Globalization,

INTEGRATION, INTERCULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY: PUERTO RICAN AND LATINO IDENTITIES AT THE CROSSROADS*

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RESUMEN

La identidad y diversidad cultural serán dos de los mayores asuntos de integración, gobernabilidad y desarrollo social en el siglo 21, ya que proveen los cimientos sobre los cuales se construye la identidad y las alianzas étnicas; se moldean las actitudes hacia el trabajo, el ahorro y el consumo; subyace en el comportamiento político, y se promueve el desarrollo de los valores que pueden guiar la acción colectiva para un futuro sostenible en el nuevo contexto global-cosmopolita. Este artículo analítico presenta la naturaleza y la dinámica del proceso de "integración del tratado de libre comercio" como parte de la globalización que es una de las fuerzas de transformación para el desarrollo interdependiente, las relaciones interculturales y el cambio social en la región de Norteamérica y su "periferia". La primera parte analiza el contexto y la dinámica de la integración dentro de los procesos de globalización-glocalización; la segunda reseña el surgimiento del posindustrialismo, la reestructuración económica, la integración regional y los tratados neoliberales de libre comercio, mientras que la tercera explora el impacto del proceso de globalización-integración en el desarrollo de relaciones interculturales y la "identidad" de la inmigración transnacional de grupos latinos a los Estados Unidos y la identidad nacional de los puertorriqueños tras

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el Tratado de Libre Comercio de Norte América (NAFTA, por sus siglas en inglés) en términos de los resultados de la política educativa nacional promulgada bajo la ley federal "No Child Left Behind" (NCLB).

Palabras clave: diversidad cultural, economía global, globalización, identidad nacional, integración, política educativa

ABSTRACT
Identity and cultural diversity will be one of the major issues of integration, governance and societal development in the 21st century, since it provides the building blocks of identity and ethnic alliances; molds the attitudes to work, saving and consumption; underlies political behavior, and develops the values that can drive collective action for a sustainable future in the new global-cosmopolitical context. This analytical paper studies the nature and dynamics of the 'free trade integration' process as part of globalization as one of the current transformation forces for interdependent development, intercultural relations and social change in the North America region and its 'periphery'. The first part analyses the context and dynamics of integration within the globalization-glocalization processes; the second reviews the emergence of post-industrialism, economic restructuring, regional integration and neoliberal free trade agreements, while the third explores the impact of the globalization-integration process on the development of intercultural relations and 'identities' of transnational migrant Latino groups in the USA, and the Puerto Rican national identity in the 'periphery' after the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in terms of the Federal Education Law 'No Child Left Behind' (NCLB) national policy outcomes.

Keywords: cultural diversity, educationl policy, global economy, globalization, integration, national identity

◼ Context and Dynamics

Societies are undergoing rapid and profound changes. Processes of change in the political, economic, social and cultural formations of societies are taking place, to which there is no mono-causal explanation. Rather, is a combination of factors, opposed tendencies, forces, events, and causal patterns in which a beginning of an explanation can be constructed. These processes provide the basis of identifying the emergent forces and contradictory tendencies, which are reshaping the world as we know it.

Integration as the new regionalization is a process rooted in what has been called 'globalization'. These precedures encompass economic transition on production, integration of trade blocs, science and technology policy, government cultural policy, and development strategies. Since capitalism is now the dominant socioeconomic logic in the new global economic system, the major changes unfolding at the global level —which include integration and industrial restructuring as the core elements for capital accumulation and development, and is based on the postindustrial technological paradigm shift and the recent macropolitical power strategies— have major implications for the territoriality and sovereignty of nation-state, political democracy, cultural diversity, social classes, trade unions, communities, interest groups, the individual, in fact to the social formation of society as a whole.

The nature of 'globalization' is understood to be a contingent and dialectical embracing of contradictory dynamics to explain the multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend the nation-state which make up the modern world system. It also refers to uneven processes that operate on a global scale and cut across (intersect) national boundaries, integrating and connecting (as well as fragmenting) communities and organizations in new space-time combinations, that in turn make the world —in reality and in experience— closer and more interconnected. 'Globalization' implies moving away from the notion of a "society" as a well-bounded system to a perspective that concentrates on "how social life is ordered across time and space". These new temporal and spatial features are among the most significant aspects of globalization affecting cultural identities (Giddens, 1990; Hall, 1996). Moreover, it concerns the interaction of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations "at a distance," with local contextualities. Therefore, 'globalization' involves a profound reordering of time and space in social life in which the development of worldwide networks of communications, cultural interaction and complex systems of production and exchange diminishes the grip of local circumstances over people lives.

Therefore, 'globalization' is more than a diffusion of Western culture across the world, in which other cultures are incorporated, but rather a complex, discontinuous and contingent process, driven by a number of distinct but intersecting logics; it is a transformation process of uneven development that fragments as it coordinates. It is dialectical because it does not bring about (unfinished) a generalized set of changes acting in an uniform direction, but primarily consists of mutually opposed tendencies that might be considered "transitional" to uncertain, unpredictable specific local outcomes (different possible scenarios of threats and possibilities; almost everywhere). Thus, 'glocalization' refers to the way in which the local, national, and global interrelationships are being reconstituted but mediated by the history of the local, and the national and by politics, as well as hybridization, an important cultural outcome of the multidirectional flows of cultural globalization and the tensions between homogenization and differentiation. In this regard, globalization has seen a move from a 'center/periphery' relationship in this matters, with multiple centers nowadays across the globe and the 'periphery' responding back to these centers in a variety of new (post-colonial) cultural and political ways (Giddens, 1991; McGrew, 1992, 1996; Waters, 1995; García-Guadilla, 1993; Aponte, 1997; Lingard, 2002, and others) that can be summarized in Figure 1.

These simultaneously contradictory tendencies are further reinforced by the unevenness with which globalization processes have been experienced across time and space, which are also reflected in their differential reach. Not only they are considered to "speed up" at various historical conjunctures, but also their consequences are not uniformly experienced across the world. Some regions are more deeply implicated than others, and some are more integrated into the emerging global order than others, i.e. advanced integration levels. Within nation-states, the financial communities participate and are tightly enmeshed in worldwide networks, while the urban homeless are totally excluded (although not unaffected) by their decisions.

This unevenness characterizes the globalization processes that tends to reinforce or to increase asymmetrical structures of power relations and the distribution of wealth within, between

Figure 1
Globalization - Integration - Glocalization Fragmentation:
Opposing processes and forces

TRENDS <	> OPPOSING FORCES
Centralization: concentration of power, knowledge, information, wealth, decision-making authority, market, and cultural capital, international networks technocrats, etc.	**Decentralization:** horizontal resistance to structures, entities, policies, etc. to gain and take greater control over those forces which influence people's lives i.e. gender, environment, peace, terrorism, others.
Universalization: international spread of social life styles, nation-state policies, production-distribution; consumer fashions; business and cyber individuals	**Particularization:** emerging of new form of particular and local differentiation of places; intensification of uniqueness and individualities i.e. nationalism, cultural identities, languages, etc.
Homogenization: development of essential "sameness" -- urbanism, bureaucracy, religion, McDonalds, etc. of societal interaction characteristics.	**Differentiation:** assimilation and rearticulation of the world in relation to local circumstances i.e. interpretation of human rights and religious practices.
Syncretization: creation and development of new shared cultural and social spaces, evolving hybridization of cultures, language, identities, values, ideas, mixing cuisines advertisement, architecture, etc.	**Juxtaposition:** the compression of time and space brings together to interact different cultures languages (identities) ways of life and social practices creating new conflicts, frictions and the resurgence of old struggles and rivalries between societies, groups, and localities i.e. "cultural racism", prejudice, etc.
Integration: development of new forms of worldwide regional and transnational organizations, industrial sites, communities which incorporates and unite people across previous nation-states boundaries to new levels of interaction and interchange processes between' centers/peripheries'; the process is both vertical and horizontal.	**Fragmentation:** excluding as well as dividing within and across nation-state boundaries; labor is newly divided along local, national, regional lines as ethnic, racial divisions and frictions become more acute as the "others" become more proximate; regional spaces are restructure, fragmented, and communities separated.
Interconnection: incorporation and connection of communities, organizations across national boundaries in new space-time combination i.e. development of global communication, networks.	**Intersection:** separation and dislocation of some communities, "production sites", groups, individuals, ethnic groups, sects, etc. apart from the new regional inter connecting-integration forces.

Source: Developed from Aponte, 1998; Lingard, 2002; Harvey, 1995; Giddens,1995; Castells,1996; Rosenau, 1995.

nations, states and across them. The unevenness also generates processes of "convergence and divergence" in which these opposing change tendencies intersect with one another, having a "common ground" to coincide or to clash either to enhance or to resist change. This new contradictory historical contingency will create both the conditions for the creation of new issues that will give birth to alliances and cooperation, while at the same time will activate old conflicts and create new issues for social movements and political antagonism. That is, an unstable ground

(converging collaborational new spaces) for joining political wills while, at the same time, creating selective resistance (conflicting discourses) on issues on diverging situations (i.e. like privatization, environmental, equity, gender, ethnic, cultural identity, and labor issues). This new contextuality is characterized by the lack of consensus in the resolution of conflicting issues, which is part of breaking away from the ideological bipolar world of the Cold War and entering to a multipolar new world order (Aponte, 1998).

The creation of regional blocs are part, and the result, of the worldwide economic restructuring that have unleashed the technological revolution, as well as the 'globalization' contradictory trends and opposing forces (Aponte, 1997). It is a historical necessity that derives from a practical recognition that economic activity has reached a new stage of development where geography is a facilitating factor in organizing markets for a range of economic, trade, and scientific activities. Since capital investment has its own logic around the production, extraction, and distribution of exchange and surplus value, the regionalization process inevitably follows the underlying principle of competition, the flexibilization of production, geographical differentiation and uneven development. This process evidences a new reality in which not a single nation-state, economy or group is able to manage the globalization forces. Thus, globalization remains as an incomplete and contradictory process. Therefore, the new regionalization is still limited to "market blocs" made up of groups of nation-state that excludes (fragments previous geographical or trade regions) non-members. It is also part of the evolution of new capital investment links (vertical and horizontal), industries, social groups, and nation-states in diverse ways across national borders and previous regional groupings (Watson, 1996; Amin & González-Casanova, 1995; Didriksson, 1995; Wallerstein, 1991).

In a global economy —in which investment capital, finance and trade flow across national borders— the notion of internal and external domains no longer holds. This "interconnectedness" creates situations in which economic policy in one nation-state can produce major consequences for many others. Nation-states

are facing internal pressures to regulate transnational activities that impinge to domestic interest groups and the public well-being. Such pressures generate significant political momentum for the extension of the international regulatory frameworks at the regional and on the worldwide levels. The interconnectedness and new developments of dependence (asymmetrical vulnerability) and interdependence (mutual vulnerability to external forces) set limits to the capacity of governments to fulfill internal demands without international cooperation. These forces are transforming the essential structures of the modern nation-state in four critical aspects: competence, form, autonomy and legitimacy, i.e. problems of governability. Strongly associated with these changes, there is an erosion of the capacity of the nation-state to impose its demands on others as the traditional instruments of policy are undermined by the acceleration of globalization processes (McGrew, 1992).

In this network context of "interconnectedness and intersectness", globalization also stimulates the search for new identities, challenging the integrating ideologies that have defined the boundaries of the modern nation-state political community (Rosenau, 1990). These determinants suggest that the nation-state nowadays is both indispensable and inadequate in policy action and in the implementation of societal development strategies. Since the 1980's, global economic and competitive pressures on the States forced them to curtail public spending and state regulations. Faced with the contradictory process of globalization and the creation of economic blocs (integration projects), the nation-states need new approaches and specific policies to strengthen their negotiating capacity, encourage competitiveness and improve their insertion in the international economy. As a result, governments have discarded interventions and strategies of full employment in order to increase their countries competitive edge in the global markets. Within this context, globalization forces make national employment policy formulation and implementation a nightmare for the State (Watson, 1996). Post-industrialism, production restructuring and integration have been recent economic policy developments within this context and dynamics.

Post-industrialism, economic restructuring and regional integration

In the debate around the origin and development of the new global order, one explanation locates the logic of globalization in technological innovation (Bell, 1976; Castells, 1986, 1994; Rosenau, 1990). The technological revolution is transforming and fracturing the global system as the full forces of the new economy's post-industrialism are experienced across the globe. This is a process in which international politics and national power remains as the critical variables interacting with one another, and in which multifaction organizations, groups and individuals, each pursuing its own interest, create an ever more intricate web of transnational relations, structures outside the hegemonic control of any single nation-state. Eventually this in turn could constitute a kind of a "transnational society" (Rosenau, 1990). Post-industrialism, as a production restructuring process, entails a shift in the balance of employment from manufacturing to services, from factory work to white collar professional work, to an economy organized around knowledge and information technology (Bell, 1976; Castells 1986-94; Allen, 1996; Tapscot, 1996). At the international level, the impact of technology on the production structure and the social division of labor (corporate and work culture) is toward a center-periphery interconnected labor market and multi-regional development process, where the concentration of information power among the knowledge corporations and the automation of low skilled jobs in manufacturing, depends and promotes polarization and segmentation of the social structure, both at the domestic and the multi-interconnected regional level.

The current technological revolution gained its momentum during the seventies at a time when the world economy was undergoing a major structural and accumulation crisis. In the mid-eighties, the keycenter of the world economy have restructured the fundamental mechanism of the capital accumulation process. Research and Development (R&D) that is high technology played a major role in this economic restructuring, as well as in consolidating the new hegemonic role of the post-industrial

societies in reordering the worldwide markets. The innovations and technological development, particularly computers and tele-communications, were the material conditions necessary for a new world order i.e. the globalization of the economy, the key feature of the new stage of accumulation. Also, technology made possible the integration and decentralization of production, distribution of management in a worldwide, flexible interconnected system, i.e. the 'new knowledge economy'. These were equivalent to the role played by the railways systems in the early stages of industrialization.

Thus, capitalism reformed itself, recovered its dynamism and social control by shrinking the beneficiaries from the system, and more recently, after the end of the Cold War, by reaching out to almost the entire planet to interconnect all segments of potential beneficiaries of the leaner, more aggressive, more determined, new type of capitalism. Since the 'new knowledge economy' restructures society and is highly interdependent at an international level, governments are faced with the dilemma of adopting the dominant logic in the most advantageous manner or to be left out in an alternative road unlikely to succeed (OECD, 1997).

The 'new knowledge economy' is multisectorial, whose organization form and source of value is based on the capacity of creating value (productivity and competitiveness) the application of knowledge and information technologies to production and distribution. The new economy: (1) has a global reach, but is not a single economic system, however, has the capacity to act as a unit in real time and on a world (global) scale, but refers fundamentally to its core activities not to everything; (2) the global proyection, which is technological, organizational and institutional, refers to its ability to structure and interconect the whole world through telecommunications and informational systems; (3) the economy is organized in networks and production exchange 'blocs' that integrates and fragments according to investment-return criteria and money making comparative advantages (human capital, infrastructure and network capacity), but they do not integrate everybody, instead they exclude most of the people on the planet, while at the same time affect

everybody, i.e. centralization (Castells, 1997; Wallerstein, 1991; Aponte, 1998).

Finally, the 'global knowledge economy' impact on the world (rich integrated countries are getting richer and the the excluded countries are falling behind and being poorer) has created alternative integration scenarios like CARICOM, MERCOSUR, PACTO ANDINO, and BALTA, as well as anti-globalization social and paramilitary movevements, some of them radical terrorist groups, i.e. descentralization-fragmentation forces. Therefore, many countries are embarking along the lines of a new model of economic policy that is organized around a series of measures coming at the same time from government, enterprises, and international organizations, i.e. the neoliberal economic development policies (Aponte, 1998).

■ Impact of the globalization-integration process on national identity and cultural diversity

National identification is a dynamic social process that reflects political, economic and social factors, a process that entails tensions and contradictions that determine the complexity of cultural identity in the globalization-integration transnational relations. This new complexity has three dimensions: (1) ideas and modes of thought; (2) forms of externalization ways by meaning are accessible to the senses (individuals-groups) and made public, shared with others, and (3) the social distribution of meanings and meaningful external forms (me, us and them), which is spread over a population and its social relationships (Hannerz,1992). This course of action is also linked to the political socialization proceceses of schooling, religious activities and community-state relations, among others, by which the political culture is learned. Hence, national identification is the identification process with national symbols, ideas, values and beliefs. However, identities are not inmutable since identification is a shared dynamic historical process punctuated by social and cultural changes (Carrion, 1997; Torres-Gonzalez, 2002). In short, individuals and groups construct identities, and the essential elements to be considered are: how they are constructed, from

what, by whom and for what. They are also constructed around a primary identy, which provides the framework for the construction and organization of meanings of the other identities, i.e.legitimation, resistance and project-actiont-togetherness.

Integration as part of the 'globalization' contradictory trends is dislocating and changing national cultural identities. The new temporal and spatial features, resulting in the compression of distances and time scales, speed up of global processes, so that the world feels smaller and distances shorter, making events in one place impact immediately on people and places at a very long distance away. As space appears to shrink to a "global village" of telecommunications and a "spaceship earth" of economic and ecological inter-dependencies —to use everyday images—, and as time horizons shorten to the point where the present is all there is, we have to learn with an overwhelming sense of compression of our spartial and temporal worlds (Harvey 1989). The impact of globalization on cultural identity is that time and space are also the basic coordinates of systems of representation. That is, telecommunications, newspapers, photography to memory others, must translate their subject into spatial and temporal dimensions.

Thus, the shaping and reshaping of time-space relationships within different systems of representation have profound effects on how identities are located and represented. Places are specific, concrete, known, familiar, bounded; they are the sites of specific social practices, which have shaped and formed people identities, and which their cultural identities are closely bound up. The integration and fragmentation —new regionalization processes— increasingly tears away from place by fostering relations between "absent" others, locationally distant from any given situation of face to face interaction. That is, locales are penetrated by and shaped in terms of social and cultural influences quite distant from them. What structures the locale is not that which is present on the scene; the visible form of the locale conceals the distanced relation that determines its nature. In other words, places remain fixed, yet space can be crossed by telecommunications, it is the "annihilation of space through time" (Giddens, 1990; Harvey 1989; Hall, 1996).

Although this tendency prevails, this phenomenon is associated to new dynamics of re-localization about new and intricate relations between global space and local space, a process of opposing tendencies that insert a multiplicity of localities into the overall picture of an emerging new global order (Robbins, 1991) in which there is a new resurgence of the 'local' together with the impact of the 'global'. Instead of the global integration forces replacing the local, rather it is a new articulation between the "global and the local," an emerging context in which this local should not be confused with older identities. It is about a "new closeness," an outcome associate to the recent regionalization processes of the "free trade agreements" like NAFTA and other more comprehensive integration processes like those of the European Union and MERCOSUR in Latin America.

Furthermore, integration as part of the globalization process should not be confused with the notion of "cultural homogenization," in which, as social life increasingly becomes mediated by the global marketing of styles, places, and images, by international travel, and globally networked media images and communications systems; the more identities become detached, disembeded from specific time, places, histories and traditions that appear "free floating" withing the discourse of "global consumerism" (also called the cultural supermarket). Differences and cultural distinctions which defined identity become reducible to a sort of global currency into which all specific traditions and distinct identities can be translated, i.e. universalization. These processes have created a new electronic cultural space, a "placeless" geography of image and simulation, i.e. cyberspace. It is a space of flows, an electronic space, a space in which frontiers and boundaries (territorial limits) have became permeable. Within this global space, economies and cultures interact which each other, an "other" that is no longer simply "out there", but also within (Hofstede, 1991; Hall, 1996; García-Canclini, 1990-96).

Economic restructuring and the new bloc regionalization policies are transforming previous neocolonial dependency and subordinated cross-border relationships between core and periphery countries. At the same time, in the core countries these developments are reshaping internally cultural identity rela-

tions and interaction between power holders and subordinated groups. Such is the case of Mexico and Puerto Rico in relation to the United States under NAFTA's new regionalization process. Some areas in the border and territorial relationships have been altered and transformed to "new advanced integration" levels. Furthermore, these levels are unfolding new trends within the core economy of cultural interaction and coexistence for 'chicanos and newyoricans' in their relation to the mainstream political power groups. The integration market forces are uneven (asymmetries) and unpredictable ("undetermined factors") in terms of their future impact and consequences to these groups within the core countries and in the periphery. Metaphors such as Los Angeles City being the second city of Mexico, Puerto Rico being the new emerging business center of the southern region of the United States of America, and the development of a new cultural language, "portu-espanol," at the border between Brasil and Argentina, are evidence of these trends.

While this is happening, there is also a resurgence of the local and regional economy as the key unit of production has been made by the post industrial "flexible specialization" and innovation-mediated production as explained by the 'technological paradigm shift' which stresses the central and prefigurative importance of localized and regional "sites" production complexes (Watson, 1996; Castells, 1994; Kodama, 1991, & others) in which competitiveness depends on local institutional development like education and human resources; infrastructure; relations of trust, self determination; a productive learning community historically rooted in a particular place; a strong sense of local pride and attachment. Along with the homogenization process, globalization enhances differentiation and the marketing of ethnicity and "otherness". There is a new interest in "the local" together with the impact of "the global". Globalization and regional integration (in the form of flexible specialization production and "niche" marketing strategies) which can exploit local differentiation or enhance competitiveness and local endogenous development, with new cooperation-networking relationships (Hall, 1996; Watson, 1996; Aponte & Molina, 2006).

On the other hand, cultural homogenization in the globalizing integration processes is very unevenly distributed around the world, among regions and between different strata of the population within regions. It is a power-geometry of time-space compression (Hall, 1996; Massey, 1991) since different social groups and individuals are placed in very distinct ways in relation to these flows intersections and interconnections. Different social groups have distinct relationships to who moves and who does not, and more important, who holds the power in relation to the flows and the movement in the region or globally. At the end of the spectrum are those who are both doing the moving and the communicating and who are, in some way, in a position of control in relation to it (the ones organizing the investment currency transactions, people sending and receiving e-mails, faxes, doing electronic transactions, the jet-setters, etc.). These are the groups who share a global cultural space and really are, in a sense, in charge of time-space compression and who can really use it and turn it to their advantage, and whose power and influence increases, i.e. interconnection of the digital economy.

Another dimension of this process is who is most affected by integration and homogenization forces? Since there is an uneven direction to the flow, and there are unequal relations of "cultural power" between developed countries and the rest of the world persists, globalization and the integration-fragmentation glocalization process is affecting the whole globe, as it is essentially a 'western phenomenon'. The proliferation of identity choices is more extensive and developed at the center of the core production centers (Economic Blocs) than in its peripheries. It is still the images, artefacts and identities of western societies produced by the cultural industries of developed countries (including Japan), which dominate the global networks. The evidence suggests that the globalization process is impacting and affecting everywhere —including the western countries—, and the periphery is experiencing its plurazing effect too, though at a slower, more uneven pace (Hall, 1996; García-Canclini, 1990, 1996).

Therefore, integration as part of the globalization process (1) can erode national identities, while at the same time can strengthen local identities within the logic of time-space com-

pression; (2) results in an uneven process and has its own power geometry, which includes and excludes; (3) retains some aspects of western domination, while at the same time cultural identity everywhere are being relativized by the impact and effects of the globalization-integration time-space compression (Hall, 1991; Featherstone, 1995).

Integration, intercultural relations and diversity

One of the consequences of the dynamics of the globalization-integration process is the strengthening of national local identities and the development of 'new identities' by resistance to globalization dynamics and the new regionalization process. The strengthening of local identities can be seen in the defensive reaction of members of dominant groups who feel threatened by the closer presence and new interaction with other cultures (otherness). This new "closeness" has the effect to contest the settled contours of national identity, and to expose its closures to the pressures of difference and cultural diversity. This is being experienced to different degrees in many national cultures, and as a consequence it has brought the issue of national identity and cultural centeredness of the West to the open, situations in which continuity and historicity of identity are being challenged by the immediacy and intensity of global cultural confrontations. Tradition is fundamentally challenged by the imperative to forge a new self-interpretation based upon the responsibilities of cultural translation (Hall, 1996; Robbins, 1991). This new closeness or interactiveness have had the effect to trigger a widening of the fields of identities, and a proliferation of new identity-positions, together with a degree of polarization among and between them, situations that are leading to "cultural racism" of the dominant groups and to strategic retreat to mere defensive identities among the subordinated minority groups in response to fragmentation or exclusion of the integrationist process, i.e. intersection. Some of the reactions are: (1) reidentification with cultures of origin (Azteca, Caribbean, Indian etc.; (2) the construction of counter-ethnicities as in the symbolic identification of second generation Afro-Caribbean youth with Raftafarianism,

and (3) the revival of cultural traditionalism, religious orthodoxy and political separatism within some sectors of the muslim community in North America, to name a few (Hall, 1996; Robbins, 1991; García-Canclini, 1990).

The other possibility is the creation of new identities as a response to exclusion and cultural racism for being stereotyped as Asian, Latino or "black," i.e. homogenization. What they share or have in common, which they represent through adopting a new identity, is not that they are culturally, ethnically, linguistically, or even physically the same, it is that (because cultural racism) they are seen threated as "the same" (non white, Indian American, "others") by the dominant culture groups. This unequal "otherness" is also seen as cultural 'pluralism' in a "democratic society" such as North America, where cultural educational policies have labeled children from these groups as "culturally deprived or culturally disadvantage" because lower levels of academic achievement in the schooling enculturation and aculturation processes; either in bilingual-multicultural or mainstream education programs (Pai & Adler, 1997-2003). Moreover, some of these groups are under great pressure as the recent anti-migration sentiment, demanding stronger citizenship requirements, and more budget cuts in social welfare benefits to migrant worker families. Ironically, these culturally 'homogeizing policies' of 'sameness' are creating 'new resitance identitis' as Latino, Asian and Afroamerican groups are forming 'togetherness alliances' to fight cultural racism, prejudice and demand equal citizen rights, participation and representation. However, demographic changes and the participation of many culturally different groups in the growing informal economy have also contributed to 'cultural racism' and the negative feelings of this unwanted new "closeness," which politically polarize the dominant culture groups and the new cultural identity resitance alliances. Some of these groups are of recent formation and are the outcomes of migration, diaspora or living in exile from their country of origin. Cultural identities are emerging from these groups and are not fixed, but in transition. They are between different cultural traditions, which are at the same time the product of complicated crossovers, and cultural mixes increasingly common in a globalized integrating

world (interconnection). These "translation groups" are obliged to come to terms with the new cultures they inhabit without simply assimilating to them and loosing their identities completely. People belonging to such "cultures of hybridity," like Chicanos, Newyoricans and others, belong to two worlds at once and have developed "intercultural identities". Their communities are the outcomes of the previous industrialization and urbanization transformations, and most recently, of the new diaspora of post-industrialization, integration-migration trends. They must learn to inhabit at least between two identities, to speak two cultural languages, to translate and negotiate between them. Cultures of hibridity are new types of identities, and there are more of them to be discovered. These intercultural identities are legitimate as they share the 'meanings of belonging and togetherness' to national cultures of origin and survival aspects of the cultural identy they inhabit (Pai & Adler, 1997; García-Canclini, 1990; Ramírez & Torres-González, 1996).

For all the above, it seems that integration as a process rooted in globalization does have the effect of contesting and dislocating the centered and "closed" identities of a national culture. It is a contradictory process (of opposing tendencies) that have a pluralizing impact on identities, producing a variety of possibilities and new positions of identification, making identities more positional, political, plural, intercultural and diverse; less fixed, unified or trans-historical, i.e. particularization (Hall, 1996; Robbins, 1991).

The resurgence of nationalism and other forms of "localism" at the end of the 20th century, alongside and closely linked to globalization, has become an unexpected turn of events. Globalization seems to be resulting neither the prevalence of the "global" nor the persistence of previous nationalistic form of the "local". Instead, the displacement of the globalization process turns out to be more varied and contradictory than anyone expected.

Puerto Rican and Latino national identitites at the cross roads

National identity represents attachment to a particular place, events, symbols, people, community history and meanings, a

particular form of belonging. However, there has always been tension between national identification and regional or universalistic identification that relates to the contradictory logic of the 'global-integration' transformation process in relation to 'the local' in the new context of 'accelerated integration'. It would be more accurate to conceptualize a new articulation of the 'global and the local' in which the new economic global culture of the integration process interacts with the well-bounded cultural localitities, their contribution, as well as resistance to assimilitation that determines the intercultural transformation of cultural interaction identification. The awareness of the integration forces' asymmetries can enhance dependency and subordination (centralization) as well as to contribute to strengthen 'local resistance identities' or produce new identities (particularization).

NAFTA was the first trade agreement between two advanced industrialized countries (Canada and the United States, including Puerto Rico as a non incorporated territory) and a "developing nation" in the periphery (Mexico). It was the most comprehensive trade agreement because it abolished most of the tariff restrictions between the three countries. The cultural barriers to free trade were national customs, traditions, religion, language, protocols, business law, and a general sense of how things get done in different countries (Barrow, 1999). Hence, the economically centered definitions of the agreement failed to understand that trade is one element in a much broader pattern of trends of social and cultural integration that is taking place between the interaction of the involved countries. The 'free trade' agreement was sold politically as an economic integration that would take place without social and cultural integration, i.e. levels of fragmentation. Even more, it was understood unrealistically, that trade integration would prevent further social and cultural integration. However, globalization-integration dynamics have not been that selective: instead of limiting migration, NAFTA promoted more workers mobility. Given population growth of the Latino groups in many regions of the American society, the unexpected results have been the 'mexicanization, puertoricanization and latinoamericanization' of life styles incoming from the border and the periphery into areas of the US life in the

continent, and just as well as the Americanization of life styles in these countries, i.e. accelerated integration of many identity groups (syncretization-juxtaposition).

At some point after 2004, during the renegotiation date of NAFTA, the trade agreement will have to be broadened in order to incorporate social and cultural criteria to handle the impact of cross-national cultural production and distribution on the migrant workers and intercultural communities (Smith,1996). In 2005, NAFTA was supossed to converge with the Central America Free Trade Agreemente (CAFTA) and the other Free Trade Agreements that have proliferated with Latin American and Caribbean countries, which were in the first attempt to incorporate the region in an 'intercontinenental free trade zone' conceived to integrate the remaining South American countries with the US in an intercontinental trade zone. After the government changes in Brasil, Venezuela, Argentina, and more recently other countries, previous negotiations are being reconsidered with a resurgence of MERCOSUR, the new counterproposal of BALTA to the USA ALCA's and other recent developments like the BANCO del SUR regional economic integration alternative initiatives for Latin America and other trade agreements between countries in the region, Europe and Asia.

National identification of Puerto Ricans and Latino groups in this changing context is at the "Cross Roads" between (the integration core globalizing forces and the the resitance for strengthening national local identities) a new intercultural relation for Latino group identification in the US in order to advance participation, citizenship, voice and representation of the migrant communities, i.e. juxtaposition. On the other side, in a non-integrated territory such as Puerto Rico, the government economic competitive strategy will determine much the state of dependency and subordination of the country's future unless the US Congress develops an alternative political status for the island (further integration >< fragmentation from the mainland or the region).

National identification in the context of accelerated integration forces is the new intersectness for the migrant Latino group's inentercultural interaction within the 'commercial integrating

countries'. The response to these forces, to exclusion (intersection) and discrimination, has awakened cultural nationalism in the region (differentiation-particularization). National identity, culture and language has been changing throughout time and will continue it process of transformation incorporating ways of life syles acknowledging the importance of English in the contemporary world, an identity that will have the influence and consecuences of integration and migration (translation) that comprehends the relationships of interacting between cultural identitities and two (interconnection) social realities, i.e. intercultural development of identitities.

Educational policy, identity and cultural development

Globalization, econonomic restructruring and neoliberal trade regional agreements are affecting educational policies and practices (what knowledge to teach and learn, why, how, when, where, by whom). Since education is one of the central arenas in which these transformations and responses occur, it will be one of the most indefinitely institutional contexts and uncertain outcomes. The 'global context' presents a different challenge to education than modernization of the industrial society's framework, in which the focus was in social needs and individual development of the new citizen, with an aim toward helping the young to become a member of a community defined by proximity, homogegenity, and familiarity. Education for the global era broadens the outlines of 'community' beyond the family, the nation and the region, insofar as communities potential for affiliation are multipled, dislocated provisional and everchanging. Whereas schools prepared learners for a predictable range of future opportunities and challenges, in the global context schools confront a series of conflicting, and changing ad hoc expectations, directed unpredictable alternative paths of development and constant shifting reference points of identification (glocalization).

The neoliberal view of globalization, as implemented by multilateral and international organizations (World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization, among

others), is reflected in an agenda that privileges particular poli-
cies for evaluation, financing, performance assessment, stan-
dards, teacher education approaches, curriculum development,
instruction and testing, leadership, management, and efficiency
models borrowed from the business sector as framework for
educational decision making; it also encourage new providers
of educational services, i.e. education as an private profitable
service industry (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Torres, 2005). Since
economic restructuring and globalization affects employment
and work, these processes are determining the social functions
of education: preparing people for work, economic competi-
vness and citizenry, i.e. 'a New Educational Pact' (Tedesco, 1996,
2004). In order to meet the new economy requirements, schools
and universities will have to reconsider their mission according
to new workforce knowledge and competencies needs of the
international labor market, global competition and for the post-
industrial emerging knowledge society. The Education Federal
Law of 'No Child Left Behind' reflects this concern and goes fur-
ther to accomplish homogenization with 'English only' policy of
schooling, for the ethnic minorities that have struggle for bilin-
gual multicultural educacion during the last fifty years. However,
knowledge adquisition is more than the ability to remember the
right answer in testing and competencies assessment. Deeper
levels of understanding enable learners to transfer knowledge
from one context to another. When learners take the ownership
of their learning —when they invest their 'identities' in learning
outcomes— active learning take place in the school classrooms.
Studies have shown that scripted, transmission-oriented peda-
gogy, which tends to be both superficial and passive, fail to build
on English language learners pre-existing cultural and linguistic
knowledge. Pre-existing knowledge for English learners is enco-
ded in their home (vernacular) languages, consequently, edu-
cational policy on language adquisition should explicitly teach
in a way that fosters transfer of concepts from learners home
language to English. Research shows the potential for this kind
of cross-language transfer in the classrrroom —contexts that
support biliteracy cross-cultural development. Hence, it is hard
to argue that educators are teaching the whole child when the

NCLB language policy dictates that students leave their identity, language and culture at the schools door (Cummins, 2001; Warschauer, Knobel, Store, 2004; and others).

In cultural terms, technological change in the international information/media networks (cable, satellite, internet, commercial culture) have increased mobility and dymamize tourism; changes in communication technologies have exhacerbated world wide distribution of music, sports events, films, television; an increased presence and visibility of others regions religion, ideas, beliefs that change local rituals into transnational ones, among others, represent the challenges that confront societies attempting to reconcile their own identity, culture and traditional values with the growing 'globalization of cultures', not of their own making. Moreover, changes in society's social interaction and cultural dynamics affects educational institutuions, curriculum and practices. Although family, work and citizenship are important socialization processes, within the the new information/media cultural dynamics they are becoming less influential, compromised by voluntary mobility and diaspora, and competition with other sources of affiliation, i.e. 'imagined communities'.

In this context, schools today confront a series of conflicting changing expectations directed towards uncertain paths of societal development and to shifting reference points of identification. Thus educational policy is associated with 'flexibility', 'adaptability', 'knowledge and competencies' in the curriculum in order to respond to changing work demands and opportunities; it is also about learning how to co-exist with others in diverse public spaces, and with helping to form and support a sense of 'identity' that can be viable within the multiple contexts of affiliation as they emerge as new imperatives. Schools then will have to help to shape the attitudes, values and understandings of a 'new multi-intercultural citizen/worker (Torres, 2004).

Concluding Remarks

The globalization-integration<>glocalization processes can be understood as the increasing extension of the reference group

of societies, which are established in a "new closer contact" that necessarily form a world; however incipient and limited, that world might be when compared to the sense of the finite known world we live in. This integration trans-societal process forms the context in which societies are able to transform and develop. Recently, and in response to the intensified interdependencies and global competition, we have started to think about on how to develop concepts about cooperation, collaboration and networks for the 'common-public good' that are more sensitive to the cultural and social dimensions of these processes, and that we cannot reduce them to only derivations from or a reaction to economic knowledge only.

Moreover, it is no longer possible to conceive global processes in terms of the dominance of a Western center over the peripheries. Instead, there are a number of competing centers that are bringing about shifts in the global balance of power nation-states and 'integrated blocs,' and forging new sets of interdependencies. Rather than the emergence of a unified global culture, there is a strong tendency for more global differences that creates a new field for more diverse clashing of cultures. On the other hand, while intercultural integration processes are taking place on a global level, the context for societal development is becoming increasingly pluralistic with many competing worldviews. Hence, globalization makes us aware of the volume, diversity and much sideness of identity and culture; syncretism and hybridization are more the rule than the exception. These processes do not seem to be producing cultural uniformity: they make us aware of the unevenness of intercultural relations and the new levels of diversity. There is not a "North America regional identity" of the countries 'integrating' under the free trade agreement of NAFTA, the lack of a regional identity is both the limited context and the challenge ahead for intercultural development; for work-citinzenship relations, language policy and educational aims in the core countries (USA and Canada) in their relations with the periphery (Mexico, Puerto Rico and others).

In an era when regional integration in the economic and political spheres, "cultural interactiveness" and "compatibility" are at the center of the viability or success of the macro political

strategies of the new interdependent regional blocs. The ideology of cultural diversity is founded in the belief that different is enriching. Cultural differences as alternative ways of dealing with essentially similar human problems and needs present us with a wide variety of options from which we can learn and grow. Intercultural relations and diversity as a utopian project (not experimented yet) pursues the formation of a "culture of diversity" for societal structuring and organizational development. This diversity is consonant with the principles of participatory democracy and goes beyond mere cultural relativism, in which all or many cultural traditions are viewed as equally functional and hence, permissible. An operational culture of diversity of intercultural relations (as well as an operational language) is needed and would be understood as a state of ethics, equity and coexistence, a mutually solidarity supportive relationship within the boundaries or framework of an interdependent associated integrational societal relationship (regional identity of North America and an integrationist culture similar to European Union beyond market driven integration), in which cultural boundaries must seem porous, dynamic, compatible and interactive rather than fixed to any particular group, a utopian scenario (viable and possible), where asymmetries and cultural subordination are left behind and overcome.Within the nation-states, the regionalization process is envisioned as a strategy for complementary sustainnable inter-societal development.

Intercultural relations as a result of global-integration trends and the 'opposing forces of glocalization' will be important factors in the transformation of the social formation of societies and educational policies in the North America region and countries in the periphery. Finally, the influence of 'globalization<>glocalization' processes on educational policies can be seen to have various, and conflicting effects. Some can be termed as desirable, others not beneficial, and others are being shaped by struggle, tension and negotiation. Given the ongoing trends, public education is at a crossroads, if it does not recognize the above treats and challenges, it runs the risk of becoming superseded by influences that are increasingly no longer accountable to public interest, state governance and control, i.e. gover-

nability. Therefore, further research on the issues and trends are encouraged to anticipate new treats and challenges in the new context of change, and to determine public policy options for societal sustainable development in the region.

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