of Cubans as being "good" immigrants because of their explicit renunciation of state socialism led by Fidel Castro.

To better understand the Latino immigrant population of today, gender patterns must also be noted with analytical specificity.5 Unlike earlier decades, newly arrived immigrants entering the country are once more likely to be women, particularly among Caribbean- and US residents. The reason for this preponderance of female immigrants is the relative ease with which immigrants without legal status can find work, often as domestics or in garment factories. A typical pattern is for a woman to migrate first, leaving her children and/or her husband behind, then to apply for their immigration as soon as she has attained permanent resident status for herself (Stone about, 1994). Hence, Catherine Sainato (1994) provides the following description of the current prototype of the "new" Latino immigrant in New York.
It is impossible to grasp the complexity of Latino culture and history, as well as the contemporary issues affecting Latinos in the United States, without reconstructing the boundaries of conventional perspectives. It is precisely this challenge that the writers in this section address through their efforts to develop new conceptual frameworks for rethinking the changing identities and cultural formations of Latinos in this country. These theoretical and analytical reformulations of traditional paradigms boldly engage a variety of highly provocative cultural, historical, and social themes.

In "Merging Borders": The Remapping of America," Fabio Acosta-Belén and Carlos F. Santiago call for a rethinking of traditional notions of Latino culture in ways that discard refined conceptualizations that perpetuate static, ahistorical, apolitical, and classless views of life. US Latinos must be understood within a historical context of "a shared legacy of colonialism, racism, displacement, and dispersion," linking their conditions to the transnational realities of Latinos in Latin America and the Caribbean. Acosta-Belén and Santiago underscore the need to extend the cultural parameters of analysis beyond those already imposed by geographical frontiers or arbitrary boundaries. Further, they argue that contemporary discourses of US Latino identity must be reformulated within a conceptual framework where existing capitalist formations and economic inequality are central to any theory, practice, or public policy that claims to further cultural democracy.

The political theories and practices of "cultural nationalism" have united and divided radical scholars and activists committed to social and economic justice worldwide. In "Aztlán, Mesoamerican, and Hispanic Nationalism in the United States," Klor de Alva provides a student critique of parochial notions of cultural nationalism and challenges the limitations of social movement ideologies founded exclusively on such...
Latino(s) and Society: Culture, Politics, and Class

Paradigm. He argues that although nationalism is shaped by socioeconomic imperatives, it tends not to negate class but often serves to block the development of class consciousness. Central to Klor de Alva's analysis is the notion that "culture and identity are circumscribed by historical and material limitations, nevertheless people do not live out their lives as abstract categories." Through providing a comparative analysis of competing forms of nationalism in the political discourse of Chicano and Puerto Rican communities, Klor de Alva provides us with an opportunity to address current debates, given the renewed focus on cultural nationalism as a political and intellectual project in the US and around the world.

"Chicano History: Transcending Cultural Models" revises the dynamic and significant role of historical dimensions to understanding the changing conditions of latino populations in this country. In this essay, Gilbert Gonzalez and Raúl Fernández-Chávez employ a Marxist framework that emphasizes a historical perspective founded on an integrated economic analysis. Moving away from culture-based models of history, they avoid perpetuating a traditionally narrow and stagnant cultural paradigm of Chicano life. Arguing against the dominance of traditional scholarship that keep culture and economic life in separate compartments, González and Fernández-Chávez examine the systemic roots of conflict inherent in the present-day economic organization of US society. González and Fernández-Chávez accomplish this feat through providing a historical analysis that positions Chicanos and their participation in the US economy as central to their articulation of the social and cultural changes experienced by Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest during the last two centuries.

As any text about Latinos, it is impossible to ignore the importance of language and its particular impact in shaping the cultural, social, and economic conditions of this population. Unlike traditional discussions of language issues in Latino communities, "Mapping the Spanish Language along a Multilingual and Multicultural Border" takes a bold step in providing a linguistic analysis that is fundamentally linked to questions of the global political economy and the structure of class formations: Rosaura Sánchez argues against the popular notion of Latinos as a synthesis of "races" or a "mythical race cone." Instead, she posits that although a heterogeneous and politically fragmented population, Latinos are united by a history of conquest and colonialism, a history of proletarianization and disempowerment, and, to a large extent, by a common language – Spanish. And although language and culture may be considered irrelevant in political movements, Sánchez asserts that language, culture, and ethnicity are strategies for struggle because they are often tools used by hegemonic forces to oppress, exploit, and divide populations.

While paradigms focused on the notion of the diaspora have been quite abundant in the writings of African Americans, it is only recently that it has begun to emerge more consistently in the literature on Cubans and Puerto Ricans in the United States. María de las Ángeles Torres in "Encuentros y Enconfrontaciones: Homelands in the Politics and Identity of the Cuba Diaspora" calls for a "new vision of identity that requires a vision of power and organization across borders of nation-states" that "inevitably leads to an expansion of the boundaries of citizenship beyond any single nation-state.

This breakdown of physical boundaries, de los Angeles argues, creates a complex border place within struggle and affiliation in which there exists an ongoing process of cultural resistance and negotiation of internalized hegemonic notions that confront us daily. Most important, she stresses that the complex population-by-member of diaspora communities toss into them interactions with organizations which force them into constant negotiation of their identities and new ways of thinking about multiple identities.
Cultural politics and border zones: recent racialized relations

Nepantla is the Nahuatl word for an in-between space, that smaller terrain one creates when moving from one place to another, when changing from one class, race or gender position to another, when traveling from the present identity into a new identity. The border is an inconstant Nepantla. It is the terrain of resistance, of rupture of implication and expulsion, and of putting together the fragments and creating a new assemblage. Border art critic Sin originating from Mexico. By disrupting the neat separations between cultures, they create a new culture that transcends traditional boundaries.

Gloria Anzaldúa (1990, 39-40)

One of the most heavily contested theoretical tensions of our times is that of culture and identity. It is perhaps the arena in which traditional definitions of culture and identity have most failed in understanding a critical perspective of Latino populations in this country. Major limitations are found even in cultural studies and postcolonial articulations of ethnic and "racial" identities. The Politics of Biculturalism: Culture and Difference in the Formation of Mexican Americans for Gringostatistas and the New Mexicanas represent a necessary move away from accepting essentialized notions of multiple identities. By considering the myriad of cultural, social, political, and economic forces at work in the formation of ethnic identities, Antonia Darder points to the complexity of issues that have been simultaaneously addressed in order to arrive at an accurate conceptualization of difference within subaltern cultural communities. Drawing on recent works in cultural studies and political economy, Darder argues that an understanding of cultural identity formation must be fundamentally rooted in both political and economic theories of society. The need to discern racialized relations in the social sciences is at the heart of Roberto P. Rodriguez Morazán's essay, "Beyond the Rainbow: Mapping the Discourse on Puerto Ricans and Race." His work seeks to analyze the history of racial formation among Puerto Ricans, in an effort to better identity how social agents are defined or define themselves as racial subjects and the processes which result in the production of racialized and racializing practices within society. Rodriguez-Morazán provides a useful, review of the dominant discourses and centerdiscourses on Puerto Ricans and "race" which he discusses through the use of the metaphor of "moments." Hence, his discussion moves the reader from looking at "race as sociopsychology," (The First Moment) to a focus on "discovering the dominant discourses" (The Second Moment) to an emphasis on "educating social formation and significantization" (The Third Moment) with a discussion of its most prominent theme of "the rainbow people.

In her discussion of "Chicana Art/Exploiting the Nepantla," Gloria Anzaldúa enters the reader into the place of Nepantla, an in-between space of cultural production at the border where cultures are transformed and remade. The border is a historical and metaphorical site, an inter-pitheque, an occupied borderland where individual artist and collaborating groups transform space and the two homes toward... become one. As she attempts to unravel the complexity of border existence, Anzaldúa points to the strengths and difficulties associated with multiple identities. For Chicanas artists, for example, one of the many obstacles is simply being identified as a "border dweller" which places the artist in danger of illegitimacy in the eyes of the outsider world. Given the existing social and economic conditions, Anzaldúa argues that Chicana must acknowledge the multi-plicity of their identities in a strategy of resistance and survival.

In Robin Martínez's "The Shock of the New," the deconstruction and reconstruction of cultural identities are central to his poignant analysis of the "Mexican" Quebrada down-cave in the Southwest. In a most creative manner, the significance of popular culture as both a medium and site for...
Critical discourses on gender, sexuality, and power

Emerging from the experience of liberation, the alleged-forgotten dynamic locks women into subordinate roles, inscribes inflexible definitions of masculinity and femininity, and on a larger scale, becomes the surveillance test of true nationalism. Whoever is penetrated, in other words, is immediately interpreted by dominant Latino culture as passive. Passivity, within this system, is understood as open to sexual betrayal and, therefore, a threat to the nation.

David Remes (1995: 149)

The expression of sexuality and its relationship to ethnicity, gender, and class relations cannot be overlooked in our efforts to understand the social, cultural, and political formations of men and women within Latino communities in the United States. Without question, we must engage critically in the manner in which cultural productions emerging from gender and sexual relations are fundamentally rooted in relations of power. Further, it must be recognized that despite US Latino movements for liberation, the particular needs of Chicanas and Chicanos, Latina and Latino gay men have often been either ignored or deemed divisive and destructive to the community by the powerful ideological hegemony of cultural nationalism that has shaped the history of these movements.

It is precisely the struggle against this powerful ideological hegemony of cultural nationalism, on the one hand, and the contradictions and exclusionary practices of the women’s movement, on the other, that most informs the history and development of Chicanas feminism in the United States. In “Chicana Feminism: Their Political Context and Contemporary Expression” Denise A. Segura and Beatriz M. Pesquera provide an excellent overview of the historical and contemporary views of Chicanas and their collective efforts to overcome their limited access as “second-class citizens.” In their cultural production and the formation of new hybrid cultural identities is powerfully illustrated. Martinez provides a revealing example of the transcultural dynamics of resistance inherent in the experience of border crossing, emphasizing that the forces of cultural assimilation are as much an “economic rite of passage as a cultural one.”

Earl Shorris, a contributing editor of Harper’s Magazine brought together two well-recognized scholars, Corniel West and Jorge Klor de Alva, to engage in a highly controversial and provocative debate. The stated intention was to move the discourse on power and ethnicity beyond black and white. The result of that debate, “Our Next Race Question: The Unconsciousness between Blacks and Latinos,” is included here to illustrate the range of views that can be found in the field of cultural studies. What is most apparent from this dialogue between West and Klor de Alva is their highly contrasting views on the analytical value of the term “race,” despite their shared objection to essentialized concepts of “race” and the idea that differences are innate and outside of history. While Klor de Alva makes the case that West can only be considered black “within a certain reductionist context,” West asserts the value of continuing to identify himself as black. (a racialized label) “not in a way of affirming ourselves as agents, as subject in history.” The debate becomes even more interesting when Klor de Alva argues that West is, in fact, an Anglo (an ethnic label) meaning that “Anglos may be of any race.” A critical analysis of this debate supports the argument to eliminate the language of “race” from both academic and popular discourses and the need to come to the different histories of racism(s) that impact Latino- and other indigenous populations in this country — a feat that seems almost insurmountable given the historical discourses of power linked to the notion of “race” by both dominant and subordinate populations alike.
discussion they point to the destructive practice within the "male-dominated" Chicano movement of using labeling as "a tool of repression against Chicanas who advocated a feminist position." Segura and Pesquera also argue that class location has played a fundamental role in shaping the identity and political consciousness of Chicanas in this country. Of special interest is their description of Chicanas organizations and their efforts to anchor feminist struggles within the social, economic, and political realities of the Chicano/Latino community at large.

Through the reflective power of youthful memories, Lourdes Arguelles, in "Crazy Wisdom: Memories of a Cuban Querida" when the reader through a series of "gender bending" recollections of two lesbian women in Cuba who disappeared from her life at the beginning of the Cuban revolution. It is, in many ways, an example of how Latinas have been, quietly and insensitively, created spaces for themselves, even if only within the confines of their personal lives. Arguelles uses the knowledge gathered from her personal experiences with the two women to challenge the racialized "issues" of feminist psychology that have traditionally shaped concepts of individual freedom and fusion in intimate relationships.

David Roman's essay, "Teatro Viva! Latino Performance and the Politics of AIDS in Los Angeles," examines questions of cultural production through the medium of Chicano theater and performance, linking his analysis to the realities faced by Latino gay and bisexual men with HIV/AIDS. Through carefully deconstructing the performance of Cultura Clerk, for example, Roman exposes the unwitting perpetuation of oppressive discourses and images of sexuality that render gays and lesbians virtually invisible or a danger to Latino community life. Roman clearly supports the notion that issues of power and control emerge within the analysis of race and class relations. Further, he critiques the frustrations and contradictions of identity politics, particularly with respect to the manner in which cultural nationalist conflation all Chicana experiences into a unified Chicano subject, failing to account for the differences in lifestyles, sexual orientation, and class location among Latino populations.

In contrast, Roman looks at the performances of Luis Alfaro to provide an example of the "multilocality" necessary to accurately depict the differences in class, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity among Latinos, and hence, to counter the hegemonic configurations that insist on the confabulation of difference.

Stavans's treatise on "The Latin Phallus" boldly examines the persistent images and themes of machismo in Latino historical accounts and literary renditions of Latino sexuality. Stavans argues that paternalistic conquest, domination, and violent eroticism are overriding themes that continue to shape the sexual identity and attitudes of Latino men (and women) in this hemisphere. More than 500 years after the first Spanish conquistadores first set foot in the American...Reminiscent of Freudian analysis, Stavans describes the phallus as "an object of intense abjection, the symbol of absolute power and satisfaction..." The Latin man and his penis are at the center of the Hispanic world. Yet despite such macho bravado, he identifies in deep seated inferiority complex" at the root of this exaggerated obsession with the phallus. Through the writings of such major literary figures as Jorge Luis Borges, John Rechy, Julio Cortázar, Reinaldo Arenas, and Manuel Puig, Stavans further discusses the disturbing impact of an unrelenting machismo on Latino homosexuality.

Labor and politics in a global economy: The Latino metropolis

The growth of American Latino populations in the last ten years, which includes the rapidly growing number of legal and undocumented Latino immigrants in the United States, is taking place within a broader context of economic globalisation. Global economic integration has restructured the US and Latino workers are the workers most exposed to the ravages of the economic system.
The failure to engage the logic of social capitulation and the changing modes of capital accumulation worldwide is a serious limitation of "postmodern" discourses of identity politics and Latino cultural studies. In a counter position to these problematic stances, Zangana Vargas clearly addresses the global changes in class formation and the social structure of post-industrial capitalism and how these changes have altered the face of Latino immigration, labor force participation, and economic inequality in the US. In "Rank and File: Historical Perspectives on Latino/a Workers in the US" Vargas thoughtfully, cooperative discussion of these issues provides a historical analysis of the interplay of the restructuring of the American economy and its destructive impact on the power of unions and Latino labor in this country. But despite the economic difficulties faced by Latino communities, he argues against the folly of "nationalism" to consider workers within Latino communities - a political strategy that has served to ignore or deliberately obfuscate serious class differences and severe contradictions present among different sectors of the Latino population.

"Latinos in a "Post-industrial" Disorder: Politics in a Changing City" examines the impact of "post-industrial" change in Latino communities, with special emphasis upon the contrasts of industrial development in Greater East Los Angeles. Victor Valle and Rodolfo D. Torres posit that the economic forces that have transformed the Greater Eastside into one of the nation's most dynamic industrial landscapes requires a rethinking of Latino politics, space, and culture. At the heart of their rethinking of Latino political and economic life is an ongoing concern with finding a conceptual language that can more accurately depict the consequences of the global economy's reorganization of industrial production to poor and working communities. In addition, Valle and Torres argue that an understanding of the dialectics of landscapes of consumption and productions can help significantly to reveal locations of actual and potential political space. Finally, they provide a framework for a "strategic agenda" in a changing political economy. As such, this work can be understood as a first step toward creating a post-Fordist epistemology and politics that suggests new opportunities for democratic economic reform and social change in late twentieth-century capitalism.

The concept of "post-industrial" space, rooted within a context of identity, resistance, and survival, is also an overruling theme in "What's Yellow and White and Has All an Around It? Appropriating Place in Puerto Rican Barrios." Through an analysis of the phenomena of "santur" in New York as "architecture of resistance," Luis A. Aponte Parés eloquently challenges static and absolute notions of Puerto Rican urban culture. His work distinctly shows the significance of migration patterns to the appropriation of urban space and the formation of "santur" culture in Puerto Rican communities. His discourse of Puerto Rican barrio spaces in New York challenges us to reexamine the meaning of urban political space and its relationship to cultural identity and changing class relations.

"Caribbean-Colonial Immigrants in the Megopolis: A Research Agenda" contrasts the experience of Caribbean immigrants through a comparative study of the migration process and societal models of incorporation for different Caribbean groups. Kenneth Crossgill accomplishes this through an analysis of the impact of "race" and ethnic
relations upon economic public policies affecting different immigrant populations in the metropole. Through his insightful analysis, he provides a critical framework for better understanding of the immigrant experience, based on a variety of significant factors. These factors include the origin of the immigrant population, institutional dimensions of the migration experience, the conquest of reception, and the cultural discourse impact associated with the process of incorporation in the receiving society. Most importantly, Geoghegan’s work strongly reinforces the use of a comparative research approach in studying the social and economic conditions of different ethnic populations.

THE PURPOSE OF THE READER

In discussing our analytical framework in the first section of this introduction, we have attempted to draw attention to both competing and complementary theoretical narratives in the very diverse field of Latino cultural studies. Needless to say, the essays in this volume are not theoretically congruent or politically consistent with each other. The collection has incompatibilities, divergences, and edges of disagreement as to paradigm and theories used to understand Latino culture, politics, and society.

But one issue is very clear. Despite a barrage of critiques that argue against a return to theories of historicism, materialism and economic determinism, we call for a recovery and renewal of a critical historical understanding and class analysis of late capitalist formations as these relate to racialized relations in the US and abroad. We recognize that there is an apparent theoretical tension between our insistence on a structural analysis of class and class structure and the conventionalist and discursive accounts of “race” and “identity.” We argue, nonetheless, that much of the new analysis of the changing nature of American society and the much-talked about “Latinization” will be influenced by new approaches to class, inspired by a renewed Marxist political economy. In a recent inter-

view, Stuart Hall (1996) voiced concern about the silence of class and those theoretical writings that ignore the impoverishing consequences of capitalism. Upon being questioned on this issue, he responded:

I do think that work that ignores needs to be done. The moment you talk about globalization, you are obliged to talk about the internationalism of capital, capital as its low modern form, the shifts that are going on in modern capitalism, post-feudalisms, etc. So these terms which were excluded from cultural studies... now need to be reinserted into the discussion. In fact, I am sure we will return to the fundamental category of “capital.” It’s difficult to do it in reconceptualizing class. Marx, it seems to me, was much more accurate about “capitalism” than he was about class. It’s far between the economic and the political as Marxist class theory that has collapsed. (p. 401)

In addition, our attention was to include articles that represent major theoretical currents, rather than attempt to survey the discipline of Latino studies. The global perspectives that informed our choices are complex and multifaceted. But fundamentally they arise from an emphasis, to one extent or another, on the political economy and the globalization of capital, an understanding as a capitalist as a worldwide phenomenon, the centrality of a renewed class analysis of the nature of cultural life, a recognition of the traditional ideological expropriations of power prevailing views of women, gays, and lesbians, a view of Latinos as a diverse and changing population, the significance of an international politics, and the overall historical impact of these perspectives on the “Latinization” of large urban metropolitan areas in the United States.

But most importantly, the volume is informed by an urgency to break away from the language and theoretical constructs that limit or obstruct our ability to address the changing conditions of late capitalism, as real structures, inequalities, and oppressions continue to be of immense importance. To
includes calling for a new conceptual appra-
sis, and critical lexicon to grapple with new
racialized social relations and the ever-
changing class structure in late capitalism.

Notes
2. We would like to emphasize how the

3. In addition to the works of Robert Miles (1989), the recent work by K Anthony Appiah (1990) makes a similar argument on the problematic names of the "race." We present here some significant works on the theme of "race." The most significant works on the theme of "race.
5. Additional works that have been important in

7. Critics of the internal colonial model working within a Marxist political economy framework fill into a similar analytical trip in their failure to break away from the "natural relations" paradigm. These "writers represent different strands of "mestizo" approaches, retained "race" as an analytical concept, while working within the larger context of class, capital accumulation, and the reserve army labor. For more on this topic see Gilberto Horta, "A Critique of the Internal Colonial Model" in Latin American Perspectives (Spring 1974), 80-97; also see, Structures of Dependence, ed. Frank Bonilla and Robert Geigel (1973).
9. Additional works that have been important in

10. For an insightful discussion on the labeling of Latinas in the United States, see Linamar Oboler, "The Politics of Labeling: Latinas
Cultural Identities of Sell and Others," in Latin American Perspectives, 11 (4) (Fall 1984), pp. 18-36.


15 For an excellent study of Mexican immigrants that traces gender with analytical priority to Gender Relations: Mexican Emigrants of Immigration, by Faremm Hendricks-Sorel (University of California Press, 1994).

Bibliography


