Introduction

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In *The Souls of Black Folk,* W. E. B. Du Bois notes that a persistent, yet unasked question between him and "the other world" is "How does it feel to be a problem?" A similar question might be posed to contemporary America's Latina/o populations, who recently have emerged simultaneously as a possible solution to America's race problem, as well as a pernicious symbol of the nation's enduring dilemma of citizenship, race, legality, and social membership. Thus the question Latinas/os face today is a similar one posed by Du Bois more than one hundred years ago, about not only the feelings of being defined as a problem, but also the strange experience of looking at oneself and one's communities "through the eyes of others."[1] For many Latinas/os, media images and popular cultural renderings of their families and communities mirror the anxieties as well as the expectations and hopes of mainstream America, rather than the complex realities characterizing Latina/o lives. Ironically, at a moment in which Latinas/os are increasingly visible in U.S. popular culture, media, public discourse, and community struggles, the material conditions and actual experiences of U.S. Latinas/os are largely unexplored, misunderstood, and frequently trapped in racialized stereotypes.

This interdisciplinary volume intervenes in public discourse about Latina/o communities by featuring scholarship that critically interrogates both how Latinas/os are portrayed in media, public policy, and popular culture, as well as the material conditions in which different Latina/o groups build meaningful communities. In the chapters that follow, the authors illustrate how despite the hypervisibility of Latinas/os and Latin American immigrants in recent political debates and popular culture, the daily lives of America's new "majority minority"—their efforts to build community with other racial, ethnic, and sexual communities; their attempts to lay claim to full citizenship rights; their community activism; their rich array of cultural production—remain largely invisible and, perhaps more important, mischar-

acterized. Indeed, while dominant political and popular discourses about Latinas/os offer up foreboding images of threat, invasion, and contamination, there is a simultaneous move by some politicians, writers, and marketers to advance a vision of Latinas/os embodying quintessentially American values and behaviors. Anthropologist Arlene Dávila refers to this latter trend as "Latino spin," which she defines as the "selective dominance" of sanitized and marketable Latina/o representations that are "central to the national conversation about the future of Latinos."[2] While these marketable discourses frequently emerge as important correctives to negative depictions of Latina/o communities, they often do so at the expense of empirical evidence as well as those groups whose marginal economic and social standing are attributed to individual failures and moral shortcomings. These contradictory representations are deeply political constructs that conveniently elide the lived experiences of Latinas/os. They also play a critical role in contemporary politics of exclusion. Moreover, as Dávila observes, "as a group that is at once both living and socially imagined, Latinos continue to occupy a marginal position in society, even when they are joining the ranks of mainstream culture."[3]

This anthology moves beyond these dominant representations to offer, instead, nuanced portraits of Latina/o life. In the chapters that follow, writers explore the complexity and diversity of Latina/o communities, both past and present, and provide analyses that not only defy stubborn stereotypes, but also present novel narratives of Latina/o communities that do not necessarily fit within recognizable categories, units of analysis, or topics of research that can, unwittingly, reify and reproduce static images of U.S. Latinas/os. In other words, these chapters help us to move "beyond el barrio": beyond stereotypes, assumptions, and stigmatizing tropes, as well as nostalgic, reified, and uncritical portraits of complex and heterogeneous Latina/o lives. As we argue in the following section, we recognize "el barrio" to be a fraught material and ideological space that can both sustain and marginalize those associated with it. Thus our intention is not to deny the existence of barrios, nor is it to diminish their importance as a cultural, political, social, and ideological space. Rather, the authors in this anthology invite readers to expand contemporary understandings and representations that can narrowly define, homogenize, mischaracterize, and stigmatize Latina/o lives. The writers do so with research that challenges enduring tropes of Latina/o identities and affiliations; interrogates assumptions about the racialized spatial locations of Latina/o communities; recovers and rethinks community histories and memories; and highlights the creative activism and cultural production emerging from various Latina/o populations.

Beyond El Barrio engages with these questions by identifying three arenas of daily existence that significantly structure the lives of U.S. Latinas/os, namely citizenship and nationalism; gender and sexuality; and community activism and memory. Not surprisingly, citizenship, sexuality, and activism also constitute key sites of misunderstanding that are steeped in racialized notions of difference. The ongoing battles about immigration, for example, often focus on the alleged divided loyalties of Latin American immigrants, who demand full citizenship rights while they simultaneously display affinities for their countries of origin. Similarly, Latina/o sexuality is deeply racialized both in popular culture and policy debates, including the unquestioned assumption of Latina/o homophobia and machismo. Latina/o communities are also persistently characterized as docile, disorganized, and unrooted. The writers in this anthology explore these issues by employing multiple methodological approaches and interdisciplinary frameworks in order to explore the multiple intersections of Latina/o life in the United States.

El Barrio as Place, Space, and Metaphor

If, as Chicano literary scholar Raúl Villa notes, "the barrio is a complex and contradictory social space for its residents," it is an equally vexing and contested concept for scholars, artists, activists, and policy makers alike.[4] As a spatial formation, barrios emerge out of histories of segregation, marginalization, and exclusion-based race, class, ethnicity, and citizenship, that vary regionally but share what anthropologist Diego Vigil describes as the experience of being inferior places "spatially separate and socially distanced from the dominant majority group."[5] Thus Puerto Ricans and Dominicans residing in Manhattan neighborhoods like El Barrio (East Harlem or Spanish Harlem) and Washington Heights share much with Chicanas/os, Salvadorans, and Guatemalans in barrios in Los Angeles, Houston, Chicago, and Washington DC in their experiences of displacement, marginalization, and land loss. For Puerto Ricans, for example, twentieth-century displacement and migration to *colonias* in New York City was the result of consolidated U.S. agrarian capitalism following occupation in 1898, as well as the island's industrialization program and state-sanctioned migration program. These migrants eventually settled in neighborhoods like El Barrio, which provided cheap housing for Puerto Rican newcomers, as it had for its earlier Jewish, Italian, and eastern European residents.[6] Similarly, Mexican barrios in Los Angeles emerged in the late nineteenth-century as a result of land loss in the wake of the Mexican American War of 1846–1848, and the transformation of

Los Angeles into an "Anglo city" through various public policy measures that racially stigmatized and isolated Mexican residents, relegating them to *colonias* in rural contexts and *barrios* in urban settings.[7] Both historically and today, barrio formations are the result of specific plans and policies on the local, state, and federal levels that have resulted in high levels of racial segregation, substandard and limited housing stock, poor schooling, and severely circumscribed economic mobility.[8]

These early barrios were—and continue to be—home to heterogeneous groupings of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants based on race, class, gender, sexuality, and national origin. They also served as important settlement communities for subsequent arrivals, such as Dominicans, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Nicaraguans, and Cuban immigrants beginning in the 1960s. Thus, while racism and social, economic, and political marginalization have shaped the physical boundaries of barrios, the civic organizations, social networks, and economic and cultural resources within them have an important use value that has nurtured sentimental attachments to place.[9] As anthropologist Ana Aparicio notes (this volume), early waves of Dominican immigration played a critical role in contemporary political mobilization among Dominican youth that also includes African American and Puerto Rican activists and community workers. San Francisco's Mission District played a similar role for queer Latinas/os as well as Central American immigrants who benefited from—and contributed to—vibrant political, cultural, and social networks critical to their survival (Roque Ramírez and Cordova, this volume). Thus, while racism, segregation, uneven development, and urban policy help to create barrios, the residents within them often develop and sustain important place-based networks that also transcend local and national boundaries (see Burgos, Jr., and Guridy; and Fernández, this volume).

The structural forces shaping racialized urban space are an important part of what sociologist Andrés Torres refers to as the "mutual history" of Latina/o and African American experiences in American cities.[10] Barrios and ghettos emerge from this shared history of racism, segregation, poverty, social marginalization, and the struggle over urban space; and, despite social policies aimed at ameliorating the plight of the urban poor, these areas continue to be "permanent fixtures of American cities."[11] Like the extensive and influential research on African Americans, urban poverty, and "the ghetto," research on barrios, and the residents who live in them, has been an important, albeit controversial, area of urban sociology, anthropology, and Latina/o, Ethnic, and American Studies.[12] Anthropologist Oscar Lewis, for example, used his

research among the Puerto Rican poor to develop the theory of an intergenerationally transmitted culture of poverty shared among impoverished residents in the San Juan and New York barrios. Similarly, studies characterizing Mexican immigrants as alien, docile, diseased, and deviant have been used to justify spatial segregation of Mexicans, as have urban renewal policies that have effectively threatened and destroyed barrios of great use value to their residents.[13] These characterizations of the barrio and ghetto poor are deeply gendered and rest on particular constructions of racialized gender, sexuality, and culture that allegedly render Puerto Rican, Mexican, and African American women as deviant and unfit mothers. According to historian Natalia Molina, contemporary discourses of excessive sexuality, fecundity, and the racialized threat this poses resonate with early twentieth-century racial anxieties and constructions of Mexican and other women of color as "sexually and morally aberrant."[14] Similarly, legal scholar Dorothy Roberts argues that powerful cultural constructions of black womanhood—as careless, matriarchal, unwed mothers and welfare queens—render them as unfit mothers in popular, scholarly, and policy discourse.[15] Feminist scholars of color have challenged these depictions of impoverished Latina/o and black women and their families and have advanced, instead, nuanced analyses of what Puerto Rican feminist writers identify as "cultural codes of rights and entitlements" in the face of diminishing federal resources and social support.[16]

While it is clear that race and class have shaped the livelihoods and residential patterns of Latinas/os and African Americans in U.S. cities, the analytic utility of the concepts "ghetto" and "barrio" is less clear, and they remain contested terms.[17] Some scholars argue that these terms are often used as metaphors for social isolation, disorganization, and moral decay, and as such are powerful ways of conceptualizing—and by extension, pathologizing—Latina/o and African American communities.[18] In this way, the metaphor of "el barrio" is part of a larger public discourse about Latinas/os and Latin American immigration that often employs metaphors of disease, contagion, and invasion, and which profoundly shapes public understandings of Latina/o communities and even elicits nativist responses.[19] Metaphors, therefore, are not neutral terms; they profoundly shape our understandings of the world.[20]

For many Latina/o Studies scholars and artists, however, the barrio remains a useful analytical tool for explaining the histories and contemporary realities of Latinas/os. The popularity of the term—in book titles, artistic production, scholarly journals, and public symposia—attests to the enduring importance of el barrio as a concept as well as a unit of analysis,

although how it is used varies significantly. For some writers, el barrio is embraced and celebrated as a critical space nurturing cultural production, political mobilizations, and ethnic identity and solidarity.[21] For others, concerns about criminalization, marginalization, and social dislocation inform research about barrio residents that is meant to contextualize their lives and communities.[22] Alternative framings of el barrio also involve careful attention to the social construction of space, the commodification of place, and a transnational approach to conceptualizing barrio life and culture in various historical contexts.[23] Clearly, el barrio is simultaneously space, place, and metaphor, with deep cultural, material, and symbolic meanings for artists, activists, policy makers, and scholars. The chapters in this anthology engage with these various conceptualizations and attempt to build and move beyond them in order to explore new meanings, identities, and experiences of a diverse and dynamic Latina/o population in various communities throughout the United States.

Latina/o Demographics Inside and Outside the Academy

While scholarship on Latinas/os has existed for several decades, thanks to the efforts of pioneering scholars in the fields of Puerto Rican, Chicana/o, Cuban, and Dominican Studies it is only recently that Latina/o Studies has become increasingly influential in North American academic circles.[24] This is apparent in the proliferation of Latina/o topics at academic conferences, as well as the increased attention university and trade presses are giving to Latina/o Studies manuscripts. These intellectual developments reflect demographic shifts of Latina/o communities both in urban centers that have historically housed migrants from the Spanish-speaking Americas (such as New York, Chicago, Miami, and Los Angeles), but also in areas outside these historic communities, including Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Orlando, Florida, and Downers Grove, Illinois. These changes provide the backdrop for current debates and demand research to understand and explore the changing experiences of Latinas/os and how these demographic changes shape American life in the new millennium.

These demographic shifts inspire, in part, the title for this anthology. In order to recognize and interrogate how the global economy and transnational practices have transformed life in historic and new Latina/o communities throughout the United States, scholars are compelled to move beyond traditional frameworks and disciplines to develop new methodologies. Inspired by Chicana feminists and other feminists of color, moving "beyond el bar-

rio" is a political as well as an intellectual stance, challenging narrow understandings of Latina/o community life that are often framed within nationalist discourse.[25] As the authors of the edited anthology *Chicana Feminisms* note, Chicana feminist writings seek to "move discourse beyond binaries and toward intersectionality and hybridity," and to do so while contesting axes of inequality based on race, gender, sexuality, class, and nationality.[26] The notion of moving "beyond el barrio," therefore, is a reminder to Latina/o Studies (as well as to other) scholars to be attuned to how new social and spatial relations beyond the academy create new ways of knowing and being that can challenge the assumptions, questions, and frameworks we employ in our scholarly work.[27] As George Lipsitz notes, American Studies programs and scholarship emerged as a result of "the cultural and intellectual spaces opened up by the mass movements of the 1930s."[28] Similarly, Latina/o Studies emerged out of civil rights struggles, student protests, and community activism of the 1960s and 1970s. This anthology, therefore, contributes to burgeoning literature in Latina/o, American, and Ethnic Studies that moves beyond disciplinary as well as academic boundaries to explore "new epistemologies and new ontologies" within Latina/o communities, past and present.[29]

Despite the increased visibility and institutionalization of Latina/o Studies within the academy, particularly in the 1980s, the barrio remains an apt metaphor for understanding the location of Latina/o Studies within higher educational institutions. Indeed, these units have taken on a number of configurations within the academy: as centers, stand-alone programs, units within comparative race and ethnicity programs, and, most infrequently, as full-fledged departments with right to grant tenure.[30] These spaces have been invaluable for scholars examining the everyday experiences of Latinas/os in the United States and abroad, and are critical intellectual centers of the production of knowledge about Latinas/os. Like American barrios and their residents, however, Latina/o Studies units and their faculty often thrive despite limited institutional funding and support. As Latina/o Studies scholar Pedro Cabán notes, administrators often fund these units assuming, at least initially, that they would likely "never counter the institutional power of the discipline-based departments nor ever attain the academic rigor to challenge their epistemological moorings."[31] Moreover, as anthropologist Arlene Dávila argues, few Latina/o Studies programs have the ability to conduct tenure-track hires on their own—that is, without a partnering disciplinary department in a joint search. In this way, Latina/o Studies units undergo their own form of "barrioization" within academe, often left isolated and comparatively disenfranchised from the rest of campus academic

units.[32] University administrators' decisions about how to fund or structure Latina/o Studies often consign these programs to the margins, making them dependent on disciplinary units to validate hiring and tenure decisions. This has been further exacerbated with the recent trend of consolidation of race and ethnic studies units into American Studies departments or the merging of Latina/o Studies units with Latin American Studies programs. In either scenario, Dávila explains, the ability of these units to formulate their own intellectual agenda and innovation is subordinate to the interests of the larger (read more intellectually rigorous) unit. That this is transpiring at precisely the moment when Latinas/os are now the nation's "majority minority" speaks to the ways the most vital centers of knowledge creation about Latinas/os within the academy remain subject to the vagaries of market forces and assumptions about the relevance of such knowledge to a transnational or global world.[33]

This anthology makes the argument for the importance and, indeed, necessity of Latina/o Studies scholarship precisely because it engages with both the challenges and opportunities emerging from an increasingly globalized world. One of the ways the essays in this anthology do this is by employing a transnational framework for apprehending the varied experiences of Latinas/os in multiple contexts. Since the early 1990s, transnational approaches to immigration research have highlighted the multiple networks, strands, and affiliations connecting communities of origin and settlement and have been critical in redirecting scholars' analytical focus to include a more complex rendering of immigrant life.[34] Within Latina/o Studies scholarship specifically, this approach has facilitated nuanced analyses of shifting gender ideologies and sexuality; flows of capital and their impact on local political economies; different household arrangements and family ideologies; and new forms of activism, community building, and place making.[35] Moreover, this body of work has deeply informed debates within American Studies, for example, that call for scholarly research that seriously attends to questions of transnationalism, globalization, and U.S. political-economic power.[36] This anthology offers key examples of how transnational frameworks challenge conventional understandings of Latina/o communities and, in so doing, build on and are in dialogue with scholars within African American, Asian American, Native American/Indigenous, and LGBTQ Studies as well.[37]

Methodologically, *Beyond El Barrio*'s contributors draw from their training in history, media studies, literature, American Studies, anthropology, and sociology to explore in an interdisciplinary way the complex experiences of Latinas/os within the context of evolving power relations based on race, class,

sexuality, and nationality. *Beyond El Barrio*'s particular attention to racialized sexuality and power in U.S. cultural production, in news media, and within discourses of citizenship also builds on exciting new scholarship that considers these axes of power within a transnational frame. As literary scholar Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes notes, this work promises to transform the way we think of place, sexuality, and identity.[38] In the chapters that follow, the anthology's contributors build on the work of a number of important scholars whose attention to the changing notions of race and racialization projects have fundamentally challenged earlier notions of race, power, and citizenship.[39] This anthology's attention to popular culture, cultural production, and media studies makes invaluable methodological contributions by employing discourse analysis, ethnography, and oral history to explore the meanings and experiences of cultural production within Latina/o communities. These articles, therefore, contribute to the rapidly growing literature on Latina/o popular culture and representation.[40] Ethnography also figures prominently within the anthology with contributors exploring the meaning of citizenship, race, and belonging both within the contexts of new militarism in the United States, the evolving urban economy, and migrant social networks.[41]

Outline of the Book

The chapters that follow engage with important questions of citizenship, race, and nationalism; gender, sexuality, and the politics of memory and representation; and Latina/o activism and histories. The authors in this anthology employ a wide range of methods and sources to explore in careful detail the lived experiences of U.S. Latinas/os, both past and present, which often challenge conventional understandings of Latina/o communities. The essays in part I, for example, interrogate matters of citizenship and belonging not only in actual lived barrios, but also within mediated transnational spaces, such as listening publics, television, newspapers, and migrant networks. In her chapter, María Elena Cepeda focuses on the pro-immigrant marches in the spring of 2006 and the ways in which mainstream media focused on some features of Latina/o immigrants' organizing efforts, and how it often failed to consider a broader canvas of Latina/o popular culture that explores inter-Latino dynamics and notions of a (trans)national Latina/o *familia.* Designed as a response to what many viewed as draconian measures to halt undocumented immigration, the peaceful marches were notable for their skillful manipulation of the transnational popular media, particularly talk radio and music, as a key part of organizational efforts. Employing an interdisci-

plinary approach, Cepeda analyzes mainstream and ethnic media discourse regarding "Nuestro Himno," a Spanish-language paraphrasing of "The Star-Spangled Banner," performed by a group of U.S. Latina/o, Latin American, and Spanish recording artists, and pays particular attention to the role of language in the debates surrounding the recording. "Nuestro Himno," Cepeda notes, was actually part of the album *Somos Americanos* (*We Are Americans*), an important piece of cultural production that needs to be analyzed within a broader context of recent Latina/o cultural production, such as reggaetón recordings. Situated within the context of the ongoing legal, socioeconomic, and political struggles of recent Latina/o immigrants in particular, both the recording and the demonstrations constituted important symbolic gestures toward (re)claiming U.S. public space and the contested meanings of nation and belonging.

The focus on radio as a critical medium for cultural expression, political organizing, and creating a sense of belonging is the focus of Dolores Inés Casillas's chapter, where she notes that the fastest growing formats on the airwaves of U.S. radio are those broadcast in Spanish. Though just 67 Spanish-oriented radio stations existed in 1980, the number swelled to 390 by 1990. By 2000, the FCC identified nearly 600 Spanish-language radio stations in the United States. Casillas examines how U.S. Spanish-language radio successfully caters to a U.S. Latina/o listenership characterized largely by factors of language, race, and migration. This chapter leads attention away from the discussions of music play that crowd radio studies, focusing instead on the significance of the voice, specifically on-air *saludos* (shout-outs), long-distance dedications, and call-in shows. Through an analysis of radio vignettes, she demonstrates how Spanish-language radio mediates nostalgia for homelands while helping listeners navigate newfound residences and political structures, thereby showing how it provides an acoustic space for radio broadcasts and listeners to discursively map and locate the complexities of transnational Latina/o experiences.

Like Casillas, Lourdes Gutiérrez Nájera examines the various ways that migrants navigate new social relations, contexts, and political structures, and how they ultimately negotiate transnational membership and belonging. Drawing on ethnographic research in both Yalálag, México, and Los Angeles, Gutiérrez analyzes how Yalaltecos fostered a sense of belonging and membership in what may otherwise have been an alienating urban environment. It is not uncommon to hear of Yalaltecos returning to their natal community because "they couldn't find themselves" (*no se hayaban*) in Los Angeles. Ironically, there are many who remain in Los Angeles because they "no

longer fit in" (*no se hayan*) back home. Gutiérrez explores Yalalteco expressions of displacement (*hayandose*) and the various creative ways they find to express membership and belonging, given their marginalized positions as indigenous immigrants and laborers in Los Angeles and a growing estrangement from the community they left behind. Given the marginal status of indigenous people within Mexico and the United States, Gutiérrez also poses critical questions about how indigenous migrants create spaces of inclusion and what practices are used to create a sense of belonging or community. In answering these questions, she focuses specifically on migrant credit associations and other cultural practices that bring Yalaltecans together and reproduce their ethnic identity.

Adrian Burgos and Frank Guridy's contribution examines contemporary Latino struggles for citizenship and belonging in the United States within the world of baseball. Their chapter highlights the anxieties generated by the specter of Latino success in a game that has been touted as "America's national pastime." They highlight the xenophobic reaction to the Rolando Paulino All Stars, a team from the Bronx, New York, comprising boys from Puerto Rican and Dominican backgrounds, which came within one game of the final round of the 2001 Little League World Series. While the sporting press celebrated the Paulino All Stars as the "Baby Bronx Bombers"—a reference to the nickname of professional baseball's most celebrated franchise, the New York Yankees—opponents accused the Bronx team of using ineligible players. Suspicions focused primarily on Danny Almonte, the star pitcher who was the driving force behind the team's success. Burgos and Guridy are interested in the results of these investigations and concerned with what perhaps kindled the suspicions of cheating. These allegations were driven not only by the racial and class backgrounds of the Paulino All Stars, but also by the fact that the team represented the Bronx, a historic African American and Latino barrio that occupies an ambivalent place in the U.S. national imaginary. Thus the authors show how the reaction to the Rolando Paulino All Stars was informed by racialized narratives that construct the Bronx as a community marked by a lost white ethnic innocence, symbolized by the Yankees, that was supplanted by black and brown poverty and urban decay and violence.

The ways that gender, sexuality, race, and identity are remembered, reconfigured, and deployed by Latinas/os as well as the larger public is the subject of part II. These essays move beyond familiar community histories, geographic regions, and gendered cultural tropes of Latina/o families to consider nuanced portraits of struggle around memory, representation, community formation, and political-economic inclusion. Thus the authors illustrate the

critical need for place-based historical research to excavate Latina/o lives that have been forgotten; but they also offer a cautionary tale about the ways that cultural practices and kin relations associated with barrio life are often reified and given too much explanatory power regarding Latina/o aspirations. Horacio Roque Ramírez's chapter, for example, addresses important questions about memory, archives, and sexuality in San Francisco's Latina/o communities. How do queer Latino lives enter historical consciousness in this new millennium, twenty-five years into the AIDS pandemic? What is "everyday life" like for simultaneously queer and racial ethnic subjects, always positioned in historical margins, amid the no-longer-seen crisis of AIDS? Roque Ramírez's chapter—a blend of research, remembrance, and manifesto—tackles the ongoing silences surrounding gay Latino life and history, and what we can refer to a "gay Latino album of the dead"—the record of life and death of over three hundred gay Latinos documented in the obituaries of San Francisco's *Bay Area Reporter* since the 1980s. By examining obituaries from the longest running gay weekly in the Bay Area, Roque Ramírez explore the possibilities for writing a history of sexual, gender, and racial intersections using what we can call queer archives of the dead.

Popular cultural renderings of death, absence, and memory are central to Deborah Paredez's chapter, which explores the function of the absent mother in recent popular depictions of young Latina aspiration. Paredez argues that one pervasive narrative in recent representations of Latinas in popular culture is the absent or dead Latina mother, whose very absence or loss operates as a central component in Latina aspirations for material gain, social visibility, and self-understanding. She explores the cultural function and implications of the absent mother trope in two works from different genres: the critically acclaimed coming-of-age film *Real Women Have Curves* (2002); and *Ugly Betty* (2006), the queer-camp U.S. version of the Colombian telenovela *Yo soy Betty, la fea*. Both works, released in the years since the much-touted "Latin Explosion" of the 1990s, are regularly regarded as affirming representations of young working-class Latinas. Despite the various pleasures and promises offered by these works, Paredez argues, they both share the same troubling narrative premise of the absent or dead Latina mother. Paredez explores how absent mothers function in these projects, and highlights the implications for prevailing ideas about Latina subjectivity that arise from their absence. She does so by situating her close readings within the recent sociopolitical moment during which Latinas/os, in light of their growing demographics, have gained increasing recognition as an important voting bloc, market base, and labor pool while struggling for recognition as citizens in the face of pre-

vailing nativist sentiments and legislation. Examined within this context, Paredez persuasively demonstrates how the absent mother emerges not only as a key component in narratives of Latina aspiration, but also as a representational index of these recent anxieties and concerns of and about Latinas/os in the United States.

The final two chapters in this section reengage with important insights provided by Roque Ramírez and Paredez regarding memory, sexuality, and culture and explore how ideas of sexual respectability, cultural values, and gender inform Latina/o claims to full U.S. citizenship. Focusing on Lorain, Ohio—home to ten thousand Puerto Ricans, or about 15 percent of the city's inhabitants in 2000—Pablo Mitchell and Haley Pollack argue that although a significant number of Puerto Ricans had lived in Lorain since the late 1940s, academic scholars have largely ignored their presence. Their chapter begins to reconstruct the beginnings of the Puerto Rican community through an examination of the *Lorain Morning Journal*, the city's main daily newspaper, and highlights how Puerto Rican migrants and their families struggled mightily to assert full citizenship claims in the face of a social order that characteristically enforced racial division and strict codes of sexual respectability. Gina Pérez's contribution explores a contemporary example of Latinas/os' attempts to lay claim to social membership and citizenship by focusing on youth participation in the proliferating number of Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC) programs in U.S. public high schools. While they have complicated reasons for joining JROTC, students consistently underscore the various benefits they receive by participating in a program that not only enjoys broad support from teachers, parents, administrators, and local civic groups, but one that also fosters a sense of meaningful belonging in local and even national communities. The rising number of Latina/o youth participating in JROTC within the past decade is concomitant with the U.S. Army's Spanish-language recruitment campaign targeting Latina/o and Latin American youth. "Yo soy el army" (I am the army) is the result of a carefully researched marketing strategy advanced by the Latina/o marketing agency Cartel Creativo, which draws on culturally specific understandings of family, motherhood, patriotism, and Latina/o identity to appeal to young Latinas/os for military enlistment. Using ethnographic methods as well as media analysis of Cartel Creativo's marketing campaign, Pérez demonstrates the various ways "Hispanic" values are identified to be similar to military culture and values that ultimately benefit the nation.

In the anthology's final section, scholars from American Studies, history, and anthropology take up the critical issue of Latina/o activism and histories,

both locally and transnationally. These chapters contribute to rich scholarly and popular literature documenting Latina/o collective struggle and agency, which is often place-based; but like other writers in this anthology, they also point to the need to examine how these processes have also been rooted in transnational and global visions of shared struggle and history. John McKiernan-González's chapter provides an important challenge to Latina/o Studies scholars seeking various models of engaged, transformative, and empowering research. As a key collaborator in the Cuentos de mi Familia oral history project, McKiernan-González inquires about the forms of informal schooling that accompany the public crafting of Latina/o history at the turn of the century. How do Latina/o youth craft historical narratives amid this schooling? And how do students and their families transform the schooling that funds, supports, and advocates the public presentation of their histories under the Latina/o label? Participants in the Cuentos de mi Familia collaborative history project in Tampa, Florida, confronted these questions individually and as a collective. The Cuentos project asked selected rural and urban Latina/o middle school students to build a history of their favorite family member. Working with University of South Florida undergraduates and faculty as well as their fellow students, Cuentos participants used emblematic Chicana/o, Latina/o, and Puerto Rican biographical essays as initial models for their family narratives. Their finished project stepped past these models, and combined image and text to create artwork that spoke to their understanding of their favorite family member's life. McKiernan-González shows how the process of creating their *cuentos* led these students to confront deeply framing questions, such as why they were selected to be part of a university-based Latina/o outreach project; what parts of their family's biography they would share with their fellow students; how they would present their family research in a Latina/o-themed public history project; and finally, how their project would fit the expected narratives of Latina/o family life and how they would navigate these tensions.

This innovative strategy of producing alternative narratives of history in relation to Latina/o biographical histories speaks to other creative organizing, such Latina/o artists' political organizing in San Francisco in the 1970s and 1980s. Cary Cordova's contribution explores the different ways Latina/o cultural workers asserted their solidarity with the people of Nicaragua, regardless of whether they were of Nicaraguan origin. Pro-Sandinista sentiment flourished in San Francisco as a result of its large Nicaraguan immigrant community, the devastating 1972 earthquake in Managua, and the 1973 U.S.-engineered coup in Chile. As cultural workers organized to promote

an alternate, socialist form of government in Nicaragua, they also stood in opposition to the diplomatic objectives of the U.S. government. These interactions, Cordova argues, had a profound impact on Latina/o artists who decided that their place was in Managua, both literally and figuratively. Using oral histories and careful archival research, Cordova explores the galvanizing impact of Central American movements on the aesthetics and cultural work of various Mission-based artists. Working with poems and images created during the existence of the Neighborhood Arts Program, Cordova argues that the wars in Central America expanded Latina/o artists' vision of themselves. Their efforts contributed to the success of the Sandinista revolution and merit examination, perhaps even more so now, as the language of U.S. patriotism attempts to extinguish such forms of activism.

Like Cordova, Lilia Fernández highlights the powerful role of community activism in laying claim to place and belonging in the face of powerful political and economic forces. By focusing on origins of Chicago's Mexican Pilsen barrio (also known as Eighteenth Street) in the 1960s and 1970s, Fernández challenges pernicious reifications of barrios as naturally given communities with little historical understanding of the structural conditions that led to their creation. Such communities, she argues, bear the traces of urban planning, public housing, and other raced, classed, and gendered socioeconomic policies that have shaped the life chances and residential possibilities of their residents. Rather than simply a casual congregation of people with a shared ethno-racial identity, the Pilsen barrio materialized as a result of mid-twentieth-century urban renewal policies, which displaced this population from the neighboring Near West Side. Fernández traces the history of the Mexican (and Puerto Rican) enclaves on the Near West Side in the 1940s and 1950s, and examines their efforts to recreate their community anew and claim Pilsen as their own. The author argues that as scholars of Latina/o Studies we must examine the origins of Latina/o barrios, the perspective of both community action and memory as well as the macro-level forces that have led to such social and spatial formations.

Finally, Ana Aparicio employs historical and ethnographic methods to explore what she identifies as "transglocal barrio politics." Over the past two decades, Dominican American activists working in the Manhattan neighborhood of Washington Heights have initiated projects that have reshaped their neighborhood and the local political landscape. In this process, Aparicio argues, they have established and utilized numerous networks that include and extend beyond local or transnational Dominican circles, including alliances with African Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and progressive

whites. While these alliances are critical to Dominican organizing in Washington Heights, Aparicio demonstrates the need for rethinking the frameworks of community activism that privilege the local, and offers instead an approach that seriously considers the ways people identify with various populations and localities beyond their local communities. Aparicio draws on ethnographic and historical data to theorize the different ways in which Dominican activists have increasingly become "transglocal" in their organizing efforts to address challenges and problems in Washington Heights.

In significant ways, the essays in this anthology address many of the same questions the Cuentos students faced, namely how to represent the diversity of Latina/o communities and histories; the difficulties inherent in engaging with the realities and social constructions of Latina/o families, including gender relations and sexuality; and how to move beyond available models and tropes of Latina/o migration histories, narratives of citizenship, and political behavior that often obscure the complexities of Latina/o life. Our hope is that this anthology builds on and furthers important scholarly and activist efforts to engage, in a meaningful way, constructive dialogue about the challenges facing U.S. Latinas/os (as well as their active efforts to transform their material conditions), to remedy historical silences, and to offer, instead, models of hopeful and engaged research that move us all beyond static understandings of everyday life in Latina/o America.

NOTES

1. Du Bois 1903: 4. Anthropologist Arlene Dávila makes a similar argument about the ways that Latinas/os are simultaneously cast as a threat as well as solution to many of the nation's problems, particularly those involving race. She argues that while these seemingly paradoxical images of Latinas/os are not new, the various ways Latinas/os are "being characterized in a more marketable, sanitized, and compensatory way" is both new and "suggestive of Latinos' shifting place in the politics of race" (Dávila 2008: 1). Other important works documenting representations of Latinas/os and Latin American immigrants as threats to the nation include Hondagneu-Sotelo 1995; Perea 1997; Sánchez 1997; Santa Ana 2002; Fregoso 2003; Briggs 2003; Whalen 2001; Chavez 2001, 2008. Throughout this anthology, authors employ a variety of ways to refer to U.S. Latinas/os, including Latino, Latina, and Latinas/os. Given the lack of consensus within Latina/o Studies scholarship in how to navigate this tricky lingustic terrain, the editors have preserved each author's use of the term, recognizing that each has attempted to address these gendered linguistic concerns carefully.
2. Dávila 2008: 6–7.
3. Ibid.: 161.
4. Villa 2000: 8.
5. Vigil 2008: 366.
6. Sánchez Korrol 1994: 55–58. For more on the history of El Barrio, see Dávila 2004.

7. Molina 2004; Vigil 2007, 2008; Villa 2000.
8. Díaz 2005: 5.
9. Logan and Molotch 1987: 1, 17; Villa 2000: 10.
10. Torres 1995: 165.
11. Vigil 2008: 366.
12. Much of the early research on Mexican immigrants and their communities focused largely on rural and semirural *colonias,* which, as Vigil (2008) and Díaz (2005) note, eventually became *barrios* with urbanization and sprawl. See Moore and Pinderhughes 1993 (xx) for a discussion of early literature of Mexican rural and semirural communities in the Southwest. See also McWilliams 1949.
13. See Villa 2000, especially chapter 2; Molina 2004: 44; Ruiz 1999: 28–29.
14. Molina 2004: 185.
15. Roberts 1997.
16. Benmayor, Torruellas, and Jurabe 1997: 153. See also Souza 2000; Briggs 2003.
17. A 2008 issue of the sociological journal *City & Community* focused specifically on concept of "ghetto." See contributions by Monteiro and by Small for discussions of the concept as metaphor, as well as critiques of its analytic utility. Vigil's contribution provides an important analysis of the similarities and differences between barrios and ghettos. Gina Pérez would like to thank Greggor Mattson for bringing this volume of *City & Community* to her attention.
18. Monteiro 2008: 379; Freidenberg 2000: 208, 237.
19. See Leo Chavez's (2001, 2008) pioneering work in the areas of Mexican immigration, public discourse, and representations of Latin American immigration, as well as Fregoso 2003; Negrón-Muntaner 2004; and Chabram-Dernersesian 2007 for discussions of representations of Latinas/os in American popular culture.
20. Santa Ana 2002.
21. Recent examples of this work include Cammarota 2008; Freidenberg 2000; Gaspar de Alba 2003; Iber and Regalado 2007; Muñiz 1998; Nabhan-Warren 2005; Treviño 2006; Loza 1993. Our thanks to one of the press's anonymous reviewers for helping to typologize and think critically of the various conceptualizations of el barrio in recent scholarly work.
22. Díaz-Cotto 2006; Dohan 2003; Vigil 2007.
23. See, for example, Dávila 2004; Laó-Montes and Dávila 2001; García 2006; Villa 2000; Valle and Torres 2000.
24. Examples of pioneering work include History Task Force 1979; Rodriguez 1991; Flores 1993; Sánchez-Korrol 1994; Sánchez 1993; Zavella 1987; Behar 1995; García 1996; Guarnizo 1994; Hernández 2002; Pessar and Grasmuck 1991.
25. Critical contributions by Chicana, Puerto Rican, and Latina feminists include Anzaldúa 1987; Torre and Pesquera 1993; Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981; Pérez 1991; Zavella 1987; Torruellas, Benmayor, and Juarbe 1996; Ortiz 1996; López 1985; Souza 2000.
26. Arredondo et al. 2003: 2.
27. Thus moving "beyond el barrio" is not meant to suggest a notion of "post-barrio" that jettisons the barrio concept completely. As we have argued above, this fraught and contested term remains an important frame for Latina/o life. Rather, our call for moving beyond el barrio is to emphasize the need to challenge enduring tropes that often obscure, rather than illuminate, the complexities of Latina/o experiences, both in the United States and abroad. See Boyd 2008 for a discussion of these tensions in African American communities.

28. Lipsitz 2001: 21.

29. Ibid.: 8.

30. See Cabán 2003; and Dávila 2008 for critical discussions of the evolution of the field of Latina/o Studies and its place in the U.S. academy.

31. Cabán 2003: 8.

32. Here we draw on Villa's analytically useful framework of the dialectical relationship of "barrioization" and "barriology," the former term referring to powerful external forces that give shape to marginalized, and therefore inferior, spaces. See Villa 2000: 16.

33. Dávila 2008.

34. Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Rouse 1992.

35. Cantú's (2003) work on Mexican men, sexuality, and migration is an excellent example of this work, as is the work of Carrillo (2001). Zavella and Castañeda 2005; Torres 2007; and González-López 2005 focus on the experiences of women, sexuality, and migration. Important examples of transnational research in Latina/o Studies include Alicea 1997; Aranda 2007; Levitt 2001; Smith 2005; Mahler 1999; Mahler and Pessar 2001; Pessar 1999.

36. Fisher Fishkin 2005; Poblete 2003.

37. For Native American/Indigenous Studies, see Silva 2005; Smith 2005. For examples in Asian American Studies, see Hsu 2000; Das Gupta 2005.

38. La Fountain-Stokes 2005. Important scholarship in this area also includes Carrillo 2001; González-López 2005; Rodríguez 2003; Torres 2007; Cruz-Malavé and Manalansan 2002; Sandoval Sánchez 2005; Manalansan 2003.

39. See Almaguer 1994; Shah 2001; Guglielmo 2003.

40. For example, see Fregoso 2003; Habell-Pallán and Romero 2002; Gaspar de Alba 2003; Negrón-Muntaner 2004; Aparicio and Jaquez 2003; Chabram-Dernersesian 2007.

41. Examples of this work include Smith 2005; Lutz 2001; Levitt 2001; Dávila 2004.

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