Bibliographic Essay on U.S. Latino/a History

José M. Alamillo Washington State University

"We did not cross the border, the border crossed us!" is a popular slogan frequently shouted by native-born and immigrant Latinos and Latinas during rallies and marches across the country. This slogan is an attempt to counter mainstream stereotypes that all Latino/as are immigrants and only recently arrived to the United States. Among the "oldest" Americans, Latino/as can trace their history to the 1500s when Spaniards founded settlements in Florida, Texas and New Mexico well before Plymouth Rock and Jamestown. This historical fact is often forgotten in current discussions and debates over immigration and the so-called "Latinization" of American society. The Latino and Latina experience cannot be understood without analyzing the long history of United States involvement in Latin America from territorial expansion, starting wars and intervening militarily, building canals, installing puppet governments, acquiring raw materials and cheap labor, investing foreign capital, and formulating free trade agreements. So when immigrants from Latin America are asked why they are "here" they respond sarcastically "we are here because you are there." Despite differences in nationality, class, race, and culture, and variety of Spanish language and Catholic religion, Latino and Latina immigrants are sometimes made visible by being lumped together as a racialized "Other" and other times their racial identity is too complicated to identify within a black-white binary. Additionally, the proximity of the border, constant immigration, and close ties to their homeland produces a cultural replenishment among Latino/as that differs remarkably from established European immigrants and African Americans. Perhaps U.S. Latino/as, as citizens of the Americas, are carving a new path towards integration, one that is bringing the United States and Latin America closer together. With more than 38 million strong and steadily growing, Latino/as now make up the largest minority group in United States and fifth largest "nation" in Latin America. Despite this demographic reality mainstream America knows very little about Latino and Latina History. This blibiographic essay is an attempt to introduce non-historian audiences to the historical writings about Latinos and Latinas in the United States.

The Study of Latino/a History

What do we mean by "Latino" and "Latina"? This term refers to the segment of the U.S. population that traces their roots to the Spanish-speaking Caribbean and Latin America. Unlike the category "Hispanic" that emphasizes its ties to Spain and was created by U.S. government officials, "Latino" was constructed during the 1970s by Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Central and South Americans themselves because it emphasized closer ties to Latin America and opened the possibility to forge coalitions among these groups. The term "Chicano" emerged during the 1960s and 1970s among Mexican Americans who espoused ethnic pride and political activism.

Only three decades old, Latino/a History is relatively new as a recognized scholarly field of study. Unlike Latin American history, Latino/a History is often considered a sub-field of American History, even though some of the early scholars were trained in Latin American Studies. Latino/a History, as a central component of "Latino/a Studies," emerged out of the turbulent civil rights movements of the 1960s when students

and community groups linked forces to demand the creation of "Chicano Studies" and "Puerto Rican Studies" at colleges and universities. Before 1970, the little research available on Mexican American and Puerto Rican populations tended to either romanticize aspects of their Spanish culture or invent a "cultural deviance" that was used to explain their supposed inability to assimilate into American society. Whereas integration requires immigrants to adapt and become part of American politics, economics, and society, "assimilation" means that immigrants are expected to undergo a process of complete cultural loss. In response to the assimilation paradigm, Chicano and Puerto Rican scholars turned to Third World national liberation struggles for inspiration and direction. They began to formulate a theory of "internal colonization" that explained their racial subordination as an "internal" form of colonization in U.S. society. Whereas Puerto Ricans scholars continued to emphasize both race and class factors in their colonial relationship with the U.S. government, Chicano scholars and cultural activists embraced the themes of colonization, conflict, racism, and resistance to Anglo oppression. Cultural nationalists, inspired by the "Black Power" Movement, embraced key aspects of Mexican American culture commonly referred to as "Brown Power." Most of the published works in the 1970s were polemical, exploratory, encyclopedia-like, male-centered, cultural nationalist, and using an "us-versus-them" approach toward the study of history. Marxism influenced critiques of the "internal colonization" and "cultural nationalism" concepts were used to show the internal class stratification of Chicano/as and Puerto Ricans within the nation state, though it failed to interrogate gender and sexual oppression. By the 1980s, Latino history developed gradually with more in-depth case studies in major cities such as Los Angeles, New York, San Antonio, and Chicago, regional studies in North New Mexico, southern California, and southern Texas, and topical monographs on labor, immigration, and politics, and a sophisticated use of quantitative and quantitative methodologies to examine the internal stratification of the Latino/a population. During the late 1980s and early 1990s feminist scholars challenged the male-centered historical writings that routinely portrayed women as submissive, subordinate, and passive and by the end of the decade produced pathbreaking studies of workers, heads of households, labor and community activists. By the late 1990s increased immigration from the Caribbean and Central and South America and rapid growth of the Latino/a population presented new challenges. A majority of historical works primarily focused on individual subgroups with Mexican American and Puerto Ricans receiving more attention than any other group. And with a few exceptions, a majority of studies on Cubans, Dominicans and Central Americans were conducted by sociologists and anthropologists. The field of Latino history has been slow to incorporate analysis of gender and sexuality despite a trenchant feminist critique and more Latinas entering the field of history. At the beginning of the 21st century most historical works still focus on one single national group with only a few that stand out for their comparative and transnational approach to the Latino and Latina experience.

General Surveys, Textbooks, and Encyclopedias

General surveys of the Latino/a Population were published during the mid-1980s beginning with Harry Pachon and Joan Moore's *Hispanics in the United States* (Englewood, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1985) Edna Acosta-Belen and Barbara Sjostrom's *The Hispanic Experience in the United States* (New York: Praeger, 1988). The rapid growth

of the Latino/a population during the 1990s attracted the attention of a Puerto Rican journalist Juan González who penned one of the best historical overviews of U.S. Latino/as aimed at non-specialists, Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America (New York: Viking, 2000). Denis Heyck's Barrios and Borderlands: Cultures of Latinos and Latinas in the United States (Routledge, 1994)is a very accessible collection of oral histories, essays, and creative pieces on Latinos and Latinas organized around themes of family, religion, community, arts; immigration, migration, and cultural identity. Two recent scholarly collections bring together leading scholars to address key issues facing the Latino/a population. This first is a product of a Harvard University conference organized by Marcelo Suarez-Orozco and Mariela Paez titled Latinos: Remaking America (University of California Press, 2002). The second book is The Columbia History of Latinos in the United States since 1960 (Columbia University Press, 2004) compiled by historian David Gutierrez. This book begins with a historical overview and demographic profile of the Latino/a population followed by separate chapters on different Latino/a groups, then five remaining chapters on such themes as law, immigration, citizenship and political mobilization, gender relations, religion, and expressive cultures.

For those interested in finding accessible articles on all aspects of Latino/a culture should consult the recently published *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos & Latinas in the United States* edited by Suzanne Oboler and Deena J. González (Oxford University Press, 2005). This encyclopedia offers more than 900 entries with emphasis on the historical, economic, socio-cultural, and geopolitical issues shaping the Latino/a experience in the United States. *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia* edited by Vicki Ruiz and Virginia Sánchez Korrol (Indiana University Press, 2006) represents the first encyclopedia devoted to Latinas, both popular and obscure names. This two-volume tome contains 588 entries and 300 photographs documenting the experiences and contributions of Latinas from the 16th century to the present. Another reference tool is *Encyclopedia of Latino Popular Culture* (Greenwood Press, 2004) edited by Cordelia Candeleria, Arturo Aldama, and Peter Garcia that devotes two volumes of accessible information on Latino/a writers, artists, film stars, athletes, cultural workers and many other popular culture topics.

For those interested in general surveys on specific Latino/a groups will find more books about Mexican Americans followed by Puerto Ricans and then Cubans and less on Dominicans and Central and South Americans. One of the earliest comprehensive works on Mexican Americas was published in 1949 by journalist, lawyer, and activist Carey McWilliams. North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States (New York: Praeger, 1990, revised edition) became known for challenging romanticized myths about Mexican Americans in the Southwest and stressing the process or "movement of North from Mexico" Although the book was poorly documented its journalistic narrative is full of interesting stories and anecdotes that have inspired future research agendas. During the 1940s and 1950s the first generation of Mexican American scholars produced important early studies on the education, psychology, border folklore, work experiences of Mexican Americans. These scholars included George I. Sánchez, Américo Paredes, Arthur Campa, Carlos Castañeda, Ernesto Galarza, and Jovita González. By the 1960s and 1970s the Chicano movement spurred a new generation of scholar activists to write their own history. One of the first textbook was Rodolfo Acuña's Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle toward Liberation (New York:

Harper Collins, 1972) first published in 1972 and later reprinted two times. Some consider this textbook too polemical, but many still consider it a foundational text for understanding the Chicano experience. Another survey of Chicano history is Richard Griswold del Castillo and Arnoldo de Leon, *North to Aztlan: A History of Mexican Americans in the United States* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996). This book stresses the changing nature of Mexican communities against the backdrop of capitalist development, continued immigration, racial discrimination and pressures of Americanization. For a more conventional narrative using regional, geographical, and chronological categories is Manuel G. Gonzales' *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999). For those interested in primary documents that offer different points of views on the Mexican American experience should consult Zaragosa Vargas' *Major Problems in Mexican American History* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999).

Puerto Ricans are the second largest group of U.S. Latino/as behind Mexicans. Puerto Ricans arrived to the United States mainland as a conquered people having endured Spanish colonization and then surviving the United States takeover of the island after the Spanish American War. Puerto Ricans were granted U.S. citizenship in 1917 (although citizenship rights are limited for Puerto Ricans living on the island), but they continue to face high rates of poverty and unemployment, unaffordable housing, and police brutality in the U.S. mainland.. For a good introduction to Puerto Rican communities in the Unites States should begin with the interdisciplinary reader by two leading scholars in Puerto Rican studies, Clara E. Rodriguez and Virginia Sanchez Korrol, eds. Historical Perspectives on Puerto Rican Survival in the United States Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1980). A newly published book, *Puerto Ricans* in the United States: A Contemporary Portrait by Edna Acosta-Belen and Carlos Santiago (Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, 2006) offers a more nuanced analysis of the cultural, demographic, and socioeconomic realities of Puerto Ricans in contemporary American society. Still considered a classic community study on Puerto Ricans in New York City is Virginia Sanchez-Korrol's From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). For those interested in the Puerto Rican experience outside New York City see *The Puerto* Rican Diaspora: Historical Perspectives edited by Carmen Whalen and Victor Vasquez-Hernandez (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005)

Although the majority of Cubans arrived to the U.S. mainland after 1959, their presence dates back to the nineteenth century. The Cuban population constitutes the third largest Latino/a group. Compared to their Mexican and Puerto Rican counterparts, scholars have argued that Cubans have been more economically and politically successful in the United States. In *Cuban Americans* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1998) Miguel Gonzalez-Pando introduces readers to successful Cuban exiles who arrived prior to 1980. Another book by Thomas Boswell and James Curtis titled *The Cuban American Experience: Culture, Images, and Perspectives* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983) provides an introduction to the political conservatism and business entrepreneurship of exiled Cubans. A more concise book aimed at a general public is *The Legacy of Exile: Cubans in the United States* (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 2003) by two Cuban American scholars, Guillermo Grenier and Lisandro Perez. This well written book

combines extensive fieldwork, statistical data, and scholarly research studies to explain the Cuban "success story."

Since the 1960s Dominicans have been migrating to the Northeast region of the United States in larger numbers because of the economic and political instability in the Dominican Republic. Ramona Hernandez and Silvio Torres-Saillant's *The Dominican Americans* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1998) provides a good introduction to the Dominican experience in the Dominican Republic and the United States. Another study aimed at a general audience is Patricia Pessar's *A Visa for a Dream: Dominicans in the United States* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1995), which tells a story of Dominican immigrants in New York City as they struggle to find employment in a city plagued with crime and job loss.

The arrival of Central Americans immigrants to the United States began during the 1980s reaching over 2 million by 2000, with the overwhelming majority being Salvadorans followed by Guatemalans, Nicaraguans, and Hondurans and a smaller number of Costa Ricans, Panamanians and Belizans. Many Central Americans fled their homelands as refugees due to civil wars that were exacerbated by U.S. interventionist foreign policy in the region. Maria Cristina Garcia's new book, Seeking Refuge: Central American Migration to Mexico, United States and Canada (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) provides an excellent comparison of United States, Canadian and Mexican refugee policies and their impact on the Central American refugee experience. Salvadorans have received more attention by scholars beginning with Sarah Mahler's Salvadorans in Suburbia (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1995). This short book shows how the U.S. policy in El Salvador spurred an exodus of Salvadorans to the United States while denying them refugee status. Another book aimed at general readers is *The* Salvadoran Americans (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005) by Salvadoran American scholar Carlos Cordova,) who examines the demographics, family adjustments, health issues, rise of gangs, and labor force participation of Salvadorans in the United States. One book that examines the present-day realities of Mayans from Guatemala living in exile in Mexico, Belize, Canada and the United States is The Maya Diaspora: Guatemalan Roots, New American Lives edited James Loucky and Marylyn Moors (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000).

Compared to other Latino/as, the South American population in the United States is still considerable small reaching two million in the 2000 census. For this reason South Americans have been largely neglected in Latino/a history. The largest group is Colombians followed by Ecuadorians, Peruvians, Argentineans and Venezuelans. Although long divided by nationality, language, race, class and education more recent South American immigrants tend to have higher socioeconomic status and education levels. Brazilians, who speak Portuguese, have been undercounted by the U.S. census because of their exclusion from the "Hispanic" category. Despite their small numbers Brazilians have received some attention by scholars including anthropologist Maxine Margolis' two books, *An Invisible Minority: Brazilians in New York* City (New York: Allyn Bacon, 1995) and *Little Brazil: An Ethnography of Brazilian Immigrants in New York City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). Another book that focuses on U.S.-Brazil relations and a small Brazilian community in Los Angeles is Bernadette Beserra, *Brazilian Immigrants in the United States: Cultural Imperialism and Social Class* (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 2006). Ecuadorians in New York City have

also received some attention by scholars including Ann Miles *From Cuenca to Queens:* An Anthropological Story of Transnational Migration (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004) and David Kyle's Transnational Peasants: Migrations, Networks, and Ethnicity in Andean Ecuador (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

Borderlands

To counter the bias toward English culture in American history, Herbert Eugene Bolton's classic volume The Spanish Borderlands (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921) developed the concept of "Spanish Borderlands" as an area of study defined chronologically as the period 1513 to 1821 and geographically as the area running from California to Florida and from northern Mexican states to the U.S. southwestern states. Bolton's romanticized accounts of Spanish priests and soldiers have been challenged by a new generation of borderlands scholars who paid more attention to American Indian and Mexican perspectives. David Weber's pioneering work has led this "new" borderlands history. With the 1982 publication of *The Mexican Frontier*, 1821-1846 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982) Weber brought this understudied period and geographic area of northern Mexico into greater focus and extended the "borderland" period to 1848. A decade later Weber wrote The Spanish Frontier in North America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) becoming the best comprehensive survey of Spain's colonial presence in the United States. One book that stands out for stirring up the field of borderlands history through its innovative approach to issues of sex, power, and gender in colonial New Mexico is Ramon Gutierrez's When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991) This book sold thousands of copies and won over ten academic book prizes while also provoking harsh criticism from pueblo Indian scholars for its limited use of indigenous sources. Long neglected by borderland scholars, the American Indian perspective has received more attention in recent years. Robert Jackson's edited collection, New Views of Borderlands History (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998) and James Brooks Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002) are two examples of the continuing relevance of the Borderlands to U.S. history. A new collection of essays titled *Continental Crossroads*: Remapping U.S.-Mexico Borderlands History (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004) edited by Samuel Truett and Elliott Young represents the new directions that borderland history has taken. These essays by a new group of borderland scholars situate the U.S.-Mexico borderlands within a transnational perspective and seek to bridge the divide among Latin American, Chicano/a and U.S. Western historians.

Immigration and Migration

The Latino/a experience has been largely shaped by immigration and migration and the presence of Latino/a immigrants are altering the face of the United States. A long history of United States territorial expansion, military interventions, and neoliberal economic policies in the Americas contributed to the displacement of Caribbean and Latin Americans leading to their migration to the United States. With a few exceptions most studies on Latin/ao immigration have been largely devoted to specific national groups. For a general introduction to the contemporary experiences of Latino and Latina

immigrants living and working in New York, Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago and Houston see Roberto Suro's Strangers among Us: How Latino Immigration is Transforming America (New York: Knopf, 1998). Historical studies on Mexican immigration begin with the two classic works by anthropologist Manuel Gamio, Mexican Immigration to the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930) and The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931). Those looking for historical background to the contemporary debates over Mexican immigration should consult Between Two Worlds: Mexican Immigrants in the United States. (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1996) edited by historian David G. Gutiérrez. Gutiérrez also wrote Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants and the Politics of Ethnicity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) which examines the historical and contemporary love/hate relationship between U.S.-born Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants. For interdisciplinary perspectives on contemporary Mexican immigration the volume Crossings: Mexican Immigration in Interdisciplinary Perspectives (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) edited by Marcelo Suarez-Orozco features some of the best essays on the demographic, political, economic, health, education, and psychology issues affecting immigrants. The books mentioned above ignore how gender impacts the immigration process so when sociologist Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo published Gendered Transitions: Mexican Experiences of Immigration (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) it was a much needed contribution to the literature.

Compared to immigrant Latino/as, Puerto Ricans cannot be considered immigrants because their unique form of citizenship allows them to become migrants. One of the first books to explore Puerto Rican migration was Labor Migration Under Capitalism: The Puerto Rican Experience (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979) written by the History Task Force at Center for Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College, New York. This book uses a Marxist approach to explain migration as a direct cause of U.S. foreign investment. A collection of essays that explores the intensive back-and-forth movement of Puerto Ricans between the island and U.S. mainland is *The Commuter* Nation: Perspectives on Puerto Rican Migration (Río Piedras, P.R.: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1994) edited by Carlos Antonio Torre, Hugo Rodríguez Vecchini, and William Burgos. Since the early 1990s the concept of "transnationalism" has pushed the field of immigration studies to refocus on social and cultural links between the migrant community and the home country. Two recent studies that explore the transnational experiences of Puerto Ricans are Jorge Duany, *The Puerto Rican Nation* on the Move: Identities on the Island and in the United States (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002) and Gina Perez, The Near Northwest Side Story: Migration, Displacement and Puerto Rican Families (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

Dominicans have also established and maintained socio-cultural connections to the Dominic Republic while living and working in the United States. Two books that use a transnational approach include Peggy Levitt's *The Transnational Villagers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) that focuses on a community of Dominican immigrants in Boston and in the Dominican Republic; and *Dominican Migration: Transnational Perspectives* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2004) edited by Ernesto Sagás and Sintia Molina that addresses different aspects of Dominican

transnational communities. Since New York City is home to the largest Dominican community outside of the island it has attracted the most attention by scholars. One book that examines the migration between New York and Dominican Republic is *Between Two Islands: Dominican International Migration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) by Patricia Pessar and Sheri Grasmuck.

Contrary to popular perceptions the migration of Cuban exiles to the United States dates to the nineteenth century well began before the Cuban Revolution. In "With All, and for the Good of All" The Emergence of Popular Nationalism in the Cuban Communities of the United States, 1848-1898 (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1989) Gerald Poyo focuses on those exiled Cubans who found support for their popular nationalist ideas among Cuban workers in Key West, Tampa and New York City. In With Open Arms: Cuban Migration to the United States (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1988) Felix Masud-Piloto provides an overview of 20th century Cuban migration to the United States within the context of U.S.-Cuba relations and the Cold War. A comparative study that examines relations between Cubans, Blacks and new immigrants is Alex Stepick, This Land is Our Land: Immigrants and Power in Miami (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

As mentioned above, the large majority of Central Americans arrived in the United States during the 1980s to escape war, political upheaval and economic insecurity in their respective countries. One of the first books to document the highly ambiguous legal status of Salvadoran immigrants living and working in the "margins" of American society was Sarah Mahler's American Dreaming: Immigrant Life on the Margins (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). Cecilia Menjivar's Fragmented Ties: Salvadoran Immigrant Networks in America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) challenges the conventional image of immigrant solidarity by showing how harsh economic times and anti-immigrant hostility impinge on the ability for Salvadorans to help each other. In Legalizing Moves: Salvadoran Immigrants' Struggle for U.S. Residency (Ann Harbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003) Susan Bibler Coutin focuses on the legal strategies that Salvadoran immigrants use to gain citizenship rights within U.S. immigration law. Indigenous Mayan Guatemalans who settled to live and work in Houston are the focus of Jacqueline Hagan's Deciding to be Legal: A Maya Community in Houston (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994). This book shows how some Guatemalans took advantage of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act to "become legal" and used their extensive networks to adapt in an urban city. Another excellent urban community study on Central Americans is Seeking Community in a Global City: Guatemalans and Salvadorans in Los Angeles (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001) by two pioneer scholars in the field of Central American Studies, Norma Hamilton and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla. Through two decades of collaborative research the authors convincingly show Central Americans have created community by organizing, mobilizing, and revitalizing the social, cultural and economic life of the city of Angels.

Labor and Workers

The incorporation of Latino and Latina workers into the United States economy has been a popular subject among scholars. One of the main concerns is explaining the subordinate position of Latino and Latina workers within the U.S economy. For a

comprehensive survey of Mexican labor that spans over two centuries read *Mexican* American Labor, 1790-1990 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994) by Gomez-Quinones, considered the dean of Chicano history for his extensive research studies and mentoring of Chicano historians. A greater number focus on immigrant farm workers from Mexico including Emilio Zamora, The World of the Mexican Worker in Texas (Austin: University of Texas Press,1993); Devra Weber, Dark Sweat, White Gold: California Farm Workers, Cotton, and the New Deal (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Camille Guerin-Gonzales, Mexican Workers & American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor, 1900-1939 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994); Gilbert G. González, Labor and Community: Mexican Citrus Worker Villages in a Southern California County, 1900-1950 (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Matt Garcia, A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900-1970 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001) and José M. Alamillo, Making Lemonade out of Lemons: Mexican American Labor and Leisure in a California Town (Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006). In urban cities, Mexican women were particularly prominent in the cannery and domestic industries as documented by Vicki Ruiz in Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987) and Mary Romero in Maid in the USA (New York: Routledge, 1992). The lived experiences of Chicanas in the workplace, homes and in the community are profiled in Vicki Ruiz, ed. Las Obreras: Chicana Politics of Work and Family (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, 2000). Mexican worker participation in labor unions has been about more than improving working conditions but also about fighting for racial equality and social justice as historian Zaragosa Vargas convincingly argues in Labor Rights are Civil Rights: Mexican American Workers in Twentieth-Century America (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

The experiences of Caribbean and Central Americans workers in the United States have received less attention from historians. One exceptional study that focuses on Puerto Rican workers in postwar Philadelphia is Carmen Teresa Whalen's From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia: Puerto Rican Workers and Postwar Economies (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001). Dominican workers have also faced limited economic options as Ramona Hernandez shows in her book, The Mobility of Workers under Advanced Capitalism: Dominican Migration to the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). She found that migration to the United States did not lead to upward mobility for Dominican workers but in fact they become worse off economically compared to other Latino/as in New York City. Two key studies on Central American workers deserve mention for breaking new ground. Terry Repak's Waiting on Washington: Central American Workers in the Nation's Capital (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995) describes the working experiences of Central Americans, especially women, who were recruited through a gender-specific strategy to work as housekeepers, child-care providers, and cleaners inside the homes of U.S. government officials. In The Maya of Morgantown: Work and Community in the Nuevo New South (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003) Leon Fink describes the labor organizing efforts of Mayan workers from Guatemala as they learn to adapt in rural small town in North Carolina while trying to maintain a sense of community.

Race and Ethnicity

A central concern for scholars is whether the Latino and Latina experience can best be understood through the conceptual lens of race or ethnicity, or both. Prior to the 1960s it was common academic practice to refer to the Latino/a population as an ethnic group that followed the assimilation path of European immigrant groups. Then with the rise of the Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican Power Movements activist-scholars turned to analyze race and racism, as a way of explaining their own subordinate status as "colonized peoples" within the United States. Not comfortable with the strict focus on race in the concept of "internal colonization" Mario Barrera's Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979) was an early attempt to bridge a race and class analysis. An early proponent of "internal colonialism" sociologist Tomás Almaguer later wrote Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) to show a more complicated picture of how Mexicans experienced race in relational terms. When compared to Blacks, American Indians and Asians, Mexicans in nineteenth century California occupied an intermediate racial status. Another highlyacclaimed comparative study in Texas, Neil Foley's The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) demonstrates how some Mexican Americans defined themselves against African Americans and Mexican immigrants in order to claim the privileges of "whiteness." Another excellent comparative study is Natalia Molina's Fit to be Citizens?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) that examines how public health officials racialized Mexican, Chinese and Japanese immigrants in Los Angeles. The racialization of Mexicans has deep historic roots in Spain and Mexico's racial caste system according to historical anthropologist Martha Menchaca who wrote Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black and White Roots of Mexican Americans (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001) to remind Mexican Americans of their indigenous, white, and African backgrounds. The unique racial mixture and heterogeneity of the Latino/a population presents certain challenges not the least of which is breaking black-white understanding of race that still persist in the United States.

Accounts of Latino/a racial and ethnic identity are as important as understanding how they are racialized by the dominant U.S. society. In *Changing Race: Latinos, the Census and the History of Ethnicity in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 2000) Clara Rodriguez examines the changing racial identity of Latino/as in relation to the U.S. Census. In *Ethnic Labels, Latino Lives: Identity and the Politics of (Re) presentation in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995) Suzanne Oboler explores how residents of Latin American descent reconcile their own personal and group identity with the "Hispanic" category imposed on as an official umbrella term that contributes to the homogenization of a people. Advertising agencies have been notorious for creating stereotypes of Latinos and Latinas. In *Latinos, Inc: The Marketing and Making of a People* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) Arlene Davila found that Hispanic elites of New York's advertising agencies also perpetuate damaging stereotypes that obscure the multiplicity of Latino/a identities and although they gain more visibility in mainstream America it fails to translate to more

political and economic power. The changing racial identity of Mexican Americans has also received some attention by scholars. In Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice (Harvard University Press, 2003) Ian Haney-Lopez, a leading scholar in the field of critical race theory, tells the story of how Mexican American activists redefined themselves as a "brown" race through their confrontation with the police, criminal justice system, and the Chicano Movement. In the past few decades scholars have moved away from fixed and static notions of ethnic identities becoming more attentive to social context and historical change. One example of this new critical approach toward ethnicity is George Sanchez's Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945 (Oxford University Press, 1993) that examines how the children of Mexican immigrants became Mexican American in Los Angeles through their engagement with both Mexico and U.S. government, labor unions, churches, and popular culture. Another study that explores how Cubans became émigrés, exiles, and Cuban Americans within four decades in South Florida is Maria Cristina Garcia's Havana U.S.A.: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959-1994 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). Juan Flores's Divided Borders: Essays on Puerto Rican Identity (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 1990) is a collection of essays on Puerto Rican identity and culture.

Latinas

A majority of historical writings about Latino/as in the United States have been male-centered. Not until the 1980s did historical studies about Latinas emerge many by Mexican American and Puerto Rican women who were influenced by the women's movements and civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s. A greater number of books focus on Mexican American and Puerto Rican women, which reflects the current state of the field of Latino/a History. A recently published collection, Latina Legacies: *Identity, Biography, and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) put together by Vicki Ruiz and Virginia Sanchez Korrol, leading scholars in Latina history, features biographical essays on fifteen Latina writers, activist, teachers, artists, entertainers and healers. One of the first collections with now classic essays on Mexicana and Chicanas is Adelaida Del Castillo ed. Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History (Encino, CA: Floricanto Press, 1990). Another early volume that explores the unique history of Chicanas is Building With Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) edited by Adela De La Torre and Beatriz Pesquera. Years later the first full study of Mexican-American women in the 20th century was published by Vicki Ruiz, From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in 20th Century America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). For a book that offers a more complex and theoretical approach to the study of gender and Chicana history; Emma Perez, The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999). Two important books that explore lives and struggles of Spanish Mexican women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are Deena Gonzalez, Refusing the Favor: The Spanish-Mexican Women of Santa Fe, 1820-1880 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) and Miroslava Chavez, Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770s to 1880s (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2004). A broad survey on the history of Puerto Rican women on the island and in the mainland is Edna Acosta-Belen, ed. The Puerto Rican

Woman: Perspectives on Culture, History, and Society (New York: Praeger, 1986); Felix Matos and Linda Delgado, eds. Puerto Rican Women's History: New Perspectives (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998). A book that focuses on Puerto Rican women in today's global labor force is Puerto Rican Women and Work: Bridges in Transnational Labor (Temple University Press, 1997) edited by Altagracia Ortiz. Terry Doran, et al. A Road Well Traveled: Three Generations of Cuban American Women (Fort Wayne, Ind.: Latin American Education Center, 1988) is an excellent collection of oral histories of Cuban American women living and working in the United States. The first collection that focuses on Central American women and migration is Gabriele Kohpahl's Voices of Guatemalan Women in Los Angeles: Understanding Their Immigration (New York: Garland, 1998)

Urban Life

Latinos and Latinas are transforming the entire look and feel of the American city. Since the 1980s scholars have attempted to grasp the influence of Latinos and Latinas over politics, culture, and the economy in the nation's largest cities, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Miami. As Mike Davis notes in his book, *Magical Urbanism*: Latinos Reinvent the U.S. City (New York: Verso, 2000) Latino/as should be in the center of debate about the future of the American city. Two volumes that examine the urban experiences of Latino/as in New York are Gabriel Haslip-Vera and Sherrie Baver, eds. Latinos in New York: Communities in Transition (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1996) and Agustín Laó-Montes and Arlene Dávila Mambo Montage: The Latinization of New York (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001). A good starting point to understand how Latino/as became the largest racial-ethnic group in Los Angeles is Rodolfo Torres and Victor Valle, *The Latino Metropolis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000) and to understand more recent transformations in the city should see Enrique Ochoa and Gilda Ochoa, Latino Los Angeles: Transformations, Communities, and Activism (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2005). Chicago's Latino/a population is more diverse than that of any other American city with Mexicans and Puerto Ricans being the largest groups. Two books that explore coalition building among Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are Felix Padilla Latino Ethnic Consciousness (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1985) and Nicholas de Genova and Ana Ramos-Zayas, Latino Crossings: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and the Politics of Race and Citizenship (New York: Routledge, 2003). Miami is the only city where Latino/as have created a thriving economy and also exercised political power. It was Cuban exiles that transformed Miami within two decades from a tourist resort into an international city according to authors, Robert Levine and Moises Asis of Cuban Miami (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000)

Politics

An examination of the political history of Latinos and Latinas is important given that the major U.S. political parties see their futures bound up with winning the so-called Latino/a vote. However as the scholars have shown the U.S. Latino/a population cannot be constructed as a political monolith but is divided by class, gender, race, region, citizenship, and mode of incorporation. Two books that give a more complex picture of Latino/a political behavior in the United States are Louis DeSipio *Counting on the Latino*

Vote: Latinos as a New Electorate (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1996) and F. Chris Garcia, ed. Pursuing Power: Latinos and the Political System (Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press, 1997). Carol Hardy-Fanta's Latina Politics, Latino Politics: Gender, Culture, and Political Participation in Boston (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1993) explores Latina political participation and considers the ways in which politics is gendered. In Between Two Nations: The Political Predicament of Latinos in New York City (Cornell University Press, 1998) Michael Jones-Correa gives us an insight into why so many Latino/a immigrants in New York City remain outside of U.S. politics and, in particular, why so many failed to become U.S. citizens. Lisa Bedolla, Fluid Borders: Latino Power, Identity and Politics in Los Angeles (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) explores how the anti-immigrant initiatives of 1990s California affected political socialization, political attitudes and practices, and levels of political participation among the foreign born and native born Latino/as. José E. Cruz Identity and Power Puerto Rican Politics and the Challenge of Ethnicity (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1998) shows how Puerto Ricans used ethnic identity as organizing tool for political empowerment in Hartford, Connecticut. Maria de Los Angeles Torres, Land of Mirrors: Cubans Exile Politics in the US (University of Michigan Press, 1999) explores the role of the U.S. and Cuban governments in shaping a Cuban American exile politics that has historically sided with the Republican Party even though the new generation has chosen a separate path. An innovative approach that moves away from a strict focus on Latino/a electoral politics is William Flores and Rina Benmayor, eds. Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997). This collection of essays examine subordinated Latino/a communities that despite being excluded from legal citizenship and electoral politics draw upon their cultural assets to construct claims, affirm their sense of rights and entitlements and act to transform American society.

Education

Given the high drop out rates and educational barriers facing Latino and Latina students, educators and government officials are turning to historians of Latino/a education to find some answers. For an interdisciplinary approach to the relationship between Latino/as and the U.S. education system begin with the interdisciplinary reader, Latinos and Education: A Critical Reader (New York: Routledge Press, 1997) edited by Antonio Darder and Rodolfo Torres. Victoria-Maria MacDonald's Latino Education in the United States: A Narrated History from 1513-2000 (New York: Palgrave, 2004) provides a brief historical overview of Latino/a education using a rich collection of primary documents and literature. Jose Moreno, ed. Elusive Quest for Equality: 150 Years of Chicano/Chicana Education (Cambridge: Harvard Educational Review, 1999) is an excellent introduction to the educational experiences of Mexican Americans in Southwest from the colonial period to the late twentieth-century. Two key monographs explore the schooling experiences of Mexican children during the segregation era. These include: Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr.'s "Let All of Them Take Heed": Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987) and Gilbert G. González's Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation (Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press, 1990). The struggle for educational quality was one of the principal goals of the Chicano civil rights movement. Two studies

that explore this topic include Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr.'s Brown Not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2001) and Ruben Donato's The Other Struggle for Equal Schools: Mexican Americans during the Civil Rights Era (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997). There are only a few studies on the educational experiences of Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Central Americans including Sonia Nieto, ed. Puerto Rican Students in U.S. Schools (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2000) and Marcelo and Carol Suarez-Orosco, Central American Refugees and U.S. High Schools: A Psychosocial Study of Motivation and Achievement (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989). One study that focuses on the problems and challenges faced by Latino/a immigrant children in U.S. public schools is Marcelo and Carol Suarez-Orosco, Transformations: Immigration, Family Life and Achievement Motivation among Latino Adolescents (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

Religion

As Latino/as become the majority in Catholic churches, and increase in numbers in Protestant Churches, scholars have stepped up efforts to explore the religious experience of Latino/as. The best collection of essays on religion in the Latino/a community is Gaston Espinosa, Virgilio Elizondo and Jesse Miranda, eds. Latino Religions and Civic Activism in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). A fine synthesis of the religious history of Latino/as from colonial Latin America to contemporary U.S. society is David Badillo's Latinos and the New Immigrant Church (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006). The only book on Latina activism within the Catholic Church is Lara Medina's Las Hermanas: Chicana/Latina Religious-Political Activism in the U.S. Catholic Church (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004). A compilation of essays that explore popular religious practices among Mexican Americans and their relationship with U.S. Catholic parishes is Timothy Matovina and Gary Riebe-Estrella, eds. Horizons of the Sacred: Mexican Traditions in U.S. Catholicism (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2002). Roberto Treviño's The Church in the Barrio: Mexican American Ethno-Catholicism in Houston (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) is an excellent historical study of Mexican Americans Catholicism in Houston, Texas. Another excellent study of popular religion is Miguel de la Torre's La Lucha for Cuba: Religion and the Politics on the Streets of Miami (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). This book focuses on exiled Cubans in Miami, Florida and their relationship between religious expressions and political mobilization. Timothy Matovina's Guadalupe and Her Faithful: Latino Catholics in San Antonio, from Colonial Origins to the Present (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005) is comprehensive historical study of Latino/a Catholicism in San Antonio, Texas. One of the few studies on U.S. Latino/a Pentecostalism is Arlene Sánchez-Walsh's Latino Pentecostal Identity: Evangelical Faith, Self, and Society (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

Expressive Cultures

Cultural expressions of Latinos and Latinas are not a recent phenomenon but date to their historic presence in the United States. Since the 1960s scholars have explored the expressive cultures of Latinos and Latinas such as popular music, theater performance,

visual arts, folklore, cultural festivals, film and media, literary works, and sports. Michelle Habell-Pallán and Mary Romero, eds. Latino/a Popular Culture (New York University Press, 2002) is a collection of essays aimed at a general audience that interrogates how Latino/as use popular culture not merely as entertainment but as way to express their cultural identity, build a sense of community, and challenge those in power. The majority of books focus on Chicano/a expressive cultures. For a good introduction to Chicano/a expressive cultures read Charles Tatum Chicano Popular Culture: Que Hable el Pueblo (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001). A more theoretically rich anthology is Alicia Gaspar de Alba's Velvet Barrios: Popular Cultures & Chicana/o Sexualities (Palgrave, 2003) that examines a wide variety of Chicano/a cultural production in urban barrios and the relationship between gender and sexuality in these cultural forms. Another theoretically rigorous collection of essays is *Decolonial Voices*: Chicana and Chicano Cultural Studies in the 21st Century (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002) edited by Arturo Aldama and Naomi Quiñonez. Angie Chabram-Dernersesian's The Chicana/o Cultural Studies Reader (New York: Routledge, 2006) is the latest volume to bring together key writings on culture including TV, film, art, music, dance, theatre and literature.

There is a growing body of historical research on Latin popular music in the United States. A classic book that provides a historical overview of Latin music in the United States is John Roberts The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979). There are several books on the history of *conjunto*, a unique Texas Mexican musical genre. Some of these include Manuel Peña *The Texas-Mexican Conjunto: History of a Working-class Music* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985) and Guadalupe San Miguel Jr. Tejano Proud: Tex-Mex Music in the Twentieth Century (College Station: Texas A & M Press, 2002). The rise of Mexican American music in Los Angeles is documented in Steve Loza Barrio Rhythm: Mexican American Music in Los Angeles (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993). Puerto Rican music on the U.S. mainland has a long history. Ruth Glasser's My Music is My Flag: Puerto Rican Musicians and their New York Communities (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) documents the Puerto Rican musicians in New York City. Juan Flores, From Bomba to Hip Hop: Puerto Rican Culture and Latino *Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000) explores Puerto Rican bomba and hip hop music in New York City. Frances Negrón-Muntaner: Boricua Pop: Puerto Ricans and The Latinization of American Culture (New York: New York University Press, 2004) focuses on Puerto Rican music on American culture. Frances Aparicio's Listening to Salsa: Gender, Latin Popular Music, and Puerto Rican Cultures (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1998) explores the relationship between salsa music and Puerto Rican identity. Cuban dance music has shaped American popular music. The best book on Cuban Musicians and their contributions to Afro-Cuban music and Latin Jazz is Raul Fernandez's From Afro-Cuban Rhythms to Latin Jazz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). David Garcia, Arsenio Rodriguez and the Transnational Flows of Latin Popular Music (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006) focuses on one of the most important Cuban musicians of the twentieth century.

Latino and Latina popular performance has received some attention from scholars. The best books that that focus on Latinas and Latinos on the theatrical stage include Alberto Sandoval-Sanchez's *Jose, Can You See?: Latinos On and Off Broadway*

(Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999; Elizabeth C. Martinez's Chicanas/Latinas in American Theatre: A History of Performance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000). Alicia Arrizon's Latina Performance: Traversing the Stage (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999) Michelle Habell-Pallán, Loca Motion: The Travels of Chicana and Latina Popular Culture (New York: New York University Press, 2005) and Yolanda Broyles-Gonzalez's El Teatro Campesino: Theater in the Chicano Movement (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994);

A series of books have moved beyond the under representation and misrepresentation of Latinos and Latinas in movies, television, and the news media towards examining their creating their own films, documentaries and television shows. Some of these include Clara Rodriguez's *Latin Looks: Images of Latinas and Latinos in the U.S. Media* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1997) and *Heroes, Lovers and Others: The Story of Latinos in Hollywood* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2005); Chon Noriega's *Chicanos and Film: Representation and Resistance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992) and *Shot in America: Television, the State, and the Rise of Chicano Cinema*(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); Rosa Linda Fregoso's *The Bronze Screen: Chicana and Chicano Film Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993) and Vicki Mayer, *Producing Dreams, Consuming Youth: Mexican Americans and Mass Media* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

Those interested in exploring Latino/a and Chicano/a art and artists should familiarize themselves with the following books: Shifra Goldman, *Dimensions of the Americas: Art and Social Change in Latin America and the United States* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994); Richard Griswold del Castillo, Teresa McKenna, and Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano, eds. *Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation, 1965-1985* (Los Angeles: UCLA Wright Art Gallery, 1991); Alicia Gaspar de Alba, *Chicano Art Inside/Outside the Master's House: Cultural Politics and the CARA Exhibition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997) and Eva Sperling and Holly Barnett-Sánchez, eds. *Signs from the Heart: California Chicano Murals* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990).

Latino and Latina participation in sports and athletics has received less attention by scholars but is gaining more interest in recent years. The first book on Latin American baseball players in the major leagues is Samuel Regalado's Viva Baseball!: Latin Major Leaguers and Their Special Hunger (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998). Alan Klein Baseball on the Border: A Tale of Two Laredos (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997) is an ethnographic study of baseball players, teams and managers that crossed back and forth between Laredo, Texas and Nuevo Laredo, Mexico. For a critical look at how U.S. major league teams exploit Latin American baseball talent read Arturo Marcano Guevara and David Fidler Stealing Lives: The Globalization of Baseball and Tragic Story of Alexis Quiroz (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002). Paul Caudros, A Home on the Field: How One Championship Team Inspires Hope for the Revival of Small Town America (New York: Rayo 2006) is a great story on how Latino/a immigrants are revitalizing small towns in the American South with their labor but also with their athletic skills by forming soccer clubs that have become vital community institutions. Mexican Americans and Sports: A Reader on Athletics and Barrio Life (Texas A & M Press, 2007) edited by Jorge Iber and Samuel Regalado is the first

collection of essays focusing on Mexican American athletes in soccer, boxing, track and field, softball, football and other sports.

Conclusion

At the new millennium a new research agenda is emerging for a more inclusive and expansive Latino/a history. One trend is to see beyond national borders to investigate the transnational ties of Latino and Latina immigrants who move back-and-forth between their urban barrios and homeland villages. Globalization, neoliberal policies, and free trade are bringing north and south closer together thus a wider hemispheric framework is necessary towards understanding the future and fate of Latino/a communities in the United States. Another trend is investigating the possibilities and obstacles for Latino/a unity that moves beyond utopian dreams but are anchored historically and contextualized from the local to global level. One of the biggest challenges facing Latino/as is forging coalitions with African Americans to improve their impoverished conditions. A few scholars are also exploring the meanings of race and blackness in the Americas. Another area for future research is the need for more historical studies on gender and sexuality. Scholarship on Latino masculinity has been especially sparse in Latin America and United States. Some work has begun to make visible the experiences of gay Latinos and lesbian Latinas. This work promises to challenge the heterosexual male bias of scholarship on Latino/a History. By acknowledging divisions along gender, class, race, sexuality, and citizenship lines, scholars are redefining the contours of Latino/a history and re-conceptualizing the Latino and Latina experience in broader context.

José M. Alamillo is associate professor in the Department of Comparative Ethnic Studies at Washington State University. He is the author of *Making Lemonade out of Lemons: Mexican American Labor and Leisure in a California Town* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006). Teaching and research interests include Latino/a Studies, Ethnic Studies, Immigration and Labor Studies.