

Center for the Study of Philanthropy

LATINOS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY: PHILANTHROPY, ASSOCIATIONS, AND ADVOCACY



By

Eugene D. Miller

CURRICULUM GUIDE # 7

Graduate School and University Center
City University of New York

*CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF
PHILANTHROPY*

EUGENE D. MILLER

*Latinos and the Development of Community:
Philanthropy, Associations and Advocacy*

CURRICULUM GUIDE #7

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INTRODUCTION TO THE MULTICULTURAL PHILANTHROPY CURRICULUM PROJECT

Giving and voluntarism are deeply ingrained traditions in American life. Yet these activities are frequently overlooked in the curricula of the nation's colleges and universities, or mistakenly portrayed as the exclusive province of elites.

To address this, the Center for the Study of Philanthropy at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York is developing a variety of materials to illuminate the significance of philanthropic activities at every level of society. A series of curriculum guides is one of several resources designed to encourage the development of undergraduate, graduate and extension courses on multicultural philanthropy.

These materials reflect a variety of disciplinary approaches, examining the ways in which eleven different (but not necessarily mutually exclusive) groups—women, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, African Americans, Latinos, Northern Europeans, Southern and Eastern Europeans, Middle-Easterners, South and Southeast Asians, and East Asians—historically used their gifts of time and money to create nonprofit institutions, forge public/private partnerships, promote social and legislative change, build communities, and participate in public policymaking at the local, state and federal levels.

Each curriculum guide considers a variety of factors including: 1) the traditions of charity and mutual aid that different groups brought with them to the United States; 2) the ways in which these practices were adapted to the American social and political context; and 3) the role of philanthropy (i.e., the giving of time, money and/or valuables for public benefit) in enabling each group to claim a public role within the American democratic system.

Identification of the relevant literature has been another important goal. Each guide includes an annotated bibliography and additional bibliographic citations, which ultimately will also be available as part of a regularly-updated, comprehensive, on-line database on international philanthropy. Additional information on the on-line bibliography can be obtained by visiting the Center's website at: www.philanthropy.org.

The curriculum guides and annotated bibliography, together with the other components of the initiative—volunteer guides, video/television programming, faculty seminars, and a Distinguished Lecturer series—reflect the Center's ongoing commitment to enhancing public understanding of the role that philanthropy has historically played within the multicultural mosaic of American society.



Social gatherings often served as the backdrop for collective action. Seated at the center of the dias is the prominent female singer Celia Cruz (c. 1957). Note the portraits of famous statesmen from the Americas on the back wall.

Photo courtesy of The Justo A. Martí Photographic Collection, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, CUNY



The delegation of the *Alianza Obrera Español* (Spanish Worker Alliance) marching in the International Day of the Worker Parade in New York (c. 1930-1935). Labor associations, which grew out of earlier *mutualista* (mutual aid) societies, played a central role in Latino communities.

Photo courtesy of The Jesús Colón Papers, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, CUNY; Benigno Giboyeaux, for the Estate of Jesús Colón

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Part I.

Latinos and the Development of Community: Philanthropy, Association and Advocacy

by Eugene D. Miller

Introduction

Goals and Objectives

The Latino population in the United States comes from varied and complex backgrounds.

By 1853, after the Mexican American War (or as it is still called in Mexico, the War of the Northern Invasion) all of Mexico's far north became part of the United States. With historical accuracy *Tejanos*—Mexican Americans who have been in Texas for generations—state: “We never crossed the border. The border crossed us.”

In opening his anecdotal “biography” of Latinos, Earl Shorris comments on the irony of the anti-Columbus day “celebrations” that marked the 500th anniversary of the explorer's arrival:

...the Dominicans had overlooked history: they had permitted the symbolism to become confused. No one remembered that by 1570 only the imperialists and their African slaves were left; the genocide of the native population of Hispaniola was virtually complete. It did not occur to the little group of angry romantics in Manhattan that it was themselves they planned to drive away, for the Columbus Day conspirators were the children of conquest...¹

And David Abalos underscoring the spiritual dilemma:

We are in a diaspora: we belong nowhere. We cannot go home or be content here, so we make a home within ourselves. ... The real hope is an imaginative politics based on a people connected to their sources; otherwise we are simply doomed to perpetuate a system that is a permanent state of war. The means is a process of transformation that points us homeward, that is inward to our sources, *el tesoro de nuestra riqueza*, the treasure chest of our riches.²

This guide is designed to illuminate aspects of Latino history through the prism of philanthropic activities. Philanthropy—defined as the

giving of time and/or money to advance the well-being of the community—operates differently in subaltern groups than it does in the dominant culture. If important segments of Latino history are to be understood through the prism of philanthropy, then activities focused on communal development (as opposed to the largess of donors) must be understood as forms of philanthropy.

This approach, followed by others in this series, enables the efforts that went into building organizations such as the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Funds (or for that matter, for the African American community, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) to be seen as collective donations of resources to advance a community's defense and well-being. For this reason, efforts to promote bilingual education or forge ethnic identities, organizational attempts by California farm workers, voter registration drives, church-based religious and service delivery initiatives, neighborhood development efforts all advance communal interests, and are defined as philanthropic acts. If the definition of philanthropy is broad, the inclusion of specific Latino groups in this guide is limited. We will focus attention on four groups: Mexican Americans in the West and Southwest; Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in New York; and Cuban Americans in Florida. The rationale is based on a combination of four factors: size, rate of growth, political influence, and length of time each group has settled and formed associations in the United States.

The focus on four groups must not obscure the fact that the term Latino collapses into unity remarkable diversity. Salvadorean refugees fleeing a debilitating civil war, Dominicans seeking economic opportunity, the highly and effectively politicized Cuban Americans, the impoverished rural Mexicans pouring into New York City, the Mexican-American settlements that date to the Spanish colonial period, the rising number of immigrants from South America, including Ecuador, Colombia, and Brazil all are included under the broad term Latino, though many do not share a common language or colonial legacy. Even within individual countries, Latinos do not represent the outgrowth of a single ethnic or racial heritage. Rather the history of Latin America and the Caribbean begins with the forced and brutal merger of three races: the Amerindian, the European and the African, each of which was again subdivided into more localized ethnic or tribal groupings with their own communal and religious traditions.

Such diversity raises a host of issues and challenges: Is there a common Latino heritage and identity? Can there be a common agenda? How are

“cross-cultural” relations established and maintained? Is there a need to do so? What is the relationship of Latinos to the state, political parties, and religion? Are Latinos best understood as an immigrant population, though in the case of Mexican Americans some have lived on the same land for centuries? How have Latinos absorbed new waves of immigrants? How has geographic proximity to lands of origin shaped the processes of acculturation and assimilation? How have traditional communal values been maintained and transformed on new soil?

The guide is organized into 14 weeks or sessions. Weeks 1-3 provide background. Graduate research topics are listed separately. In addition, for graduate students special emphasis should be placed on Weeks 11, 12 and 13. While sessions 6, 7 and 8 can be expanded into two classes for undergraduates. The guide is designed to first, provide a communal/associational history of the four groups under examination beginning with immigration, and the early settlement experience; second, the guide will explore group responses to shifting political and economic environments; third, the guide will examine the genesis of the major organizations in the Latino community and their relationship to the wider “Anglo” society, particularly in relation to the Catholic and Protestant churches, and for the graduate curriculum, labor organizations and the mainstream foundation community. The guide will close with an examination of the major challenges confronting Latinos and some current thinking on how these challenges can best be framed and met.

Each section contains an introduction to the material to be covered, a list of core and Background Readings, discussion questions and topics. Instructors are invited to select among various themes and readings to conceptualize particular communal developments. A number of the discussion questions presuppose a level of knowledge that students will acquire as the semester progresses. For this reason, instructors should feel free to revisit certain themes and questions that are present in the earlier sessions.

In its final sections, this guide also includes bibliographic essays, abstracts and additional citations. These documents serve to expand the regional focus of the guide, the variety of view points expressed, as well as provide a fuller accounting of the number of scholars active in the field.

The examination of how communities organize to advance their common causes and how nonprofit activities contribute to the forging

of civil society forms a growing body of literature. For this reason, whenever possible, both discussion questions and research topics (for the graduate curriculum) have been designed to extend our knowledge—theoretical and practical—on Latinos and philanthropy.

Notes

¹Both quotes are taken from Earl Shorris, Latinos: Biography of the People (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992).

²David T. Abalos, Latinos in the United States: The Sacred and the Political (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 46.

Week 1

Identity, Diversity, and Growth

Latinos are the fastest growing minority in the United States. In 1995 there were 25.1 million people in the U.S. of Hispanic origin (9.6 percent of the total population). Mexican Americans comprise 64.3 percent of the Latino population, Puerto Ricans 12 percent and Cuban Americans 5 percent—with regional variations in concentrations. By 2010 Hispanics are expected to be 13.5 percent of the population. By the year 2020 the projection is that there will be 51.2 million Hispanics, comprising 15.7 percent of the total U.S. population, making them the largest minority in the country. By 2040 there will be 80 million Latinos, a full quarter of the U.S. population. The numbers are compelling, demanding greater attention from government officials, educators, and foundation and business executives.

**For example, Rudy Beserra, Vice President of Coca Cola in Atlanta proposed a Unity Convention in 1996. It never occurred. Both because of conflict over domain as well as the deeper question: Are there general or only particular Latino issues?*

The first question raised is whether a “Hispanic” or “Latino” community exists or if there are only Mexicans, Dominicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Colombians, with strong divisions existing within and among these communities in terms of culture, custom, religion, and length of time in the United States.* In support of this argument, many Hispanics in the 1980 census voluntarily listed “other” when given the limited choices for self-identification.

However, there are strong countervailing forces forging a “Hispanic Nation.”

First, outside the long-standing Mexican-American community in the Southwest, the great majority of the Latino population arrived in the post-World War II period and is joined by a common set of immigration-based expectations and experiences.

Second, common language promotes cultural affinity and unity. Over 17.3 million Latinos speak Spanish, more than 10 times that of the next largest foreign language group (French). Language retention is encouraged. Through the efforts of advocacy groups such as the

Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (PRLDEF) students with limited English proficiency are entitled to receive instruction in their native language. At the same time bilingual education has touched off serious debates—both within and outside the Latino community—on whether the approach is enhancing the education of Latinos or creating a population that lacks needed language proficiency in both Spanish and English. (See the work of Richard Rodriguez.)

Third, though Protestant denominations have made significant inroads, the significant majority of Latinos are Catholic.

Fourth, there is political power in numbers and government funding is allocated on the basis of numerical population counts. The U.S. census does not subdivide the Latino population and Hispanic groups have banded together to augment the count.

Fifth, Latinos represent a large and growing commercial market, possessing \$1 trillion in purchasing power. There are over 220 full-time Spanish language radio stations, and two major Spanish language television networks. Not only does this concentration in the communications industry reflect an important accumulation of capital, advertisers are forging a unified Hispanic identity by promoting broad cultural types and values.

Sixth, issues that will be discussed later indicate a common set of challenges facing the Latino community. These include high indices of unemployment, substandard housing, and formidable challenges in health and education.

Discussion Questions and Undergraduate Research Topics

1. What is the demographic distribution of the Latino population?
2. Can language overcome religious, national, ethnic and racial differences?
3. How is cultural unity forged?
4. Defend or attack: The idea of a Latino community of "Hispanicness" is not an ethnic identity, but something created in the U.S. in response to political, economic and commercial conditions.

Graduate Research Topics

1. Undertake a study of *Univisión* and *El Diario* to analyze the comparative effect of visual and print media on forging a common ethnic identity.
2. Analyze how the Latin population has changed over the past twenty years.

Readings

Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, 2nd Edition (University of California Press, 1996), *Chapter 4: From Immigrants to Ethnics*.

David T. Abalos, *Latinos in the United States: The Sacred and the Political* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), *Chapter 2: The Search for Latino Identity*.

Frank D. Bean and Marta Tienda, *The Hispanic Population of the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1987), *Chapter 1: The Structure of Hispanic Ethnicity*.

Juan Flores, *Divided Borders: Essays on Puerto Rican Identity* (Houston: Arte Publico, 1993), *Chapter: Living Borders/Buscando América: Language of Latinos Self-formation*.

Clara E. Rodríguez, *Puerto Ricans: Born in the U.S.* (Westview Press, 1991), *Chapter 2: Beyond the Census Data: A Portrait of a Community*.

Background Readings

Patricia A. Montgomery, *The Hispanic Population in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, 1994).

Geoffrey Fox, *Hispanic Nation: Culture, Politics and the Constructing of Identity* (A Birch Lane Press Book, 1996).

Richard Rodriguez, *Hunger for Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez* (University of California, San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 1983).

F. M. Padilla, *Latino Ethnic Consciousness: The Case of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1985).



Week 2: Patterns of Settlement

This session should be set within a general framework of migration theory in order to examine the political and economic conditions in both labor-exporting and labor-importing societies, as well as the micro-level conditions and household strategies that prompt individual migration decisions. The readings at the end of this session present a selection of works on the subject.

Though current political, linguistic and commercial pressure promote Latino unity, a historic perspective reveals a rich, complex and diverse process of settlement.

Mexican Americans: Spanish (Mexican) settlement in the Southwest began in the late sixteenth-early seventeenth century in New Mexico (Santa Fé and Taos); followed by Ysleta (modern El Paso) in 1682, San Antonio in 1751, Tucson in 1775, San Diego in 1769, San Francisco in 1776 and Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles in 1781. These were small, tightly knit communities with a strong sense of cultural identity.

Large-scale Mexican migration began at the turn of the century with the turmoil surrounding the fall of Porfirio Díaz and the ensuing revolution. Perhaps as many as one million people crossed the border legally and illegally during this time. In the 1920s another half million entered the country. The depression of the 1930s and Anglo migration westward saw a rise in discrimination and the forced expulsion of tens of thousands of Mexican Americans. World War II and the steady demand for cheap labor reversed the trend. Under the *bracero* program (1943-1964) 4.5 million Mexicans came to the United States. In the 1980s another million crossed the border. It is interesting to note, in the late 1980s and 1990s approximately 200,000 Mexicans, diverging from traditional patterns of migration, came to New York City.

Puerto Ricans: New York was an important haven for refugees, intellectuals, exiles, revolutionaries, and political dissidents from Latin

America throughout the nineteenth century. These men, self-defined as progressives and revolutionaries established literary journals, newspapers, cultural clubs and political associations. Among the most noted individuals of this era were the nationalists and writers, Eugenio María de Hostos and José Martí. Both sounded a nationalism (Martí in his *Nuestra América*) that was rooted in regional pride and shunned emulation of foreign (European and U.S.) values.

Both Puerto Rico and Cuba fell under direct U.S. influence in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War (see Week 3). Puerto Ricans received citizenship in 1917. U.S.-directed improvements in the island's health and sanitation infrastructure led to a population explosion (a growth of 300 percent from 1899 to the present) upsetting the area's balance between agricultural output and population.

Mass migration to the U.S. began in the post-World War II period. This migration to urban areas such as New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia corresponded in time and place with African-American population shifts from the U.S. South to northern cities. These parallel migration patterns would have important political and cultural consequences. In 1953, the height of the exodus from the island, 75,000 people came to New York. By 1991 there were over 2 million Puerto Ricans on the U.S. mainland; 860,000 lived in New York.

Cuban-American settlement is in contrast to that of other groups of Latinos. Though settlement in Florida dates to the Spanish colonial period (Florida was annexed to the U.S. in 1819), it would be in the twentieth century that Cubans would immigrate in significant numbers. Political in nature, immigration followed successive periods of dictatorship and reform from Machado through Batista and Castro. Ultimately, Cuban presence in the United States would be dominated by those who left Cuba in reaction to Castro's social revolution. For this reason the Cuban community is unique within the broader Latino population. Not only are large segments of Cuban Americans a well-off, self-proclaimed exiled population, possessing a high degree of entrepreneurial expertise, they have received unprecedented support and encouragement from the U.S. government.

Dominican-American settlement is closely linked to two developments, unrelated but both occurring in 1965. The first was the 1965 set of amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act which ended the quota system in place since 1924 and facilitated family reunification. (See, for example, Kraly, 1990 and Winnick, 1990.) The second was the

invasion of the Dominican Republic ordered by then President Lyndon Johnson. Over the three plus decades of immigration, sixty-nine percent of the Dominican population settled in New York City, first in Corona, Queens and then in larger numbers in the Manhattan neighborhood of Washington Heights, forming what some observers describe as a transnational community and others as a community developing complex organizational roots in the United States.

Discussion Questions and Undergraduate Research Topics

1. Discuss the internal and external forces (in sending and receiving countries) that spark migration.
2. How has U.S. immigration law and U.S. foreign policy effected migration patterns?
3. What are the different motivations for Latino immigration? How have the motivations changed overtime?
4. How have earlier Latino settlements responded to new waves of immigrants?
5. What kind of associations were created? How were they transmitted and transformed by the new population?

Graduate Research Topics

1. Pick one of the communities under discussion and explore how the circumstances of emigration effect the organization of the settlement community.

Readings

Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, Immigrant America: A Portrait 2nd Edition (University of California Press, 1996), *Chapter 2: Moving: Patterns of Immigrant Settlement and Spacial Mobility.*

Gabriel Haslip Viera, "The Evolution of the Latino Community in New York City: Early Nineteenth Century to the Present," in Latinos in New York: Communities in Transition, ed. Sherrie Bayer and Gabriel Haslip-Viera (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996).

Earl Shorris, Latinos: A Biography of the People (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), *Chapter 2: Welcome to the Old World; Chapter 3: The Second Conquest.*

Bernardo Vega, Memoirs of Bernardo Vega: A Contribution to the History of the Puerto Rican Community in New York, ed. César Andreu Iglesias (Monthly Review Press, 1984), *Part I*.

Frank Moya Pons, "Dominican National Identity and Return Migration," in Occasional Papers 1, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, 1981.

Background Readings

Geoffrey Fox, Hispanic Nation: Culture, Politics and the Constructing of Identity (A Birch Lane Press Book, 1996).

Felix Masud-Pilot, From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants: Cuban Migration to the U.S. 1959-1995 (1996).

Nathan Glazer, "The Structure of Ethnicity" Public Opinion 7 (October/November 1984): 2-5.

Background Readings on Immigration

Manuel Castells, "Immigrant Workers and Class Struggles in Advanced Capitalism: The Western European Experience." Politics and Society 5, no. 1 (1975): 33-66.

Ina R. Dinerman, "Patterns of Adaptation among Households of U.S.-Bound Migrants from Michoacán, Mexico," International Migration Review 12, no. 4 (1978): 485-501.

Leonard Dinnerstein et al., Natives and Strangers (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Ellen Percy Kraly, "U.S. Immigration Policy and the Immigrant populations of New York," in New Immigrants in New York, ed. Nancy Foner (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).

J. Rothenberg, "On the Microeconomics of Migration," in Internal Migration: A Comparative Perspective, ed. A. Brown and E. Neuberger (New York: Academic Press, 1977): 183-205.

Saskia Sassen-Koob, "Exporting Capital and Importing Labor: The Role of Caribbean Migration to New York City," Occasional

Paper 28, Center for Latin America and Caribbean Studies, New York University, 1981.

G. Standing, ed., Labor Circulation and Labor Process (London: Croom Helm, 1985).



Week 3

The Eagle and the Serpent: U.S.-Latin American Relations

Latino migration to the United States stands apart from all other migrant streams. U.S.-Italian relations in 1890 had little impact on the impulses behind Italian migration. The famines of the 1840s propelled the Irish, not President Polk's or President Taylor's Northern European policy. This has not been the case for the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. Beyond specific immigration acts (which affected—positively and negatively—all aspiring to come to United States) the U.S. has played key, at times overriding, roles in the histories and political, economic and social trajectories of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. This is especially true of the populations under examination in this guide: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and Dominicans all of whose countries have been invaded and occupied by U.S. military forces. As a consequence of this history, the relationship between, as the Mexicans have called it, the “Colossus of the North” and the countries of the south have had discernable impacts on migration patterns and the political and religious organizational forms adopted by Latinos once settled in the United States.

U.S. relations with Mexico played a determining factor in the evolution of the Mexican-American community in the Southwest. The War of 1848 incorporated Northern Mexico into the United States. U.S. interventions in the Mexican Revolution very well may have tipped the balance of power to the Carranza nationalist forces and muted the revolution's socialist tendencies. From 1919 through the 1980s U.S.-Mexican relations were tense. Mexican national identity was defined on an anti-Yanqui standard. (Two notable examples are the confiscation of Standard Oil's Mexican subsidiary in 1938 and the subsidized sale of oil to Cuba throughout the 1960s, 1970s and into the 1980s.) Indeed, the doctrine of *indigenismo*—the integration of the indigenous past into the current national mythologies—dates from the first half of the twentieth century and is closely linked with anti-Yanqui and anti-foreigner sentiment. (See, for example, the writings of the Mexican educator José

Vasconcelos and the founder of the Peruvian Aprista Party, Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre.)

Beyond laws governing immigration flows (such as the 1986 Simpson Rodino Immigration Reform and Control Act and the 1996 Terrorism Control Act), cross-border work policies (such as the *bracero* program) were a matter of U.S. law and had the force of treaty provisions between the United States and Mexico. On the other hand, the 1994 North American Trade Agreement (NAFTA) makes no provision for the movement of labor, and is reflective of an overall anti-immigrant sentiment prevalent throughout much of the country. California's Proposition 187 (which denies government health and education services to undocumented immigrants), as well as the construction of "the wall" along the Mexican border reflect this "new nativism" and are subject to scrutiny by civil liberty and human rights organizations both within and outside the Mexican-American community.

Anti-immigration sentiments have periodically arisen in the United States. The instructor may want to examine the new nativism in comparison to the anti-immigration measures of the 1880s, and 1917, as well as the depression-era deportation of Mexican Americans and the World War II internment of Japanese Americans.

Regarding the countries of the Caribbean, the seminal event was the Spanish-American War (1898) which thrust the U.S. on the world stage as a global power and brought both Puerto Rico (as a territory) and Cuba (as a protectorate) under the direct control of the United States. Both Puerto Rican and Cuban impulses toward independence became subservient to the requirements of the Platt Amendment and the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. These two edicts (one congressional, the other presidential) served as a blueprint for these and future U.S. occupations of the Caribbean and Central America. Under these provisos the U.S. exerted direct political, economic and police control, while it modernized the delivery of sanitation and health services.

In 1917 the U.S. Congress passed the Jones Act making Puerto Ricans citizens of the United States, with a U.S.-appointed governor. So pervasive was U.S. influence that up until the 1940s the Puerto Rican Catholic Church was controlled by the diocese in Boston. As a consequence of the "foreign" domination of the Puerto Rican church, Protestantism gained strength within the Puerto Rican community both on the island and mainland.

When the U.S. protectorate over Cuba ended in the 1920s, it left both a military infrastructure and an anti-democratic political system designed to put Cuban elite and U.S. business interests before that of the popular classes. By the late 1950s Castro was able to define Cuban nationalism as anti-U.S., and its elite class as a corrupt dependent bourgeoisie. With the success of the 1958 Revolution, Castro transformed both Cuba's foreign policy and class structure, prompting a significant out-migration of middle- and upper-class Cubans. So integral is this history that the genesis and orientation of the Cuban-American community is unintelligible without exploring the U.S.-Batista-Castro paradigm. The Cuban-American community is politically and institutionally united and divided by degrees of opposition to Castro or U.S. efforts to de-stabilize his regime.

Similarly, the early Dominican community in New York was first formed by supporters of Juan Bosch whose rise to power prompted a U.S. invasion of the island.

Discussion Questions and Undergraduate Research Topics

1. (How) did US involvement in the internal affairs of other countries in the Americas provoke national identity and communal organization in Latin America and the Caribbean?
2. To what extent has U.S. policy changed over the course of the 20th Century? How has this effected the organization of immigrant/exile communities in the U.S.?
3. How have immigrant/exile communities attempted to influence U.S. policy?
4. How has what many have categorized as the imperial history of the U.S. in Latin America, conditioned the attitudes of Latin American immigrants toward the United States?

Graduate Research Topics

1. What connections can be made between the ideologies of anti-*Yanquismo* and *indigenismo* and the formation of political/advocacy organizations in Latin American and the Caribbean and in the United States?

Readings

Arthur P. Whitaker, U.S. and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830 (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1962), *Chapter XI: What Monroe Meant.*

Felix Masud-Pilot, From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants: Cuban Migration to the U.S. 1959-1995 (1996), *Chapter 4: Kennedy and the Cuban Migration.*

Daniel Levy and Gabriel Székely, Mexico: Paradoxes of Stability and Change (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983), *Chapter 3: Politics of Stability.*

Emelio Betances, State and Society in the Dominican Republic (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), *Chapter 5: State Formation and the U.S. Military Occupation.*

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Week 4

Mexican Americans: From the Treaty of Guadalupe de Hidalgo to the League of United Latin American Citizens

Mexican-American communal history can be divided into three broad periods: 1848-1899; 1900-1939; and 1940-present (Camarillo, 1991). In varying degrees, each of these periods has seen the development of seven dominant currents: 1) socio-economic mutual aid; 2) advocacy and defense; 3) political power; 4) cultural promotion and production; 5) worker protection; 6) educational equity; and 7) community development. This session will look at the first two periods of Mexican-American history; the next section, the period from 1940 to the present.

The secession of Texas (1835) and the Mexican-American War in 1848 reduced the Southwest's majority Spanish-speaking population to second-class citizens. In this period *mutualistas* provided the initial, and at the time the only, opportunity for Mexican Americans to undertake group action focused on advocacy, service delivery and cultural preservation. Isolated from one another, local *mutualista* organizations paralleled similar worker-protection strategies prevalent in turn-of-the-century Mexico. A number of the more important mutualista organizations included *La Sociedad Hispano Americano de Beneficio Mutua* (Los Angeles, 1875); and *La Alianza Hispano-Americana* (Tucson, 1894), which provided insurance, and death and sickness benefits to over 100,000 members.

The period 1900-1939 was a major period of population expansion with perhaps 1 million people leaving Mexico due to revolutionary turmoil. However, Mexican-American population growth, which fortified the scattered settlements of the southwest, was offset by an explosion of Anglo settlers. From 1880 to 1920 the Mexican American population increased by 9 percent, while the Anglo population doubled. Growth in the Anglo population displaced long-standing Mexican-American communities. In 1915-1917 the spillover effects from the Mexican

Revolution caused a rebellion of small Mexican-American farmers (*Plan de San Diego*) against Anglo ranchers and merchants. The uprising was suppressed by U.S. Army troops and Texas Rangers. (In the 1960s Reies López Tijerina's *Alianza Federal de las Mercedes* again would stage raids to regain old land grants in New Mexico.)

World War I experiences led to a heightened consciousness among Mexican Americans. In response to the mounting anti-immigrant/racist sentiment of the 1920s the community began to link disparate organizations into state-wide networks. *El Primer Congreso Mexicanista*, a statewide meeting of local organizations in Texas, was called to address issues of advocacy and anti-discrimination. The meeting, stressing Mexican nationalism, created the *Gran Liga Mexicanista* and subsequently a second organization concerned with the role of women, *Liga Femenil Mexicanista*. A parallel organization was the Sons of America. Consciously Mexican American, its leadership was dedicated to achieving acculturation through education and political action. The Sons quickly expanded to seven, semi-independent councils throughout Texas. However, divisions among the councils prompted a call for a unifying convention. The calls were rejected and in February 1929 delegates from Corpus Christi, under the leadership of Benjamín Garza, decided to create a new organization, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

LULAC reflected middle-class, conservative values in Mexican-American society. Deeply concerned about the economic, educational and cultural status of Mexican Americans, LULAC opposed direct political action. By the 1930s LULAC exerted considerable influence in Texas through its eighteen councils. In 1932 women's auxiliaries were created. In the post-WWII period LULAC would grow to be the largest Latino organization, having over 100,000 members; in the 1960s it expanded to include Cuban American and Puerto Rican affiliates.

On the other hand, more radical aspects of Mexican American communal action were manifested through involvement in organized labor in the first half of the twentieth century. (This phenomenon is addressed in Week 12.)

Discussion Questions and Undergraduate Research Topics

1. How did the World War I experience contribute to assimilationist pressures in the Mexican- American community?

2. What role did the League of United Latin American Citizens play in the forging of Mexican- American political identity?
3. What were the conservative and assimilationists pressures present in the community?
4. Discuss the issue of class in Mexican-American organizations.

Graduate Research Topics

1. Trace the history of one of the more important *mutualista* organizations in the West and Southwest such as *La Sociedad Hispano Americano de Beneficio Mutua* or *La Alianza Hispano-Americana*.
2. Examine the role of women in the evolution of Mexican-American organizations. Why were women's auxiliaries formed? How were women's roles distinct from those played by men?

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Week 5

Mexican Americans: from World War II to César Chávez and the Farm Workers

**The Zoot suit, a baggy, fashionable cut of clothes, was worn as a symbol of identity and rebellion.*

In 1943, a dispute between young *Mejicanos*, Mexican Americans, and Anglo soldiers turned violent. The soldiers beat and stripped hundreds of young men of their offending dress, called the Zoot Suit.* (Hence the name of the incident, the Zoot Suit riot.) When First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt spoke out against the attack she was taken to task by The Los Angeles Times, which characterized the soldiers' acts as justifiable military maneuvers.

Systemic and institutional discrimination—even more offensive in the context of the war against fascism—accelerated Mexican-American organizational activity. The American GI Forum formed after the refusal of a Texas mortuary to conduct a reburial service for a Mexican-American war veteran, Félix Longoria. (By the 1970s the AGIF grew into an important promoter of educational opportunities for Mexican-American youth with a membership of over 20,000 in 30 states.) Shortly after the war the Community Service Organization (CSO) and Unity Leagues formed in Los Angeles. Both organizations, influenced by Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation in Chicago, promoted the development of grassroots organizations by providing technical assistance to disadvantaged groups as well as working with church groups.

The Chicano Generation

Influenced by the civil rights and anti-war movements, and the rise of black power, the Chicano generation of the 1960s gave rise to a new cadre of leaders critical of the tactics and assimilationist approaches of previous movements.* In the 1960s and 1970s hundreds of organizations formed. A series of student protests in the late sixties over education equality—the largest occurred in Los Angeles—spawned a

**For example, LULAC was criticized for failing to confront the discriminatory connotation associated with the term Mexican.*

number of important Latino organizations including the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO); the United Mexican American Students (UMAS), and *El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán* (MECHA). New leaders emerged such as César Chávez and Dolores Huerta of the United Farm Workers in California; Reies Lopez Tijerina of the *Alianza Federal de las Mercedes* in New Mexico; José Angel Gutiérrez of *La Raza Unida Party* in Texas; Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales of the Crusade for Justice in Colorado; and Willie Velásquez of the Southwest Voter Education and Registration Project.

Young, angry and coming of age in the socially dynamic 1960s, these leaders and their organizations denounced discrimination, the lack of quality education, and rejected assimilationist approaches. Corky Gonzales excited a generation with his poem "I am Joaquín" that spoke of cultural identity and pride. In Spring of 1969, the first National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference was held and as a symbol of unity proclaimed the "Spiritual Plan of Aztlán"—an envisaged, northern, ancestral homeland of the people who settled in the Valley of Mexico. A second idea promoted by the conference was the founding of a national *Chicano* political party. Under the leadership of Gutiérrez and conference organizer Gonzales, the La Raza Unida Party was established.

The Farmworkers

Efforts to organize farm workers had begun in the late 1940s with the formation of the National Farm Workers Union. Upon formation the union waged a three-year strike (1947-1950) against the DiGiorgio Fruit Company. The strike failed. A decade later the United Packinghouse Workers of America organized field workers and the AFL-CIO established the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC). In 1962, César Chávez developed the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) which became the United Farm Workers (UFW) and affiliated with the AFL-CIO. In 1965, a year after the termination of Public Law 78 cut off the steady supply of migrant labor under the *bracero* program, Chávez, joining with 600 Filipino workers, led a walk-out of grape pickers.

Initially, César Chávez and the farm workers represented the continuity of labor action within the Mexican-American community. But once launched, Chávez's decade-long struggle evolved from a worker action to a social movement. The dedication of Chávez and the adoption of the

tactic of nonviolence transformed the strike and cast it in the same light as Martin Luther King's civil rights movement. Called *la huelga* it became a reclamation of identity and pride, part of the pan-Hispanic vision, and—crossing ethnic boundaries—a national event with a prolonged boycott and involvement of political leaders, such as Robert Kennedy.

Institutionalization

The organizational/mobilization genius of the *Chicano* generation ebbed as the heated 1960s and early 1970s gave way to a more conservative political climate. In part many demands were met. The Bakke decision upheld affirmative action, and many of the ideas of the era found institutional expression in the universities and growing number of research centers. [The 1980s saw an end to the “outlaw” politics of the Young Lords, Brown Berets and other self-styled revolutionary groups. (The Young Lords are discussed in Week 6.)]* But the generation did help create an unprecedented institutional presence. The Southwest Council of La Raza, now National Council of La Raza, and MALDEF were formed in 1968 and championed important legal, political and educational reforms. Other groups focused on increasing the political representation of Mexican Americans. These included the Mexican Political Association (MAPA) in California and the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASSO).

**In the 1970s the Brown Berets sprung from a youth group in East Los Angeles associated with the Episcopal Church of the Epiphany. Originally called Young Citizens for Community Action (YCCA), the Brown Berets were a politicized group of students who recruited gang youth around the issues of police brutality and educational reform.*

Discussion Questions and Undergraduate Research Topics

1. What role does discrimination play in forging Mexican-American identity and determining the nature and orientation of Mexican-American organizations?
2. What were the generational tensions between pre-World War II and post-World War II community leaders?
3. What were the origins of Chávez's movement? How, under Chávez's leadership, was a strike transformed into a social movement?
4. Were the pan-Hispanic movements of the 1960s ephemeral? What are the legacies of Pan-Hispanic ideologies?
5. Examine the relationship between youth organizations, gangs and communal development.

Graduate Research Topics

1. Examine the transference of organizational technologies in the early history of the Industrial Areas Foundation, the Community Service Organization and the Unity Leagues.
2. What does a textual analysis of the reporting of the Zoot Suit riots reveal about the place of Mexican Americans in U.S. society?
3. Undertake a comparative decade survey of how perceptions of Mexican Americans were portrayed in the mainstream media.

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The Fight in the Fields: Cesar Chavez and the Farmworkers Struggle
Produced by Rick Tejada-Flores and Ray Telles.

Week 6

Puerto Ricans in New York

As part of the settlement ending the Spanish-American War, the island of Puerto Rico, one of the two remaining jewels of Spain's colonial empire, became a territory of the United States. In 1917, the Jones Act granted the island's population citizenship and enabled it to migrate freely between the island and the mainland. In 1952, Puerto Rico attained Commonwealth status. Currently the population is 3.3 million on the island and over 2 million in the continental United States, with almost half living in New York City. The communal history of Puerto Ricans on the mainland can be divided into five stages. This section focuses on the first three. Stages 4 and 5 are addressed in subsequent sections of the guide.

Stage 1, from the latter half of the nineteenth century to the First World War, was characterized by two related, but distinct phenomenon: the formation of *mutualista* organizations, and pro-independence, anti-Spanish cells. The *mutualistas* included skilled workmen, such as *tabaqueros*—cigar makers. Life in a *tabaqueria* was highly political. Marxist arguments in defense of the Cuban and Puerto Rican revolutionary movements were read to the workers as they rolled cigars. In the 1920s and 1930s, support was given to César Augusto Sandino in Nicaragua, and the Spanish loyalist forces. The pro-independence cells were drawn from a small group of writers, doctors and intellectuals.

Stage 2, from 1917 to the immediate post-World War II, period saw increased migration and the establishment of working class *colonias* or barrios, the largest being in East Harlem and the Navy Yard section of Brooklyn. The *colonias* formed communal associations. The Puerto Rican elite did not live in the *colonias* and were not involved with the community. With elite non-involvement, the assimilationist pressures were muted and the working-class barrios set up hometown clubs* such

*Eventually living in New York City fostered a Puerto Rican, as opposed to a hometown, identity. In 1958 the Congress of Organizations and Puerto Rican Hometowns was created with 57 organizational affiliates.

as the *Club de Caborrejoños*, the *Mayagüezanos Ausentes*, and the *Hijos de Peñuelas*.

Other organizations that developed along class lines such as the *Ateneo Obrero* (1926), and the Porto Rican Brotherhood of America, defended the *colonias* against discriminatory attacks and promoted unity and self-definition. For example, in response to inter-ethnic tension in East Harlem the Brotherhood sponsored *La Liga Puertorriqueña e Hispana* to promote inter-ethnic unity among Hispanics. During this time Puerto Rican organizations began to affiliate with the local Democratic Party, the relationship was particularly strong in Brooklyn.

Stage 3, from 1949 to the early 1970s, witnessed dramatic increases in the Puerto Rican population in New York and the emergence of a new, second generation of leadership. In 1953 alone 75,000 people left the island. In spite of the attack on the U.S. Congress in 1954 by *independista*, Lolita Lebrón, most Puerto Rican organizations formed in the period focused on the problems of the mainland communities. But the major player was the state. The organization responsible for assisting Puerto Rican migration was the governmental Migration Office established in 1948 (later called the Commonwealth Office). The Office contracted community organizers to provide services for the recently arrived population. To aid in the process, the Hispanic Young Adult Association (HYAA) was formed by college students and young professionals motivated by the assimilationist paradigm and the belief that science and effective social intervention could solve society's ills. For the members of HYAA, education was vital for the success, and housing the overriding need, of the migrant community. Reflecting a clearer Puerto Rican identity - HYAA changed its name to Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs (PRACA) in 1959.

Other organizations formed around the issues of education, leadership training and legislative reform and judicial advocacy. Important examples are the National Puerto Rican Forum (1958) and *Aspira* (1961). By the late 1960s bilingual education and school decentralization would emerge as twin principles in the struggle for community empowerment. In the early 1970s, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (PRLDEF), modeled after the NAACP, was founded by Puerto Rican lawyers. In 1972, the fund filed a successful class action suit on behalf of *Aspira* and other organizations which resulted in the New York City Board of Education agreeing to provide bilingual education for all limited English proficient (LEP) Hispanic students (1974).

The Young Lords

In the early 70s, a more radical element emerged from the Puerto Rican community. Paralleling the Chicano and black power movements, organizations such as the Young Lords, the *Movimiento Pro-Independencia* (MPI), which later became the *Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño* (PSP), and *El Comité/Movimiento de Izquierda Nacional Puertorriqueño* gained prominence and support.

The Young Lords Party (YLP), originally a street gang, became politicized under the influence of the Black Panthers. Through the Puerto Rican Student Union, the YLP was influential in developing a radical student movement. It called for community control over local institutions and the development and implementation of effective health and jobs programs. By the time it dissolved in 1977, the YLP had become a Marxist-Leninist Party (called the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization) focusing its organizational efforts in the work place.

YLP left other than revolutionary legacies as well. For example, the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights (NCPRR), which grew out of Young Lords and PSP chapters in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Washington, D.C. became an important advocate for bilingual education, voting rights, and community development.

On a personal level, involvement in the Young Lords served as career and leadership training grounds for a generation of Puerto Ricans. Important alumni included: Juan González, *New York Daily News*; Felipe Luciano, *New York Newsday*; Pablo "Yoruba" Guzman, New York ABC camera man; TV personality Geraldo Rivera (who served as the Young Lords lawyer); and Iris Morales who introduced feminist issues into the *machista* culture.

Discussion Questions and Undergraduate Research Topics

1. Discuss how the relationship between a small group of professionals and bourgeoisie and the larger working class, probes the cohesion of the Puerto Rican community and its ability to "pull up" successive waves of migrants.
2. How did life in the *tabaquerias* contribute to the formation of community organizations?

3. What was the relationship between worker organizations in Puerto Rico and New York?
4. How did the relationship between working-class and professional Puerto Ricans effect community development?
5. Why, in the 1950s, did state agencies play the dominant role in absorption and settlement? How did this effect community organization and community development?

Graduate Research Topics

1. Examine how youth movements, such as the Young Lords, played a role in career and leadership training.
2. Examine *La Liga Puertorriqueña e Hispana* efforts to promote inter-ethnic unity among Hispanics.

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Week 7

Cuban Americans: From Castro to the 1½ Generation

Cuban Independence

Cuban settlement in the United States dates to the Spanish colonial period. However, significant Cuban migration began in 1868 at the onset of the Ten Year War for Cuban independence. By 1869, over 100,000 Cubans left Cuba. Elites settled in Europe and the working class in the United States. By 1873 Cubans constituted a majority in Key West, Florida. The émigrés, pro-*independistas*, planned to return to Cuba. Many were cigar workers adding to the growth of the industry which was established in the 1830s to avoid paying U.S. tariffs. Cigar workers, literate, radical and well-informed, openly contributed 10 percent of their weekly earnings toward the independence movement. Because the desire for independence overrode class distinctions, José Martí, Tomás Estrada Palma and other members of Cuba's New York revolutionary junta traveled to the region and raised funds from both workers and entrepreneurs and, at the same time, settled labor disputes.*

*According to one Cuban resident of the time, in Key West nothing was discussed except the revolution. Gerald E. Poyo, "Key West and the Cuban Ten Year War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57 (January 1979): 291. Reflective of the highly political nature of the working class, Cubans would be responsible for Florida's first labor unions.

Women played an important role forming voluntary associations. As in the case of men, the situation in Cuba and the shared status of émigrés overcame class distinction. For example, in Tampa, women's philanthropic initiatives created clubs, labor organizations, and health facilities; supported political revolution in Cuba and working-class rights; raised funds for rebel forces; and, as the community grew economically, helped join Cuban with North American forms of philanthropy. Women began forming revolutionary clubs by 1892. In 1896 more affluent Cuban women formed the *Sociedad de Beneficencias* in order to aid political refugees. During strikes, working class and middle class Cuban American women worked to provide health and other service through mutual aid societies.

Over the first five decades of the twentieth century, immigration would follow the pattern established during the independence period with

successive waves of political exiles following alternating phases of dictatorship and reform under Gerardo Machado, Fulgencio Batista, Ramón Grau San Martín, Carlos Prío Socarrás, and again Fulgencio Batista.

The Cuban Revolution

The fall of Batista and the rise of Fidel Castro triggered the largest influx of Cubans into the United States. Over 600,000 Cubans entered the country supported by the U.S. government in recognition of their anti-Communist stand. (This was in sharp contrast to the conditions under which other Hispanic groups entered the country.) Miami became the largest CIA station in the world. Thousands of Cuban émigrés were on the Company payroll, with, it is estimated, 120,000 agents. Communal politics in Miami was characterized by a violent, winner-take-all culture which caused internal schisms and prevented alliances with other Hispanic groups. . [Regarding Cuban involvement in other Latino communities, see "Beyond the Rupture: Reconciling with our Enemies, Reconciling with Ourselves," *Michigan Quarterly Review* 33 (1994): 425.] Albor Ruiz, op-ed editor of the *New York Daily News* and an advocate of lifting the boycott, has written, "Nothing! In Miami nothing was done without the CIA."

Communal identity was solidified by the shared self-identification of exile status. Still, the Cuban community divided into three segments measured by degrees of opposition to Castro or opposition to the efforts of the U.S. to de-stabilize his regime. First, a dominant ultra-right which forged alliances with U.S. conservatives. A second "progressive" group that sought alliances with Chicanos and Puerto Ricans. By the mid 1970s, a number of these progressives formed groups to openly advocate for peaceful relations with Cuba and an end to the U.S. embargo. These groups included the Antonio Maceo Brigade, *Areíeto*, and the Cuban American Committee for the Normalization of Relations with Cuba. In 1977, they traveled to Cuba to open a dialogue with Castro. The trip was vehemently opposed by anti-Castro organizations including the paramilitary Omega 7. The conflict over whether to negotiate with Castro (over issues such as family unification and repatriation) has continued to result in sporadic outbursts of violence.

The third group, represented by Presbyterian Minister Daniel Alvarez, though opposed to Castro, directed its energies to community

development. For example, Alvarez developed the settlement house Casa Central into the largest service complex of Hispanics in the United States.

The Mariel Boat Lift

In 1980, when the Cuban government agreed to open the Port of Mariel, thousands of Cuban exiles monopolized every available vessel to transport Cubans from Mariel to Florida. By early June, more than 80,000 had arrived overwhelming Florida's absorption capacity and violating the Refugee Act of March 1980, which placed a yearly quota of 19,500 refugees from Cuba. Though initially welcomed, the Mariel immigrants have had a very different experience than earlier Cuban émigrés. They have been discriminated against within the Cuban American community on the basis of social origin and race. An intensively negative media campaign was waged even though the new émigrés enjoyed educational and employment levels equal to the Cuban community in the United States.

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Overall, Cuban Americans are viewed as distinct from other Hispanics in that they are politically conservative and enjoy higher levels of economic status. Both factors contribute to a less complicated relationship with the Catholic church, and a far more complicated relationship with their mother country. (See, for example, press reports on the Cuban-American community's response to Pope John Paul's January 1998 visit to Cuba.) Unlike other Latinos who, even when there has been a condition of political repression, have sent millions of dollars home in the form of remittance to support their families*, Cuban Americans have been the strongest advocates for the U.S. embargo of the Cuban economy. In turn, communal resources have focused on building the community's political strength within the U.S. Accordingly, the Cuban American community has developed strong political ties to the Republican and Democratic parties.

*For example, each year Mexican Americans send between \$2.5 and \$3.9 million dollars a year to Mexico. Remittances to the Dominican Republic approach 20 percent of the country's GDP.

The community's difficult relationship with Cuba has had other powerful consequences. At first the exiles planned to return. As Gustavo Pérez Firmat writes in his vibrant, *Life on the Hyphen*, the 1960s was a period absorbed in nostalgia and the desire to create a little Havana; the 1970s, was characterized by the growing reality that Castro was not going to disappear; only in the 1980s, with a new generation of Cuban Americans and the process of institution building, has the Cuban-

American culture evolved into a recognizable “cluster of attitude and achievements.”

In the late 1980s and 1990s, what Pérez-Firmat calls the 1½ generation—those born in Cuba but raised in the U.S.—has come of age. This generation is committed to forging a cultural identity that is focused on the U.S.—not Cuban—experience. Ironically, Pérez writes: “Real” Cubans will return to the island, those who are left will be forced to become American with or without the hyphen. And he quotes the Cuban American poet, José Kozar (Pérez, 1994: 169):

... what
 more could one have wished than not to be a
 migratory ibis [scorn] or a sporadic
 heart

Discussion Questions and Undergraduate Research Topics

1. How has the definition of “exile” affected communal development? Compare this self-identification with that adopted by other groups.
2. What was the relationship between worker organizations and revolutionary politics?
3. Examine how the Cuban-American community’s relationship to Cuba—both before and after Castro—has been the central aspect of the Cuban-American communal experience. Why has this been so?
4. Explain the internal divisions within the Cuban-American community and why Cuban Americans have, as a rule, not formed alliances with other Hispanic populations.

Graduate Research Topics

1. Examine why, for both men and women, the political situation in Cuba and locally has helped the community overcome class distinctions.
2. Examine the role women have played in joining Cuban with U.S. forms of philanthropy.

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Week 8**Dominican Americans in New York**

Of all the groups examined in this guide, Dominicans were the latest to arrive in the United States. For this reason the Dominican community provides an excellent opportunity to examine, in a contemporary setting, how nonprofit organizations serve as bridges — transforming an immigrant community into one seeking and acquiring political and economic enfranchisement in the United States. In this way the history of voluntary organizations in the Dominican community over the past three decades can serve as a model (or point of comparison) for other, more recently arrived Latino groups in New York, such as Central Americans and Mexicans.

After Puerto Ricans, Dominicans comprise the largest component in New York's Caribbean population. Large-scale Dominican migration followed U.S. military intervention in 1965 to prevent the assumption of power by the left-center Juan Bosch government. The deployment of Marines dislocated segments of the country's population (the rural poor in the Cibao region, and the urban poor and political activists in Santo Domingo), many of whom eventually settled in the upper-Manhattan neighborhood of Washington Heights. By 1990 (according to census figures), 520,151 Dominicans lived in the U.S. with 69 percent of that population living in New York; 10 percent in New Jersey and 7 percent in Florida.* Studies project that Dominicans will be the largest Hispanic population in the Northeast by 2010.

**Dominican leaders strongly contest these figures. For example, the Dominican Public Policy Project puts the number of Dominicans in the U.S. at close to one million (Lescaille, 1992).*

The earlier literature on Dominicans describes a transnational community, one that has maintained key economic, social and political involvement in the Dominican Republic and the United States (see for example Pessar, 1991 and Grasmuck, 1991). These studies present as evidence the formation of new, bi-national households structures, many headed by women; the high-level of remittance from the U.S. to the island; and the fact that New York is an important arena of Dominican politics with the major Dominican political figures from Juan Bosch, to

Joaquín Belanguer, Leonel Fernández and Francisco Peña Gomez having established branches in New York to raise money.

More recent studies (Hernández and Torres-Saillant, 1996; Ricourt 1998) portray a community in transition, one that is committed to enhancing its political, economic and social position within the United States. In this process Dominican voluntary organizations have played a very important role. Ricourt quotes Moisés Pérez, executive director of *Alianza Dominicana*, a large provider of social services in Washington Heights:

How can we talk about empowerment in a community that is suffering from crack addiction, unemployment, lack of proper housing, and school failure, among other issues? ...[W]e need to get rid of social illness in order to have a better community and in order to give people an incentive to participate.

Dominican associations range from sports and cultural clubs to social service organizations and political parties. The first Dominican voluntary organizations in New York, founded in the 1960s, focused on education and were political in orientation. This reflected the political activist status of the early exile community. (Dominicans would march every April 24 in protest against the U.S. 1965 invasion.) Alfredo White founded *El Centro Educacional de Caribe* (CEDUCA) one of the first educational centers for Dominicans in Washington Heights. Other important Dominican associations that emphasize education, community service, and immigration assistance are the Community Association of Progressive Dominicans (CAPD), established by Dominican leaders shortly after their arrival; the Northern Manhattan Coalition for Immigrant Rights (NMCIR); *Alianza Dominicana*, the community's largest service provider; Latinos United for Political Action (LUPA); and the Dominican Women's development Center, which like *Alianza*, views service provision as a means of individual and communal advancement.

The New York community has sought empowerment through local politics. Like the Puerto Rican community before them, Dominicans were closely linked with the local Democratic party. By the 1980s Dominicans in Washington Heights elected 7 of the 21 representatives to the Area Policy Boards (APBs) which advises the Community Development Agency. (The APBs are governmental electoral units composed of poor people. The Community development Agency is a city agency that distributes over \$30 million in anti-poverty money.)

Though tension exists, Dominicans have worked with other Latino communities, particularly Puerto Ricans, in areas of bilingual education, decentralization, and anti-poverty programs. The intra-Latino collaboration led to the creation of the Washington Heights district and the election of the first Dominican Councilman, Guillermo Linares.

Intra-Latino Relations

The relationship among Dominicans and other New York Latino groups, as well as African Americans is an important issue. A particular area of conflict arose over plans to build a major Pathmark supermarket in East Harlem. The Pathmark, part of the Abyssinian development Corporation's effort to accelerate Harlem's economic development, has been seen as a threat to local *bodega* owners, many of whom are Dominican. Another instance of conflict was the competition between the Puerto Rican and Dominican communities which contributed to the election of a non-Latino representative for Washington Heights to the State Assembly in 1993.

How these challenges are faced will influence the nature of Latino political power in New York City.

Early Business Formation

The Dominican community is diverse. Among those who left the island include political activists, rural and urban poor, and members of the middle class. The latter is reflected in a high level of business formation in the community. Many of the firms are small (*bodegas* and livery car services). However, a survey of Dominican-owned firms reveal 35.9 percent with gross incomes of over \$100,000 and several firms are worth over \$1 million. It is these enterprises that have the potential to provide significant levels of capital accumulation within the community, and may serve as the source of philanthropic dollars.

Discussion Questions and Undergraduate Research Topics

1. Discuss how the geo-political context in the Caribbean affected Dominican settlements in New York.
2. What are Dominican relations with other Hispanic groups? How do they effect Latino empowerment?

3. Discuss whether you agree or disagree with Pérez's statement that the alleviation of social problems is a pre-requisite for political empowerment.
4. How does the increased participation of Dominican women in the labor market affect the family structure and communal practices within the community?
5. What role do Dominican women play in voluntary organizations?

Graduate Research Topics

1. Examine the Dominican business culture as potential sources of Dominican philanthropy.
2. Examine the history and operation of one of the major nonprofit organizations serving the Dominican community such as the *Alianza Dominicana*, or the Dominican Women's Development Center.

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Week 9

The Church in Latin America: From Identification with the Elites to Liberation Theology

For many groups such as African Americans, Jews, Southern and Central Europeans the church or synagogue has played the core role in carrying and sustaining communal life. For Latinos relationship with the church is more strained and ambiguous. To explore religion among Latinos, this session looks back to Latin America and the Caribbean, to Spain and to Africa.

Historically, Latinos have been overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. Integral to the conquest and pacification of the indigenous peoples of the Americas was the imposition of Catholicism. In what is called the second—the spiritual—conquest, the monastic orders, the Dominican, Franciscan, Mercedian and others converted millions of indigenous. Conquest it was. The means of conversion was before the sword, with the *requierimiento*—the demand that the indigenous accept Christianity or face war and enslavement—being read by warrior priests in an unintelligible tongue.

Until the middle, and even later part of the twentieth century, the Catholic church was identified with the elite class. Its archbishops, bishops, and many of its priests were drawn from the wealthy, and many of its social services (schools and hospitals) were meant for the Spanish and their “pure-bred” offspring. Rich and politically well-connected, the church was a bastion of support for conservative, even monarchical governments. In Mexico, the church’s astounding wealth, and the attempts by liberal governments to tax it led to a succession of violent civil conflicts of which *La Reforma* (1857-1861) was the bloodiest and the War of the Cristeros (1924) the most recent. The Mexican case, the most pronounced, was by no means unique. The church in the Caribbean has had difficult and imperial histories.

This is not to say that the church in Latin America does not have strong humanist traditions. Until the 1880s the church was the sole provider of education and health care. The earliest and most well-known champion of the impoverished was the Dominican friar Bartolome de Las Casas, a tireless advocate for indigenous population and the spiritual mover behind the New Laws (1542), which extended a larger degree of state protection over Indian villages. Later, the great Mexican War of Independence (1810-1821) was sparked by the "Grito" of Miguel Hidalgo, a parish priest who led an angry mestizo/Indian army against the hated *Guachupinos* (Spaniards). Hidalgo and his successors were ultimately crushed by the united forces of the army and church hierarchy under the banner of Church, Union and Independence.

Rerum Novarum

The church hierarchy's identification with the elite began to change slowly with the publication of the papal encyclical, *Rerum Novarum* (1891). In an effort to counter the growing influence of Marxism and other variants of socialism, the church offered class collaborationist solutions to the problems of poverty with doctrines on a "just family wage" and the "social use" of property. In Latin America this spawned the growth of reformist Catholic-based political parties. By the first half of this century, in countries such as Cuba, Colombia and Costa Rica, the partisan political movement, partially effective, led to the formation of a Catholic social movement, called *Acción Católica* (Catholic Action) that advocated social justice and economic equality.

Latin American Bishops' Conference in Medellín, Colombia

After World War II, these reformist trends culminated in the widely celebrated Vatican II (1962-1963) conference and its Latin American expression, the Bishops' Conference in Medellín, Colombia (1968). At Medellín the bishops announced their "preferential option for the poor" and sympathy for social and even revolutionary movements. Perhaps, even more remarkable, given the church's long association with the wealthy, the bishops using Marxian tools of analysis, identified extremes of poverty as arising from existing economic and political structures, and condemned those structures as perpetrating "institutional violence" against the vast majority of Latin America's peoples. As men of the cloth, they avoided association with violence and instead called for strengthening civil society through the direct and active involvement of

church organizations with labor unions, human rights groups, and peasant and neighborhood associations. The close association between spiritual awakening and material well-being, underscores the primacy that even the church, the major charitable organ in Latin America, placed on the development of civil society.

Liberation Theology

The 1968 Bishop's Conference marks the outer limit of official church support for social movements. However, a segment of Catholic theologians pushed the identification with the poor further. Rejecting "Thomastic" divisions between the realm of God and the realm of Caesar, Liberation Theologians condemn all extremes of wealth and poverty as divisive, sinful, and rooted in the oppression of man by man. The denunciation of oppression has motivated these theologians to actively organize Christian-base-communities (CBCs) and at times to openly support revolutionary movements, most notably the struggles in Nicaragua and El Salvador. Though condemned by the Vatican, Liberation Theology has forged a powerful model of social mobilization inextricably linked to spiritual emancipation.

Syncretism

Catholicism, though dominant, provides only part of Latin America's religious background. It is important to remember that in the first case the imposition of Catholicism was mixed with pre-existing religions. This mixing or syncretism incorporated indigenous gods and goddesses into the Catholic pantheon of saints. Perhaps the most famous example is the Virgin of Guadalupe, whose origin dates to 1531 when a converted Indian, Juan Diego, went to the Tepeyac temple to Tonantzin (the Aztec Mother of Gods). At the shrine, Diego had a vision of a virgin with brown skin. From this experience emerged the Virgin of Guadalupe, the patron saint of Mexico.

In the Caribbean, where the indigenous populations were all but eradicated and replaced by enslaved Africans, African religious practices, such as Yoruba, combined with, or lay submerged under a veneer of Catholicism. Vodun and Santería in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the island of Hispanola (Dominican Republic and Haiti), formed alternative, clandestine religions, whose practice has grown and become more respected both in the Caribbean, Brazil (along with the Caribbean, a

major center of African population) and the United States. In Puerto Rico, because of the Catholic Church's identification with Spain, other religions, notably French Kardinianism formed part of the nineteenth century current for independence.

Protestantism

The last major piece to the contemporary religious picture is the rise of Evangelical Protestantism. Protestant denominations claim adherents of up to 15 to 30 percent of the population in Guatemala, Mexico, Jamaica, Chile, Puerto Rico, and sharply rising numbers among Latinos in the United States. Reasons for the growth of Protestant denominations are complex, linked to both progressive and conservative political movements and to the changing role of women in Latin American societies.

Discussion Questions and Undergraduate Research Topics

1. How did the church's "identification with elites" help shape Latin American society?
2. How did the Bishops' Conference in Medellín (1968) change church-state relations and accelerate the development of civil society?
3. Why have Liberation Theologians been at the forefront of revolutionary movements, especially in Central America?

Graduate Research Topics

1. Discuss the relationship between syncretism and communal identity.
2. Examine the effect of religious symbolism on gender relations and whether it impedes or accelerates associational activities, especially among women.

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Week 10**Religion Among Latinos**

Historically, in the United States, priests have played a vital role transmitting cultural and religious identity for immigrant groups. However, few Hispanic clergy have migrated with their people. The reasons are complex.

First, as previously discussed, the Latin American clergy has long been drawn from, and has identified with, the elite. In these cases the church has been viewed as part of the oppressor class. On the other hand, more recent trends have redrawn the church position and established a “preferential option for the poor.” Because of the interlacing of theology and political economy that lay at the basis of this position, this clergy—in many cases extremely dedicated to improving the lives of impoverished Latin Americans—is committed to structural change within their countries and not to supplying spiritual and cultural sustenance to an emigrating population. The historical suppression of the church in both Mexico and Cuba and the strong influence of U.S.-based Protestantism on the territory of Puerto Rico has added to the “strained” relationship between the Hispanic population and their historical church.

Second, demographically the Catholic Church remains at a distance from the Latino population, and is beset with racial and ethnic problems. About a third of the Catholics in the U.S. are Latinos. Approximately only 100 of the priests who minister to them are U.S.-born Latinos! The results are that Hispanics have limited access to the available resources in the parallel institutions of the Catholic Church. This is intensified for recent immigrants from Latin America (such as Central Americans, Mexicans in New York and Ecuadoreans) who have virtually no clergy drawn from their own communities. This distance and disproportionate ratio between priest and parish exists in Latin America as well. For example, some parishes in Mexico City suffer a rate of 80,000 to 100,000 congregants to a priest.

Third, increasingly in the second half of the century, Protestantism has exploited the gap between the institutional church and its adherents. In 1980 Hispanics were 73 percent Catholic and 15 percent Protestant. By 1988 they were 70 percent Catholic and 20 percent Protestant. Between 1980 and 1988 the total U.S. population increased by 8 percent, the Hispanic population by 34 percent. However, Hispanic Catholics increased 28 percent and Hispanic Protestants 78 percent. Part of the reason is that the Pentecostal churches provide *iglesias calientes*, making the congregant feel part of a small, bonded group that sustains and supports self-esteem and self-worth. Added to this is the fact that the Catholic Church's social conservatism runs counter to the core demands of many women for reproductive freedom and the right to have abusive marriages dissolved. As a consequence, Protestantism, which does not impose these limits and offers an enhanced role for women within the religious ceremony, is gaining adherents among women in both Latin America and the United States.

The erosion in the influence of Catholicism among Latinos does not mean a decline of the importance of religion among Latinos. And within the Catholic Church itself there have been and continue to be important counter-trends. In the first quarter of the century, reflecting a strong commitment to social justice the Catholic Church in the United States established the National Catholic Welfare Council (NCWC). During the Second World War the NCWC through its Department of Social Action pursued non-Marxian solutions to labor and social conflicts. One of the NCWC's principals, Archbishop Robert Lucey in San Antonio, Texas was a strong advocate for improved standards of living for Mexican Americans. Lucey served on the Truman Commission investigating abuses inflicted under the *bracero* programs of the 1950s. The commitment to social justice was reflected again in the church's early involvement with the farm workers movement. (See Week 5 and the career of Father McCullough.)

On a theological level there are countervailing forces as well. In the early 1980s, Hispanic candidates to theological seminary began to increase, indicating an attraction to Catholicism among upward mobile Hispanics. Another counter-indicator is that Hispanic children do very well in parochial school, whether they come from affluent or economically disadvantaged homes. Lastly, the church provides resources for health-care, addressing a pressing need, especially in poor communities.

On a practical level, during the 1960s and 1970s community-based organizations worked closely with religious institutions. There are numerous examples: ties between the church and the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) have existed for a long time. According to researcher Mark Warren, the IAF is the most successful community organizing network in the country. IAF professionals work across racial, ethnic and religious lines to build local organizations that address housing, job training and school reform issues. The Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS) with the support of local churches grew to be the most important para-political organization in San Antonio. Another organization, *Padres Asociados Para Derechos Religiosos, Educativos, y Sociales* (PADRES) formed in the 1960s to advocate Latino rights.

Protestant churches also have become involved. They were at the forefront of the farm workers movement. A Presbyterian Minister built *Casa Central* into a major, national network of institutions providing services to Latinos. The Sanctuary Movement, emanating from the progressive wing of the Catholic church and left-leaning Protestant theologians provided protection and support for tens of thousands who fled Central America in the 1980s.

Finally, in her work on New York Latinos, Ruth Doyle discusses how “folk” religions have filled part of the gap between church and parishioner, and how distance is mitigated by the associational commitment produced by a “blend of culture and religion.”

Discussion Questions and Undergraduate Research Topics

1. Is there a “*Latino Church*?”
2. Why have there been few Latino priests? How has that effected communal development?
3. What is the relationship between faith and community?
4. What is syncretism? Explain its importance in Latin American and Latino society.
5. Why has Catholic education been effective in teaching Latino youth?

Graduate Research Topics

1. Examine the origin and evolution of church-based advocacy groups such as *Padres Asociados Para Derechos Religiosos, Educativos, y Sociales* (PADRES).

2. What factors explain the rise of Evangelical Protestantism and the resurgence of African-based religions?

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Week 11

Leadership and Intellectuals

The heated grassroots politics of the 1960s and 1970s did not survive the conservative post-Vietnam era. The organizations that sprang from student activism and the passion and anger of the street, such as the Young Lords, Brown Berets, and La Raza Unida Party exuded charisma, political energy and an intense cultural nationalism, but did not themselves form long lasting institutions. However, they did join with older currents in the Latino community to gradually transform the intellectual climate on race and ethnicity—first within the community and then throughout the country. There were many factors in this transformation. One was the accelerated establishment of academic centers, departments and colleges devoted to Latino, Chicano, and Puerto Rican Studies.

The transformation of the college curriculum itself was preceded by the development of policy-oriented research institutes. In New York one of the first was the creation in 1957 of the Puerto Rican-Hispanic Leadership Forum (PRHLF). Modeled after the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people (NAACP) and the American Jewish Committee (AJC), its main objective was the development of Puerto Rican leadership.* Examination of the history of the PRHLF, as well as Hispanic Young Adult Association and the Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs (see Week 6) reveals how communities pool their resources to train leaders, build parallel power formations, and insert their leadership into the dominant political structure. In this way the emergence of community leadership is itself reflective of cohesion and maturity.

**One of PRHLF's first projects was an internal community assessment and census of Hispanic organizations to target strengths and weaknesses. By the early 1960s, several Forum members were appointed to top city posts. These included Herman Badillo, John Carro, Luis Hernández and Max González.*

Higher Education

The 1970s saw the creation of hundreds of departments and research institutes focused on Latino studies throughout the country. Colleges

that emphasized Hispanic studies were founded as well. These included Deganiwidah-Quetzalcoatl University (DQU), the National Hispanic University in San Jose, and Eugenio María de Hostos College, CUNY. These educational institutes have expanded awareness and knowledge of Latinos, provided intellectual training and careers, and in doing so, have contributed to the formation of an intellectual and professional class. The process is not without controversy. On one hand, such centers and universities have been attacked for promoting a “cultural fragmentation” at the expense of assimilation. On the other hand, within the communities, the academic orientation of such centers has been accused of diverting resources from community to institutional control.

Policy Research

With the formation of a political leadership, energy was focused on registering and educating voters. (See for example the work of the Southwest Voter and Registration and Education Project—Weeks 5 and 8.) This in turn created the need to analyze, develop, and advocate for a political agenda. Four important policy-oriented institutions created in the 1970 that have articulated Latino needs include: the Tomás Rivera Center in Claremont, California; the Latino Policy Institute in Chicago; the Institute for Puerto Rican Policy in New York, and at a national level, the National Council of La Raza in Washington.

Advocacy

[In assessing the impact of Latino advocacy, the instructor should introduce contemporary studies and reports on welfare-to-work programs (an excellent series of articles appeared in the New York Times from April 12-15, 1998), debates and legislative initiatives surrounding affirmative action, and assessments on the efficacy of bilingual education.]

The Latino community has used different forms of advocacy and different types of advocacy organizations.* A central focus of Hispanic advocacy has been employment and application of Title VII of the 1964 civil rights act barring discrimination in the work place; equal education opportunities; residency issues; voting rights; and defense of affirmative action programs.

**These have included advocacy through legislation; advocacy through administrative agencies, such as the census bureau; advocacy through education and publicity; advocacy through research and conferences; and advocacy through lawsuits. (See Martínez, 1991).*

Hernandez v. Texas (1954) was the first anti-Hispanic discrimination case to reach the Supreme Court. Latino lawyers successfully argued that discrimination prevented a Mexican American from serving on a Jackson County, Texas jury for twenty-five years, and that such exclusion perpetuated judicial bias against the community. Two other landmark cases, *Lau v. Nichols* and *Serna v. Portales* established the right of non-English-speaking children to receive instruction in a language they understood. Key to the extension of voting rights activity was the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The challenge facing Latino advocacy organizations was to convince Congress that Hispanics warranted inclusion. In August 1975, the new act was passed with "Hispanic" amendments insuring federal scrutiny of elections and bilingual ballots.

Discussion Questions and Undergraduate Research Topics

1. What is the intellectual's relationship to social and political change?
2. Are Latino educational/research centers vital for expressions of Latino political power?
3. What is the relationship between politicians and intellectuals in the Latino community?
4. Examine the role of intellectuals during different stages in a community's evolution.
5. Discuss law and advocacy.
6. Discuss whether affirmative action rightfully redresses the effects of past discrimination.
7. Discuss the impact of California's Proposition 200—which has eliminated race as a variable in assessing an applicant—on Latinos.

Graduate Research Topics

1. Examine the history of a major Latino research center.
2. Analyze community-university relations in the context of a Latino-based center of higher education.

Readings

Clara E. Rodriguez and Virginia Sánchez Horrol, eds. Historical Perspectives on Puerto Rican Survival in the United States (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996), *Chapter: Social Science in the Puerto Rican Community* by José Hernandez.

Vilma Martinez, "Hispanic Advocacy Organizations," in Hispanics and the Nonprofit Sector, ed. Herman E. Gallegos and Michael O'Neill (New York: The Foundation Center, 1991).

José R. Sánchez, "Puerto Rican Politics in New York: Beyond "Second hand" Theory," in Latinos in New York: Communities in Transition, ed. Sherrie Bayer and Gabriel Haslip-Viera (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996).

Joan Moore and Raquel Pinderhughes, In the Barrios: Latino and the Underclass Debate (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1993).

Ilan Stavans, The Hispanic Condition: Reflections on Culture and Identity in America (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995).

Luis Fuentes, "The Community Control Movement: Reflections on the Politics of Education in the Lower East Side in the Late '60s/Early 70s," Critica 15 (August 1995).

Gabriel Haslip-Viera, "El Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños: An Uncertain Future?" Critica 5 (October 1994).

Background Readings

Roberto E. Villarreal and Norma G. Hernandez, eds., Latinos and Political Conditions: Political Empowerment for the 1990s (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991).

Himilce Novas, The Hispanic 100: a Ranking of the Latino Men and Women Who Have Most Influenced American Thought and the Culture (New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1995), see brief biographies: *Chapters 11, 16, 18, 21 and 34.*

Judith Herbstein, "The Politicalization of Puerto Rican Ethnicity in New York: 1955-1975" Ethnic Groups 5, no. 1-2 (July 1983): 31-54.

C. B. Marrett, "The Brown Power Revolt: A True Social Movement?" Journal of Human Relations 19, no. 3 (1971): 356-366.

J. Rivera, "Power and Symbol in the Chicano Movement," Humanity and Society 2, no. 1 (1978): 1-17.

- R. Estades, Patterns of Political Participation of Puerto Ricans in New York (Río Piedras: Editorial Universitaria, Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1978).
- E.Y. Flores, The Nature of Leadership for Hispanics and Other Minorities (Saratoga, Calif.: Century Twenty One Publishers, 1981).
- J.H. Lane, Jr., Voluntary Associations among Mexican Americans in San Antonio, Texas: Organizational and Leadership Characteristics, Chicano Heritage Series (New York: Arno Press, 1976).
- G.E. Martin, Ethnic Political Leadership: The Case of The Puerto Ricans (San Francisco: R&E Research Associates, 1977).
- L. J. Mosqueda, Moving into the Political Mainstream (New York: Hispanic Policy Development Project, 1984).
- P. C. Sexton, Spanish Harlem: An Anatomy of Poverty. (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).
- M. E. Vigil, Los Patronos: Profiles of Hispanic Political Leaders in New Mexico History. (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980).
- Young Lords Party and M. Abramson, Pa'lante: Young Lords Party. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971).

Week 12

The Role of Organized Labor and Foundations

For Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Cuban Americans, the initial form of communal organization were mutualista societies. Created to provide sickness and burial protection through the first part of the century, as industrialization proceeded these organizations gave way to more sophisticated, more political, and Anglo-dominated forms of labor organization. Around World War I, large numbers of Mexican Americans joined the International Workers of the World (IWW); in 1939 the C.I.O. sponsored the first Congreso Nacional de los Pueblos de Habla Española; one of the most militant Mexican American unions was the non-affiliated International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (Denver). In 1949, along with the United Electrical Workers Union and the Meat Packers, the mine workers helped create the Asociación Nacional México-Americana (ANMA). The bitter 1950-1952 strike against Empire Zinc, during which the men, along with their wives and daughters, faced police on the picket line, invoked both the courage rooted in traditional machismo, as well as the strength and steadfastness of the women, drawn from the image of the soldadera of revolutionary Mexico. The story of the strike is retold in the film *Salt of the Earth*.

Not only did Latinos join unions, but a generation of Latino leaders were trained within labor organizations. The leadership of the farm workers came out of labor and community organizing. These included: Maclovio Barraza, Ruben Valdez, and Paul Montemayor of the Steelworkers; Bert Corona of the Longshoreman; and Herman Gallegos and César Chávez of the Community Service Organization. In the East, Hispanics were strongly represented by unions. The ILGWU had a separate Spanish speaking section. In New York the *Alianza Obrera* formed to promote unionization of Puerto Ricans regardless of their political affiliation. The major 1938 dock workers strike in Puerto

Rico was supported by National Maritime Union (NMU), the C.I.O. and the *Partido Comunista Puertorriqueño*. Just before the war, the NMU, one of the most radical of the country's unions, had an increasing number of Puerto Rican affiliates. In her provocative, Out of the Barrio, Linda Chavez uses this history to argue that Latinos did not need or want to create their own organizations, but felt that they could achieve their objectives through "Anglo" founded institutions. She uses this argument to attack the grantmaking practices of the some of the major foundations. (See Week 13).

In the 1960s, the situation changed. Organized labor's growing conservatism and subsequent decline in the decades following World War II combined with demographic growth and a growing immigrant population to create the need and opportunity for established philanthropic foundations to play a formative role in Latino institutional life. Foundation and Latino leaders argued that Latinos, unlike African Americans lacked: 1) a strong network of religious institutions; 2) a bitter, but galvanizing history of slavery; and 3) a unified national identity. For these reasons, it was argued, Latinos needed outside support and beginning in the 1960s, foundations joined with labor organizations to support incipient Latino organizations.

The first foundation to reach out to the Hispanic population was the Rosenberg Foundation in San Francisco. In the late 1960s the Ford Foundation provided key support for the Southwest Council of La Raza [later transformed to the National Council of La Raza (NCLR)], the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), and the Southwest Voter and Registration Education Project (SVREP). Ford proved to be the main private source of funding for Hispanics. Between 1968 and 1991, the foundation gave \$9.6 million to NCLR and \$14.2 to MALDEF.

Foundations played little role in the Puerto Rican community until the 1960s, when large scale migration, the increasing number of sociological studies, and the perception that the Puerto Rican community and its problems were part of the country's social fabric changed foundations' agendas. In 1961, *Aspira* became the first Puerto Rican agency funded by foundations. Support came from the Taconic Foundation; the Nathan Hefheimer Foundation, the New York Foundation, the New York Fund for Children, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the Field Foundation. In the 1970s the Ford Foundation funded the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (PRLDEF).

Discussion Questions and Undergraduate Research Topics

1. Why did organized labor serve as a training ground for Hispanic leadership?
2. Did Latinos need their own communal and labor organizations?
3. Why does leadership responsibility shift from labor to foundations?
4. What caused the shift in major foundations' agenda on Latinos?
5. To what extent did organizations outside the Hispanic community shape Hispanic agendas?

Graduate Research Topics

1. Examine the role of Hispanics in Anglo dominated unions.
2. Examine the role foundations have played in helping to develop Latino organizations. Pick a single organization.

Readings

Victor M. Muñoz, "The Role of the Labor Movement in the Empowerment of Mexican Americans," in Latinos and Political Coalitions: Political Empowerment for the 1990s, ed. Roberto E. Villarreal and Norma G. Hernández (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991).

Michael Cortés, "Three Strategic Questions about Latino Philanthropy," New Directions for Philanthropic Fundraising 8 (Summer 1995).

Juan Flores, Divided Borders: Essays on Puerto Rican Identity (Houston: Arte Publico, 1993), *Chapter: National Culture and Migration: Perspectives from the Puerto Rican Working Class with Ricardo Campos*.

Herman E. Gallegos and Michael O'Neill, "Hispanics and the Nonprofit Sector," in Hispanics and the Nonprofit Sector, ed. Herman E. Gallegos and Michael O'Neill (New York: The Foundation Center, 1991).

Background Readings

Harry Pachon and Louis DeSipio, New Americans By Choice: Political Perspectives of Latino Immigrants (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994).

Rodolfo de la Garza, ed., Latino Voices: Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban Perspectives on American Politics (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).

Hispanics in philanthropy, Annual Report, 1995.

C.E. Cortés, ed., Mexican Labor in the United States, The Mexican American Series (Salem, N.H.: Ayer, 1974).

S. F. Pargi, A Case Study of Latin American Unionization in Austin, Texas, Chicano Heritage Series, C.E. Cortes, ed. (Salem, N.H.: Ayer, 1976).

Film

Salt of the Earth

Week 13

The Ford Foundation: A Case Study

Latinos receive 1 percent of available private grant monies, even though they form almost 10 percent of the population. Over 75 percent of all Latino funding comes from 7 foundations and between 38 to 50 percent from the Ford Foundation alone. Drawing from these statistics, Linda Chavez, former Communications Director in the Reagan Administration, argues that the Latino policy infrastructure is a creation of the foundation community, in particular the Ford Foundation. Chavez writes:

That most of these Hispanic civic groups pursued assimilationist goals may not have satisfied the expectations of the Ford Foundation, but it seemed to suit their members' desires and interests. Nonetheless, the foundation, with the advice of a handful of Mexican American activists, decided that it would step in to create new institutions to serve the Hispanic community. (Chavez, 1991: 78)

Politically charged, the question focuses attention on the relationship between Latino communal structure and non-Latino foundations. This session will examine the Ford Foundation's relationship to its Mexican-American initiatives [particularly, the history of the Southwest Council of La Raza (SWCLR)].

The proposal to form SWCLR came out of a group of twenty-five Mexican-American scholars, writers and activists including Ernesto Galarza, Julian Samora and Heman Gallegos. Jack Conway from the AFL-CIO provided a planning grant. The initial proposal submitted to Ford was drafted by Miguel Barragan of the Bishop's Committee of San Antonio. In Ford, Vice President Sviridoff, formerly from the United Auto Workers (UAW), supported the initiative and in 1968, the foundation made grants of \$630,000 to form a regional council to develop locally-based *Chicano* leaders and organizations.

Simultaneously, in Spring 1969, Ford was denounced on the floor of Congress by San Antonio Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez. The reason: the council had granted funds to the Mexican American Unity Council (MAUC). MAUC had made a sub-grant to the Mexican Youth Organization (MAYO), which had supported a slate of candidates in its newspaper. Local Democratic Party officials feared that MAYO-endorsed candidates would sap traditional Mexican-American support of Democrats. Gonzalez charged that Ford was using tax-exempt monies for partisan ends, a violation of the 1969 tax reform act.

The attack by Democrats forced Ford to insist that the council distance itself from partisan political affiliations. To conform to the law's requirements, a voter registration effort [the Southwest Voter Education and Registration Project (SVREP)] was created. The impact of SVREP was powerful. With MALDEF it challenged the gerrymandering structure that had frozen Mexican Americans out of elective public office, bringing Latinos to the polls in record numbers.

The success of SVREP still left La Raza with serious challenges, the main one being how to balance local with centralized decision-making structures. Tensions arose over who should determine policy and at what level. The distribution of leadership talent also contributed to problems. These tensions were overcome in the short-term by continued funding and an extremely close foundation/council relationship.* In the long run Ford decided to fund directly the local Community development Corporations (CDCs). With the emergence of Raúl Yzaguirre as the head of the organization, La Raza was transformed into a national organization. The staff rose from 13 to 110 and council branches were opened in Albuquerque, Chicago, San Francisco, and the Texas Valley. La Raza focused on rural housing, migrant education, coordinating the efforts of various Latino organizations, and launching a program of legislative analysis; in doing, so the NCLR became a strong advocate for a national Latino agenda.

**Immediately after SVREP was established Ford made an additional \$1.3 million grant to La Raza.*

Discussion Questions and Undergraduate Research Topics

1. How does the Ford case illustrate labor, community, foundation partnerships?
2. How crucial was the Ford money in forming La Raza?
3. How central was La Raza to the institutionalization of the community?
4. Defend or attack Chavez's assertion that the Latino nonprofit infrastructure is one of the Ford Foundation. By questioning the

legitimacy of outside aid, does Chavez's analysis lock ethnicities into a financial ghetto?

5. What are the proper roles for large, mainstream foundations within ethnic communities?

Graduate Research Topics

1. Compare the Latino community to the African American, which has historically been far more reluctant to seek funds from established foundations.
2. What was the effect of the 1969 tax reform act on foundations and community organizations and why was it necessary to "spin-off" the voter registration component of the SWCLR?

Readings

Linda Chavez, Out of the Barrio: Toward a New Politics of Hispanic Assimilation (New York: Basic Books, 1991), *Chapter 3: The Power Brokers*.

Sioban O. Nicolau and Henry Santiestevan, "Looking Back: A Grantee-Grantor View of the Early Years of the Council of La Raza," in Hispanics and the Nonprofit Sector, ed. Herman E. Gallegos and Michael O'Neill (New York: The Foundation Center, 1991).

Vilma Martinez, "Hispanic Advocacy Organizations in Gallegos," in Hispanics and the Nonprofit Sector, ed. E. Herman and Michael O'Neill (New York: The Foundation Center, 1991).

Armando Navarro, Mexican American Youth Organization: Avant-Garde of the Chicano Movement in Texas (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), *Chapter 3: MAYO: Protagonists for Educational Change*.

Additional Readings

Raúl Yzaguirre, "Keys to Hispanic Empowerment," in Latinos and Political Coalitions: Political Empowerment for the 1990s, ed. Roberto E. Villarreal and Norma G. Hernández (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991).

William A. Díaz, "The Behavior of Foundations in an Organizational Frame: A Case Study," in Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly 25, no. 4 (December 1996).



Week 14**Toward a Latino Agenda**

Whether or not there is a Latino agenda, there are Latino issues. This session looks at three: the changing role of the state; the challenge of education; and the institutional response to the projected influx of new Latino immigrants.

The Changing Role of the State: In the mid-1960s, Lyndon Johnson's Great Society and War on Poverty sharply increased funding for local initiatives in education, health care and housing, which, in turn, led to an explosion of nonprofit organizations. A good example of how federal funds were spread through the community is the Puerto Rican Community development Project (PRCDP), which was established to subcontract with over one hundred service delivery providers.

With the Reagan-inspired cuts in social spending, fundraising became a priority for Hispanic organizations. The dominant current has been that organizations that were heavily dependent on government funds lost their militancy and became primarily service delivery agencies. Examination of the institutional history of the Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs (PRACA) traces a trajectory from an activist past to a predominantly foster care agency in the present. In addition, when federal dollars began to be cut in the 1980s, the work of agencies that were heavily dependent was seriously disrupted. This gave rise to new responses, for example, the Institute for Puerto Rican Policy (IPRP)—now merged with the Puerto Rican Defense Fund—shunned government money, relying on private foundations. This “financial independence” allowed the IPRP to develop new strategies focused on advocacy, research and networking.

State policy in the form of affirmative action also impacted the Latino community. In the 1970s, in the aftermath of the Bakke decision, Latinos along with African Americans and other minorities became eligible for particular remedial initiatives. These included educational

and employment programs, and government contracts. These programs have helped build a Latino middle class, but have increasingly come under attack as tearing the nation's social fabric by heightening race-based thinking. (See for example the critique from the neo-conservative camp in Michael Lind, The Next American Nation: The New Nationalism and the Fourth American Revolution).

The Challenge of Education: The alarmingly high dropout rates for Latino students is a crisis in the community. Because of the continual stream of Latino immigrants, the relationship between language proficiency and education has been a constant concern. MALDEF and PRLDEF have been vital in securing legal guarantees for bilingual education for Spanish language students. Other organizations, best exemplified by Aspira, the Hispanic Policy development Project and the Hispanic Coalition on Higher Education, are dedicated to raising the educational performance and leadership capabilities of Latino students.

The debate over bilingual education continues. Does bilingual instruction provide invaluable access to learning for Spanish speaking students or is it an expensive crutch that prevents the student from achieving mastery in either language? Is it a keystone of cultural preservation or a barrier to full economic and social integration? Beyond K-12, the need to strengthen Latino attendance in colleges and universities is widely perceived. Less than 10 percent of Latinos are college graduates. In response, in 1993 Hispanic business leaders joined together to establish the Hispanic College Fund (HFC) to develop the next generation of business leaders in the United States. Internships and scholarships, such as the Caesar E. Chavez Foundation Internship, also have been established.

Immigration and philanthropy: The sharp rise in both immigration and the Latino population has coincided with two fundamental shifts in the political and economic structures of the country. After 50 years of expansion, fiscal and philosophic concerns have prompted a devolution of power from the federal to state governments, placing a heightened responsibility on localities and civic institutions to respond to the needs of their communities. In spite of economic growth throughout the 1990s, income disparities in the United States are widening and are now at their highest level since 1947.

In this context, the burdens on Latino philanthropy are greater than before. The Latino community is projected to grow by 35 percent in the next twenty-five years, reaching 52 million. This parallels the expansion

of Latino economic and political power. Yet the community suffers from grave economic inequalities. For example, median income is one-third that of the nation's. How will the community mobilize to meet future projections? The growing size of the Hispanic population has the potential to have a positive effect on attaining political power, improving economic conditions and increasing public and private funding. Increasingly it is clear that the future effectiveness of the Latino community will depend on continued educational improvement, and within the field of philanthropy on improving nonprofit leadership and management training. The infrastructure is in place, but there is a strong need to strengthen the community's research capacity. To cite Paul N. Ylvisaker, a key player in early Ford Foundation efforts to fund Latino organizations: in the increasingly competitive environment to secure funds, Hispanic organizations "need to play hardball" with facts and figures. Ylvisaker argues that the growing competitiveness will push these organizations to increase their capacity to form alliances and partnerships and create a pan-Hispanic agenda.

Discussion Questions/Topics: Future Trends and Research Agendas

The following, in the form of questions, constitute some of the more pressing research needs of the Latino community. [Much of what follows is drawn from Ylvisaker, 1991. For a comprehensive overview on research on Latinos, please see, F. Chris García, et al., Latinos and Politics: A Select Research Bibliography (Center for Mexican American Studies: University of Texas at Austin, 1991)].

1. As federal and state social policies (including policy towards immigrants) change, how is the Latino community responding? What effects have federal policies and their oscillations had on community organization, leadership and advocacy?
2. Will the 7 foundations that have provided the majority of support for the Latino community continue to do so? Should the fundraising priority focused on foundations be shifted?
3. The Catholic Church, the philanthropic and spiritual center of the community, no longer plays the almost monolithic role it once did. Over 30 percent of Latinos belong to Protestant denominations. How has this affected Latino philanthropy? Has religious diversity fostered increased self-reliance, or more secular forms of philanthropy?

4. What kinds of philanthropic organizations are best positioned to respond to Latino community needs? Community foundations? Established foundations? Family foundations? What is the relationship between Latino nonprofits and non-Latino nonprofits and with state agencies?
5. Is the primary need of Latino charities a lack of Latino trainers, board members and staff, as a Hispanics in philanthropy study argues (see below)? What are the consequences of the significant imbalances between men and women in leadership roles among Latino nonprofits, and how are they to be addressed?
6. How can Latino giving be increased? How can the motivation of individual Latinos be more completely understood?
7. Should boards remain sensitive primarily to Latino communities at the expense of potential fundraising? Should organizations with successful fundraising histories be examined as potential role models to be emulated? Are there ethical issues involved in diverting scarce Latino fundraising resources to developing a donor base?
8. How can Latinos be encouraged to increase their giving? In 1988, only 56 percent of Latinos contributed (1 percent of their income) to charities—as opposed to 71 percent and 1.5 percent nationally. Why don't Latinos give more? Are direct marketing efforts effective, or do they need to be adjusted to Latino culture? What kind of marketing experimentation can yield new approaches? Which segment of the Latino population—the wealthy or the middle class—should be targeted?

Readings

Paul N. Ylvisaker, "The Future of Hispanic Nonprofits," in Hispanics and the Nonprofit Sector, ed. Herman E. Gallegos and Michael O'Neill (New York: Foundation Center, 1991).

Hispanics in Philanthropy, "Building an Engaged Citizenry Rather than a Persuaded Populace: Civic Capacity Building in Northeastern Hispanic Communities" (Executive Summary: February 1997).

Michael Cortes, "Philanthropy and Latino Nonprofits," in Hispanics and the Nonprofit Sector, ed. Herman E. Gallegos and Michael O'Neill (New York: Foundation Center, 1991).

Henry Santiestevan, ed. Hispanics and Grantmakers: A Special Report of Foundation News (Washington, D.C.: Council on Foundations, 1981).

Hispanics in Philanthropy, "Models for Increasing Philanthropic Support to Latino Communities" (Executive Summary: April 1997).

Robert Santiago, "Critical Condition," Hispanic Magazine (August 1996).

Background Readings

Michael Lind, The Next American Nation: The New Nationalism and the Fourth American Revolution (New York: The Free Press, 1995), *Chapter 6: Alternative Americas: Democratic Universalism, Cultural Pluralism and the New Nativism.*

NCLR, "State of the Hispanic Agenda: Toward a Latino Anti-Poverty Agenda," (Washington, D.C. July 1993).

Edwin Meléndez, "Hispanics and Wage Inequality in New York City," in Latinos in New York: Communities in Transition, ed. Sherrie Bayer and Gabriel Haslip-Viera (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996).

Pastora San Juan Cafferty and William C. McCready, eds., Hispanics in the United States: A New Social Agenda (NJ: Transaction Books, 1988).

R. M. Becerra and R. Zambrana, "Methodological Approaches to Research on Hispanics," Social Work Research and Abstracts 21, no. 2 (1985): 42-49.

Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños (York College, City University of New York), "Language Policy and the Puerto Rican Community," The Bilingual Review 5, no. 1-2 (1978): 1-39.

"Grand Jury Discrimination," Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 68 (December 1977): 533-542 .

K. O'Connor, and L. Epstein, "A Legal Voice for the Chicano Community: The Activities of the Mexican American Legal

Defense and Educational Fund, 1968-1982," Social Science Quarterly 65, no. 2 (June 1984): 245-56.

- R. V. Padilla, ed. Bilingualism and Public Policy, Puerto Rican Perspectives: Reprints from a Conference. (New York: Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, 1979).
- G. San Miguel, Jr., "Let All of Them Take Heed": Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987).

Part II. A.

1. Mexican-American Philanthropy: Literature Overview

By John A. Gutiérrez

Mexican Americans constitute the single largest Latino group in the United States, and their history is among the richest in the country. Social theorists, anthropologists, and others have debated the sometimes very difficult duality of being Mexican *and* American; of preserving, when not advancing, *lo mexicano* in the face of demands for assimilation from *lo americano*. Meanwhile at least two generations of historians have grappled with the history of Mexican-Americans and their institutions, confronting stereotypes, chronicling complex communities that contested cultural and political norms. The challenge posed by the sheer volume of the literature, insofar as this essay is concerned, is that sources are necessarily excluded and important trends will receive short shrift. Thus some caveats concerning the methodology of this essay are necessary.

The emergence of Borderland studies has resulted in substantial growth in the field of American colonial history. Works by Ramón Gutiérrez, David Weber, and others have expanded upon John F. Bannon's early work and refined our understanding of Spanish colonial institutions, society, and culture in North America. A review of the history of institutions and philanthropy during this early period, while important, would expand this essay to an unwieldy length. Instead, this essay will focus on the Mexican-American institutions and associations that emerged after the collapse of Mexican authority and the accession of Anglo-American hegemony in the wake of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848. That event signaled a clash of cultures and economic systems that resulted in various attempts by Mexican Americans to alternately, and at times simultaneously, defend their traditions and reconcile new realities.

Although much of the literature on Mexican-American communities and their organizations emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, it is important to note that some important works were produced as early as the 1930s. In particular, it is worth mentioning the work of Paul Taylor and O. Douglas Weeks. Taylor's An American-Mexican Frontier: Nueces County, Texas and his other works on Mexican-American labor are an excellent starting point for any analysis of the Mexican-American community and its institutions. His early work on Mexican-American farmers and laborers focused attention on the difficult challenges faced by these workers in the Midwest and West. It is no coincidence that Taylor's collection of documents, letters, and research housed at Stanford University's Bancroft Library is among the most important collection of historical materials on Mexican Americans in the United States.

O. Douglas Weeks's article "The League of United Latin-American Citizens: A Texas--Mexican Civic Organization" was published in 1929. The author was among the first Anglo-American scholars to analyze Mexican-American institutions and associations. LULAC, as the League has been known for decades, was one of the first Mexican--American civic associations in the Southwest. The organization's mission was one of confronting discrimination while promoting Mexican assimilation into Anglo-American culture. That strategy remained the dominant strategy of the Mexican-American movement until the 1950s when more radical elements in the community, inspired by the Civil Rights struggles, advocated a more confrontational posture vis-à-vis Anglo-American hegemony. Even so, in these early years LULAC was an important force of cultural unity and political action, and Weeks presciently recognized its significance.

Anglo-American scholars were not the only ones to recognize the important research opportunities presented by the Mexican-American community. The nature and dilemmas of Mexican immigration and immigrants were captured by Manuel Gamio in his two books of the 1930s: Mexican Immigration in the United States: A Study of Human Migration and Adjustment and The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story. Gamio, who died in 1960, was a man of remarkable erudition whose work ranged from studies of Pre-Columbian culture in Mexico to the study of migrant workers in the United States. Mexican immigrants had been arriving in the United States in increasing numbers from the beginning of the twentieth century and by the 1920s were found as far north and east as Indiana and Ohio. Often lured by promises of high rates of pay and ample benefits, many Mexicans worked on railroad lines and agricultural enterprises. Gamio recognized the challenges facing

these immigrants and was among the first to chronicle their experiences and attitudes in relation not only to the United States but also Mexico. Other studies of the Mexican-American community emerged in the 1940s. Works by William Altus, Ruth Tuck, Frances Woods and others contributed to more refined picture of the Mexican-American experience. It was in the 1960s and 1970s that a veritable explosion took place in the field. The Civil Rights movement had engulfed many Mexican Americans and the emergence of the Chicano Movement was a clear sign that accepted arrangements of power and authority, of hegemony and autonomy, would be contested throughout the Southwest, Texas, and California. The advance of the "new social history" combined with Mexican ethnic affirmation to promote the development of fields like Chicano Studies and a reevaluation of the Mexican-American historical record. This reconsideration included a shifting of priorities and a reformulation of questions. Historians were now more concerned with issues of class formation, gender, and local struggles for authority and power. The study of Mexican-American institutions, organizations, and associations provided an excellent avenue of research.

Among the early, clearly polemical, contributions to Mexican-American historiography were the late Julian Samora's edited volume La Raza: Forgotten Americans and Rodolfo Acuña's now classic Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle for Freedom. Mexican-American empowerment through local organizing efforts is a central theme of both books. In the case of La Raza: Forgotten Americans, for example, John Martinez's essay "Leadership and Politics" highlights the efforts of grassroots community organizations like the Mexican American Political Organization (MAPA) as well as individual attempts at political enfranchisement such as the congressional campaigns of *tejano* Henry B. Gonzalez.

One key component in the growth of Mexican-American historiography has been the acknowledgement on the part of scholars that geographic and regional differences exist within the community. The long-time emphasis on communities in Texas and the Southwest, while not abandoned, has certainly been diluted by excellent studies of other regions. Two important contributions in this regard have been James B. Lane and Edward J. Escobar's collection of essays, Forging a Community: The Latino Experience in Northwest Indiana, 1919-1975, and Juan R. Garcia's Mexicans in the Midwest, 1900-1932. In both books, the issues surrounding institutional and organizational development are essential. Carl Allsup's "Concerned Latins Organization" and Juan Garcia and Angel Cal's "El Circulo de Obreros

Católicos San José, 1925-1930" are but two of the articles in Forging a Community that address the primordial role of community organizations among Mexican Americans. In the case of Garcia and Cal's treatment of the *Circulo de Obreros Católicos San José*, for example, we learn that initial efforts at forming fraternal organizations in Northwest Indiana were centered around religious organizations that promoted cultural unity and "moral" behavior. Later, political concerns such as discrimination and social service needs were the impetus behind the formation of secular institutions like the Concerned Latins Organizations.

Other notable regional studies of Mexican-American communities include Nina Nixon's excellent article "Mexican-American Voluntary Associations in Omaha, Nebraska," Dennis Valdés's Al Norte: Agricultural Workers in the Great Lakes Region, 1917-1970, and Norman Goldner's The Mexican in the Northern Urban Area: A Comparison of Two Generations. Each of these contributions to the field of Mexican-American studies—while concentrating on a different region—deals with a population that confronts political and economic obstacles through some form of political, social, or beneficent organization. In turning away from traditional settlement areas for Mexican-Americans, these authors have fundamentally expanded our understanding of the community as a whole.

Despite the newfound attention to these new areas, it would be inaccurate to assume that the historiography on the Mexican-American Communities of California, Texas, and the Southwest has been static. Instead, a new crop of social historians has reshaped our notions of the Mexican-American communities in these areas by focusing on issues of power, gender, and community-building. It is worthwhile to review some of the major contributions of the past two decades.

California's Mexican-American community has been the subject of a number of important studies including Albert Camarillo's Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930, Richard Griswold del Castillo's The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History, and Richard Romo's East Los Angeles: History of a Barrio. Camarillo's volume is one of a few attempts to track the transition of Chicanos from Mexicans to Mexican-Americans in the wake of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Two major tools in this transition were the formation of local fraternal societies and Spanish-language newspapers that challenged the increasing hegemony of Anglo-Americans. As Camarillo points out, these institutions unified the community against Anglo-American

discrimination in the early years after the Mexican capitulation and reinforced cultural norms as pressures for assimilation increased.

The American Southwest has also been the subject of some important scholarly attention in the last two decades. Works like Sarah Deutsch's No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940, Richard Griswold del Castillo's La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to the Present, and Z. Anthony Krusewski, Richard Hough, and Jacob Ornstein-Garcia's Politics and Society in the Southwest: Ethnicity and Chicano Pluralism have substantially clarified our image of the Mexican-American communities in the Southwest. Deutsch's book, for instance, was among the first of a growing number of studies that focused on the organizational and informal networks among Mexican-American women. Confronted with constricting gender roles from within and without their own cultural milieu, many women depended on kinship and friendship networks that preserved some autonomy.

There is little question that the Mexican-American communities of Texas have been the greatest beneficiaries of the recent research efforts by historians and social scientists in the field of Mexican-American Studies. Among the more notable works on the Mexican-American communities of Texas are Arnoldo De Leon's They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes Toward Mexicans in Texas, 1821-1900, Richard Garcia's Rise of the Mexican-American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1929-1941, David Montejano's Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986, and Annando Navarro's Mexican American Youth Organization: Avant-Garde of the Chicano Movement in Texas. Of special note is Navarro's study of the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO). Based on extensive research and interviews, the author captured the political ambience that led to the creation of a youth-based political organization in Texas. In addition, the reader comes to understand the difficulties of sustaining an activist agenda like the one pursued by MAYO, in the face of internal dissension and external opposition. Although MAYO ultimately collapsed, Navarro's treatment of the organization's rise and fall is a successful attempt to understand the motivations behind organizing in the Mexican-American community.

Much like Navarro's study of MAYO, other scholars have focused on the history of Mexican-American institutions. Mutual-aid societies have long been of interest to historians of Mexican-American communities. José Hernandez's Mutual Aid for Survival: The Case of the Mexican

American is a collection of essays dealing with the role of mutual-aid organizations within different Mexican-American communities. Hernandez treats the history of *mutualismo* from the religious confraternity of *Los Penitentes* in New Mexico and Colorado to the *Alianza Hispano Americana* active in the Chicano civil rights movements of the last fifty years. Although the essays are uneven in quality, they nonetheless reflect the historiographical importance that the mutual-aid societies have assumed in Mexican-American studies. It is important to mention that while Hernandez's volume is the only published full-length treatment of Mexican-American mutual aid societies, a number of theses and dissertations have tackled the topic as well. Important contributions in this respect include Stanley West's "The Mexican Aztec Society: A Mexican-American Voluntary Association in Diachronic Perspective" and Paul Lin's "Voluntary Kinship and Voluntary Associations in a Mexican-American Community."

Organized labor and labor union activism have also been topics of concern to historians of Mexican Americans. Initially, Mexican migrant workers could depend on little organizational backing in their struggles with management. Yet the eventual settlement of many Mexicans in the United States on a permanent basis--and the increasing militancy within organized labor throughout the country--led to crescent migrant participation and leadership in labor unions.

The work of Zaragosa Vargas is a fine place to begin any analysis of Mexican-American workers' activism and union participation. Vargas's early work, especially his Proletarians of the North: A History of Mexican Industrial Workers in Detroit and the Midwest, 1917-1933, focuses on the activities of Mexicans and Mexican-American laborers in the Midwest. Many Mexicans arrived in Detroit after World War I in search of employment and fleeing from the brutal conditions of agricultural labor in Texas and the Southwest. Although there is little in this book on labor unions *per se*, Vargas does make a compelling argument that Mexican industrial workers did organize mutual-aid societies and religious fraternities in an effort to confront the demands of management and promote cultural unity. Vargas's recent article "Tejana Radical: Emma Tenayuca and the San Antonio Labor Movement during the Great Depression" is a more explicit treatment of labor union participation among Mexican Americans. The author highlights the work of Emma Tenayuca, a labor activist who led a strike by pecan shellers in San Antonio in 1938. The strike, one of the first mass labor actions undertaken by Mexicans and Mexican Americans,

challenged Anglo-American domination as well as the Mexican-American middle class's aversion to worker militancy.

Others have contributed to the body literature on Mexican-American labor activism and organizations. Gilbert Gonzalez's article "The Mexican Citrus Picker Union, the Mexican Consulate, and the Orange County Strike of 1936" is an important analysis of the role organized labor played in agricultural settlements in California. Gonzalez argues that Mexican-American and Mexican laborers faced not only management's hostility toward their demands, but the Mexican government's unwillingness to support them as well. Abraham Hoffman's Unwanted Mexican-Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures, 1929-1939 details the struggle of Mexican-American laborers and labor organizations against the repatriation programs of the 1930s. Mark Reisler's By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900-1940 provides a fine introduction to the daily lives and exploitative conditions facing many Mexican migrants arriving in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century. While Reisler's book does at times reflect the political activism of his time, it is nonetheless a finely written introduction to the topic.

Based on the information presented here, it is plain that historians and social scientists have dedicated much research toward better understanding the role played by Mexican-American institutions and associations. As with any other field, however, some noticeable gaps remain. One glaring omission concerns the history of the National Council of La Raza. Founded in the 1960s, NCLR has become the most successful Mexican-American, if not Latino, organization in the United States. Politically active, with a membership extending well beyond the traditional confines of the Mexican-American community, NCLR has emerged as a powerful force within the U.S. Latino community. Yet we know little of the keys to its long-term stability and success, and even less of the important financial and political support it has cultivated over the years.

Another topic to explore is the growing Mexican and Mexican-American presence in the Northeast. There is virtually no analysis of the emergence of Mexican-American communities in Northern New Jersey, New York City and Massachusetts. These communities, once considered minor enclaves, have increased over the past decade and stand to change the composition of the respective Latino communities

in the areas. The interaction between Mexican Americans and other Latino groups is an area untouched by researchers and in need of analysis.

Mexican Americans have a long and complex history in the United States. Often the demands for assimilation have clashed awkwardly with the desire to preserve cultural norms. On many occasions, Mexican Americans have reconciled these opposing streams by creating organizations that simultaneously defend and promote La Raza. Further research on these organizations will not only sharpen our understanding of the Mexican-American community, but also its place within the larger context of the United States.

2. Mexican-American Philanthropy: Annotated Bibliography

García, Juan, and Angel Cal. "El Circulo de Obreros Católicos San José, 1925-1930. In Forging a Community: The Latino Experience in Northwest Indiana, 1919-1975, ed. James B. Lane and Edward J. Escobar. Chicago: Cattails Press, 1987.

Formed in 1925 by refugees escaping anti-Catholic violence in Mexico, the *Circulo de Obreros Católicos San José* provided religious and recreational support for Mexican Americans in Indiana Harbor, Indiana. The *Circulo* had led the effort, physically and financially, to build the area's first Mexican-American Catholic parish, Our Lady of Guadalupe. The author argues that after some time, however, the leadership of the *Circulo*, lost touch with the more basic concerns of working-class Mexican Americans and by 1925 had been superseded by other organizations.

García, Juan R. Mexicans in the Midwest, 1900-1932. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1996.

[See: chapters entitled "Issues Affecting Mexican Organizational Efforts" and "Mexican Mutual Aid Societies."]

Growing industrialization, anti-immigration laws aimed at European immigrants, and world war were among the factors that created a labor shortage in the American Midwest at the turn of the century. Unable to satiate the Midwest industrial and agricultural sectors' appetite for labor with native workers, Mexican laborers were imported at record levels to work on the region's burgeoning railroad system and to harvest and process beet sugar. Most of these immigrant laborers were young, male, and unmarried. Unfamiliar with English and regarded as simple-minded and docile by their employers, many were denied pay and otherwise exploited. Nevertheless, Juan García

argues, these Mexican nationals were able to resist discrimination and exploitation by banding together in mutual aid societies like *La Unión Mexicana Benito Juárez* of Kansas City or the *Círculo de Obreros Católicos "San Jose"* of East Chicago. These organizations provided health and insurance services as well as a vehicle for political empowerment and activism. The book offers an excellent bibliography on a little-studied topic.

García, Richard A. Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1929-1941. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991.

San Antonio was the booming urban center of Mexican-American life in the Southwest. This study focuses on the emergence of a Mexican-American middle class and its impact on perceptions of ethnicity and class. The author argues that the Mexican-American middle class's search for an identity within the American schema often conflicted with the interests of working-class Mexican Americans who required a more radical political programme. Particular attention is paid to the role of LULAC as an agent of Mexican-American class formation that promoted Mexican cultural norms and values while encouraging a distinctly American style of political activism.

Griswold del Castillo, Richard. La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to the Present. Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press, 1984.

The author assesses the organization of and influences on Chicano families in four urban settings: Los Angeles, Tucson, Santa Fe, and San Antonio. He argues that since 1848 and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo there has been a conflict between the capitalist system of the United States and the values and norms of Mexican-American families. In particular, Griswold del Castillo discusses kinship networks within Chicano communities as sources of cultural support in the face of U.S. hegemony.

Griswold del Castillo, Richard. The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979.

Between 1848 and 1900 the Spanish-speaking people of the southwestern United States were transformed from a frontier society into a distinct ethnic group at the margins both of

American and Mexican society. This study focuses on the development of Mexican American ethnicity in late nineteenth-century Los Angeles. Among other developments, the author views the emergence of ethnic newspapers and organizations in these Mexican-American communities as characteristic of this new identity. From 1850 to 1900 Los Angeles had 15 social/political organizations and 16 ethnic newspapers. Both the organizations and the newspapers were critical in promoting Mexican cultural norms and celebrations—*Cinco de Mayo* parades, for instance—as well as protesting the increasing discriminatory treatment of Mexican Americans by Anglos.

Hernandez, Jose Amaro. Mutual Aid for Survival: The Case of the Mexican American. Malabar, Florida: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1983.

Mutual aid societies have long played a central role in the experiences of Mexican Americans. Professor Hernandez provides a series of case studies of Mexican/Chicano mutualism ranging from the centuries-old *Penitentes* of New Mexico and Colorado to the *Alianza Hispano Americana* active in the Chicano civil rights movements of the last fifty years. The author maintains that mutual aid societies in the Mexican community have not only served as sources of support for the immediate material needs of their members but also have been active in defending the interests of Mexican Americans by exerting political influence in the society-at-large. It is this political activism, Hernandez argues, that distinguishes Mexican mutual aid societies from other aid groups in the United States.

Montejano, David. Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987.

The author chronicles the social trajectory of Mexican Americans in southwest Texas from annexation to integration. Initially Mexican Americans were able to preserve some balance in their dealings with Anglos after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Indeed, Mexican landowners remained an essential source of economic stability in the region well after annexation and it was Anglo upstarts who had to assimilate into Mexican norms. Over time, the power of Mexican landed elites was diluted by the increasing availability of land for “newcomer” ranchers. The subsequent battle for political power between these “old-timers” and “newcomers” devolved into a battle for

racial superiority and Mexican Americans became subject to variations on Jim Crow laws. In the twentieth century, as racial segregation diminished in import, Mexican-American organizations were created to reassert political influence in Texas.

Navarro, Armando. Mexican American Youth Organization: Avant-Garde of the Chicano Movement in Texas. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.

In this case study of the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) and its role in promoting a Chicano agenda in Texas, the author argues that MAYO was formed in response to internal pressures for action and external pressures, especially racism, that encouraged an active confrontation with the status quo. Among MAYO's organizational activities, Navarro highlights the boycotts for better schooling in Edouch-Elsa, Kingsville, and Crystal City as important events. These boycotts helped to make the Chicano Movement manifest in the lives of Mexican Americans at the local level and promote and ethnic consciousness and activism that made the community a political force.

Nixon, Nina L. "Mexican-American Voluntary Associations in Omaha, Nebraska." Journal of the West 28, no. 3 (July 1989): 73-85.

Mexicans arrived in Omaha in the 1860s in search of work on the railroads, as well as in agriculture and meatpacking. By the 1920s, South Omaha was home to a distinct Mexican-American enclave that attempted to preserve its cultural heritage and autonomy by creating a number of voluntary associations. Organizations like the *Comisión Honorífica*, *Esperanza*, and *Sociedad Mutualista Mexicana* provided financial and cultural support to the community. The author argues that by the 1950s and 1960s these organizations, and their successors, had moved beyond local self-help to political organizing that reflected the more activist streams of the civil rights movement.

Rosales, Francisco Arturo, and Daniel T. Simon. "Mexican Immigrant Experience in the Urban Midwest: East Chicago, Indiana, 1919-1945." In Forging a Community: The Latino Experience in Northwest Indiana, 1919-1975, ed. James B. Lane and Edward J. Escobar. Chicago: Cattails Press, 1987.

This study focuses on the Mexican-American community in East Chicago and especially those migrants working for the Inland Steel Company. Faced with an unfamiliar host community, Mexican Americans organized beneficent organizations. Initially, the author argues, these organizations were intended as self-help associations that provided financial support and advocated for members with American employers and political leaders. During World War II, these organizations provided a mechanism for Mexican Americans to demonstrate their patriotism by organizing bond sales, Red Cross campaigns and civil defense.



3. Mexican-American Philanthropy: Additional Citations

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Part 1A. 11.

1. Puerto Rican Philanthropy: Literature Overview

by John A. Gutiérrez

Puerto Ricans arrived in the United States in the late nineteenth century and quickly joined Cuban nationalists in a concerted struggle against Spanish colonialism. Puerto Rican membership in the clubs of the *Partido Revolucionario Cubano* was widespread, and Puerto Rican nationalist leaders regularly collaborated with Cuban revolutionaries in an effort to liberate both countries from metropolitan domination. The outbreak of the Spanish-Cuban-American War cemented these ties, as both countries gained their independence from Spain. At the war's end, however, Puerto Rico and Cuba, and more precisely Puerto Ricans and Cubans, would set off on different paths.

The collapse of the Spanish colonial enterprise in Puerto Rico was replaced with the political, economic, and cultural hegemony of the United States. The island's status as a protectorate and later as a "free associated state" challenged Puerto Rico's claims of autonomy. Ever since, whether for good or ill, Puerto Ricans have straddled a precarious position between notions of national sovereignty and the reality of dependence on the United States. In no small way, the presence of thousands of Puerto Ricans on the mainland United States has affected the nature of this dilemma.

Puerto Ricans first arrived in massive numbers to the United States in the interwar years. The Jones Act of 1917 had granted United States citizenship to Puerto Ricans and by 1926 approximately 100,000 Puerto Ricans resided in New York City alone. From the 1920s on, hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans would come to the United States in search of economic opportunities not available on the island. This migration led to the creation of several Puerto Rican *colonias* along the Eastern Seaboard, the largest of which was and remains New York City. Currently, Puerto Ricans are the second largest Latino group in the United States, and the largest single ethnic group in New York City.

It is their prevalent position in New York City and places like Hartford and Chicago that makes the lack of historiographical attention paid to Puerto Ricans so remarkable. While the literature on Puerto Rico has grown substantially over the last two decades, we know little of the Puerto Ricans who migrated to the United States over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Despite this, there have been some important contributions to the history of Puerto Ricans in the United States. Many works have focused, in particular, on the role of the Puerto Rican community and its political organizations and associations.

The purpose of this essay is to highlight some of the literature, in history and the social sciences, that has addressed the broad issue of philanthropy within the Puerto Rican community in the United States. In addition, the essay will provide suggestions for further research.

Published in 1958, Elena Padilla's Up From Puerto Rico was among the first scholarly studies of a Puerto Rican community in the United States. Padilla, an anthropologist by training, studied the surreptitiously named neighborhood of "Eastville" in Manhattan. Based largely on interviews with Puerto Rican migrants, Up From Puerto Rico paints a complex picture of economic necessity, cultural preservation, and assimilation. Among Padilla's findings is the importance of clubs whether for recreational or fighting purposes. These organizations served to reinforce cultural norms, provide opportunities for diversion, or protect members from local violence. However, Padilla makes little mention of the activities, membership, and political involvement generated by these and other clubs.

Another early study of Puerto Rican migrants was Oscar Lewis's mammoth tome, La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty—San Juan and New York. By focusing on a single family's struggle with poverty both in Puerto Rico and in New York, Lewis managed to capture the general difficulties facing immigrants on their arrival in the United States. The poverty, violence, and educational failure endemic to New York City's Puerto Rican community should be understood, Lewis argued, as an extension of the conditions facing Puerto Ricans on the island. This trans-national pauperization, while unevenly developed by subsequent authors, has nevertheless provided a backdrop for much of the literature on Puerto Rican migrants.

Other early works included Oscar Handlin's The Newcomers: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a Changing Metropolis, Nathan Glazer and

Daniel Patrick Moynihan's Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City, and Clarence Senior's two volumes: Puerto Rican Emigration and The Puerto Ricans: Strangers then Neighbors. Each of these analyses, but especially Glazer and Moynihan's Beyond the Melting Pot, has come under criticism in recent years. It is worth noting that while the findings and assertions in these books may well be contested, they nonetheless reflect the growing importance of the Puerto Rican migrant community to academics, scholars, and policy-makers in the 1960s.

Despite the insights provided by these early analysts, however, our understanding of the Puerto Rican communities of the first half of the twentieth century remained wanting until the early 1980s with the publication of Virginia Sánchez Korrol's From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1917-1948. Based on the limited primary and secondary sources available, Sánchez Korrol was able to assemble a nuanced image of Puerto Ricans in New York City. Here were Padilla, Handlin, and Lewis's migrants seen from a different vantage point. They emerged not as helpless victims of island poverty and urban discrimination, but as active agents seeking to reconcile the demands of the host society with the desires and norms imported from the island.

Sánchez Korrol paid particular attention to the ways in which Puerto Rican associations and organizations aided migrants. Institutions like the Porto Rican Brotherhood of America and *La Liga Puertorriqueña e Hispana* not only helped migrants to assimilate into New York City, but also preserved contact with the island, resisted discrimination, and promoted political involvement. The strength of these organizations was evidenced early on when politicians like Fiorello La Guardia actively courted the Puerto Rican vote in his campaigns for Congress and the Mayoralty. Moreover, Puerto Rican organizations saw their issues brought to the forefront of New York City politics by the socialist Vito Marcoantonio. Marcoantonio, himself an Italian immigrant to East Harlem, was a well-regarded ally whose affinity for and advocacy on behalf of the Puerto Rican working classes assured him continued political support.

Sánchez Korrol's From Colonia to Community remains the standard for historical analysis of the Puerto Rican communities of the United States. It is important to recognize, however, that From Colonia to Community emerged out of a unique period of radicalization in the Puerto Rican community.

The sixties were a time of remarkable activity in the Puerto Rican communities of the United States. The successful Civil Rights struggles of African Americans in the 1950s and 1960s clearly energized other minorities to organize. Mexican Americans found a voice in the Chicano Movement, created organizations, and cultivated leaders that would fight against long-standing norms of discrimination that stretched from Northern California to South Texas. Many Puerto Ricans also became radicalized during the 1960s. The emergence of mainstream political figures like Herman Badillo—the first Puerto Rican elected to the United States Houses of Representatives—and more radical elements like the Young Lords Party and the U.S. branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, heralded a new age for Puerto Rican activism in the United States. Among Puerto Rican academics and students—many of whom had engaged in the battles for open admissions at the City University of New York—the emphasis was on promoting the study of Puerto Rican culture, history, and society. The emergence of university-sponsored Puerto Rican Studies departments was a clear signal that the standard research methods in the humanities and the social sciences should be applied to the study of Puerto Rican communities in the United States. The success of this program, as evidenced by the literature, has been uneven.

Some of the literature emerging from the radicalization process of the 1960s clearly reflected a distinctly radical agenda. Catarino Garza's Puerto Ricans in the United States: The Struggle for Freedom and Juan Angel Silen's We, the Puerto Rican People: A Story of Oppression and Resistance are among the notable contributions in this category. Conversely, many other historians and social scientists took advantage of the intellectual space created by the civil rights struggles to subject Puerto Rican experiences in the United States to rigorous scholarship.

Clara E. Rodriguez, Virginia Sánchez Korrol, and José Oscar Alers's edited volume The Puerto Rican Struggle: Essays on Survival in the U.S. was an early contribution to the field and remains an important study of the Puerto Rican communities of the United States. A truly multidisciplinary compilation, the essays in The Puerto Rican Struggle employed historical, economic, and sociological instruments in order to understand the problems facing Puerto Ricans in the United States. Although few of the essays dealt directly with the issue of philanthropy, many authors did advance the importance of kinship and neighborhood networks and support structures that ameliorated, albeit imperfectly, the challenges of assimilation and poverty.

Other analysts have built upon the models presented in The Puerto Rican Struggle. Regional studies were developed that provided an important distinction between Puerto Rican experiences in the United States and the Puerto Rican experience in New York City. Frank Padilla's Puerto Rican Chicago, Ruth Glasser's Aquí Me Quedo: Puerto Ricans in Connecticut, and José E. Cruz's Identity and Power: Puerto Rican Politics and the Challenge of Ethnicity are among the most important regional studies of the last two decades. Padilla seeks to place the poverty faced by Puerto Rican Chicagoans within the larger context of general capitalist exploitation. While this argument raises some questions, his analysis of Chicago and Puerto Rican life there are well-explained and thoroughly researched. In particular, Padilla addresses the key role played by both religious and secular Puerto Rican associations with regard to the assimilation of recent immigrants and issues of political activism. Cruz similarly focuses on the politics of power within Hartford, Connecticut's Puerto Rican community. Here the power of local Puerto Rican community leaders—including a number of women—becomes evident. Cruz details how Puerto Rican activists, politicians, and elected officials have created local bases of power that, however imperfectly, have leveraged support from local and state leaders. Glasser's book—which readers would do well to read alongside Cruz's Identity and Power—is a fine study of Connecticut's Puerto Rican enclaves. Of particular interest is Glasser's treatment of Puerto Ricans working in the state's rural agricultural sector, especially tobacco cultivation. Less than 200 miles away from the stereotypical urban experience of most Puerto Ricans, these agricultural laborers forged associations and unions to combat the demands and subterfuges of management.

Puerto Rican participation in organized labor unions and labor-related associations has also caught the attention of scholars in recent years. The works of Catherine Benamou, Gloria Bonilla, and Carlos Sanabria have been important contributions to this segment of the field. While Benamou and Sanabria both deal with labor union participation and working class consciousness within the context of urban Puerto Rican enclaves, Bonilla's Organizing Puerto Rican Migrant Farmworkers: The Experience of Puerto Ricans in New Jersey reminds us of the tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans whose experiences in the United States have revolved almost exclusively around agricultural labor. Efforts to unionize these workers, Bonilla argued, often met not only with management hostility but worker reticence and transience.

It is important to note that some researchers have also taken note of Puerto Rican organizational efforts in the face of non-traditional problems. The prevalence of HIV/AIDS within the Puerto Rican communities of the United States, especially New York City, has resulted in the creation of numerous indigenous AIDS service organizations. Merrill Singer, Candida Flores, and Lani Davison's essay "Puerto Rican Community Mobilizing in Response to the AIDS Crisis" was among the first pieces of social scientific research to adequately address this phenomenon. Singer's subsequent essay, "The Evolution of AIDS Work in a Puerto Rican Community Organization," managed to address the difficulty many established Puerto Rican social service providers had in fitting HIV/AIDS services into their organizations.

Finally, some recent work on Puerto Rican organizations and associations has been published that fills a number of gaps in the literature. Among the most important of these is the volume of essays and interviews edited by Andres Torres and José E. Velázquez entitled The Puerto Rican Movement: Voices from the Diaspora. Published in 1998, the essays and interviews in The Puerto Rican Movement concentrate on Puerto Rican radical political activities of the 1960s and 1970s. While the essays in the book are uneven in quality and scholarship, a number of pieces stand out as important contributions toward understanding Puerto Rican organizational activities during this critical period, including José E. Cruz's "Pushing Left to Get to the Center: Puerto Rican Radicalism in Hartford Connecticut," José Velázquez's "Coming Full Circle: The Puerto Rican Socialist Party, U.S. Branch," and Carmen Teresa Whalen's "Bridging Homeland and Barrio Politics: The Young Lords in Philadelphia." In each of these essays, the author has managed to capture not only the complexity of Puerto Rican organizational efforts in general, but also the nuances of local influences, demographic differences, and especially ideological affiliation.

The publication of The Puerto Rican Movement is an encouraging sign that a new generation of scholars is committed to investigating the nature and activities of Puerto Rican organizations, associations, and institutions. The wealth of research topics is plain. Puerto Rican community-based organizations, many of which emerged from the War on Poverty of the 1960s, have been a mainstay of Puerto Rican life in the United States for decades. We know little of the reasons for their founding and even less about the reasons for their success or failure. Efforts at creating federations of community organizations in the spirit of *La Liga* reemerged in the 1980s and 1990s with organizations like the

Association of Puerto Rican Executive Directors and The Hispanic Federation. Nevertheless, our understanding of the operations of these organizations, and the political and financial issues they confront, is limited. The history of Puerto Rican political clubs, especially in New York City, has remained untouched by scholars. The problems and challenges facing trans-national associations, like the one highlighted in Jose Velázquez's "Coming Full Circle," have been largely ignored.

In short, our grasp of the experiences of Puerto Ricans in the United States is hampered by a lack of reliable secondary analysis. The history of this important segment of the population needs to be developed.



2. Puerto-Rican Philanthropy: Annotated Bibliography

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Puerto Rican workers, unable to find work on the island, came to the United States to work in manufacturing and agriculture. The *Comité de Apoyo al Trabajador Agrícola* (CATA) was formed in 1979 in order to represent the interests of Puerto Rican migrant workers in Northern New Jersey. This case study of the CATA focuses on the problems of organizing a viable labor organization in the face of migration, worker apprehension, and management opposition. The study's focus on Puerto Rican agricultural workers located outside the enclave of New York City is welcomed.

Colón, Jesus. A Puerto Rican in New York. New York: Mainstream Publishers, 1961.

The autobiography of a prominent Puerto Rican community organizer and activist, this important primary source provides a window onto the nature of Puerto Rican life in New York City in the early years of the migration from the island. In particular, Colón provides unique insights into the nature of community organizing in the Puerto Rican community and the problems of internal dissension and external opposition and discrimination.

Glasser, Ruth. Aquí me Quedo: Puerto Ricans in Connecticut/Aquí me Quedo: Los Puertorriqueños en Connecticut. Translated by José Rodríguez Sellas, Racquel Requena, and María de Lourdes Martínez. Connecticut: Connecticut Humanities Council, 1997.

This bilingual book is based on secondary sources and interviews and focuses on the presence of Puerto Ricans in

Connecticut. The author tracks the migration of the Puerto Ricans from the island in search of work. In particular, the author provides an important analysis of the Connecticut tobacco industry and the organization of Puerto Rican labor within it. The creation of the *Asociación de Trabajadores Agrícolas* was an important step in Puerto Rican organizing that reflected local concerns and benefitted from the assistance of Puerto Rican organizers from New York City. Interviews with workers and long-time residents are an important contribution to this little-studied community.

O'Brien, Robert W. A Survey of the Puerto Ricans in Lorain, Ohio. Lorain, Ohio: Neighborhood House Association of Lorain, 1954.

A synthesis based on a 1953 survey of the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, Ohio, most of whose members arrived in Lorain in 1947 as part of a labor importation program sponsored by the National Tube Company. The Puerto Rican working population was predominantly male and reflected the needs on the island for consistent work. The author contrasts the lack of active union participation with the more successful operation of voluntary associations like the Club *Benéfico Borinquen*. The Club provided primarily recreational and social activities including sponsoring picnics, dances, a baseball team, and a Boy Scout troop. The Club also assisted members in their assimilation into the host society by providing, among other things, English-language instruction.

Padilla, Frank. Puerto Rican Chicago. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987.

This book focuses on the development of Puerto Rican ethnic consciousness and activism in Chicago. Puerto Ricans arrived in Chicago in large numbers during the 1950s and 1960s in search of economic opportunities no longer available on the island. From the earliest moments in the city, the community encountered discrimination at the hands of the city's political and economic elites. In addition, inter-class struggles developed between African Americans and Puerto Ricans facing economic hardship and political disenfranchisement. In response to a lack of services and political power, Puerto Ricans organized social service, business and communication

networks. Padilla highlights the work of *Los Caballeros de San Juan*, a Catholic lay organization, and the subsequent development of more radical organizations including the Young Lords Party. Of particular interest is the author's discussion of the galvanizing role of the Puerto Rican ethnic press.

Sanabria, Carlos. "Patriotism and Class Conflict in the Puerto Rican Community in New York during the 1920s." Latino Studies Journal 2, no. 2 (May 1991): 3-16.

One of the few studies dealing with the issues of class identity in the Puerto Rican community of New York City. The author argues that Puerto Rican organizations in New York were divided as to the nature of their role in the community. On the one hand are those members, typically of the Puerto Rican upper and middle classes, which view organizations as a method of promoting nationalist ideologies and initiatives. On the other hand are those organization that are concerned almost exclusively with promoting the well being of the Puerto Rican working class in New York City. The interaction of these two camps and their combativeness with one another, the author argues, served to undermine the effectiveness of both organizations.

Sánchez Korrol, Virginia E. From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1917-1948. Westport, Connecticut and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1983.

In this important work on the development of the Puerto Rican community in New York City, the author argues that Puerto Ricans developed from a small ethnic enclave of working migrants into a larger minority group in the tradition of other ethnic immigrants. Sánchez Korrol highlights the role of community organizations in the political and economic growth of the *colonia*. The section on the *Liga Puertorriqueña* is particularly strong as it demonstrates the power of informal economic sectors—especially *boliteros*—in the support of voluntary associations. An excellent bibliography is included.



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Part II. C.

1. Cuban-American Philanthropy: Literature Overview

by John A. Gutiérrez

The emergence of sugar monoculture in Cuba at the end of the eighteenth century initiated nearly two centuries of commerce and trade that regularly brought Americans to Cuba and Cubans to America. These early contacts were limited to traders and merchants, with little exchange between the Cuban masses and their northern neighbors. The independence struggles of the later nineteenth century, and their repression by Spanish authorities, would unequivocally shift this paradigm. Cuban émigré communities in the United States grew and became enclaves of opposition to Spanish rule. By the late 1890s the cause of *Cuba libre* had reached into mainstream America, dominating the nation's newspapers and political debate, and eventually leading to U.S. intervention.

Nearly sixty years after the Spanish-Cuban-American War and the creation of the Cuban Republic, another event, this time played out against the backdrop of the Cold War, would lead to the largest migration of Cubans to the United States ever. The demise of Fulgencio Batista, and the rise to power of Fidel Castro, eventually brought the ideological conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union to the Caribbean. A largely indigenous revolt that devolved from the frustrations and corruption endemic to the republic, the Cuban Revolution of 1959 signaled a fundamental break with the United States. Nevertheless, the migration, forced and otherwise, of Cubans to the United States after 1959 made this group the third largest Hispanic group in the country and, albeit imperfectly, among the most economically and politically entrepreneurial.

It is this long-standing history of migration that makes the unevenness of the literature on Cuban-Americans all the more difficult to understand. Despite the importance of the Spanish-Cuban-American War to the development of United States hegemony in the Americas,

and despite the challenge posed to that hegemony by the Cuban Revolution of 1959, the migrations surrounding these events have, until very recently, been left unexplored. This essay is a selected review of the literature on Cuban Americans and especially their institutions, associations, organizations, and philanthropic entities. The essay highlights the topics that have dominated the literature as well as further avenues for research.

Much like the rest of Cuban historiography, the literature on Cuban-Americans is divided into two sections. The first addresses the emergence of Cuban communities in the United States in the nineteenth century and continues through the first half of the twentieth century. The second is concerned with the Cuban-American experience vis-à-vis the Cuban Revolution of 1959. Let us turn to the first of these sections.

Beginning in the 1820s, increasing in the 1860s, and continuing into the early 1900s, thousands of Cubans migrated to the United States. Cuban enclave communities emerged throughout the East Coast and Gulf Coast of the United States in places like New York, Key West, New Orleans, and Tampa. Much of the literature on these early migrations has focused on Tampa and South Florida, and there is good reason for this. The majority of the thousands of Cubans who settled in the United States during this period remained in Florida. Florida was a key destination for Cuban émigrés not only because of its proximity to the *madre patria*, but also because by the late nineteenth century it was home to the largest cigar-making facilities in the United States. Cuban cigar-makers flooded into Florida in record numbers after 1870, especially after Vicente Martínez Ybor, a Spaniard sympathetic to the cause of Cuban independence and forced from the island by Spanish authorities, converted a tract of swampland outside of Tampa into the United States' premier cigar-making operation, Ybor City.

The Cuban historian José Rivero Muñiz was among the first chroniclers of the Cuban enclaves in Ybor City and his *Los Cubanos en Tampa* remains an important starting point on the topic. A prominent Southern historian, Durward Long, whose work in the 1960s on the Cuban communities in Tampa was among the first serious historical treatments of the subject in English, followed Rivero Muñiz. Long not only brought the Cuban presence in Ybor City and Tampa to the attention of historians of the South but also made important inroads in detailing the central role played by organized labor in these enclaves. Long was also among the first historians to analyze Cuban associations

in Ybor City. His article, "An Immigrant Cooperative Medicine Program in the South, 1887-1963," made plain the important role played by associations in the Cuban community whether by organizing workers or providing comprehensive medical care.

Other historians followed the path opened by Rivero Muñiz and Long and their contributions have made the nineteenth-century Cuban communities in Tampa and Key West among the best studied in the field. In the mid-1970s, Louis A. Pérez, Jr. addressed the issue of the *fin-de-siècle* transition from exile to immigrant within the Cuban community in Tampa. His "Cubans in Tampa: From Exiles to Immigrants, 1892-1901" remains a fundamental contribution to the study of the development of a true Cuban-American sensibility in the United States. Susan Greenbaum has produced a fine study of the Afro-Cuban communities of Tampa and particularly of their mutual benefit associations during this period. Her study is one of the few to look at the Afro-Cuban community and its confrontation with racism not only within the Cuban émigré community but also in the host society.

Gerald E. Poyo also contributed to unraveling the layers of political and economic activity of Cuban communities in Florida. In the late 1970s and early 1980s Poyo emerged as among the first American historians to attempt a systematic analysis of the role played by Cuban émigrés in the nineteenth-century struggles for Cuban independence. Poyo pointed out that much of the economic support and political training that would later help in the war against Spain came from Cuban émigrés in the United States. In a series of essays, he detailed the role of émigrés in the failed 'Ten Years' War of 1868-1878 and the political activities of Cuban *independentistas* in Key West during the interwar years of the 1880s.

Yet it was clear that the Cuban independence struggles of the nineteenth century drew support from other Cuban communities in the United States besides Ybor City and Key West. New York City had not only been home to a large number of cigar-workers before the founding of Ybor City, but was home to the leadership of the *Partido Revolucionario Cubano*. No less a figure than the Cuban poet and politician José Martí had spent most of his exile living, writing, and organizing in New York City. Poyo recognized that the Cuban émigré experience was more varied than Florida's communities would lead one to believe and his "With All and for the Good of All" The Emergence of Popular Nationalism in the Cuban Communities of the United States, 1848-1898 is an excellent acknowledgment of this. Published in 1989, "With

All and for the Good of All" is the first English-language monograph to analyze the Cuban communities of the United States and their relationship to the struggle for *Cuba libre*. Though the author's focus is on the role of Cuban communities in the development of nationalist ideology, it is also a study of the development of the *Partido Revolucionario Cubano* (PRC) in the United States. What emerges from Poyo's volume is a nuanced treatment of the difficulties of consolidating power within the PRC, and the conflict between wealthy Cubans willing to reach an agreement with Spain and more radical elements emerging from the cigar-making industry that clamored for a complete rupture with the metropolis.

Perhaps one of the finest treatments of the Cuban communities of Tampa and Ybor City comes from a study of the area's Italian immigrants. Italians, together with Spanish immigrants, were the other large ethnic groups in late nineteenth century Ybor City. Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta's The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985 is an elegantly written book that explores the collaboration, exchange, and confrontations that characterized ethnic relations in Tampa during a period of increased immigration and political and social upheaval. What emerges from Mormino and Pozzetta's book is an image of a community of immigrants striving for economic success in the United States, all the while confronting the hegemony of the host country and the struggles left behind in the homeland.

Despite the increase in literature on Cuban communities in the United States during the nineteenth century, however, there are some major gaps that demand attention. Poyo is among the few historians to make any detailed mention of the Cuban community in New York City. On the whole, however, Cuban New Yorkers have received short shrift from historians; a detailed analysis of the Cuban community in New York is needed if we are to have a more complete picture of the Cuban émigré experience in the United States. If we know less of the Cuban community of New York, we know almost nothing of the role of Cuban women in these communities. There is little doubt that Cuban women played a key role in the cigar-making industry as well as in the struggles led by the PRC. Finally, we have no comprehensive English-language monograph on the workings of the PRC vis-à-vis political strategy, club formation, and fundraising. It is clear that the PRC was a powerful force within the Cuban émigré community. What remains to be done is a systematic analysis of the workings of the Party and how it emerged to take the lead in the final push against Spanish rule on the island.

It is worth mentioning here that the period between the end of the Spanish-Cuban-American War and the triumph of the Cuban Revolution of 1959 is in many respects *a tiempo muerto* for the history of Cuban-American communities. We have few if any works that address the impact of Cuban independence on Cuban enclaves in Tampa and Key West. We know little of the migration and settlement of Cubans in the United States in the years of the repression of the *Machadato*. Indeed, even the nature of transnational migrations during this period and its effects on Cuban communities and associations is unknown.

There is little debate that the last forty years of Cuban-American history has revolved, for good or ill, around the Cuban Revolution of 1959. Initially considered by its enemies as an unfortunate, but ultimately transient phase in the development of the Cuban Republic, the revolution led by Fidel Castro stands to occupy the center of the Cuban and Cuban-American history in the last half of the twentieth century. More than one million Cubans have left Cuba since 1959 and most of these have, until recently, found a welcoming home in the United States. With the majority settling in South Florida and Northern New Jersey, this wave of Cuban émigrés, in many ways reminiscent of their nineteenth-century ancestors, have struggled between the demands and opportunities of the host society and the desire to engender fundamental political change on the island. Not surprisingly, a significant body of literature has emerged over the last thirty-five years attempting to understand the dynamics of this community that, in the words of Gustavo Pérez Firmat, is “living on the hyphen.”

Much of the literature on the post-1959 Cuban-American communities in the United States has come from social scientists. Lisandro Pérez and Alejandro Portes have each contributed to our understanding of economic and political adaptation among Cuban immigrants. Their work has demystified the notion of Cuban-Americans as the “golden exiles.” Focusing on Cuban families well outside the enclave security of South Florida—namely Milwaukee, Wisconsin—Portes, for example, paints a more complex portrait of Cuban adjustment to life in the United States. Removed from what is colloquially referred to as the *cubaneo* of South Florida, these supposed “golden exiles” face discrimination, limited opportunities for entrepreneurship, and the demands of the host society to assimilate.

Others too have brought the tools of social science to bear on the experiences of Cuban exiles. In the early 1970s, Eleanor Rogg produced a series of studies on the process of assimilation among Cubans in the

United States. Her *The Assimilation of Cuban Exiles: The Role of Community and Class* is among the first studies to provide an analysis of the assimilation question while accounting for class differentiation. Gene Stowers has followed along the lines of Rogg and has analyzed the effects of class distinctions on Cuban political participation in Miami. And Yolanda Prieto has produced a number of studies on the assimilation of Cuban women in the United States.

The issue of Cuban workers and labor in the United States has received some attention as well. Two important contributions deserve mention here. Myra Marx Ferree's article "Employment without Liberation: Cuban Women in the U.S." is one of the few attempts to understand the particular issues faced by Cuban women workers. Guillermo Grenier has analyzed the evolution of labor-union participation and activism among Cuban émigrés in South Florida. His analysis demonstrates that Cuban labor leaders in South Florida not only created Cuban-dominated labor organizations but also managed to reconcile worker-related issues with larger foreign policy concerns vis-à-vis the government of Cuba.

Finally, many social scientists have recognized, like Portes, that a fuller understanding of the Cuban-American experience is impossible without a more complete analysis of enclaves outside of South Florida. M. Cohn's study of the Cuban enclave in the Washington Heights neighborhood of New York City is an important analysis dealing with a little known group of émigrés. Two other important studies on Cubans in New Jersey have also helped to increase our understanding of the community. G.A. Estevez's essay "Resettling the Cuban Refugees in New Jersey" and Eleanor Rogg and Rosemary Santa Cooney's *The Adaptation and Adjustment of Cubans, West New York, New Jersey* each analyze the experiences of Cuban émigrés in New Jersey. Although less studied than South Florida, New Jersey is home to an important number of Cuban enclaves—including West New York, Elizabeth, Union City, North Bergen, and Newark—and still awaits its historian.

Nevertheless, it remains true that most of the scholarship, and indeed some of the most comprehensive scholarship, concentrates on Cubans in South Florida. It is no surprise then that the single most comprehensive analysis of the post-1959 Cuban community in the U.S. is Maria Cristina García's *Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959-1994*. Based on extensive primary research—including analyses of scores of Cuban exile newspapers—

García has crafted an important analysis of the difficult choices faced by Cuban Americans. García pays particular attention to the difficulty of reconciling assimilation into the American system while contending with the challenges, real and imagined, posed by the Cuban government. No doubt, one of the many strengths of García's volume is her treatment of Cuban-American organizations, schools, and associations and their role in promoting solutions to local needs. These organizations reflect an acceptance, however begrudging, that Cuban-Americans must assert themselves within the United States system. Also important is the author's treatment of the various political organizations that have, for over nearly forty years, advanced distinctly political agendas vis-à-vis Cuba.

It is important to note that while Havana USA will remain an essential contribution in the historiography of the Cuban American community, much else needs to be done. One glaring omission is the lack of research-based and, for lack of a better word, objective treatments of Cuban-American political organizations, especially the Cuban American National Foundation. Whatever judgements may be made against the organization's tactics and policies, there can be little doubt of the effectiveness of its organizational and fundraising strategies. Similarly, more expansive studies of progressive Cuban-American organizations such as the *Grupo Areito* are needed to lend texture to the complexity of Cuban-American political and organizational behavior. In addition, studies of individual Cuban-American philanthropic activities are almost non-existent. No comprehensive understanding of Cuban-American philanthropy is possible without examining the personal, political, and social motivations behind Cuban-American giving both here in the United States and in Cuba.

The Cuban-American community has a long history that remains incompletely understood. The larger geo-political importance of events like the Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Cuban Revolution of 1959 has served to obscure the lives of most Cuban Americans from the nineteenth century to the present day. Historians, both those concerned with American ethnic history as well as Latin Americanists, would do well to research the complex role played by this community in the political arenas of its homeland and its host country. There is little doubt that opportunities for historians in the field would be greatly enhanced by a concerted effort to understand the role of organizations, associations and philanthropy among Cuban-Americans. Until such research is promoted and undertaken, our understanding of these "masters of survival" will remain inadequate.



2. Cuban-American Philanthropy: Annotated Bibliography

Ferree, Myra Marx. "Employment Without Liberation: Cuban Women in the U.S." Social Science Quarterly 60 (1979): 35-50.

For many Cubans, exile in the United States jolted the typical family arrangements of the island. Ferree's study addresses the role of Cuban women as members of the exile labor force. The author provides a clear analysis of the limitations of gender on work advancement. In addition the author suggest important considerations to be taken into account with regard to class and race.

Garcia, Maria Cristina. Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959-1994. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Miami, Florida has long been the center of Cuban life in the United States. Its close proximity to Cuba—allowing for continuous communication and exchange—has also made it the bastion of anti-Castro sentiment within the Cuban-American community. Havana USA is an attempt to understand the often competing needs of Cuban assimilation and desire to effect political change in the homeland. Cuban-American organizations, especially political ones, have occupied a central role in the experiences of Cuban refugees and those organizations too have reflected this assimilation/political action dialectic. Garcia provides a clear narrative of Cuban political development vis-à-vis American foreign policy, while also highlighting the role of local organizations in the Miami/South Florida area. An excellent and important bibliography is provided with special attention paid to the numerous Cuban newspapers that have served the community since 1959.

Greenbaum, Susan. "Afro-Cubans in Exile: Tampa, Florida 1886-1984," Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos 15 (Winter, 1985): 59-73.

The Ten Years' War in Cuba generated an increase in immigration from the island to Florida. Among the new immigrants were large numbers of Afro-Cubans fleeing the economic repercussions of the war and the reprisals of the Spanish colonial administration. Susan Greenbaum offers an analysis of the experiences of Afro-Cuban exiles in Tampa, Florida and especially the immigrant enclave of Ybor City. In particular, Greenbaum addresses the pivotal role played in the lives of Afro-Cubans by *La Union Marti-Maceo*. Formed as a mutual-aid society by Afro-Cuban cigarworkers, *La Union* provided medical care, insurance, and other fringe benefits to its members. Over time, membership in *La Union* fluctuated as downturns in the cigar industry and changes in intra- and interracial relations drove many Afro-Cubans to the northern United States or back to Cuba. Despite a serious decline in membership and resources in the 1940s and 1950s, the influx of Afro-Cuban retirees returning to Tampa in the 1970s and 1980s somewhat revitalized *La Union*.

Grenier, Guillermo J. "Ethnic Solidarity and the Cuban-American Labor Movement in Dade County." Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos 20 (1990): 29-48.

The history of working-class Cuban exiles in South Florida has yet to be thoroughly explored. Guillermo Grenier attempts to fill this gap in the literature by focusing on the issues of ethnic identity and labor-union participation and leadership among Cuban immigrants in Dade County. Grenier maintains that Cuban exiles in South Florida encountered numerous obstacles to participation in organized labor, not the least of which was discrimination. The political affiliation of a majority of these exiles, mainly the Republican Party, also put them at odds with labor's traditional support for the Democratic Party. More recently, however, working-class Cubans have managed to secure leadership roles in organized labor. Indeed, Grenier argues, Cuban labor leaders have managed to make workers' issues compatible with opposition to the Castro regime in Cuba. This is an important contribution.

Mohl, Raymond A. "An Ethnic 'Boiling Pot': Cubans and Haitians in Miami." Journal of Ethnic Studies 13 (Summer 1985): 51-74.

The predominance of Cuban-American political and economic power in South Florida has stimulated tension and conflict with the area's other racial and ethnic groups. Mohl address the conflictive relationship that exists between Cubans and Haitians and the often larger geo-political issues which inform battles between the two groups. Most importantly, Mohl provides an analysis of race as a factor both in Haitian emigration to the United States and their treatment by Cuban elites in Miami.

Mormino, Gary R., and Pozzetta, George E. The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

Spanish businessman and tobacconist Vicente Martínez Ybor founded Ybor City as a "company town" after he was expelled from Cuba for supporting the Cuban insurrection of 1868-1878. By the turn of the century, what had been no more than an untamed parcel of Florida swampland had become a thriving immigrant enclave of Cubans, Spaniards, and Italians. Although the book is intended to explain life in Ybor City from an Italian perspective, Mormino and Pozzetta have produced a broad analysis of Ybor City that pays particular attention to the fraternal and labor organizational activities of all the city's immigrant groups. The authors argue that despite ethnic and racial differences, workers in Ybor City demonstrated a remarkable amount of activism and solidarity. The later chapters of the book chronicle the fissure of this solidarity in the face of a declining tobacco industry and increased migration. The book provides an excellent bibliography.

Pedraza-Bailey, Silvia. Political and Economic Migrants in America: Cubans and Mexicans. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985.

In this important comparative study of two of the largest Hispanic groups in the United States, the author attempts to place the emigrations of Cubans and Mexicans within two

distinct contexts. On the one hand are the Cuban refugees who have fled Cuba for political reasons and whose activities in the United States have largely been dominated by the *problema de Cuba*. On the other hand are Mexican migrants who come to the United States to escape the economic travails of their homeland. Pedraza-Bailey raises a number of interesting questions regarding the role of politics and return migration as factors in the development of political and economic institutions among these groups in the United States.

Portes, Alejandro. "Dilemmas of a Golden Exile: Integration of Cuban Refugee Families in Milwaukee." American Sociological Review 34 (August 1969): 505-518.

Portes' article is an important contribution that focuses attention on Cuban integration into American society outside of major Cuban enclave communities. Unlike their counterparts in Miami and New Jersey, the Cuban families newly arrived in Milwaukee did not have access to a large-scale community-support system that would facilitate both economic integration and encourage the preservation of cultural modalities. Portes assesses the educational and economic integration of the refugees and provides a needed balance to the works on Miami and New Jersey which dominate the discourse.

Poyo, Gerald E. "With All, and for the Good of All:" The Emergence of Popular Nationalism in the Cuban Communities of the United States, 1848-1898. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1989.

Cuban émigrés and exiles found refuge in the United States from the early nineteenth century onward. Whether in New York, Key West, or Ybor City these immigrants always kept an eye toward the eventual independence of their island. Gerald Poyo has chronicled the trajectory of Cuban émigré thought vis-à-vis Cuban independence in the years before the Spanish-Cuban-American War. The author explains the shift in ideology from annexationism to autonomy to separatism through the perspective of class and race. In particular, Poyo analyzes the development of political and labor organizations that challenged the autonomist/reformist leanings of Cuban exile leadership, and emerged as a model for José Martí's *Cuba libre*.

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Part II, D.

1. Dominican-American Philanthropy: Literature Overview

By John A. Gutiérrez

Dominican Americans constitute the fourth largest Latino group in the United States. Yet unlike their Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban counterparts, the Dominican experience in the United States is a relatively recent phenomenon. As such, the literature on the Dominican-American community can be said to be in its infancy. Nevertheless, some important works in the field of Dominican-American studies have been published over the last thirty years. Many of these studies have focused on themes including, among others, migration, settlement patterns, and household organization. Some recent work, however, has brought to light the little-known networks of Dominican-American associations and institutions in places like Washington Heights, New York. This work, combined with other research conducted mainly by social scientists, is helping to refine our image of the Dominican-American community.

The bulk of the Dominican migration to the United States began in the 1960s when political upheaval in the Dominican Republic drew thousands to the United States in search of stability and economic opportunity. Dominicans settled in Florida, Northern New Jersey, and especially New York City. Indeed, New York City and particularly the Northern Manhattan neighborhoods of Washington Heights and Inwood have become the centers of Dominican social, political, economic, and cultural life in the United States. Dominican immigrants have established businesses and become politically active in the United States while preserving ties to the Dominican Republic.

Not surprisingly, much of the available literature has focused on the workings and nature of a *puente Dominicano*; a bridge between the homeland and host society. Among the earliest and most complete analyses of the transnational identity of Dominican Americans is Glenn Hendricks's The Dominican Diaspora: From the Dominican Republic

to New York City. Villagers in Transition. Published in 1984, The Dominican Diaspora was among the first monographic treatments of Dominican migration and settlement in the United States. Hendricks established the important role played by international and national economic crisis on the flood of Dominicans coming to the United States. On arriving here, he argued, many Dominicans formed networks that not only preserved some aspects of cultural solvency in the face of assimilationist pressures, but also provided a well-worn path for successive waves of migrants to follow. By the early 1970s, when Hendricks was writing, many Dominicans already had some connection to life in New York City through family or friends. These connections, and more precisely the security they provided to the incoming migrant, encouraged steady arrivals from the island.

Other analysts, too have tried to explain the larger political and economic forces that have dictated the terms of the Dominican migration to the United States. Some important Spanish-language contributions are: Franc Baez-Everstz and Frank D'Oleo Ramirez's La emigración de Dominicanos a Estados Unidos: Determinantes socio-economicos y consecuencias and J. Frank Canelo's Donde, porque, de que, y como viven los Dominicanos en el extranjero: un informe sociologico sobre la e/inmigración dominicana, 1961-1962.

Within the study of migration many researchers found additional issues to tackle. How might gender affect the experiences of migrants? What was the impact of migration on sending communities? How did American cultural norms affect family structures and networks among Dominicans? How did Dominicans respond to hegemonic pressures from the host society? Many social scientists in particular have produced excellent studies addressing these topics.

The issues surrounding gender and gender roles has been an important variable in Dominican-American studies. Women constitute a significant proportion of the total Dominican migration to the United States and face particular challenges in securing employment in the United States while contesting notions of "women's responsibilities" imported from the Dominican Republic. Among the most notable works on Dominican women in the United States are Patricia Pessar's numerous essays on women and work in New York City and Douglas Gurak and Mary Kritz's essays on Dominican migrant households and social networks.

Much of Pessar's work has focused on how Dominican women respond to the challenge of balancing the demands for labor from the workplace and the household. In essays like "The Dominicans: Women in the Household and the Garment Industry" and "The Linkage Between the Household and Workplace of Dominican Women in the United States" Pessar has argued that migrant women often contend with a dynamic relationship between work and home. Often times women have asserted new roles at home because of the economic power implicit in contributing to household financial stability. In addition, women have formed networks within the workplace that help to preserve some cultural norms while contesting the imposition of gender roles at home that do not reflect the economic reality of the household. In other words, many women have come together in the workplace not only to confront the challenges posed by the host society, but also to confront the remnants of gender roles imported from the Dominican Republic that no longer reflect the economic relation of a woman to her household.

Among the more interesting aspects of Gurak and Kritz's work is its comparative perspective. In articles such as "Dominican and Colombian Women in New York City: Household Structure and Employment Patterns" and "Kinship Networks in the Settlement Process: Dominican and Colombian Immigrants in the New York City" the authors have attempted to understand the nature of Dominican migration in contrast to another Latin American immigrant group. These comparisons are informative inasmuch as Colombian migrants, unlike Puerto Rican migrants, whose resident status in the United States was resolved by the Jones Act, and who have dominated Latino politics in New York City for a quarter century, have had to address many of the same settlement issues facing Dominicans. Despite the comparisons--and the similarities are often remarkable--the authors are sensitive to cultural and political differences between Dominican and Colombians that have informed the ways in which they have approached settlement in New York City.

The transnational nature of the Dominican experience in the United States has been a major target of research for analysts in the field. While Hendricks and others, like Nancie Gonzalez, recognized that the Dominican community in the United States was in effect creating a transnational community that was fed by circular migration and other factors, the parameters of that community, its intricacies and nature have only recently come to light. Two important studies have been produced in this regard: Eugenia Georges's The Making of a Transnational Community: Migration, Development, and Cultural

Change in the Dominican Republic and Jorge Duany's *Quisqueya on the Hudson: The Transnational Identity of Dominicans in Washington Heights*.

It is important to read Georges and Duany's works in comparison. Georges looks at the impact of the transnational Dominican-American community from the perspective of a sending town in the Dominican Republic. Here the economic hardships of the local area are important forces leading to migration. Yet migrants are reluctant to let go of their affections for the homeland and often return, whether temporarily or permanently, to their towns. Their return, often characterized by a level of economic success, upsets the traditional balance of power at the local level and undermines norms of behavior vis-à-vis class relations. Many migrants, Georges points out, may not return to their native town often but they do form local town-based mutual benefit societies in the United States to preserve traditional contacts and remit economic aid.

On the other side of this transnational community is the enclave in the host society. In the case of the majority of Dominicans in the United States, that enclave is Washington Heights. Once home to large German and Austrian immigrant communities, Washington Heights and neighboring Inwood have become the epicenter of the Dominican experience in the United States. Duany's *Quisqueya on the Hudson* is the first monograph to focus on the social, economic and political dynamics of Washington Heights. One of the central aspects of Duany's book is the role played by the community in preserving a distinctly Dominican identity while providing avenues for contact with the host society. In many respects the constant influx of migrants from the Dominican Republic rejuvenates the community's senses of *dominicanidad*. Meanwhile, contacts with other ethnic groups within the city promotes, albeit sparingly, notions of assimilation into the host society.

The political and organizational activities of Dominican Americans is another burgeoning research topic in the field. Throughout Washington Heights, and recently Brooklyn, Queens, and Northern New Jersey, Dominican-American political and social service organizations have emerged to address needs, real and perceived, within the community. The election in the 1990s of Dominican immigrants to office as New York City Councilman, New York State Assemblyman, and Civil Court Judge have demonstrated the growing political acumen of the community. Unfortunately, researchers have not yet analyzed the process of Dominican political maturity in any great detail. One of the few works to address the question of Dominican-American political activism is Eugenia Georges's "New Immigrants and the Political

Process: Dominicans in New York." Georges's essay asks provocative questions concerning Dominican political alliances with other racial and ethnic groups in New York City and the impact of notions of political activism imported from the Dominican Republic. Much work, however, still needs to be done on topics such as the formation of local political clubs and the role of Dominican national political parties in Dominican-American political alliances in New York City.

Although not much more complete than the literature on Dominican-American political activism, the role of Dominican-American community organizations and associations has been the subject of a number of detailed studies. Saskia Sassen-Koob's 1979 article "Formal and Informal Associations: Dominicans and Colombians in New York" was the first scholarly analysis of Dominican associations. Sassen-Koob compared the reasons for organizing and the nature of organizations among Dominicans and Colombians in New York City. While Colombian associations had a distinct service agenda especially with regard to immigration and language instruction, Dominican associations were more recreational and social in nature.

Two recent contributions have challenged Sassen-Koob's assertions. Rudy A. Sainz's doctoral dissertation "Dominican Ethnic Associations: Classification and Service Delivery Roles in Washington Heights" and Milagros Ricourt's recent article "Patterns of Dominican Demography and Community Development in New York City" each paint a more complex portrait of Dominican organizational activities than that advanced by Sassen-Koob. In contrast to the more social organizations highlighted by Sassen-Koob, Sainz and Ricourt analyze a far more professionalized social service network. Ricourt in particular has provided important case studies of Dominican-American social service agencies in Washington Heights that provide services ranging from immigration assistance to HIV/AIDS prevention programs. The organizations that Ricourt highlights--*Alianza Dominicana* and the Communal Association of Progressive Dominicans--are portrayed as far more politically aware and astute than those associations studied by Sassen-Koob. Indeed, these organizations have come to form an integral part of the Dominican-American transnational community.

Where, then, are some of the gaps in the literature on the Dominican-American community? We know very little of the role played by race in the formation of Dominican-American community institutions. Race, as evidenced by the most recent elections in the Dominican Republic, continues to be a major factor in Dominicans' lives. Researchers have

all but ignored Dominican-American notions of racial categories. In that vein, researchers would do well to explore the structure and strength of Dominican-American interethnic relations. How have Dominican migrants negotiated a space for cultural autonomy and political power in relation to the Latino hegemony of Puerto Ricans? What alliances or rivalries have formed between the two groups and how have these reflected issues of national pride and racial distinction? Dominican entrepreneurship and business associations have also been given short shrift by researchers. What informal and formal networks exist to support Dominican entrepreneurs? How have these networks translated economic power into political activism?

Dominicans are the fastest growing Latino group in New York City. The nature of their migration to the United States has been characterized by an often imperfect attempt to reconcile the workplace and household, host society and homeland. Dominican-American organizations, political participation, and informal and formal networks shed light on the struggles of this community. For this reason alone they should benefit from the attention of historians and social scientists.

2. Dominican-American Philanthropy: Annotated Bibliography

Duany, Jorge. Quisqueya on the Hudson: the Transnational Identity of Dominicans in Washington Heights. New York: CUNY Dominican Studies Institute, 1994.

Washington Heights, at the northern tip of Manhattan, has been home to the largest influx of Dominican immigrants in the United States since the 1960s. Jorge Duany provides a comprehensive analysis of this community that highlights both its role as an entrepot to American culture for Dominican immigrants and an important enclave providing cultural support to newcomers. Duany maintains that Washington Heights provides a bridge between the U.S. and the Dominican Republic while also promoting economic activities that benefit New York City and the native land.

Georges, Eugenia. The Making of a Transnational Community: Migration, Development, and Cultural Change in the Dominican Republic. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.

This anthropological study assesses the impact of migration and development on a village in the Dominican Republic. Los Pinos, the pseudonym of an actual village located in the Dominican sierra, experienced a critical economic crisis that encouraged migration to New York City. The author maintains that emigration to the United States in turn encouraged the loosening of social regulations and hierarchical structures in Los Pinos as return migrants returned—albeit infrequently—with differing notions of political involvement more akin to American norms than Dominican ones. Nevertheless, *pineros* in New York did keep close contact with the town and kinship networks there. Charitable organizations

served as bridges between migrants and their home. These organizations also provided a mechanism for Los Pinos to receive economic assistance from *pineros* in New York City.

Gilbertson, Greta. "Women's Labor and Enclave Employment: The Case of Dominican and Colombian Women in New York City." International Migration Review 29 (Fall, 1995): 657-670.

Gilbertson addresses the issue of whether Dominican and Colombian women in an enclave economic setting reap the same rewards from enclave employment as men; and how these rewards compare with women in non-enclave employment settings. The author's data is drawn from face-to-face interviews in 1981 with 804 Dominican and Colombian women do not benefit from working in enclave employment settings; that these women typically work for low wages, minimal benefits, and less opportunities for growth. The author concludes that "enclave employment is most exploitative of women."

González, Nancie. "Peasants' Progress: Dominicans in New York." Caribbean Studies 10, no. 3 (1970): 154-171.

A groundbreaking study analyzing the movement of Dominican peasant communities to the United States and the adaptation of native norms to the New York experience. Although dated, it was among the first studies of the community to be produced in the United States. The questions it raises regarding the incorporation of Dominicans into the United States and their role in their native country still dominate much of the literature.

Hendricks, Glenn T. The Dominican Diaspora: From the Dominican Republic to New York City. Villagers in Transition. New York: Teachers College Press, 1974.

Together with Nancie Gonzalez's "Peasants' Progress: Dominicans in New York," Hendricks's study remains one of the standard works for understanding the nature of Dominican migration and settlement in the United States. Hendricks focuses his study of the pattern and nature of Dominican migration by analyzing a town and its inhabitants. The author

includes an analysis of the impact of Dominican and American national policies on migration. The section dealing with the New York experience provides helpful insights into the early stages of Dominican acculturation and the role of extra-family organizations.

Jones-Correa, Michael. "Different Paths: Gender, Immigration and Political Participation." International Migration Review 32 (Summer, 1998): 326-349.

Based on field research and interviews, this provocative essay addresses the gender differences in political participation among Latin American immigrant groups in the Borough of Queens in New York City. Jones-Correa analyzes the role of gender in the desire of immigrants to either preserve or break from the socialization and political participation patterns dominant in the home country. The author argues that where male immigrants are prone to joining organizations that promote links to the home country, women typically are more willing to break with the past and often serve as intermediaries between the immigrant community and the host society. The findings also indicate that female participation in the political process of the host society takes place largely after women's domestic and/or familial responsibilities—childrearing, etc.—have been "taken care of in one way or another." A useful bibliography on Latin American immigrant women is included.

Pessar, Patricia. A Visa for a Dream: Dominicans in the United States. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1995.

The experiences of Dominicans in the United States involve a process by which newcomers develop a migratory chain, or *cadena*. This, in turn, encourages family members, fictive kin, and friends to join and consolidate the community in the host country. The author maintains that the costs of this chain are often the unrealistic expectations of friends and family vis-à-vis the economic success of the migrant in the United States and the pressure on the migrant to provide logistical and financial support to the home community. The relationship is further reinforced by the frequency of migration and the role of community organizations that facilitate contact and economic exchange between the migrant and the homeland.

Ricourt, Milagros. "Patterns of Dominican Demography and Community Development in New York City." Latino Studies Journal 9, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 11-38.

This study addresses the role of community social service organizations in supporting the Dominican community of New York City while facilitating increased civic involvement on the part of migrants within the host society. The author's data is drawn from interviews and analyses of major Dominican social service agencies in Washington Heights including: *Alianza Dominicana*, Dominican Women's Development Center, Northern Manhattan Coalition for Immigrant Rights and Communal Association of Progressive Dominicans. The author concludes that these agencies are essential in promoting community and political empowerment by creating an organized voice for the community.

Sassen-Koob, Saskia. "Formal and Informal Associations: Dominicans and Colombians in New York." International Migration Review 13 (Summer 1979): 314-332.

Sassen-Koob argues that voluntary associations serve two purposes. First they function as "adaptive mechanisms" that assist the immigrant arrivals to manage the changes and challenges posed by the host society. Secondly, these organizations also reinforce cultural norms and traditions as a way of preserving cultural communities in the immigrant setting. The author maintains that the presence of these organizations serve similar, though not identical functions, within the Colombian and Dominican immigrant communities. In the Dominican community, where the historical precedents of emigration to New York have created a multi-class enclave, organizations serve as recreational associations. In the Colombian community, associations operate as cultural, civic, or professional organizations that reproduce elite entities from the home country.

3. Dominican-American Philanthropy: Additional Citations

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Appendix III

Additional Citations On The Latino Community

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