
The Latino/a Condition

A Critical Reader

EDITED BY

Richard Delgado

AND

Jean Stefancic



New York University Press

NEW YORK AND LONDON

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xv
Introduction <i>Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic</i>	xvii
PART I: The Shape of the Latino Group: Who Are We and What Are We Talking about Anyway?	1
1 Hispanics? That's What They Call Us <i>Suzanne Oboler</i>	3
2 Welcome to the Old World <i>Earl Shorris</i>	6
3 Chance, Context, and Choice in the Social Construction of Race <i>Ian F. Haney López</i>	9
4 Latino/a Identity and Multi-Identity: Community and Culture <i>Leslie G. Espinoza</i>	17
5 Building Bridges: Latinas and Latinos at the Crossroads <i>Berta Esperanza Hernández-Truyol</i>	24
6 Life in the Hyphen <i>Ilan Stavans</i>	32
7 Masks and Identity <i>Margaret E. Montoya</i>	37
8 Who Counts? Title VII and the Hispanic Classification <i>Alex M. Saragoza, Concepción R. Juarez, Abel Valenzuela, Jr., and Oscar Gonzalez</i>	44
9 Race, Identity, and "Box Checking": The Hispanic Classification in OMB Directive No. 15 <i>Luis Angel Toro</i>	52

10	Re-imagining the Latino/a Race	60
	<i>Angel R. Oquendo</i>	
	<i>From the Editors: Issues and Comments</i>	72
	<i>Suggested Readings</i>	73
PART II:	Conquest and Immigration: How We Got (Get) Here	75
11	Latinos in the United States: Invitation and Exile	77
	<i>Gilbert Paul Carrasco</i>	
12	Greasers Go Home: Mexican Immigration, the 1920s	86
	<i>Rodolfo Acuña</i>	
13	How Much Responsibility Does the U.S. Bear for Undocumented Mexican Migration?	92
	<i>Gerald P. López</i>	
14	Undocumented Immigrants and the National Imagination	99
	<i>Linda S. Bosniak</i>	
15	Hispanic Children and Their Families	106
	<i>Linda Chavez</i>	
16	Immigration Politics, Popular Democracy, and California's Proposition 187	110
	<i>Kevin R. Johnson</i>	
17	The Racial Politics of Proposition 187	118
	<i>Ruben J. Garcia</i>	
18	Natives and Newcomers	125
	<i>Berta Esperanza Hernández-Truyol</i>	
19	The Latino Challenge to Civil Rights and Immigration Policy in the 1990s and Beyond	133
	<i>Rachel F. Moran</i>	
	<i>From the Editors: Issues and Comments</i>	143
	<i>Suggested Readings</i>	144
PART III:	Nativism, Racism, and Our Social Construction as a "Problem" Group: How Once We Were Here, We Were Racialized by the Dominant Culture	147
20	Anglo-Saxons and Mexicans	149
	<i>Reginald Horsman</i>	

21	“Occupied” Mexico <i>Ronald Takaki</i>	152
22	Initial Contacts: Niggers, Redskins, and Greasers <i>Arnoldo De León</i>	158
23	The Master Narrative of White Supremacy in California <i>Tomás Almaguer</i>	165
24	Occupied America <i>Rodolfo Acuña</i>	171
25	Mexican Americans and Whiteness <i>George A. Martinez</i>	175
26	Race and Erasure: The Salience of Race to Latinos/as <i>Ian F. Haney López</i>	180
27	“The Mexican Problem” <i>Carey McWilliams</i>	196
28	Citizens as “Foreigners” <i>Kevin R. Johnson</i>	198
	<i>From the Editors: Issues and Comments</i>	202
	<i>Suggested Readings</i>	203

PART IV: Racial Construction and Demonization in Mass Culture: Media Treatment and Stereotypes		207
29	Racial Depiction in American Law and Culture <i>Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic</i>	209
30	<i>Bordertown</i> : From Assimilation Narrative to Social “Problem” <i>Charles Ramírez Berg</i>	215
31	The Border according to Hollywood: The Three Caballeros, Pancho, and the Latin Señoritas <i>David R. Maciel</i>	223
32	<i>Born in East L.A.</i> : An Exercise in Cultural Schizophrenia <i>Alicia Gaspar de Alba</i>	226
33	<i>Lone Star</i> and the Faces of Despair in INS Raids <i>Elvia R. Arriola</i>	230
34	Big Time Players <i>Gerald P. López</i>	237

35	Still Looking for America: Beyond the Latino National Political Survey	240
	<i>Luis Fraga, Herman Gallegos, Gerald P. López, Mary Louise Pratt, Renato Rosaldo, José Saldivar, Ramon Saldivar, and Guadalupe Valdés</i>	
	<i>From the Editors: Issues and Comments</i>	246
	<i>Suggested Readings</i>	248
PART V: Counterstories: We Begin to Talk Back and “Name Our Own Reality”		
36	My Grandfather’s Stories and Immigration Law	253
	<i>Michael A. Olivas</i>	
37	Storytelling for Oppositionists and Others	259
	<i>Richard Delgado</i>	
38	Lay Lawyering	271
	<i>Gerald P. López</i>	
39	Masks and Resistance	276
	<i>Margaret E. Montoya</i>	
40	Mexican Americans as a Legally Cognizable Class	284
	<i>Richard Delgado and Vicky Palacios</i>	
41	American Apocalypse	291
	<i>Richard Delgado</i>	
	<i>From the Editors: Issues and Comments</i>	300
	<i>Suggested Readings</i>	301
PART VI: Rebellious Lawyering and Resistance Strategies: We Fight Back		
42	The Idea of a Constitution in the Chicano Tradition	305
	<i>Gerald P. López</i>	
43	Early Chicano Activism: Zoot Suits, Sleepy Lagoon, and the Road to Delano	309
	<i>Rodolfo Acuña</i>	
44	“Breaking the Law” on Principle	320
	<i>Michael A. Olivas</i>	
45	Life in the Trenches	332
	<i>Oscar “Zeta” Acosta</i>	

46	The Work We Know So Little About <i>Gerald P. López</i>	339
47	Revolutionary Art and Artists <i>Margaret E. Montoya</i>	347
	<i>From the Editors: Issues and Comments</i>	349
	<i>Suggested Readings</i>	350
PART VII: Revisionist Law: Does the Legal System Work for Us?		353
48	The Mexican-American Litigation Experience: 1930–1980 <i>George A. Martinez</i>	355
49	The Black/White Binary Paradigm of Race <i>Juan F. Perea</i>	359
50	The Black/White Binary: How Does It Work? <i>Richard Delgado</i>	369
51	The Intersection of Immigration Status, Ethnicity, Gender, and Class <i>Kevin R. Johnson</i>	376
52	Bringing International Human Rights Home <i>Berta Esperanza Hernández-Truyol</i>	381
53	Chicano Indianism <i>Martha Menchaca</i>	387
54	Rodrigo's Chronicle <i>Richard Delgado</i>	396
55	Choosing the Future <i>Ian F. Haney López</i>	404
56	The Well-Defended Academic Identity <i>Gerald P. López</i>	408
	<i>From the Editors: Issues and Comments</i>	413
	<i>Suggested Readings</i>	414
PART VIII: Assimilationism: Maybe Our Best Strategy Is Just to Duck?		417
57	A Scholarship Boy <i>Richard Rodriguez</i>	419

58	LULAC and the Assimilationist Perspective <i>David G. Gutiérrez</i>	421
59	Melting Pot or Ring of Fire? <i>Kevin R. Johnson</i>	427
60	Out of the Barrio <i>Linda Chavez</i>	431
61	Masks and Acculturation <i>Margaret E. Montoya</i>	435
62	Straddling Separate Worlds <i>Ruben Navarrette, Jr.</i>	442
63	Neither Here nor There <i>Earl Shorris</i>	444
64	Harvard Homeboy <i>Ruben Navarrette, Jr.</i>	448
	<i>From the Editors: Issues and Comments</i>	452
	<i>Suggested Readings</i>	453
PART IX: Splits and Tensions within the Civil Rights Community		455
65	Origins of Black/Brown Conflict <i>Bill Piatt</i>	457
66	Beyond Black/White: The Racisms of Our Time <i>Elizabeth Martínez</i>	466
67	It's Not Just Black and White Anymore <i>Deborah A. Ramirez</i>	478
68	Tensions and Differences within the Latino Community <i>Kevin R. Johnson</i>	488
69	A Long-Standing Commitment <i>Linda Chavez</i>	491
	<i>From the Editors: Issues and Comments</i>	494
	<i>Suggested Readings</i>	495
PART X: Sex, Gender, and Class: Sure I'm a Latino, but I'm Still Different from You—How about It?		497
70	Mexican Gender Ideology <i>Adelaida R. Del Castillo</i>	499

71	Domestic Violence against Latinas by Latino Males <i>Jenny Rivera</i>	501
72	Maternal Power and the Deconstruction of Male Supremacy <i>Elizabeth M. Iglesias</i>	508
73	What's in a Name? Retention and Loss of the Maternal Surname <i>Yvonne M. Cherena Pacheco</i>	516
74	A Chicana Perspective on Feminism <i>Beatriz M. Pesquera and Denise A. Segura</i>	523
75	Three Perspectives on Workplace Harassment of Women of Color <i>Maria L. Ontiveros</i>	531
76	Culture and Economic Violence <i>Berta Esperanza Hernández-Truyol</i>	536
77	Gendered Inequality <i>Elvia R. Arriola</i>	539
78	Notes on the Conflation of Sex, Gender, and Sexual Orientation: A QueerCrit and LatCrit Perspective <i>Francisco Valdes</i>	543
	<i>From the Editors: Issues and Comments</i>	552
	<i>Suggested Readings</i>	553
PART XI: English-Only, Bilingualism, Interpreters: You Mean I Can't Speak Spanish?		557
79	Hold Your Tongue <i>James Crawford</i>	559
80	A Bilingual-Education Initiative as a Prop. 187 in Disguise? <i>Ruben Navarrette, Jr.</i>	563
81	American Languages, Cultural Pluralism, and Official English <i>Juan F. Perea</i>	566
82	Law and Language(s) <i>Margaret E. Montoya</i>	574
83	How the García Cousins Lost Their Accents <i>Christopher David Ruiz Cameron</i>	579

84	Death by English <i>Juan F. Perea</i>	583
85	Lawyers, Linguists, Story-Tellers, and Limited English-Speaking Witnesses <i>Miguel A. Méndez</i>	596
86	<i>Hernandez</i> : The Wrong Message at the Wrong Time <i>Miguel A. Méndez</i>	602
87	Attorney as Interpreter <i>Bill Piatt</i>	605
88	The Politics of Discretion: Federal Intervention in Bilingual Education <i>Rachel F. Moran</i>	610
	<i>From the Editors: Issues and Comments</i>	622
	<i>Suggested Readings</i>	623
PART XII: The Border as Metaphor: What Border Theory Tells Us about Culture		625
89	Borderlands <i>Gloria Anzaldúa</i>	627
90	Surveying Law and Borders <i>Renato Rosaldo</i>	631
91	Border Crossings <i>Margaret E. Montoya</i>	639
92	Sandra Cisneros: The Fading of the Warrior Hero <i>Renato Rosaldo</i>	644
93	Voces/Voces in the Borderlands <i>Melissa Harrison and Margaret E. Montoya</i>	649
94	Street Vendors: The Battle over Cultural Interpretation <i>David R. Diaz</i>	661
	<i>From the Editors: Issues and Comments</i>	666
	<i>Suggested Readings</i>	667
	<i>Bibliography</i>	669
	<i>Contributors</i>	695
	<i>Index</i>	705