

Towards an Intersectional Analysis of Migration:

Economic Restructuring and the Social Regulation of Citizenship in the Heartland

By Nancy A. Naples, University of Connecticut¹

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Utilizing the construct of *social regulation* as a bridge across the scholarship on the political economy of immigration, racial formation, and materialist feminism, I argue for an intersectional approach to explore the *social regulation of citizenship*. Rather than locating an intersectional analysis in the embodied experiences of diverse social actors, I argue for an approach drawn from the different epistemological frames used to analyze class, race, and gender. Drawing on twelve years of ethnographic investigation of the economic and social restructuring of two small towns in rural Iowa, I demonstrate the value of this intersectional analysis to explore the incorporation of Mexican and Mexican American migrants in the rural Midwestern United States. By uncovering how wider economic and political processes are manifested in everyday life, we can sharpen our understanding of the state and better articulate the relationship between the state, market, other social institutions and citizenship.

Calls for analyses that simultaneously take into account the dynamics of race, class and gender have been central to feminist scholarship for two decades (see, e.g, Anderson and Collins 1995; Brewer 1993; Collins 1993; Crenshaw 1991a, 1991b; Dill 1983; Glenn 1992; Lorber 1994; Mink 1995; Naples 1998a, 1998b; Sacks 1989; Young 1981). Many of the scholars who have taken up this challenging project generated studies that incorporated data from women of different racial-ethnic and class backgrounds as a way to advance the "intersectional" project (see Naples 1998b). In contrast, rather than locating an intersectional analysis in the embodied

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experiences of diverse social actors, I argue for an approach drawn from the different epistemological frames used to analyze class, race, and gender. My intersectional approach is especially indebted to Dorothy Smith's (1987, 1990) institutional ethnographic approach that avoids reifying systems of oppressions and argues for a contextualized and historicized angle of vision.¹ I utilize the construct of *social regulation* as a bridge across the scholarship on the political economy of immigration, racial formation, and materialist feminism.² My analysis of the processes involved in the *social regulation of citizenship* demonstrates how the politics of place shape the incorporation of new Latino residents in the rural Midwest and illustrates the limit of approaches to citizenship that are confined to voting behavior and static criteria such as formal citizenship or residency status.

Citizenship is achieved in particular local contexts and is an ongoing accomplishment that cannot be understood by exclusive focus on law and INS policy. The local social regulatory practices reveal the complex and contradictory ways different individuals and groups are incorporated into the wider polity and how gender, race, and class are woven in and through these practices. I use the term *citizenship* in a broader sense than is typical in studies of immigration and migration to examine ways in which citizens and others with legal standing in the U.S. achieve legitimate status as full members of specific geographic communities (also see Coutin 2000). Therefore, I view citizenship claims beyond T. H. Marshall's conceptualization of civil, political and social rights to include exploring how newcomers make claims on the social, civic, and physical spaces and other features of particular locales. Following feminist geographer Doreen Massey (1994, pp. 138-139), I view "localities" as "*constructions* out of the intersections and interactions of concrete social relations and social processes." With this situated approach, it is possible to analyze how global economic and political processes, national and state policy, and

local practices and social interactions work together in complex and sometimes contradictory ways to *regulate citizenship*.

The specific analysis presented here is based on a twelve year ethnographic study in Midtown, a pseudonym for a small town in rural Iowa where a local food processing plant expanded in 1990. As a consequence of active recruitment by the plant owners and informal networking, Mexican and Mexican American workers and their families migrated to the town.³ The increased presence of Mexicans and Mexican Americans as permanent residents altered the ethnic composition of this formerly ethnically homogenous town. The economic and demographic changes provided the basis for a longitudinal ethnographic study of the relationship between economic restructuring and social restructuring of class, gender, and race-ethnicity. By placing the analysis within a community context, I explore the relationship between citizenship practices and the market, state, local social institutions, and informal community interactions. By shifting the standpoint to the everyday life experiences of immigrants, migrants and others who are the targets of state interventions certain less visible features of state activity and the contradictions of this activity are brought into view. This embedded intersectional approach sharpens the view of the multiple sites through which state agents and nonstate or extended agents of the state contribute to the *social regulation of citizenship*. As a result, my approach reveals the complex processes that influence the *social regulation of citizenship*, processes that are invisible in other modes of analysis.⁴

Defining the *Social Regulation of Citizenship*

Social regulation of citizenship involves the control of citizenship through the interaction of three dimensions: (1) formal social policies and institutional practices (e.g. immigration, law enforcement, education, health care and social welfare); (2) informal social practices and local

associational activities (e.g. access to housing, recreation, and other sites of community-based association) and (3) discursive fields which define who has legitimate claim to the identity of *citizen*.⁵ The social regulation of citizenship generates contradictions which are most evident when local practices and everyday life events are examined. Furthermore, those who have formal citizenship and legal residency, but are denied access to social rights which are due them and other features of community membership, also resist local social control efforts in a variety of ways that are revealed when we shift the standpoint to the experiences of diverse community members.

Citizenship defined as the right to vote and the "opportunity to earn" (Shklar 1991, p. 3) captures the contradictory place of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in United States society today (also see Thomas 1985). For many who have the right to vote, their right to earn is firmly circumscribed by the segmentation and segregation of the labor market and enhanced by discrimination and other racist practices in employment and community settings. For those who have attained the right to earn, their incorporation as full members of specific locales is circumscribed by informal social regulatory community-based processes.⁶ This study reveals the complex and often hidden processes by which citizenship is constructed, experienced, and resisted in sites that are outside the formal state institutions that regulate these forms of political identity. This intersectional approach to the analysis of local citizenship practices also reveals the contradictions of formal state institutional policies and practices (also see Naples 1991).

I demonstrate how processes regulating citizenship are embedded in numerous aspects of civic and public life. Processes of social regulation are evident in everyday interactions with local police, state licensing agencies (e.g. motor vehicle bureau), housing policies and practices, health care and social services agencies, educational institutions, parks and recreation facilities

among other formal and informal arenas of social life. Formal and informal agents representing these different spheres actively extend the reach of the state as a controlling force in the lives of the new residents. Everyday interactions with formal and informal agents also have contradictory effects for newcomers as well as longer term residents. Furthermore, these contradictory tendencies are experienced differently by residents depending on modes of incorporation; intersection of gender, race, and class; facility with English and "legal" status; as well as the history, culture, and political-economy of the particular locale. I use the term "politics of location" (Rich 1986) to highlight the contradictions of settlement, mobility, communication and association in a particular place.⁷

First, access to housing and employment is directly related to the one's ability to secure settlement and to socially reproduce oneself and one's family, which in turn, can be firmly circumscribed by patterns of exclusion and marginality in both residency and income. For example, as Robert Bullard and Charles Lee (1994, p. 1) point out, emphasizing the experience of African Americans, "Apartheid-type housing and development policies have resulted in limited mobility, reduced neighborhood options, decreased residential choices, and diminished job opportunities for millions of Americans." However, access to other community-based sites such as recreation, churches, and laundry facilities also shape one's sense of settlement as well as social reproductive capacity. Second, social regulation of mobility is directly related to achievement of full citizenship "in terms both of identity and space" and "has been in some cultural contexts a crucial means of subordination" (Doreen Massey 1994, p. 178). The feminist critique of the split between the so-called private or domestic sphere and the public sphere illustrates how this spatial dimension can shape citizenship (also see Pateman 1988). As Doreen Massey (1994, p. 179) explains: "The attempt to confine women to the domestic sphere was both

a specifically spatial control and, through that, a social control on identity." Critical race theorists have also stressed the significance of mobility for achieving full citizenship (see Bullard, Grigsby, and Lee 1994; Goldberg 1993). In my expanded view of community-based sites which contribute to the social regulation of citizenship, I include opportunity to travel from one space to another as well as to secure the means for travel such as driver's licenses, insurance, etc. Third, the politics of language and translation also circumscribe one's freedom of expression as well as one's ability to obtain basic services and secure legal rights. Lack of access to effective translation or bi-lingual services circumscribes some residents' ability to utilize these services and protect their legal rights as well as to participate in the broader social and civic life of their local community. Fourth, regulation of association and social relationships also inhibits the achievement of citizenship or full membership in a political and social space. Local community practices can inhibit free association on the basis of these dimensions. Furthermore, community regulation of association, dating and sexuality, and emotional expression are experienced differently by men and women. They also have different consequences for different community members based on their race-ethnicity and class. In this way, citizenship practices are gendered, racialized, and feature class differentiation. Finally, the social regulation of settlement, mobility, communication and association are accomplished through everyday social interactions that reveal the contradictions of the social regulation of citizenship.

In the next section, I outline the theoretical frameworks that inform my intersectional analysis of the *social regulation of citizenship*. I next provide an overview of economic and social restructuring in the rural Midwest and the description of the field site. In the second half of the paper, I present an analysis of the diverse arenas through which Mexican and Mexican Americans negotiate incorporation into the economic, civic, and social life of rural Iowa.

Towards an Intersectional Analysis of Migration

This analysis draws on three sociological approaches: (1) the embedded political economy framework (see esp. Mingione 1991) which includes scholarship arguing for the social embeddedness of economic processes (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991; Granovetter 1985; Mingione 1991; Porters and Grosfoguel 1994; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Portes and Borocz 1989; Robinson 1993; Smith, Wallerstein and Evers 1984; Thomas 1985; Truelove 1992) and the political economy of globalization and immigration (Brecher and Costello 1994; Chavez 1992; Gutierrez 1995; Gutierrez-Jones 1995; Jameson and Miyoshi 1999; Ong, Bonacich, and Cheng 1994; Portes and Grosfoguel 1994; Portes and Walton 1981; Sassen 1990, 1998; Wallerstein 1976); (2) racial formation theories that emphasize how different racial-ethnic groups and subgroups insert and are inserted into new social, political and economic environments as well as how their incorporation is resisted (Omi and Winant 1986; Winant 1994; also see Espiritu 1992; Feagin and Vera 1995; Frankenberg 1993; Glenn 1992; Lamphere 1993; Lamphere, Stepick, and Grenier 1994; Lowe 1996; Oboler 1995; Roediger 1991; St. Jean and Feagin 1998) and, (3) materialist feminist theories that demonstrate, among other things, how class-based socially regulatory processes are gendered and racialized (see Abramovitz 1988; Alexander and Mohanty 1997; Collins 1990; Glenn 1986; Mink 1995; Mohanty, Russo, and Torres 1991; Naples 1997b; and Smith 1987, 1990).

Each framework highlights one or more dimension of economic or social restructuring: i.e. class, race, and gender. All three conceptual frames include attention to the role of the state in organizing class, racial-ethnic, or gender relations. Rather than privileging one angle of vision, I draw out the conceptual links between these three frameworks in their articulation of social regulatory processes to develop an intersectional epistemology of economic restructuring,

migration, and social relations. I go beyond an additive formulation to construct an embedded analysis of the *social regulation of citizenship* that highlights the politics of place and community. Conceptual frames drawn from these literatures are respectively: *modes of incorporation*, *racialization*, and *social regulation*. I highlight *social regulation* as the central conceptual frame to produce an intersectional approach to the study of citizenship. I argue that the concept of *social regulation* provides an analytic bridge between these three theoretical frameworks. This construct appears more or less explicitly within each of the three sociological approaches, however, with the exception of the materialist feminist state theories, it is not explicitly discussed with relation to citizenship.

1. Modes of Incorporation

Immigration scholars draw on the concept *modes of incorporation* to capture the process by which different immigrant groups are inserted at various levels within a particular society (Portes and Rumbaut 1990). Alejandro Portes and Ramón Grosfoguel (1994, p. 62) include in their discussion of incorporation the following dimensions: "government policies, mainstream attitudes toward the newcomers, and the size and characteristics of the preexisting ethnic community." Modes of incorporation interact with class origins, affecting the extent to which individual skills brought from the home country can be put to use productively and the chances for acquiring new ones which in turn contribute to one's ability to achieve full citizenship in the receiving country. While the concept of *modes of incorporation* offers a place to start our exploration, it does not help us conceptualize how various racial-ethnic groups are incorporated in non-economic spheres of everyday life. Although other aspects of social life are included in these analyses of incorporation, sociologists working in this tradition concentrate primarily on how these non-economic spheres impact on individual, group, and community economic

processes. For example, in their article on "Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action," Alejandro Portes and Julia Sensenbrenner (1993, p. 1323) explore community processes that lead to or inhibit the development of social capital which they define "as those expectations for action within a collectivity that affect the economic goals and goal-seeking behavior of its members, even if these expectations are not oriented toward the economic sphere." They do not link their discussion to issues of citizenship.

In exploring the dynamics of social embeddedness of economic action, Portes and associates have been sensitive to the complex interactions of relations within and across different migrant groups (Portes and Rumbaut 1990; also see Light et al. 1994; Robinson 1993). This sensitivity is especially valuable in investigating the complex relationship between immigrants from rural and urban areas in Mexico and Mexican Americans whose economic histories, length of time in the United States, and regional backgrounds also vary greatly. The experiences of Mexicans and Mexican Americans are differentiated further as a consequence of the different modes of incorporation into different regional economies with divergent ethnic characteristics (Portes and Grosfoguel 1994, p. 62). To link this approach with racial formation theory, analyses of incorporation processes would include examination of local patterns of racial-ethnic diversity and the self-identities of the different residents (see Glenn 1992). These dynamics are highly salient in rural Iowa where the longstanding homogeneity of the small towns preclude prior experiences with the incorporation of non-white racial-ethnic groups (see Fink 1992; Fitchen 1991; Monney 1986; Naples 1994).

2. Racialization

The concept of *racialization* provides a conceptual tool that allows us to map the ongoing negotiation of diverse racial-ethnic groups as they struggle for or resist incorporation into new

social, political and economic environments (also see Lowe 1996). *Racialization* offers an analytic frame that helps capture "the processes by which racial meanings are attributed, and racial identities assigned" and infused in material practices and institutional arrangements in a particular society (Winant 1994, p. 23). According to racial formation theory, race is "a constituent of the individual psyche and of relationships among individuals, . . . an irreducible component of collective identities and social structures" and "contested throughout social life." Racialization, the process by which racial formation proceeds, is fluid and multifaced and can be understood as, among other things, "a repertoire of coercive social practices driven by desires and fears, as a framework for class formation, or as an ideology for nation building and territorial expansion, to name but a few" (p.43). Omi and Winant also recognize that racialization is embedded in global processes and racial projects that circumscribe "the political terrain upon which racially defined groups could mobilize within civil society, thus constituting these groups as outside civil society." In this way, although they do not use the term *social regulation*, their description of the process by which "racially defined groups" are defined "outside civil society" resonates with the use of the term by feminist theorists of the state.

3. Social Regulation

Feminist state theorists argue that the state acts to regulate women's lives in multiple ways from constructing what counts as family, what jobs women can inhabit, which reproductive choices and sexual arrangements are legal and accessible, to circumscribing access to welfare and other social services (see Eisenstein 1988; MacKinnon 1989; O'Connor, Orloff, and Shaver 1999). Women of different classes and racial-ethnic backgrounds are further regulated in their access to reproductive choice and social welfare among other dimensions (see Abramovitz 1988; Eisenstein 1994; Williams 1991). In the feminist approach to social regulation, control of one's

body, social reproduction, and mobility are especially highlighted (see, for example, Doreen Massey 1994; O'Connor, Orloff, and Shaver 1999).⁸

Both the embedded political economy and racial formation frameworks highlight the role of the state in the processes of incorporation and racialization and therefore overlap with some of the analytic projects found within the literature on the welfare state (see, e.g. Brown 1988; Esping-Anderson 1985; Marshall 1965; Orloff 1993; Piven and Cloward 1971/1993; Quadagno 1994; Skocpol 1992; Weir 1992). Materialist feminist state theorists demonstrate the "multi-tiered," class, gendered and racial subtexts of the state (see Abramovitz 1988; Chang 1994; Naples 1991a, 1997b; Gordon 1990; Nelson 1990; Smith 1987). The class, gender and race subtexts include the division of labor within the state; the exclusion of women, low income people, and people of color from the design of state policy; gendered assumptions about women's and men's unpaid and paid work; gender, race and class-differentiated social policies (e.g. Widow's Pensions or Mother's Aid, Workmen's Compensation and protective labor legislation); and class, gender and race policy outcomes such as the "feminization of poverty" (Pearce 1990). By linking the conceptual tools developed within embedded political economy and racial formation frameworks to materialist feminist analyses of the state, we can broaden our perspective to include the social structural conditions, institutional arrangements, and less visible everyday life encounters that shape the incorporation of Latinos and other "transnational" racial-ethnic groups. Examination of modes of incorporation will thus include attention to gendered patterns of racialization as well as social regulatory processes as they unfold in formal institutional as well as informal community interactions.

Toward an Intersectional Analysis of Social Regulation

Theorists of the American welfare state offer numerous and contrasting accounts of the dynamics underlying the social regulatory role of the state. Some authors privilege the dynamics of class (Piven and Cloward 1971/1993), others center gender inequality (Miller 1990), while others see "the politics of racial inequality" as the "governing force" (Quadagno 1994, p. 188). Those who adopt a class-centered view highlight the social regulatory role of the state with particular attention to labor (Piven and Cloward 1971/1993). Feminists and other researchers have expanded these approaches to highlight how the state is built upon other social dynamics, most particularly gender and racial inequalities (see Abramovitz 1988; Fraser 1989; Gordon 1990; Naples 1998; Nelson 1990; Orloff 1993; Quadagno 1994). Rather than privileging class, gender or race, materialist feminists argue that the dynamics of class, race, and gender are intertwined throughout the history of the American welfare state (see Abramovitz 1988; Mink 1995; Naples 1998a).

In contrast, within the embedded political economy framework, social regulation refers to nonmarket relationships and arrangements that provide the potentiality for particular features of the market (see Mingione 1991; Thomas 1985). Theorists working from the embedded political economy framework illustrate how macro-structural economic processes are shaped by local political, social and cultural practices. For example, Enzo Mingione (1991, p. 8) challenges the paradigm of the self-regulating market by demonstrating that "market behaviour occurs according to rules that are not set by the market itself but by the socio-regulatory contexts." Mingione further demonstrates how the socio-regulatory contexts structurally limits the productivity of the competitive market and creates the conditions for "the development of the 'second economy' and . . . alternative associative interest groups . . . which . . . challenge the

status quo of the regulatory system" (p.119). This approach, therefore, centers the market and ignores the relationship between the economy and citizenship practices.

In one sense, the definition of social regulation used under the embedded political economy framework is broader than the definition utilized by theorists of the state since it includes arenas other than the state. As Enzo Mingione (1991) points out, in addition to the state, socio-regulatory contexts include trade unions, families, kinship, associations and local communities. In another sense, since the embedded political economic framework focuses on the relationships between market and nonmarket relationships, dimensions such as gender relations, sexuality, household organization, culture, and race-ethnicity are often explored only as they regulate or are regulated by certain economic arrangements. In contrast, feminist theorists of the state are interested in how state activities regulate social relations as well as economic relations, although materialist feminist authors have been especially attentive to the complex interplay of these so-called separate spheres (see Abramovitz 1988; Naples 1998).

Racial formation theory does not offer an explicit definition of social regulation of citizenship. However, Omi and Winant (1987, pp. 67-68) demonstrate how a racial order is "organized and enforced" through reciprocity between micro-level expressions of race and macro-level social structural formations. They clarify their argument further by noting that:

The micro- and macro-levels, however, are only analytically distinct. In our lived experiences, in politics, in culture, in economic life, they are continuous and reciprocal. Racial discrimination, for example, considered as a "macro-level" set of economic, political, and ideological/cultural practices -- has obvious consequences for the experiences and identities of individuals. It affects racial meanings, intervenes in "personal life," is interpreted politically, for example. Another example, racial identity --

considered as a "micro level" complex of individual practices and "consciousness" -- shapes the universe of collective action. The panoply of individual attributes -- from one's patterns of speech or tastes in food or music to the economic, spatial, familial, or citizenship "role" one occupies -- provides the essential themes of political organization, the elements of economic self-reliance, etc.

Therefore, their discussion offers another angle on social regulatory processes as they organize the "relations of ruling"⁹ within a political, economic and social environment that privileges white racial-ethnic groups and inhibits others from making legitimate citizenship claims.

Racial meanings infuse individual and collective action as well as social regulatory processes. The process of racialization as embodied in the implementation of immigration policies frequently conflates legal status with generalized racial-ethnic categories. Hence all those of Mexican descent are suspect and potentially treated as "illegal" or "nondeserving." Such treatment regulates the lives of all legal residents and citizens of Mexican heritage as much as it controls undocumented workers and their families, albeit in gendered and class-specific ways. Many legal residents are deterred from making legitimate claims for social provisions or civil rights due to discriminatory practices and fear of reprisal. Since such policies and practices are themselves built on contested racial meanings they themselves are open to contestation.

However, to uncover the racialized and gendered social regulatory processes of citizenship as well as the contradictions embedded in these processes, we must shift the standpoint from policy arenas, nation-states, and global political economic processes to the everyday world of those individuals and communities who are the focus for diverse state activities. With knowledge generated from this intersectional angle of vision, we can broaden our understanding of the complex and shifting social regulatory role of the state as well as reveal the less formal local

practices associated with the social regulation of citizenship. We can also explicate the intersection of gender, race, and class with these social regulatory processes in a way that does not treat them as separable components of social, political, and economic life.

Shifting the Standpoint on the State

The analysis to follow centers the experiences of Mexican immigrants, Mexican American migrants and white European American residents¹⁰ in rural Iowa and argues for a broadened definition of the state that captures the multiple arenas through which these residents are incorporated into the United States economy, society and polity (and how community processes, migratory patterns and resistance strategies may inhibit incorporation). This process of incorporation occurs at the local community level and involves ongoing social regulatory activities that circumscribe the ways in which new residents can make claims as permanent members of specific locales. These local social regulatory activities and interactions construct the racialized, gendered and class specific grounds upon which Mexicans and Mexican Americans can earn a living wage, access social provisions and gain a political voice to protect their status as legitimate members of the local polity. Furthermore, the social regulation of settlement, mobility, communication, and social interaction interact with one's ability to achieve full membership in a particular locale, which is firmly linked with the expression of, and access to citizenship rights.

The history of Mexican and Mexican Americans in the United States is influenced by a complex pattern of colonization, proletarianization, agricultural industrialization and disparate migratory flows. Economic restructuring contributes to a shifting international division of labor that is reshaping the racial-ethnic composition of communities across the U.S. Mexicans have been particularly hard hit by the processes of displacement and wage depreciation in regions

across their country. As a consequence of their displacement from other regions coupled with the development of low wage food processing and related industries in the rural Midwest, Latinos are forming a growing proportion of migrants to the Midwest (Stanley 1995).¹¹ As a result, rural communities in the Midwest with a traditionally white European American population have been forced to confront their own racism and manage ethnic tensions previously seen as the problems of urban areas or rural communities in the South, Southwest, and West.¹²

Much has been written about the experiences and incorporation of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the West or Southwest (Acuna 1981; Boswell and Jorjani 1988; Chavez 1992; Fernández-Kelly 1983; Douglas Massey 1987; Montejano 1986; Robinson 1993; Thomas 1985). Less is known about the more recent immigration and migration of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the rural Midwest. Ethnographic attention to the experiences of incorporation for immigrants and migrants to the rural Midwest, provides an opportunity explore the complex ways citizenship is achieved as well as contested. The arrival of non-white residents in these small rural towns often leads to heated discussions about the efficacy of economic development activities and anger at the state agencies for promoting such strategies. However, the incorporation of different racial-ethnic groups into the rural community also increases awareness of the local manifestations of global political economic forces (Naples 1994). The contradictions are frequently played out in community level responses to state intervention as they influence processes of racial formation. In addition to the local economic development corporation, others sites of social regulation and contestation include: the police, state licensing agencies, the schools, and health and social services as well as employment practices, housing provision, gender relations and language.

Following a description of the research site, I first discuss the process of economic development and shifting recruitment strategies of the local employer; then analyze the contradictory effects of INS and other formal and informal social regulatory processes in terms of the politics of settlement, mobility, communication, and social interaction. I conclude with a discussion of how these class, racialized and gendered patterns contributed to the social regulation of citizenship in rural Iowa.

The Local Social Regulation of Citizenship

Resistance to the civic, social, and relational incorporation of Mexican and Mexican American residents in Midtown is firmly entrenched in the housing practices, police surveillance, health and social services, translation services as well as social regulation of interpersonal relationships, especially teenagers' associational and dating behavior. These community-based social regulatory processes led to limited contact between Latino and non-Latino residents, shaped interactions between police, educators, service providers and Latino clients, and compromised associational possibilities and relationships among residents in a variety of settings.

Community-based constructions of, and responses to, racism and ethnic tension vary across different parts of the U.S. New Latino residents to the rural Midwest rarely have access to advocacy organizations and other formal groups established in other locales to protect the rights of workers or community residents who experience discrimination, harassment or lack of access to vital health and social services. Since most long term residents in these towns hold onto a firm distinction between those who belong and those who are considered outsiders to the community, "newcomers" frequently faced a great deal of resistance when they begin to make claims in different arenas (see Naples 1996). One significant way outsidership is constructed is through

visual markers such as one's race-ethnicity. This racial-ethnic differentiation inevitably places anyone who does not (visually, at least) appear to share the same racial-ethnic background at the margins of small town life. Class position, language, and associational patterns such as marital status and household structure are also markers of belongingness in rural Iowa.

The widely held belief in *agrarian ideology* serves as a powerful discursive frame that informs the *social regulation of citizenship* in rural Iowa. *Agrarian ideology* refers to a privileging of family farmers, especially those who adhere to a traditional gender division of labor and who have a multigenerational history in the region. This formulation of community identity and belonging makes it difficult for anyone who moves into the region for work in a factory or other low waged nonfarm employment to become an accepted part of the community (see Naples 1994). Those residents who do not own farms in the community but play central professional roles such as doctor, educator, clergy are also granted a high status within the community, a consequence of class relations within these small towns.¹³ Those who perform nonfarm work at minimum wage or who are receiving public assistance are therefore further marginalized within the somewhat collectively held class-based ethos of the rural Midwestern town (see Naples 1994, 1997a).

The privileged position of the middle class farm household with the traditional gender division of labor masks the many inequalities that have long characterized rural Midwestern communities. These patterns of class, gender, residency, and race-based inequalities serve as the grounds for denying "membership" in the community to those from non-farm working class backgrounds or who are single mothers or who have recently taken up residence as well as anyone else constructed as "an outsider." Those who dare to speak out against inequality and discrimination are further marginalized (see Naples 1997a). Many more keep silent for fear of

reprisals from their neighbors who are invested in seeing only the positive benefits of rural life. Consequently, *agrarian ideology* serves a social regulatory frame that inhibits the full incorporation of many white European American residents as well as Mexican and Mexican Americans.

As a consequence of these powerful processes, those within the marginalized segments of the town may never acquire the designation of legitimate community member (see Naples 1996). However, certain changes in the political environment may create the grounds for shifts in designations which result in reincorporating some newcomers or disenfranchising other longer term residents. For example, when the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) raided Midtown, some of the longer term residents began to incorporate as "community members" the Latinos who held legal residency or citizenship status but were picked up in a raid and detained at the regional INS office in Omaha. Further, as the composition of the Latino community shifted from predominantly single male workers to two parent families, Anglo residents softened somewhat in the negative attitudes they expressed, although mistrust of Latinos' long-term commitment to Midtown remained strong. White European American residents often commented: "Well, many have strong family values." In keeping with the privileging of a heterosexual two-parent family form, when longer term residents are divorced or turn to welfare for economic support they frequently experience alienation from the perceived "community-at-large." Ironically, this heteronormal construction of family serves as one dimension upon which Mexican and Mexican American residents find acceptance.

Regulating Settlement

The politics of location are especially revealing of the contradictory features of social regulatory practices. Lack of affordable housing was one of the most consistently mentioned

problems in the community. The mayor, city councilmen, social service providers as well as almost every other resident interviewed stressed that Midtown did not have an adequate supply of affordable housing. Furthermore, they did not see how the town could absorb the new workers who were earning minimum wage in the food processing plant and could not afford to pay for the limited housing in the community. Owners of rental property took advantage of the housing shortage to increase rents and alter rental practices. In response to this perceived need, the economic development corporation worked to establish an apartment complex financed by the Farmers' Home Administration (FmHA) that would provide low to moderate income housing for sixteen families.

In the meantime some workers commuted up to fifty miles to work in the plant. A number of residents were concerned about the problems posed by workers from out-of-town who do not have a sense of "pride in the community." However, when workers and their families were able to find housing in the community a process of segregation and discrimination was put firmly in place. The director of the local social services agency reported that when a low income family qualified for a housing subsidy landlords often refused to make the required repairs to their buildings in order to pass HUD inspection: "[S]ome of them [eligible for HUD assistance] . . . found a house but then the landlord refuses to do anything to pass inspection and so there it is, they're stuck again.." Furthermore, she reported that in response to the expansion at the plant some residents were buying housing and charging "outrageous prices for rent." For example, she explained:

They have some trailers down here in the trailer court. I mean, they're new trailers -- but they're talking \$400.00 a month rent and they're furnished and everything, but, still if you work at [the plant] up here for [minimum wage], there's no way they can afford that.

Some landlords are also taking advantage of the workers needs to share housing with one or more other families. Rather than charge a flat monthly rent, some owners were charging the Mexican and Mexican American renters a monthly fee per adult in the home.

Half of the Mexican and Mexican workers and their family found rental housing in the trailer park. The trailer park was located on the edge of town and provided housing for predominantly low income families. Some members of the community believed that the trailer park is the home for unemployed people who are "not really desiring of a job." Others see it as a place where there are a lot of problems connected with a supposed low income "lifestyle." As one white community resident explained: "It's just the traditional, the minimum wage workers, that's their lifestyle and that's really what you expect." However, the owners of the trailers did little to correct problems renters found with their homes and the quality of the housing in the trailers continued to deteriorate over the course of our field work. Sister Theresa, one of the two Catholic nuns who commute to Midtown and provide support for low income residents, complained about the bad condition of the trailers: "Some of those trailers should be burned down. When you go in there, it is just like you are almost outside." Another informant explained that:

I think if you went down and wanted to rent one, they would probably rent you one. . . .

They are in bad shape. They have the water shut off to them now. . . . But there has never been any upkeep on those trailers at all. Nothing. . . . There were holes in the floors and ceilings. They are just terrible.

The economic development groups in Midtown and the neighboring town of Southtown have placed housing high on their agenda. However, the director of the local Housing Authority

who is charged with facilitating the development of low income housing reported having trouble finding landlords who will take the low income rental certificates.

I am having trouble . . . trying to get property owners, landlords to register with our office, that way, if someone comes in, not a property manager, but we can give them a list of people to contact. So far, that is a slow process. I think they are afraid that we will try to force them into doing things. I don't know. . . . There are some vacant houses that I have contacted the owners to try to get them to turn those into rentals and they don't want to bother. They would rather just leave them sit than do anything with them. It is frustrating. Someone drives around and sees an empty house, there is a empty house but there is not much we can do unless the owners themselves decide to do something.

The housing segregation and discrimination furthered the social regulatory process and broadened the stigma placed on all low income residents. The interaction between state and federal programs to assist those living in poverty and community processes to exploit and marginalize these residents left many Mexican and Mexican American families with few housing options and household arrangements available to them (also see Bullard, Grigsby, and Lee 1994). Ironically, commuting to their jobs at the plant as well as sharing limited housing with several adults or extended family members served as markers of their marginality as well as a lack of commitment to the local community. In this way, the social regulation of settlement served to sustain the belief held by many Anglo residents that the Latinos were not interested in full incorporation into the town.

Regulating Mobility

Many Mexican and Mexican American residents interviewed complained that their mobility and access to the small number of public spaces was circumscribed by their fear of

unpleasant interactions with white residents. Their fears were further fueled by the 1992 INS raid which contributed to the deportation of a number of workers and subsequent out-migration of many more who did not feel safe remaining in Midtown. Landers reported that this resident believed, as many other Midtown residents did, that all the workers were undocumented because:

. . . people who are biased think all Mexicans are illegal. Matter of fact, they use that term. [They say]: "We want you to get these illegal aliens out of here." And unfortunately when Immigration came in and checked some documents, even though we followed all the procedures and everything appeared to be in order, there were a few whose documents were illegal and that was a real valuable learning experience for us because we learned even more what to look for and I probably drive Immigration nuts because now I call to verify every document just to be safe because I just don't want to encounter any more problems.

The INS "raided" the town in the Spring of 1992. INS officials waited in the parking lot outside the plant and picked up Mexican and Mexican American residents walking along the streets and playing in the school yard. Landers, a life long resident of the area, believed that a local white resident who resented the Mexicans and Mexicans contacted the INS. Landers described the "raid" as follows:

Immigration did what they were asked to do. They came in and literally raided our business. They had vans surrounding the building and people on the roof and it was absolutely a terrible experience and they came on shift changes. They knew our shift hours and the people from first shift that were leaving. We even saw them stop and handcuff one of the individuals who was an American citizen who happened to be Hispanic. . . . [T]hey grabbed him out of his car, handcuffed him, put him in their vehicle,

. . . and ran a check on him and [he was] scared to death saying: "I'm a citizen! I'm an American citizen!" And these folks spoke English -- they'd learned that in the home, but they were scared to death they were going to be sent back to Mexico and shouldn't have been.

The tension created by this and subsequent "raids" in Midtown generated a sense of anxiety among everyone including those with United States citizenship and working papers. Since legal residents had also been picked up in the raids and driven to Omaha before they were released without transportation home, their fears were well-founded.

The INS raids, subsequent deportations, and ongoing investigation served to regulate the lives of all Mexican and Mexican Americans living in Midtown. INS intervention also made visible in the shifting construction of the "outsider" in Midtown (Naples 1996). While INS activities served to confirm white European American residents' fears that there were, at least initially, many undocumented Mexican workers in the plant, it also highlighted the fact that many other workers were "legitimate" members of the community. In addition to the growing acceptance of the Mexicans and Mexican Americans on the part of some Anglo residents, several white residents also reported an increased awareness of the oppressive features of INS interventions. For example, Bernice Poster, who was born in the area and now runs a small business in Midtown, described how her consciousness shifted when she tried to help a young Mexican man who was unfairly arrested and deported after he recovered from an accident. She explained:

I used to think that they [INS] were the good guys, that they were doing a good job. But after what I've been through [in trying to help a young Latino] and seen I think they're all

a bunch of rats. I've seen how they treat the Mexicans and no one should be treated like that. They're like the Gestapo.

A similar, and in many ways, more interesting shift in consciousness, occurred in response to perceived unfair treatment of the Mexican and Mexican American residents by the local police. Here the local police, all of whom are residents of the town, were constructed as separate from "the community" in much the same way as the INS agents.

The fear of deportation and harassment by INS official occurred alongside ongoing harassment by local police. Even many white European American residents reported that the police targeted Latinos to a greater extent than the white youth who were often the cause of certain problems. Some reported that the Latinos were arrested for drinking when white residents would be escorted home or ignored. In the first half of the 1990s, the white residents were, for the most part, unaware of the extent of police harassment. As the contact between the white European Americans and Latinos increased, the awareness of the police harassment grew. Sympathetic white residents have complained about the unfair treatment and a few have established alliances with some of the Mexican and Mexican American residents. As another manifestation of the contradictions inherent in social regulatory practices, the increased police surveillance of traffic violations led to a increase in the number of young white European American residents who were pulled over for traffic violations.

As the number of Latino youth increased, Anglo community members worried about importation of urban problems such as gang activity, use of drugs and inter-racial violence. After one incident where a fight broke out between a Latino and an Anglo teenager, the high school and park became objects for white ethnic community concerns and police surveillance. The police chief explained that: "We have had some racial tensions and some racial problems at

school and basically we just put officers over there to make sure there is no violence or anything like that." He explained that the school officials called in the police when the fight broke out. He said that he now sends police officers over to the school "towards the end of the school day when people are getting out and then we monitor the traffic and the parking lot." He believes that their presence will deter further outbreaks of violence.

Since there are few places for young people to congregate after school, both Latino and Anglo youth gravitate towards the park. During the summer of 1998, a fight broke out between an Anglo teenager and a Latino youth which led to widespread fear about the so-called racial tensions in the community. While most European American adult residents we spoke to about the incident in the park blamed the Latino youth, both Anglo and Latino youth told a more nuanced story. Anglo teenager Tim Brown explained:

. . . a sophomore beat up a Mexican kid because he drove by . . . the park and the Mexican threw a ball at his car or something and he pulled in and was asking him why he did it and the Mexican kid got up in his face and he spit in it and that was it. He just knocked him out and that was pretty much all there was. He didn't get into any trouble because the Mexican kid started it by throwing the ball at his car, which that is how it is.

This incident seemed to ignite the fears of many white North European American residents that the Mexican and Mexican American youth were engaging in "gang activity." Many parents forbade their children from going to the park. In a 1998 interview, Tim Brown explained that as a result of the park incident, white residents feel run out of the park. From the accounts we received by Anglo and Latino youth, this perception reflects Anglo fear of the growing Latino presence in the town. According to Tim,

During the summer, it used to be that we'd go up to the park and play basketball all the time, but really the park in the summertime now is pretty much all Mexicans and they have pretty much run all the white kids out of playing basketball, but we still do some. It has changed that way because there are a lot more now than there ever was and when they get a big group there, there is more racism against white people than there would be there by themselves.

Of course, the Latino teenagers tell a somewhat different story about the park incident and other interactions with Anglo community members. They define the Anglo's reaction to their presence in the park as a result of racism and their dislike of Mexicans and Mexican Americans.

Ironically, Anglo fear of the Latino youth contributed to their circumscribing their own children's mobility and use of the park. Here we see another illustration of the contradiction of social regulatory practices.

State licensing agencies also play a key social regulatory role. One of the main sites in this regard is the Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV). Public transportation is generally unavailable in rural communities. Consequently, most residents require access to motor vehicles for work, grocery shopping, attending church services, or visiting health clinics, et cetera. Consequently, the DMV plays a central role in providing the means by which residents of rural communities can sustain their lives. Obtaining a legal driver's license is even more essential for the Mexicans and Mexican Americans who are often stopped by local police with little or no cause. However, even those possessing legal birth certificates and working papers report further problems when they apply for a license to drive.

Anna Ortega's experience illustrates the problem. Ortega, who is a bilingual United States citizen, was successful in her fight to protect other Mexican Americans from discrimination by

DMV officials. She effectively mobilized the political power of the Mexican American community in her hometown of Laredo. Ortega reports:

[The DMV] tried to take away the U.S. citizenship cards from the Tejanos. I had to bring the judge over and complain. I had to call Immigration. I even had to call the mayor of Laredo, Texas to tell him what was going on here -- that they were picking up our birth certificates saying that they were fake and that we were illegal aliens.

Ortega's story highlights the value of two key resources for the migrants to Midtown: English language proficiency and ongoing links between the migrant and settled Mexican American community in other areas of the U.S.¹⁴

Regulating Communication and Association

During field trips to Midtown in 1991, white North European American residents were especially vocal about the Mexicans' and Mexican Americans' lack of English language proficiency. Many believed that it was simultaneously a sign that these "newcomers" did not want to be a part of the community and a lack of their educational ability. On the other hand, key community actors initially resisted the idea that they should provide English as a Second Language (ESL) courses or hire a Spanish teacher for the local high school. Each of these strategies would cost the town money and, they argued, the Mexicans and Mexican Americans were not going to remain long in Midtown.

Progressive clergy who initially spoke out in support of the new residents were frequently chastised by parishioners who wanted to deny the community's racism, ethnic tensions, or poverty. Steps taken by local officials to address the specific needs of non-English speaking residents such as the hiring of translators for emergency services or English-as-a-second language (ESL) teachers for "limited English proficient" students were all-too-often

compromised by the limited Spanish proficiency of translators and ESL teachers. Maryann Manor, the wife of one of the ministers, was among the community residents who attempted to address the problem (which she defined as a mutual inability to communicate). She spoke a little Spanish. She organized a study group for other community members who wanted to learn the language. Manor reported that she and two other community members approached the plant owners with the idea of offering an ESL course to the workers at the factory but the owners refused the offer.

Workers stated that the plant did not employ a translator. The management called upon bilingual employees to help them communicate to the non-English speaking workers. In 1991, Landers explained why they had not translated the employee handbook and how the workers learned about the plant's policies and employee benefits:

[B]ecause it is fourteen pages long, compressed print. Yeah. So what we do there, when they are hired, when I interview them I go over the things that are in the handbook so they are aware of our policies and benefits and, you know, all of their requirements. Ah, and if they don't speak good enough English then I have somebody that is bilingual help me to translate that and that works real well.

However, some of the workers interviewed who did not speak English reported that they were unable to understand how their pay was calculated or the procedures for overtime. Workers who knew more English helped their co-workers as Efren Palacios explains:

Your companions who are more advanced and know some English [explain the rules, the contract, etc.]. There is one guy who works with me and who helps. There is always a companion who is there to help. If there is a Mexican who needs help with filling out an application, someone goes and tells a companion and they go to help with the application.

Lack of English proficiency compromised the workers' ability to advocate for their rights in the workplace. When asked what the workers did if they had a complaint, Palacios explained: "Well no, no one complains. No one knows who to go to or any of that." Most of the Mexicans and Mexican Americans also discussed the ways that lack of English proficiency left them vulnerable in their daily interactions with non-Spanish speaking members of the community. Manuel Gomez explained: "We don't know English. We don't know how to read it or speak it so as to defend ourselves."

Several Mexicans interviewed believed that neither the interpreter nor the ESL teacher (who also acts as an interpreter when called upon by city officials) provide accurate translation. Medina explained:

Everyone knows that I don't like the way they interpret. I tell them what I can and what I can't, well so be it. I don't want them to say something else. Because I know they say one thing and one understands that they're not saying it the way it is. If I say it, I'm going to say it like this, even if it's not good, but you're saying it the way you want it said. They, no, they say other things that aren't so. Friends of mine have told me that they told them to say one thing and that they said something else. And they said, "hey! that's not what I said" so they know it's not right. I don't like them to interpret.

During the period 1992-1994, one bilingual community worker from Texas lived in Midtown who, Medina believes, was not used as an interpreter by the city because he was of Mexican descent "cause the police think . . . he'll help the Mexicans."

Public officials claim that there are few capable bilingual residents who can serve as translators and ESL teachers, that the limited pool forces them to choose less than adequate personnel. Others insist that the services are more than adequate. While still others resent the

need to provide such services. However, bilingual Latino residents claim that the translators typically hired by public agencies do not communicate effectively to Spanish speaking residents and often make significant mistakes when interpreting to public officials and health care and service providers. Depending on the context, these mistakes are of more or less consequence, with the most serious problems occurring when these translators are used in court.

Language is a crucial site of contestation in which long term residents and newcomers negotiate their relationships to the community and to each other. This process of negotiation goes beyond the limits to communication that language differences pose. In fact, many white North European residents react to the Latinos who speak Spanish among themselves in public spaces with fear. Teenager Martha Glass reported that:

. . . If they [the Latinos] are at the park or something and they are talking in Spanish, they [the police] go up to them and they say that they are saying that they are going to do something. This one kid, he waves to the cops to say hi, and is pulled over and they started yelling at him for doing that. At the park, if the Hispanics are talking and standing around, people think they are talking about them.

Martha articulated this fear herself when she described her reaction to a group of Latino high school students talking amongst themselves in Spanish. Although she does not speak Spanish, she assumed that these young people were talking about her and her friends: "Some of the Hispanics are kind of rude sometimes and they are talking in Spanish about us and I told them if they wanted to say something, they should say it to my face or don't say it all and they came over and started yelling at us."

The struggle over language and communication ran through interactions with employers, co-workers, city employees and other community residents. Not surprisingly, language barriers

and cultural differences posed key challenges to the school personnel. School officials and teachers often reacted with fear when Latino students spoke to each other in Spanish. A number of high school students reported that Latinos have been suspended for speaking Spanish in school. As the above examples illustrate, community members who were in positions of power frequently tried to control the mode of expression and association of the young Latino residents. These attempts were especially directed at controlling gender and race relations. These attempts also had some contradictory consequences for white European American residents as well.

The social regulatory practices that shaped the possibility for achieving citizenship and full membership in Midtown included surveillance and informal regulation of gender, class, and racial-ethnic relations. Interracial dating was particularly disturbing to those interested in maintaining the divisions between segments of the community from different class and racial-ethnic backgrounds. Concerns about interracial dating and marriage were articulated by educators, social workers, parents, and clergy. Joan Lamm who had been a teacher in Midtown High for six years summed up her fears as follows:

Culture differences are real interesting too because, um, the man's approach to women in Mexico is much different than it is here. And it's very confusing to the high school students. . . Well, you will find groups of Spanish-speaking boys talking together about the girls are flattered by this, but actually they're not speaking in a flattering way, ok. So they, I don't know, they have a tendency that they're real charming to the girls, but they're not. The approach is not the same as an American boy's would be and sometimes the girls are a little confused and hurt by this.

Lamm, who did not speak Spanish, feared that the young boys were saying "things in spanish that would translate to whore or slut, or things that were derogatory." The fear of Latino male

sexuality and aggression formed a powerful discursive subtext in the interviews with white North European women residents. Anglo community members viewed Latino men through the stereotyped notion of "machismo," which is said to be characterized by, among other things, "extreme verbal and bodily expression of aggression toward other men, frequent drunkenness, and sexual aggression and dominance" (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner 1994), thus contributing to their surprise when Latino adolescents and men did not exhibit these qualities.

Rarely did the white European American residents mention the Mexican and Mexican American women.¹⁵ Due to the recruitment strategies of the plant owners and gendered migratory pattern of Mexican and Mexican American labor, the first wave of workers was comprised of men between the ages of sixteen and forty. During the second wave a number of women migrated to work in the plant or to accompany their husbands. The third wave includes a larger percentage of families with men and women and their children. As a consequence of the migratory time sequencing and gender division of household labor, the men are more visible to the wider community. Furthermore, several other factors contribute to the Latinas' public invisibility at this stage of migration. These factors related to the patterns of settlement, mobility, and communication mentioned above. For example, many of these women did not have access to transportation nor does Midtown offer the food products they desired. Families pooled resources and traveled weekly to Des Moines, a distance of two and one half hours, to purchase groceries from a store that stocks Mexican food and other Mexican products. Lack of facility with English also contributed to their limited interaction with other community members.

Initial research indicated only reluctant attempts in the early 1990s to deal with the perceived differences. Many white European American residents contrasted the ideal-typical traditional resident with the newcomers. And, of course, the Latinos were viewed as not

measuring up for a variety of reasons. The racism implicit in many comments about the Mexicans and Mexican Americans was couched in discussions of the white residents' fear of a rise in the cost of education and social services, a growing underclass, and increased crime (also see Hagan and Palloni 1999). By the end of the 1990s, a number of significant shifts had taken place. Since a growing proportion of Latinos were remaining for longer periods than in the early 1990s, their presence was now viewed as a permanent feature of the community. Furthermore, as the Latino children entered the schools, they formed friendships with Anglo children thus breaking down divisions between residents of different racial-ethnic backgrounds.

Conclusion

Rather than viewing the state as a static and concrete entity with fixed and bounded policy arenas and citizenship as a formal legal category, this analysis defines the state and the social regulation of citizenship in dynamic relationship with those who are targets of specific state interventions. The Latino and Anglo residents whose perspectives form the basis for this analysis experience the state as fluid, ever changing and woven throughout their social lives. The identity of citizen is also constructed in relational terms. For example, even Latino community members with formal citizenship rights, feel themselves marginalized by informal social regulatory processes of racialization. As Anna Ortega, a United States citizen who moved from Laredo to Midtown, explained:

But a lot of the Americans think that because we're brown everybody comes from Mexico and its not like that you know. Because you can be Mexican, Hispanic, and you can come from Texas; you can come from Chicago. . . You can be born and raised in California . . . [They think]: They're from Mexico. They're all illegals." (Italics added).

As I note in my discussion of the "outsider phenomenon" in rural Iowa (Naples 1997, p. 97),

Ortega distinguished herself from the white North European American residents who she defined as "Americans." Community social regulatory processes create a boundary between "real Americans" (read: white European Americans) and other Americans. These boundaries are maintained by ideological constructions as well as material practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural patterns. . . . Those who do not fit the narrow definition of "American" feel themselves outside the category despite their legal status as citizens.

The features of the state and citizenship so defined can only be captured through a socially embedded and historically specific analysis. I am not arguing that our view on the state should come solely from the point of view of those whose lives are most affected by specific state interventions. What I am arguing, however, is that we need to be aware of the limits of each angle we choose to privilege. An embedded intersectional analysis provides a view into the complex processes that are part and parcel of citizenship yet are obscured when we start our exploration from places far from the ground. A socially embedded exploration can deepen our understanding of how migrants and other non-white racial-ethnic groups are incorporated into the economic, social, political, and cultural life of diverse communities. This analysis reveals how the social regulation of citizenship changes over time and is influenced by the extent to which diverse community members serve to extend the reach of the state by legitimating or denying community membership to "newcomers." By highlighting the politics of settlement, mobility, communication and association, I also revealed the contradictions in social regulatory practices.

The power to control settlement is one of the most potent strategies for circumscribing citizenship claims and other modes of incorporation (see Doreen Massey 1994; Rose 1993). It also masks the interdependence of dominant groups with those kept on the margins. Bell hooks (1990) highlights this contradiction in analyzing the dynamics of domination and resistance in the segregated community in which she grew up. Hooks also reminds us that such marginalized places can also serve as sites of resistance and "a space for radical openness which allows the creation of a counter-hegemonic politics" (hooks 1990 summarized by Rose 1993, p. 156; also see Evans 1979; Fraser 1989). Despite the potential of such physical marginalization for radical challenge to the dominant class and racial-ethnic group, the diversity of the Mexican and

Mexican American community, different migratory patterns, and out-migration of many workers and their families, undermines the radical potential of their marginalized status.

The most obvious arena regulating mobility is the policies and practices of the INS. INS controls entry through federally defined immigration quotas and border patrol activities.

Immigration quotas and border patrol policies are developed in direct dialogue with the labor needs of capitalism. Yet, in some instances INS activities directly circumscribe the efforts of certain employers to exploit a low wage and relatively powerless work force. INS actions posed such a challenge to the owners of the food processing plant when they deported a large percentage of their workforce.

The Mexican and Mexican American factory workers worked in the least desirable jobs in the plant and faced verbal and behavioral abuse by supervisors and white co-workers. Initially Latinos in Midtown were treated as one homogenous group by the employer as well as the Anglo residents. However, actions taken by the INS reshaped the composition of the Mexican and Mexican American community as well as the town's relationship to the different segments of the Latino population and the recruitment practices of the local employer. The mode of incorporation subsequently changed in response to both state intervention and increased community awareness.

The regulation of communication also shifted as a consequence of the INS investigation. In addition to adjustments made by the plant owners (e.g. translation of employment manuals and presence of bi-lingual workers to act as translators during each shift), two ESL teachers were hired to work with students in the elementary and high schools. However, as research assistant Erica Bornstein (1994, p. 21) reports: "One remedial-ed teacher told me the ESL teachers were not helpful in determining the children's prior education or family history, and thus students were frequently placed in the wrong grades." The provision of ESL classes has improved since this

1994 field trip. However, a shortage of competent ESL teachers and translators who are trusted by the Latino residents was evident as recently as December 1998.

The regulation of association across gender, race-ethnicity and class also contour the social construction of citizenship in a local context. As a consequence, social regulation of dating, sexuality, and emotional expression are experienced differently by men and women and is further differentiated by race-ethnicity and class. Of course, these patterns are also fluid, shift over time, and are shaped by the modes of incorporation and racialization processes that are part and parcel of economic and social restructuring.

An intersectional approach reveals the contradictions of the locally contoured *social regulation of citizenship*. Such an approach will enrich future analyses by contextualizing the means by which different racial-ethnic groups negotiate their incorporation into particular locales. Attention to gender, racial, and class subtexts of these social regulatory practices will advance our understanding of how "relations of ruling" are woven through and reinscribed as well as resisted in everyday life (Smith 1987).

The concepts of *modes of incorporation*, *racialization*, and *social regulation*, drawn respectively from political economic theories of immigration, racial formation theory, and materialist feminist theory offer three powerful conceptual frames that can be analytically linked through the construct *social regulation of citizenship*. This intersectional approach to the *social regulation of citizenship* enhances our view of the complicated processes by which Latinos and other transnational racial-ethnic groups are incorporated into or prevented from making claims on the communities in which they settle. By exploring these processes over time we also deepen our understanding of the contradictions of the state and localized citizenship practices as well as the ways communities negotiate the social restructuring that accompanies economic change. This

intersectional approach also provides a powerful epistemological framework for examining the links between structural political economic forces, institutional state practices, and everyday life perspectives on immigration, migration, and citizenship. The contradictions of state policy and practices are further complicated and expressed through formal and informal social regulatory practices that contour the achievement of citizenship as a local accomplishment.

Endnotes

1. An institutional ethnographic approach further responds to postcolonial feminist cautions against viewing the formulation of the "global-local as a monolithic formation" which "may also erase the existence of multiple expressions of 'local' identities and concerns and multiple globalities" (Grewal and Kaplan 1994:11). Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan (1994:13) suggest "the term 'transnational' to problematize a purely locational politics of global-local or center-periphery."

2. Materialist feminism has its intellectual roots in socialist feminist and standpoint feminist perspectives. The feminist theoretical commitment to explicate the intersections of gender, race, ethnicity, class, and other social structural aspects of social life without privileging one dimension or adopting an additive formulation (see Lorber, 1994) influenced the development of a diverse set of theories defined as feminist standpoint epistemologies (see, e.g., Collins 1990; Harding 1991; Haraway 1988; Hartsock 1984, 1987; Mohanty 1995; Naples 1999). For example, feminist standpoint theorist Nancy Hartsock (1983) drew on Marx's historical materialism to argue that, as a consequence of the gender division of labor, women's material existence differs from men's and consequently women's standpoints will also diverge from men's. Social historians Williams (1980); Rudé (1981); Thompson (1978) extended Marx's to demonstrate the agency of the working class. However, their analyses remained rooted in a definition of class that missed the particular ways women and different racial-ethnic groups experience class. Other materialist feminist perspectives include Donna Haraway's (1988) analysis

of "situated knowledges," Patricia Hill Collins' (1990) "black feminist thought," Chela Sandoval's (1991) explication of third world feminists "oppositional consciousness," and Dorothy Smith's (1987, 1990) "everyday world" sociology for women.

3. Some of the Mexican workers are recent immigrants from several towns in Mexico and others are long term residents of the United States. Consequently, I will refer to these workers as Mexican and Mexican American. None of the white residents referred to the new residents as "Chicanos" including the Mexican American community worker and missionary working with the "Hispanic population" [sic] in Midtown. The only terms heard throughout the field work were "Mexican" and "Hispanic." In fact, white European American residents did not differentiate between Mexicans and Mexican American residents referring to all individuals of Mexican descent as Mexicans or Hispanic.

4. Recent work by feminist social geographers are offering new ways to conceptualize the relationship between gender and place (see, e.g., Massey 1994; Momson and Townsend 1987; Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari 1996; Rose 1993).

5. Here I draw on the Foucaultian definition of discourse which holds that discourse itself "is a practice, it is structured, and it has real effects" (Ferguson 1994:18) and, more importantly, is not the property of individual actors. Foucault argues that "[t]he key to power is not overt domination of one group by another, but the acceptance by all that there exists 'an ideal, continuous, smooth text that runs beneath the multiplicity of contradictions, and resolves them in the calm unity of coherent thought'" (Foucault 1972:155, quoted in Worrall 1990:8-9). Analysis of the social regulation of citizenship

highlights how citizenship is accomplished as a discursive strategy as well as a legal status.

6. As Lisa Lowe (1996:2) argues, "the collectively forged images, histories, and narratives that place, displace, and replace individuals in relation to the national polity -- powerfully shapes who the citizenry is, where they dwell, what they remember, and what they forget."

7. As Caren Kaplan (1996:25) explains, "the term 'politics of location' -- particularly in Euro-American feminist criticism -- depends upon *several* contradictory but linked discourses of displacement. The notions of a politics of location argues that identities are formed through an attachment to a specific site -- national, cultural, gender, racial, ethnic, class, sexual, and so on -- and that site must be seen to be partial and not a standard or norm." The term was first used by Adrienne Rich (1986) in her exploration of the limits of feminism and critique of the totalizing construct of "woman" and racism and homophobia in the US women's movement.

8. In her feminist modification of Esping-Andersen's framework for evaluating "decommodification of labour" (or "the degree to which individuals' typical life situations are freed from dependence on the labour market"), Ann Orloff (1993) adds the extent to which women can form autonomous households as a key dimension upon which to evaluate the effectiveness of a state's social provisions for women. In my explication of social citizenship, I include the dimensions of the right to settlement, mobility, communication, and association as additional dimensions upon which to evaluate the regulation of citizenship.

9. Dorothy Smith's (1987:3) formulation of "the relations of ruling" captures "the intersection of the institutions organizing and regulating society" and "grasps power, organization, direction, and regulation as more pervasively structured than can be expressed in traditional concepts provided by the discourses of power." Smith's (1987) conceptual frame dovetails well with the notion of "embeddedness" of economic processes that provide the grounds for certain social regulatory practices as well as the racial formation perspective outlined above.

10. For ease of presentation, I also use the terms "Latino" and "Anglo" interchangeably with "Mexican and Mexican American" and "white European American" respectively, although both terms have very specific racial-ethnic meaning that may not capture accurately the specificity of the Mexican and Mexican American residents as well as the diversity within the white population in Midtown.

11. Their presence in the Midwest rose by 44% between 1980 and 1990, with a high of 67.7% in Minnesota and a low in Iowa of 27.8% (PrairieFire 1992). The most recent data report that the Hispanic population increased from 32,692 in 1990 to 53,092 in Iowa, a 62.6% increase (Goudy and Burke 1998).

12. The climate for non-white and non-English speaking migrants to the rural Midwest reflects the xenophobic political and social climate in the U.S. more generally. Captured in California's Proposition 187 and embedded in the 1996 welfare legislation that initially denied legal immigrants and their children access to public assistance intensifies the resistance faced by those who address the problems of non-white or non-English speaking migrants and immigrants in any US community (see Park 1998). Such efforts

should not be viewed as only recent phenomena. In many small white European American communities throughout the Midwest, white supremacist groups have long been active although their presence remains firmly denied by town officials and long term residents (see Fink 1998).

13. In Midtown, Iowa, the Economic Development Corporation decided to build a new medical facility as well as a new home for the physician who accepted their office to set up his office in town.

14. The links between residents in Midtown and other parts of the U.S. as well as Mexico illustrates the maintenance of a transnational community. Residents of Midtown draw on their national and transnational community for information on other job possibilities, immigration law, and other forms of less tangible support. They, in turn, provide financial assistance among other resources to family and former neighbors living in other parts of the U.S. and Mexico (see, e.g., Espiritu 1992; Ethnic and Racial Studies 1999).

15. In keeping with the stereotypical construction of "machismo/marianismo," many white residents constructed Mexican women as "submissive, maternal, and virginal" (Cantu 1999).