

Reshaping the Rural Heartland

Immigration and Migrant Cultural Practice in Small-Town America

AIDÉ ACOSTA

Every September, residents in the town of Lorraine in rural east-central Illinois celebrate the town's heritage as "broomcorn capital."¹ During the three-day annual festival, residents along with regional visitors eat, drink, shop, and learn how to make old-fashioned corn brooms while bluegrass and country music plays in the background. The town's festival is also an ethnographic moment of the changing demographics and social life of small-town Middle America. Mexican residents partake with fellow residents in the festivities, also enjoying turkey legs and onion blossoms as the children ride in the temporary Ferris wheel. The presence of Mexican residents, however, is generally invisible to local residents, who do not imagine the settlement of Mexican "newcomers" as part and parcel of the migration and broomcorn heritage of Lorraine. Mexicans in Lorraine are part of the changing geography of Latino migration into local settings, and becoming present in unexpected spaces and places, including the rural heartland.

While broomcorn material is now mostly imported, chiefly from Mexico, the local broom industry is the primary labor recruiter of Mexican migrants from the town of Jiménez in northern Mexico, Lorraine's counterpart in broom production. Although nowadays brooms are primarily produced with synthetic materials, the legacy of broomcorn production and the broom industry in Lorraine continue to be central in the residents' quotidian lives and in the local heritage. Broomcorn is a type of sorghum with long, fibrous seed stalks used as the working end of brooms. When fully grown, the plant has long green stalks similar to that of corn plants. During the late nineteenth century, Lorraine became the epicenter of broomcorn production, hence the town's legacy as "broomcorn capital of the world." During this period, Illinois became the primary producer of broomcorn in the United States, giving rise to the industrial production of



1.3.1 "Haciendo las escobas / Making the brooms." Mexican workers show spectators how to make old-fashioned brooms at the annual broom-corn festival in Lorraine, Illinois. Photo courtesy of Aidé Acosta.

brooms. The local broom industries, now expansive producers of housewares cleaning supplies, rely on Mexican labor to sustain the economic viability of the local companies and consequently the town of Lorraine.

The Mexican population in Lorraine significantly expanded during the 1990s, mirroring the broader demographic patterns in the region and the Midwest more generally. The majority of Mexican migrants in Lorraine originated from Jiménez, a small city near Monterrey in the state of Nuevo León in northern Mexico. Jiménez is also a major producer of corn brooms and known as the broom capital in Mexico. Consequently, the Lorraine population forms part of the transnational capital of broom production through their labor, as well as in the legacy of broom production of these two transnational sites. Mexicans began settling in Lorraine following the labor recruitment of seven men in 1967. At this time, these workers were recruited directly from Jiménez by the broom factory in Illinois. Shortly afterward, their families accompanied them, and subsequently created an extensive social and kin network that runs through Nuevo León, Texas, and Illinois. The family-owned broom company in Lorraine is among the small-town manufacturing companies that have attracted migrants. Mexicans comprise 90 to 95 percent of the workforce.² Today, Lorraine and Jiménez constitute a transnational migrant circuit, in which people, items, ideas, and emotions circulate in a continuous basis along this migrant corridor.

During the 1980s, Latinos began another wave of permanently settling down in small and rural towns outside of gateway destinations such as Chicago and Los Angeles.³ Rapid and widespread growth in income and employment in the region provided the economic incentives for Latinas/os to migrate to new settlement regions in growing numbers by the 1990s. While this population is frequently referenced as the newcomers, they are in fact actors of a larger historical journey

into the Midwest. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Mexican workers were recruited for various industries, primarily to work in agricultural fields and in the railroad and steel industries.⁴ Nonetheless, during the 1990s the Latino population significantly expanded in regions with no previous significant history of Latino settlement, including the rural heartland. Latino populations are permanently settling and now calling small-town America home. It is now no longer a surprise to celebrate *quinceañeras* (coming-of-age celebrations) in the local parishes, or *jaripeos* (Mexican rodeos) in the local fairgrounds.

Through settlement and migrant cultural practice, Latinos are reshaping the American heartland, a place they also call home. The U.S. Bureau of the Census identifies twelve states as the midwestern region: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. The heartland encompasses these locations, but also references this spatial region as a construction that does not have stark boundaries and includes the cultural constructions of this space as the heart of American culture. Although contradictory, the heartland is often associated with the image of small-town and pastoral life considered to be at the heart of Americanness. In this chapter I discuss the various ways in which contemporary Latino migration and settlement destabilizes the static notion of the American heartland as a quaint and unchanging place. I argue that in engaging diasporic cultural practice, migrants are invoking practice as a way of telling their *own migrant stories* in response to being treated as marked cultural, classed, gendered, and racial actors throughout the United States.

New Cartographies of Latino Migration

Several factors have impacted the contemporary cartographies of Latino migration, including employment and economic opportunities along with industrial growth in the Midwest, and changes in immigration law and increased surveillance along border states. While external factors have significantly altered migration patterns, individuals also engage in rationalized decision making as they seek to broaden their individual and collective opportunities. In this way, the rural heartland has become a place of economic and employment opportunities for Latino migrants, but also for the myriad opportunities and calmer lifestyle in comparison to urban cities. For migrants, these rural communities also offer a quaintness that often mirrors the experiences of their homeland, along with lower costs of living, lower crime rates, and a slower pace of life. In short, while economic and employment opportunities have offset the changes in the contemporary cartographies of Latino migration, the rural heartland is also attractive for migrants seeking an alternative lifestyle to urban centers and away from border

states, where the threat of deportability is exacerbated with the constant physical presence of immigration agencies.

The contemporary migration shifts in the United States are intimately linked with neoliberal economic restructuring.⁵ In Mexico, the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has widened the gaps of inequality, facilitating an exodus of emigration. Simultaneously, with neoliberal practices of downsizing and outsourcing, cheap labor became a necessity for U.S. industries. The intensified growth of Mexican labor migrants in midwestern rural areas is linked to the restructuring of agriculture and food processing, which in turn has caused a widespread reliance on Latino labor. Rubén O. Martínez argues that despite deindustrialization in the Midwest, labor demands in the service sector have contributed to the geographic dispersion of Latinos.⁶ Latinas/os have become overrepresented in nonunionized poorly paid jobs, which are often monotonous and dangerous.⁷ In Lorraine, for example, shoulder injuries are frequent for employees in the broom industry. Workers are exposed to the repetitiveness of pulling fibers to mold brooms that frequently lead to injuries.

The growth in employment opportunities in the region provided the economic incentives for Latinas/os to migrate to new settlement regions during the 1990s. The expansion of the Latino population throughout the Midwest is linked to the expansion of regional industries, including the meatpacking and poultry industries.⁸ In Lorraine, the broom company consolidated its production under one roof during the 1980s. The company invested heavily during this time period, and became one of the largest virtually integrated houseware facilities in the country. Moreover, since the 1980s, the company has expanded its product lines to become the leading manufacturer of high-quality brooms, mops, and brushes in the United States. The company is increasing its market goals by seeking to become a major transnational supplier, and is currently a major supplier for large enterprises, such as Walmart and Lowe's. In light of NAFTA, this company serves an important role in supplying these large corporations that are presently expanding throughout North America.

In addition to economic growth and employment opportunities, immigration legislation during the 1980s also served as a catalyst for the demographic growth of Latinas/os throughout the Midwest and into other nontraditional migrant settlements across the United States. The passing of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) offset migration out of gateway destinations since labor competition tightened with newly authorized workers.⁹ Additionally, the Special Agricultural Workers (SAW) provision under IRCA provided legal residency for workers working in agriculture, also encouraging agricultural workers into the fields of the Midwest. At the backdrop of legalization was also an increased anti-immigrant debate, particularly in border states, including Proposition 187 in

1994 in California that sought to deny social services to migrant populations.¹⁰ It is under this context that during the decade of the 1990s, according to Jorge Durand and his colleagues, while the percentage of migrants into traditional gateway destinations dropped, the percentage migrating into non-gateway destinations significantly increased. Latinas/os left historical migrant enclaves in search of opportunities elsewhere, including the rural Midwest.¹¹

The migration experience of the Zepeda family from Jiménez into Lorraine illustrates these changes. Alfredo began a circular migration to the United States in the 1980s via Texas. In 1988, he was able to legalize his status under SAW. Soon after, his wife, Irene, and two sons legalized through the Family Reunification clause under the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. Their daughter no longer qualified since she was married at the time of the legal proceedings. Upon Irene's residency approval in 1998, Irene, Alfredo, and their youngest son relocated from Jiménez, Nuevo León, to Texas. Entering through El Paso, they settled in Odessa and worked in the service industry. Earlier that year, their eldest son, Miguel, had migrated to Illinois on the encouragement of kin. Alfredo recalls how the move arose from of the knowledge that in the town of Lorraine there was abundant employment, "pues él se vino por medio de toda la gente de aquí que es del mismo pueblo" (through all the people here who are from the same town), he tells me. Following their eldest son, the Zepedas relocated from Odessa, Texas, to Lorraine, Illinois, in April 2000.

Irene and Alfredo worked in the local broom factory until 2004, when they opened their small food business, Tacos El Norte. The migration of the Zepedas into the Midwest was a choice they made in relationship to family reunification, their knowledge of the economic and employment opportunities in the Midwest, and embedded in immigration legislations that facilitated their mobility. In relocating from northern Mexico to Odessa and into Lorraine they have tapped into their own bodies of knowledge, what Carlos Vélez-Ibáñez calls "transborder funds of knowledge" in creating opportunities for themselves and their family.¹²

Latinas/os make decisions of settlement given various circumstances they face in their lives and in search of their own well-being. These decisions, while often tied to the effects of the global economy, are also tied to various structural disparities and quotidian experiences. Women's decisions to migrate into new arenas are also correlated with the ongoing effects of patriarchy and of social inequalities. This was the case for Estefanía García, who migrated to Lorraine from the state of Jalisco in 2007. She decided to leave Jalisco with her four children after being subjected to her husband's physical and sexual assaults. After seeking help in various agencies in Mexico without any success, she made the strategic decision to leave the country for her own physical and emotional well-being, and in search of opportunities for her children.

Migration for Estefania was literally her option for survival out of an abusive relationship and failed governmental system that maintains women like her in a marginal position. At the same time, she felt a lack of support due to her father's belief that marriage should be forever, "Porque él decía, tú te casaste, va a ser para el resto de tu vida" (because he would tell me, you married and it will be for the rest of your life), she tells me. Estefania had to leave her town to seek safety elsewhere. She learned about employment opportunities in Lorraine from extended family members, who also helped her reach Illinois along with her children. "Aquí estoy feliz" (here, I am happy), she responds after sharing with me the struggle of dealing with depression and overcoming the trauma of being psychologically, emotionally, and physically abused. Where people migrate is also tied to notions of well-being for the family in addition to established networks. Estefania decided to relocate in Lorraine rather than to Chicago, because she felt that the calmer small-life life was best for her and her children. Her decision to move to Lorraine was propelled by a desire for safety, which town life provides for her and her family.

The experiences of both the Zepedas and Estefania mirror the broader ways in which people engage in rationalized decision making to ensure their survival and success. In the process, migrants seek to create the spaces and structures that alleviate the sense of disconnection from their places of origin by creating strong social bonds with other residents and constructing the cultural spaces that remind them of home while being at home in the heartland. Although migration can represent a traumatic dislocation from a geographical place, as well as cultural familiarity, individuals create spaces to alleviate the sense of isolation. This adaptation is particularly manifested in migrant cultural practice. As Latinas/os settle and make themselves at home through diasporic cultural practice, they also transform the rural landscapes into welcoming spaces of cultural familiarity.

In east-central Illinois, Latinas/os occupy two major migration patterns: seasonal and permanent. As with the earlier seasonal migration cycles of the early 1900s, Tejanas/os continue to occupy a significant role in seasonal agricultural labor.¹³ Every year, seasonal migrants travel from the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, principally from McAllen, to east-central Illinois for corn detasseling.¹⁴ The migrants work long days, seven days a week for approximately three weeks following the 4th of July. They are brought to these Midwest rural communities by Texas recruiters who are aligned with large companies of the Midwest as well as area landowners. The recruiters, of Mexican origin themselves, are responsible for organizing cohorts of migrants to this region.¹⁵ The migrants arrive to the rural communities in their own vehicles, many in large SUVs, with minimal to no money at all.¹⁶ Most travel in groups or families with minimal essentials: clothing, toiletries, pots and pans, and maybe some food. Not all of them are

as fortunate, however. Arriving at the Midwest already in debt from the money required for the travel, many migrants are forced to seek food from family they have not seen since the previous season. They also look for assistance from social services agencies, the recruiters themselves, or from other migrants.

The town of Air City, located in northern Champaign County in east-central Illinois, is host to a number of seasonal migrants during the hot and humid summers. Migrants begin arriving in the last days of June and begin work after the July 4th holiday. While many seasonal agricultural workers follow the various harvests, such as planting melons in Indiana and harvesting cherries and asparagus in Michigan or the potatoes fields in Idaho, and eventually return to the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, many have also opted out of the agricultural migrant circuit and permanently settle in east-central Illinois. They find employment as service employees and/or in the local industries, including Solo Cup and Plastipak.

Tejanas/os along with Mexican and Guatemalan migrants are creating various migrant communities throughout east-central Illinois and as such are transforming the region through their settlement and cultural practices. As migrants settle, they engage in cultural activities and establish businesses that enrich their own individual and collective lives in their new places of settlement, as well as the local community life.

Migrants are dramatically shifting the rural landscapes of east-central Illinois. The small town of Lorraine, at the heart of Amish settlements since the late 1800s, for example, is presently home to several hundred Mexicans who have migrated from the same town in northern Mexico. Mexicans in Lorraine, like the Zepedas, are part of a diasporic network that connects people in Nuevo León, Texas, and Illinois. The Mexican community in Lorraine has significantly expanded in the last three decades.

According to the 2010 Census, "Hispanics" constitute 20 percent of the Lorraine population of three thousand residents. Moreover, the school demographics demonstrate that it is a fairly young population. The interactive Illinois Report Card illustrates that in 2012, at the high school level (7–12), 55.5 percent of the student population was white, while 41.2 percent was "Hispanic." This represented nearly a two-fold increase since 2005, when 74 percent of the student population was white, and 25 percent was "Hispanic."¹⁷ At the elementary level (K–6), 56.1 percent of the population was white and 39.4 percent was "Hispanic" in 2012. Moreover, by 2012 both schools were showing a multiracial student demographic for the first time. At the high school level, 1.2 percent of the student population was multiracial, and at the elementary level, 2.6 percent of the student population was multiracial. The "multiracial" category, which was still fairly new in 2012, signals the interracial dynamics of intimate relations in everyday lives of Lorraine.

These demographics herald the future of Lorraine, where almost half of the student population is Mexican and continuously changing. The intimate discomfort currently felt about the changing local demographics by “old-timers” will transform with future generations, and particularly as the second generation of migrants engage with their peers in the various activities and socialization practices at the heart of small-town life. Nonetheless, the present demographics of Lorraine are visually present throughout the small town, with Mexican businesses, including a *taquería*, a *carnicería*, and a *tortillería*, contributing economically to the town. Businesses also importantly act as venues for social and cultural exchanges. Such interactions and items for sale, along with the visuals and familiar smells, foster a sense of home for migrants residing thousands of miles away from their places of origin. These places also transform the social landscapes of the rural heartland.

The American Heartland as Home

The changes in these new arenas have caused widespread panic and fear of the “Latino threat,” as Leo Chavez has argued.¹⁸ While working-class Latinos creatively thrive under the harsh circumstances they often confront, their hosts frequently greet them with a racist—and in some instances violent—welcoming fueled by decades of animosity against Mexicans. Latinas/os are frequently settling in towns and villages that have been homogenously white over several generations given the particular histories and experiences of these places. For example, many have a history as sundown towns that until recently had the unwritten law that decreed that no person of color be caught in town after dusk.¹⁹

Contemporary debates continue to embody de-humanizing practices against working class migrants. Mexicans, irrespectively of citizenship, continue to be constructed within racializing discourses of “illegal” and “alien.” They represent disembodied beings, as anthropologist Michael Kearney (1998) argued, whose labor is desired, but not their lives.²⁰ One example is the passing of HR4437 in 2005, the Border Protection, Antiterrorist, and Illegal Immigration Control Act proposed by midwestern congressman James Sensenbrenner, but which failed to pass the Senate; along with subsequent local ordinances, including in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, and Carpentersville, Illinois, and the passing of Arizona’s SB1070 (in 2010) and copycat statewide policies across the United States, including in Alabama’s HB56 (in 2011) and Indiana’s HB590 (in 2011). Local ordinances have been challenged and deemed unconstitutional. Similarly, statewide policies continue to be challenged and central in the current anti-immigrant debates.

The expansions of these various legislations throughout the United States illustrate the ways in which demographic shifts in the heartland have implications in

law and policy. It is no coincidence that HR4437 was proposed by James Sensenbrenner, a midwesterner. While the bill failed at the Senate level given its unequivocal draconian anti-immigrant nature, it nonetheless offset a virulent immigration debate. HR4437 represented the consolidation of an anti-immigrant debate in public opinion and policy following Proposition 187 in California.²¹ At the same time, it signals the ways in which the personal discomfort that is taking place at the intimate level as the faces of "new" neighbors change is implicated in contemporary anti-immigrant ideologies that inform public policy, and that has real implications at the individual levels. Nonetheless, these policies and the attached discourses have served as a catalyst for a virulent immigration debate and for a transnational movement for immigrant and human rights of the twenty-first century. It is within a context of the margins and anti-immigrant politics that people create alternative ways of belonging to counter legal and sociopolitical constructions.

In the rural Midwest, Latinas/os engage in various cultural practices in the process of inventing a sense of home. It has become common to celebrate *quinceañeras* in local parishes and Mexican-style rodeos in the region's fairgrounds. Cultural celebrations and religious rituals such as Las Posadas, El Día de los Muertos, La Virgen de Guadalupe, and Santa Eulalia—the patron saint of Guatemalan migrants in the area—have all been significant moments in the development of the migrant community in the region. As diasporic practices, cultural and religious rituals organized by migrants are not only channels that help them maintain connections to their backgrounds and histories, but are also political sites of culture in the current anti-immigrant context. Diaspora as practice is also counter-discourse given that migrants are invoking practice as a way of telling their *own migrant stories* in response to being treated as marked cultural, classed, gendered, and racial actors in a new geography. These events celebrate traditional cultural practices in the context of the denial of their existence, and visually demonstrate to the larger community their affirmation of belonging, and as cultural citizens.²² Cultural citizenship refers to the various sociopolitical struggles and demands a distinct social space for Latinas/os in the United States.

Latinas/os have become visually present in the rural heartland in the formal and quotidian settings. In Lorraine, Mexicans have been present for over four decades since the recruitment of seven workers from Jiménez in northern Mexico. Yet they are not included or imagined as part of the social fabric of small-town Middle America. In the annual broomcorn festival, Mexicans—the primary labor force behind the local broom industry—partake in the festivities on the margins and as speculators. For example, in figure 1.3.1, "haciendo las escobas," two Mexican employees from Jiménez illustrate to the public how to make old-fashioned brooms, the annual activity at the festival sponsored by one of the local family-owned companies. The workers are not imagined as the viability of the town

through their lives, labor, and economic contributions, but rather remain in the background, while broomcorn takes center stage of the town's past and present legacy.

The broom industry is the primary economic viability of the town, and subsequently it is the migrant Latino labor that sustains the town's vibrancy. As Latinas/os have settled in places with no significant history of Latino settlement, the changes in these "new" arenas create localized and intimate discomfort, which becomes implicated in policy and public discourse. Nonetheless, through cultural practices, migrants are partaking in the reshaping the American heartland, a place they also call home.

Notes

1. Pseudonyms are used for all places and people in this chapter.
2. Stephen J. Lyons, "Nuevos Americanos: Is the Current Influx of Latinos so Different from Past Immigrations?," *LAS News* (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign), fall/winter 2005-6, www.las.illinois.edu/alumni.
3. Ann Millard and Jorge Chapa, eds., *Apple Pie and Enchiladas: Latino Newcomers in the Rural Midwest* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).
4. Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States* (New York: Arno Press, 1975 [1932]); Dennis Nodín Valdés, *Al Norte: Agricultural Workers in the Great Lakes Region, 1917-1970* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991); Juan R. García, *Mexicans in the Midwest, 1900-1932* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996).
5. Gustavo Del Castillo, "NAFTA and the Struggle for Neoliberalism: Mexico's Elusive Quest for First World Status," in *Neoliberalism Revisited: Economic Restructuring and Mexico's Political Future*, ed. G. Otero (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996); Lisa Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2003); David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); David Fitzgerald, "Inside the Sending State: The Politics of Mexican Emigration Control," *International Migration Review* 40 (2006): 259-93.
6. Rubén O. Martínez, *Latinos in the Midwest* (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2011), 6.
7. Douglas S. Massey, *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008).
8. Millard and Chapa, *Apple Pie and Enchiladas*.
9. Eileen Diaz McConnell, "Latinos in the Rural Midwest: The Twentieth-Century Historical Context Leading to Contemporary Challenges," in *Apple Pie and Enchiladas: Latino Newcomers to the Rural Midwest*, ed. Ann V. Millard and Jorge Chapa (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 26-40; Jorge Durand, Douglas S. Massey, and Chiara Capoferro, "The New Geography of Mexican Immigration," in *New Destinations: Mexican Immigration in the United States*, ed. Victor Zúñiga and Rubén Hernández-León (New York: Russell Sage, 2005), 1-20.

10. Leo Chavez, *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens and the Nation* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008).
11. Durand, Massey, and Capoferro, "New Geography of Mexican Immigration."
12. Carlos Vélez-Ibáñez, "Regions of Refuge in the United States: Issues, Problems and Concerns for the Future of Mexican-Origin Populations in the United States," Malinowski Award Lectures, *Human Organization* 63, no. 1 (2004): 1-20.
13. Marc Simon Rodriguez, "Defining the Space of Participation in a Northern City: Tejanos and the War on Poverty in Milwaukee," in *The War on Poverty: A New Grassroots History, 1964-1980*, ed. Annelise Orleck and Lisa Gayle Hazirjian (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 110-30.
14. Detasseling entails removing the long tassel to prevent cross-pollination.
15. Recruiters have been central in facilitating arrangements, often informal, for migrant workers and the employers. Dennis Nodín Valdés states that the recruiters, or *enganchistas*, played a significant role in recruiting laborers during the early migration of the twentieth century: "the *enganchistas* were hired by the companies and were sent to the border and into Mexico with the promise of seasonal work in the beet fields, good working conditions and high pay." Dennis Nodín Valdés, *Al Norte*, 9.
16. Guillermina Gina Núñez discusses the importance of investing in vehicles for migrant families, whose lives are defined by mobility. Guillermina Gina Núñez, "The Political Ecology of Colonias in the Hatch Valley: Towards an Applied Social Science of the U.S.-Mexico Border" (PhD diss., University of California, Riverside, 2006). Rather than investing in homes, migrant workers invest in vehicles that will be reliable for the travels they must embark on throughout the year. This reflects Gloria Anzaldúa's concept of carrying home on the back. Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, 3rd ed. (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2007).
17. Illinois Report Card, Oct. 31, 2012, www.IllinoisReportCard.com.
18. Chavez, *Latino Threat*.
19. James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: New Press, 2005).
20. Michael Kearney, "Transnationalism in California and Mexico at the End of Empire," in *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 117-41.
21. Alfonso Gonzales, "The 2006 Mega Marches in Greater Los Angeles: Counter-Hegemonic Moment and the Future of El Migrante Struggle," *Latina/Latino Studies Journal* 7, no. 1 (2009): 30-59.
22. Renato Rosaldo, "Cultural Ethnicity and Educational Democracy," *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 402-11; William V. Flores and Rina Benmayor, eds., *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997).