

ethnicity, gender, generation, class, and language, the organizers had also to position themselves and their membership somewhere in between the “model minority” and the “disadvantaged minority.” Clearly, Asian Americans had faced discrimination in hiring and promotion, but they also were better off than other racial groups in terms of rates of entrepreneurship and the number of professionals. Interestingly, organizers and members of the business association used the model minority image to capitalize on the idea that Asian Americans were needed in marketing and management positions to reach minority consumers. Members of this organization also highlighted their connections to the Pacific Rim, even though such a strategy reinforced the perception of Asians as foreigners. The use of these stereotypes in interactions with private corporations and public officials can be interpreted as manipulating images to gain strength and resources for the Asian American community, but as Vò notes, such a strategy is a slippery slope that can potentially remarginalize Asian Americans.

In the end, Vò’s main argument in the book is that Asian Americans as a group were not widely accepted into mainstream society during the post civil rights era and formed organizations to negotiate their social positions within the larger society. Vò documents how the continuing practices of racialization and marginalization have led Asian Americans to adopt a panethnic strategy—one that maintains a boundary marker between Asians and the larger society—to voice their collective concerns and claims. She also shows us the complexity of panethnic identity formation and organizational processes among a culturally and linguistically diverse population when dealing with issues such as historical preservation and community redevelopment to electoral politics and lack of representation. However, greater consideration could have been devoted to further explicating the general concepts and larger social processes derived from her case study. For example, Vò introduces interesting concepts such as the interactive model of mobilization and solidarities of difference that simply demand more attention. Expanding on these ideas would have shown how new sociological concepts can be gleaned from this organizational history.

Despite this issue, Vò’s book is well crafted and offers an important examination of the issues galvanizing the contemporary Asian American community and the complexities surrounding panethnic organizing. It is a must read for scholars, activists, and policymakers concerned with racial exclusion, community building, and identity formation.

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*Latino Crossings: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and the Politics of Race and Citizenship*, by **Nicholas De Genova** and **Ana Y. Ramos-Zayas**. New York: Routledge, 2003. 257 pp. \$90.95 cloth. ISBN: 0-415-93456-7. \$29.95 paper. ISBN: 0-415-93457-5.

**LARA PEREZ-LONGBARDO**  
*University of Chicago*  
*larap@uchicago.edu*

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Although Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are the largest national-origin groups of U.S. Latinos, academic study of their experiences tends to either focus solely on one group or lump them together into an uncritical pan-Latino category. This collaborative ethnographic text challenges that tradition. Anthropologists De Genova and Ramos-Zayas assert that the conflicts that arise in Chicago between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are rooted not in their cultural differences, but rather in their divergent sociopolitical experiences upon arrival in the mainland United States. *Latino Crossings* offers a sophisticated analysis of the complex relationship between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the city of Chicago, framing the comparison of their differential experiences around race and citizenship, “the two defining axes of inequality in the United States” (p. 209).

*Latino Crossings* particularizes the intersections of these issues in the independent projects of De Genova and Ramos-Zayas. De Genova bases his analysis on participant observation in Chicago’s Mexican community and as an ESL teacher with predominantly Mexican factory workers (1993–95, 1999–2000). Ramos-Zayas similarly conducted fieldwork and life history interviews as a volunteer teacher in the Puerto Rican Humboldt Park neighborhood (1994–95). Their informants are mostly working class and have lived in the mainland United States

for one to three generations. Both authors followed up with informants through 2000.

Comparing Mexicans and Puerto Ricans illuminates the process of racialization within "intermediate" racial groups. Because citizenship affords benefits to Puerto Ricans to which Mexicans are ineligible, this inequality elicits fractures between the communities and divergent discourses of each other's worth and deservingness. Mexican informants contend that Puerto Ricans are less deserving than they are of these benefits because their citizenship and attitudes toward work, welfare, family structure, and language liken them to African Americans. While Mexican migrants use racial language to blacken Puerto Ricans, many Puerto Rican informants took an almost nativist stance against Mexican immigrants, citing their belief that Mexican willingness to work for low wages harms Puerto Ricans' opportunities for more dignified employment.

The authors find that a "divergent discourse" thus emerges around modernity and tradition, one that is particularly clear in their discussion of single motherhood. Mexican migrants tended to remain in troubled relationships because of their high valuation of an intact family. Puerto Ricans were more likely to leave the relationship, with welfare as a safety net. Female Puerto Rican informants thus tended to view themselves as being more modern and resourceful because of their willingness to be "liberated." A similar discourse arises around language. Mexicans criticize Puerto Ricans for using "uncivilized" Spanglish and street English that aligns them with African Americans, whereas Puerto Ricans' view their loss of Spanish and command of English as being modern. Thus, Mexican migrants consider Puerto Rican behavior to represent their Blackness and undeservingness of the privileges of citizenship. The authors point out, however, that U.S.-born Mexicans are racialized as well, suggesting that racialization is not merely a Mexican-Puerto Rican issue, but perhaps better explained by assimilation.

De Genova and Ramos-Zayas conclude that although Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants tend to view themselves as racially distinct from one another, pan-Latino identities emerge in later generations, also serving as racial terms distinct from Whiteness and Blackness. Their penultimate chapter details

the variety of purposes served by adopting a pan-Latino identity: separation both from Blackness and white power, alliance as working-class Latinos, a means for middle class Latinos to share their aspirations with those who feel similarly racialized, and a generationally-delineated Latinidad that expresses both their in-between racial status and their in-between cultural status as migrants and Americans.

While citizenship is a crucial and understudied factor that shapes the divergent assimilation patterns of Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants to Chicago, much of the racialized discourse in the text seems to hinge on the Americanization of these groups as non-white minorities. The authors argue that both Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants view the Americanization of U.S.-born generations as a departure from cultured Mexican-ness and Puerto Rican-ness "in the direction of a Latinidad apparently inseparable from the racialized status of U.S. 'minority' that was synonymous with Blackness" (p. 180). Racial hegemony thus enlists migrants' participation in racializing the more assimilated among both groups. De Genova and Ramos-Zayas find that citizenship and racial hegemony create sociopolitical barriers between the Mexican and Puerto Rican communities, preventing them from coming together as Latinos.

In their "crossings," Mexicans and Puerto Ricans come to see themselves as belonging to a racial group that exists somewhere between Whiteness and Blackness. Citizenship is a valuable lens through which to study not only Latinos but also other ethnic and racial groups related through colonialism and conquest, such as Afro-Caribbeans and African Americans. This highly readable and informative book will be useful to social scientists interested in the complex relationships that arise between groups in a racialized society.