

INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the original text directly from the copy submitted. Thus, some dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from a computer printer.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyrighted material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each oversize page is available as one exposure on a standard 35 mm slide or as a 17" × 23" black and white photographic print for an additional charge.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. 35 mm slides or 6" × 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.



300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA

100

100

100

Order Number 8803463

**Variations of culture, class and political consciousness among
Latin residents in a small Eastern city**

Baldares, Yanet, Ph.D.

Rutgers The State University of New Jersey - New Brunswick, 1987

Copyright ©1987 by Baldares, Yanet. All rights reserved.

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

VARIATIONS OF
CULTURE, CLASS AND POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS
AMONG LATIN RESIDENTS IN A SMALL EASTERN CITY

by YANET BALDARES

A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate School -- New Brunswick
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Program in Sociology

Written under the direction of
Professor Rhoda Lois Blumberg
and approved by

Rhoda Lois Blumberg
Susan Sel
Ronald J. Angel

New Brunswick, New Jersey

October, 1987

© 1987

Yanet Baldares

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Variations of
Culture, Class and Political Consciousness
among Latin Residents in a Small Eastern City

By YANET BALDARES, Ph.D.

Dissertation Director: Professor Rhoda Lois Blumberg

This dissertation is about the diverse social relationships within and between Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick, New Jersey (20% of the city's population) in the early 1980s: Puerto Ricans (50% of the Latin population of the city), Dominicans (30%), and Other Latins (20%). It analyses the interactions and perceptions of the Latin residents of different: national origins, cultures and Spanish dialects; class origins; rural-versus-urban origins; perceived race; reasons for immigrating; legal status in the United States; and work relationships.

Data were gathered through long-term participant observation among the Spanish-speaking residents of the city and through a lengthy questionnaire administered to a stratified random sample of 78 Latin residents of the city.

The thesis maintains that -- contrary to the assumption of both mainstream Americans and Latin activists that the Spanish-speaking residents of the city were homogeneously "Hispanics" -- the residents themselves did not see themselves as a single group or category of persons. Each national-origin group had a different reason for being in New Brunswick, a different political sense, a different cultural sense of

identity, and different internal social organization.

A major finding is a set of mutual, antagonistic stereotypes whereby members of the different national-origin groups defined their attitudes toward one another. These stereotypes originated predominantly in the work place, but concerned one another in their work roles and in their private and family lives. An effort is made to compare these stereotypes to social reality as the Latin residents experienced it, and to assess them in particular in relation to actual family patterns of the different groups.

The dissertation concludes with analysis of attempted political action on behalf of the Latin residents of New Brunswick in the early 1980s, with a case history of the bilingual education program in the city. It distinguishes between rhetorical or metaphoric senses of "community," as promoted by Hispanic activists, and social organizational senses of the term. And it argues that neither type of community existed among the Latin residents of the city at the time, and that "community building" was therefore unlikely to be successful.

PREFACE

For me, the topic of this dissertation is very close to home. In 1965 I graduated from the University of Costa Rica, my native country, with a bachelor's degree in education and in psychology. Less than a year later, I immigrated to the United States, to make a little money, to have the chance to travel, and to escape what looked like my father's plans for me at the time -- to see me married and safely installed in adult life as a Costa Rican village schoolteacher. I expected to land a comfortable white-collar job immediately upon arriving in the United States, but instead found myself doing unskilled factory labor at sub-minimum wages in the Greater New York area for about a year. Eventually I lucked into a job as a laboratory technician in a University Hospital. Thereafter, I became involved in progressive politics in the New York area, and eventually found myself back in college, studying political sociology. But I never forgot the economic and social conditions -- nor the mentalities -- of the poor Latins among whom I had worked in the factories.

In the late-1970s and the early-1980s, after studying undergraduate and graduate sociology at Rutgers University, I took a job as a community organizer and social worker in the "Hispanic community" of New Brunswick, New Jersey, working for an outreach center sponsored by a health center affiliated with the University. In that job, my own cultural sense as a Latin and my own life-experience as a factory worker were often at war with the political and sociological understandings I had come to, through formal education and political

involvements, since leaving the factories. This dissertation is, in ways, a late skirmish in that war -- surely not the last one.

Thus this dissertation is not written by a detached outside observer. It is an example of value-centered social science. I have done my best in what follows to indicate my personal relationship to this material, as well as my formal academic relationship -- and I have done my best to make this analysis rigorous, self-critical and open to the judgement of others.

I would like to thank, first and foremost, the Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick, New Jersey for sharing their lives with me, for putting up with my questions, and for offering me insights of a frank and honest nature.

I would like to thank, equally first and foremost, the members of my committee. Dr. Rhoda Blumberg, chair, fostered this dissertation for four years with great patience and kindness, and with excellent and helpful critical advice. Dr. Ronald Angel gave me useful encouragement and the expertise of a methodologist and a co-"Hispanic" and Latin specialist.

Dr. Helen Safa has been an inspiration, mentor, colleague and friend in this work for at least ten years, and if she is depressed by some of the findings reported here, I hope she will recognize that -- in my attempted combination of political engagement and academic research -- I am greatly indebted to her example.

And Dr. Susan Gal gave me the incisive, lengthy and invaluable commentary of a culturally, linguistically and politically-insightful anthropologist -- and she has also been a very good friend through the travails of this research.

Thanks also to Yolanda Prieto, my oldest Latin friend and colleague, to whom I have the greatest intellectual and personal debt. Ivy Matsepe, Aaron Ramos and Barbara Schroder have also helped and influenced me. Thanks to Joe Harris and Kurt Spellmeyer for their expert assistance in my bilingual education. And particular thanks to Nils Pearson, both for his expert -- and for his eminently human -- emotional support.

For more than ten years, Michael Moffatt has been with me on this project, intellectually, emotionally and editorially. I could not have made it without him. And thanks and love to my half-Latin son Alan Dalsass-Baldares, who has now survived with a measure of patience the Ph.Ds of three of his assorted four parents.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| ABSTRACT | ii |
| PREFACE | iv |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | vii |
| LIST OF TABLES | x |
| LIST OF FIGURES AND DIAGRAMS | xi |
| | |
| I. THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS | 1 |
| The Subject of This Dissertation | 1 |
| Methods | 3 |
| Current "Hispanic" Immigrants and Older American Immigrants | 4 |
| Structural Cause of the Current "Hispanic" Immigration | 13 |
| | |
| II. NEW BRUNSWICK AND ITS SPANISH-SPEAKING RESIDENTS | 24 |
| Introduction | 24 |
| A Brief Economic History of New Brunswick | 27 |
| The Advent of Spanish-Speaking Residents | 32 |
| Puerto Ricans | 32 |
| Dominicans | 41 |
| "Other Latins": Other Caribbean and Central and South Americans | 48 |
| New Brunswick Today | 52 |
| Current Living Conditions and Other Demographic Indicators | 59 |
| The Questionnaire: the New Brunswick Latin Sample | 67 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| III. WORK AND STEREOTYPES | 80 |
| Types of Work | 82 |
| General | 82 |
| Differences | 85 |
| The Dynamics of Competition | 88 |
| Work Ethics | 88 |
| Getting Jobs | 91 |
| Stereotypes | 94 |
| Consequences | 108 |
| IV. FAMILIES | 115 |
| The Latin Family | 117 |
| Latin Families in New Brunswick | 119 |
| Family Structures and Other Domestic Arrangements | 127 |
| Families | 127 |
| Adult Groups | 137 |
| Economic Styles | 147 |
| The Stereotypes Revisited | 154 |
| V. THE POLITICS OF "COMMUNITY" | 168 |
| My Brilliant Career | 169 |
| "Community" in Contemporary American Rhetoric | 174 |
| Latin Social Organization in New Brunswick | 179 |
| The Politics of Bilingual Education | 187 |
| Bilingual Education in its Early Years | 188 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Bilingual Education in New Brunswick in the Early 1980s | 197 |
| VI. CONCLUSION | 210 |
| Larger Implications | 210 |
| This Dissertation as a Specific Case Study | 214 |
| APPENDIX I: CONDITIONS OF RESEARCH | 218 |
| APPENDIX II: THE QUESTIONNAIRE | 225 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 239 |
| VITA | 252 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | | |
|-----------|---|-----|
| Table 2.1 | Spanish-Origin Population in New Brunswick in 1970 and 1980 | 38 |
| Table 2.2 | Family Characteristics of Spanish-Origin, Black and White Population in New Brunswick in 1980 | 64 |
| Table 2.3 | Income of Spanish-Origin Families by Number of Workers in Family | 65 |
| Table 2.4 | Sex and Nationality of Persons in the New Brunswick Latin Sample | 70 |
| Table 2.5 | Length of U. S. Residence of Persons in the New Brunswick Latin Sample | 72 |
| Table 2.6 | Proportion of Spanish-Origin, Female-headed Households in the United States and in New Jersey in 1980 | 75 |
| Table 2.7 | Percent Distribution, Level of Schooling Completed, 1980 -- Spanish-Origin Populations, New Jersey, New Brunswick, and the New Brunswick Latin Sample Compared | 76 |
| Table 3.1 | Occupation of Employed Spanish-Origin Residents of New Brunswick | 84 |
| Table 3.2 | The System of Reciprocal Stereotypes -- Unskilled Workers: Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and Other Latins | 103 |
| Table 4.1 | Types of Residential Arrangements -- the New Brunswick Latin Sample | 132 |
| Table 4.2 | Types of Family Unit -- the New Brunswick Latin Sample | 134 |
| Table 4.3 | Family Composition (Two Generation vs. Multigenerational) -- The New Brunswick Latin Sample by National-Origin Group | 136 |
| Table 4.4 | Family Composition (Two Parent vs. Single- Headed Household) -- The New Brunswick Latin Sample by National-Origin Group | 138 |
| Table 5.1 | Religious Affiliations -- the New Brunswick Latin Sample | 183 |

LIST OF MAPS AND DIAGRAMS

| | | |
|-------------|---|-----|
| Map 2.1 | Percentage of Spanish-Origin Population in New Jersey Counties | 26 |
| Map 2.2 | Residential Distribution of the New Brunswick Latin Sample | 61 |
| Diagram 4.1 | Ana's Family | 129 |
| Diagram 4.2 | Altagracia's Adult Group | 142 |

Chapter I

THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Subject of This Dissertation

This dissertation is about the social relationships among the Spanish-speaking residents of the city of New Brunswick, New Jersey, in the early 1980s. These residents constituted about one-fifth of the city's population at the time of my research, and though they were often seen by outsiders as a single category or group, as "Hispanics," from the inside they were -- and they felt themselves to be -- exceptionally heterogeneous. About 50% of them were from Puerto Rico, some older arrivals, some recent -- a few middle-class or verging on middle-class, others working-class and others poor. Another 30% were from the Dominican Republic, mostly recent arrivals, from rural peasant backgrounds. And the remaining 20% were "Other Latins," a very mixed set of persons from different Central and South American nations, plus a few Cubans -- generally recent arrivals, from various class backgrounds.¹

This dissertation is about the real and perceived diversity within this Spanish-speaking population. It is about the impact on these residents of some of the following differences: national origins, cultural and linguistic characteristics, social class, perceived race, rural-versus-urban background, legal status in the United States, and reasons for immigration to the United States. It is about the differences which these Latins bring with them to the United States, and it is about the

new differences which develop as they live and work, side-by-side, in some of the most menial, low-paid jobs available in the local economy. And it attempts to give structural, historical, cultural and economic explanations for this diversity and this felt difference.

The analysis begins with an overview of the history and the distributions of Spanish-speaking migrants to the United States, and with a consideration of some of the theoretical approaches which will be used here (this chapter). It then moves to a more local level: to the history of immigration of the particular Latin groups into New Brunswick, and to a history of New Brunswick itself. It considers the specific sorts of economic relationships among Latins of different national origins in the city at the time of my research (chapter II). One of my principle findings is an elaborate set of mutual, reciprocal stereotypes whereby Spanish-speaking residents from different national backgrounds formulate their attitudes toward one another -- stereotypes which are generated, for the most part, in the work place, but which are about one another as workers and in their private family lives. An effort will be made below to indicate in what ways these stereotypes label perceptible reality among those who hold them -- and to identify the larger sociological, historical and economic causes behind them (chapters III and IV). An effort will also be made to identify relationships between stereotypes of families of different Latin groups, and the actual variable forms of the Latin family -- and of other domestic living arrangements -- in New Brunswick (chapter IV).

Finally, this dissertation is about the implications of the diversity

within the Latin population of New Brunswick for political action on behalf of such individuals -- who are demonstrably the objects of considerable discrimination on the part of mainstream Americans in the 1980s. I first came to know the Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick through a fulltime job which I held between 1979 and 1983 with an Outreach Center in the city. I was a community organizer and social worker, specializing in Hispanics. In my observations, the Hispanic activists in the city -- including myself -- had little success in "building community" among the local Spanish-speaking residents, however commonly poor and needy they might be. Originally, the central question behind this dissertation was intended to be, "Why did we activists fail to 'build community' among such a population?" As I have worked through this analysis, however, diversity and difference have become its predominant themes, and my original question has been cut down to, "What ever made us assume we could build such community?"

The concepts of "community," "ethnicity" and "Hispanicness," however, remain the subtext for my analysis, and I will conclude this dissertation by discussing them in relation to the Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick -- and in relation to a local case-study of the issue of "bilingual education" as I knew it in the city between 1979 and 1983 (chapter V).

Methods

The research for this dissertation was done in one year after I finished working in the outreach center, in 1983 and 1984. It included

the administration of 78 questionnaires to a stratified random sample of the city's Spanish-speaking population. Perhaps more importantly, it included longer, informal talks outside the formal interviews, and a great deal of informal observation of personal and group dynamics, some of which I had started doing during the years of my community work.

A copy of the questionnaire is found in appendix II. A detailed account of the sample is found at the end of chapter II. And a description of my research relationship with the subjects of this dissertation -- a relationship which in fact generated a good deal more of the "data" for this analysis than the questionnaire -- is found in appendix I.

Current "Hispanic"² Immigrants and Older American Immigrants

According to the categories of identification employed by the United States Census, 14.6 million persons in the population of the United States in 1980 -- 6.4 percent of the total population -- were "Hispanics" (subdivided, in census categories, into "Mexican-Americans," "Puerto Ricans," "Cubans," "Central and South Americans" and "Other Hispanics"). This same census is the source of the widely reported generalization that Hispanics are the fastest-growing American ethnic or minority group at present. Between 1970 and 1980, when the general population grew by 11 percent, the Hispanic population grew by 61% (Ford Foundation 1984: 17ff). How does this recent Hispanic wave of immigration compare to older ones in American history? And what political and economic factors are, or may be, behind its sudden prominence in the late twentieth century?

The current rise in the Hispanic population of the United States is in part the result of the latest -- or one of the latest -- waves of immigrations by which the United States has been formed since its earliest history. Some of the processes which have affected recent Spanish-speaking immigrants resemble older ones in American history. Thus, to varying degrees, early periods of most migration processes are often seen by those who undertake them -- among recent Hispanics as among other, older migrants -- as temporary. Sometimes early immigrants change their minds and eventually decide to settle permanently. Many other times they do not. Recent reexamination of historical materials, for instance, suggests that it was not the case, as much twentieth-century American mythic history suggests, that everyone in the great European migrations of the nineteenth century happily chose the United States over their 'backward,' 'oppressive' nations of origin. Perhaps one-third of those persons involved in the nineteenth century migrations, in fact, turned around and went home again -- return-migrated to her or his country of origin rather than settling in the United States.

The current Hispanic immigration also resembles older ones in that the principal motive for the first wave of migrants of any given origin is often economic or political and explicitly not (again, as in American myth) cultural. Immigrants do not invariably come to the United States out of admiration for the whole American Way of Life, and typically the first generation of immigrants feels lonely and culturally alienated in the United States, and fearful about the growing cultural gap between

themselves and their Americanizing children.

In general, social scientists view immigrants' adjustments to new societies from one of two opposed perspectives: the assimilationist model or the cultural pluralist model. In the case of assimilation models, immigrants are seen as willingly shedding their original cultures in exchange for a "better" value system -- one that is better in objective terms, and one which allows them to achieve the economic mobility impossible in their own countries (Eisenstadt 1964; Gordon 1964; Park 1950). In cultural pluralist models, immigrants are seen as reluctant to abandon their cultures, in part because of the ostracism they experience at the hands of the new, alien society, in part because they consider their own culture to be as valuable and legitimate as the culture of the host society. Cultural pluralist models seem to work particularly well for understanding the adaptation of those groups that for historical and political reasons operate as internal colonies within the United States -- American Indians, Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans (Blauner 1972; Moore 1970, 1981).

In reality, however, it is not clear that most immigrants act, believe or see themselves in terms consistent with only one of these models. A cogent argument in the immigrant adjustment debate emphasizes the functions that immigrant groups play in the American economy, and argues that the adjustment and attitudes of people are related to the historical periods in which they arrive, to their perceived racial compositions, and to the socio-political factors that generate their migration. Contrary to the assimilationist view, which assumes that all

of those who arrive on American soil come spontaneously in search of a better life, this alternative approach convincingly argues that population movements are necessary and are often deliberately induced to fulfill the labor needs of an expanding economy. Historically, immigrants and racial minorities have been instrumental in maintaining a reserve of labor that is cheap, mobile and unskilled, performing the jobs no longer desired by native workers (Bach 1978; Bryce-Laporte 1977, 1979; Castells 1975; Chaney 1979; Piore 1982, 1983; Portes 1977, 1981; Steinberg 1981; Wolf 1982).

From this perspective, then, European immigrants may have been more willing to assimilate than more recent arrivals, because they came at a time when economic opportunities were greater, because they were racially similar to earlier European settlers and -- unlike the situation of some other populations -- because their presence in this country was due to voluntary migration and not to American territorial expansion or colonization. But, as noted above, more nineteenth-century European immigrants appear to have been in the United States with less enthusiasm and commitment than is generally appreciated in American mythic history.

Individual experiences, generational differences and the political and economic climates which immigrants encounter upon arrival in the United States all play roles in forming immigrants' attitudes toward the mainstream culture as well. Though the assimilation perspective implies that initially positive attitudes toward the American value system will result in enhanced social integration, studies of recent immigrant groups

indicate that this is not always the case. For instance, Portes et. al. have shown that Mexican and Cuban immigrants who, at the time of their arrival, endorsed "modern," American values and who viewed this country as a fair and egalitarian society, eventually became skeptical about the range of opportunities open to them and aware of their inferior position in the socioeconomic system -- perhaps impelling them into different, culturally pluralist modes of adaptation (Portes et. al. 1980).

People's perceptions of their position in society also influence their political behavior. Among recent Spanish-speaking populations, forms of political action and issues of political concern vary a great deal and are -- as with other immigrant traits -- linked to the specific immigration status of each group. The assimilation approach considers participation in the electoral system an important index of social integration, a process that goes hand-in-hand with the acceptance of other societal values. Indeed, in the 1980s, a great deal is being said about the need for Spanish-speaking groups to become active in the electoral process. As voting by the oldest and most established groups indicates -- Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans -- these groups become important constituencies for traditional American political machines and American power brokers. For the first time in American politics, the impact of the "Hispanic" vote, along with the Black vote, is being taken seriously by mainstream politicians (Hispanic Monitor 1984a; Lindsey 1984; Newsweek 1980; New York Times, 1983; Rothenberg 1983; Time 1978).

And the current Hispanic wave both resembles, and perhaps

dissembles, older waves in other ways. One popular older myth of the nineteenth century migrants imagines persons from a particular nation -- Italians, for instance -- all arriving in American cities equally poor and equally 'Italian', culturally speaking. In their first few generations, they bond together in gemeinschaft-laden urban communities in which they hold onto their old-world cultural forms for security, while helping one another make it in the New World. Later, as some of their children and grandchildren achieve varying economic success, this original ethnic solidarity is lost, and their populations diversify and variously assimilate with larger American culture.

It is fairly well known in the 1980s that older White Ethnic identities have not disappeared as quickly as this model suggests, however. But recent historical analysis also suggests that many of the European immigrant groups were not nearly as unitary or solidary as this myth suggests, either. Italians in the United States, for instance, were notoriously split between southern and northern Italian regional identities, and in the mid-19th century many Italian immigrants spoke mutually unintelligible regional languages. A uniform Italian language was not constituted in Italy until the late-nineteenth century, at which time the Italian nation was politically consolidated (see La Palombara 1964).

Among Italian-Americans (Foester 1968), among Polish-Americans (Greene 1977; Kantowicz 1975; Parot 1980), among Eastern European Jewish-Americans (Rischin 1964), among Greek-Americans (Saloutos 1964) and among Irish-Americans (Wittke 1956), initial homogenous group

identities were not that common. Internal factionalism based on differences of region, class, religion, politics and rural-urban origins made 'initial difference' perhaps as strong a felt perception as later diversities within an ethnic group were to be. Often people who were identified by outsiders as members of a common national or religious group did not share among themselves any such sense of common history or culture. And more often than not, newer immigrants from a given European national or cultural background were discriminated against by older immigrants from the same backgrounds.

Similarly, the nature of a given nationality's immigration experience in the United States, and the collective identity which that group acquired on the part of mainstream Americans, varied widely according to where and when the group made contact with American society. See, for example, Micaela Di Leonardo's recent work on Italian-Americans on the West Coast, as opposed to older East Coast-based models of Italian ethnicity in the United States (Di Leonardo 1984).

Current Spanish-speaking immigrants from the Caribbean, Central and South America resemble older immigrants in finding that much of their identity in the United States is ascribed on the single basis of the language they are perceived to speak -- Spanish. The category "Hispanic," for mainstream Americans, takes most of its unitary identity, in fact, from language. Its mainstream meaning is, essentially, 'recently arrived Spanish-speaking person from somewhere much poorer and more backward than the United States' (e. g. from anywhere except Europe). From the points of view of the persons of various national origin in this

widely inclusive category, however, they speak many different Spanishes -- any "Hispanic" can quickly distinguish between the Spanish spoken by persons respectively from Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua and Argentina, for instance. And, within nations, there are major, easily heard distinctions between educated and peasant dialects, or between urban and rural ones.

And, though older European immigrants were also often homogenized in American definitions by the notion that they spoke a particular, single, non-English language, the cultural differences among "Hispanics" are arguably much broader than those among the older European immigrants who were ethnicized -- for the world region from which "Hispanics" derive includes nineteen nations spread over nearly 8 million square miles, with widely varying histories of European, Native American and African influence. In addition to these general cultural differences among "Hispanics" based on national origin, there are perceived differences of social class and of racial identity among Spanish-speaking migrants -- and these last interact in complex ways with the racism of the American society.

And finally, the recent Spanish-speaking migrants vary widely from one another -- and often from older European immigrants -- in the timing and in the historical circumstances of their entry into the United States. Some Mexican-Americans, for instance, resemble Native Americans but relatively few of the historical immigrant groups in having ancestors who were in the territorial United States well before the ancestors of those mainstream Americans who are now labelling them as "foreigners."

citizens despite their second-class treatment and the racism directed at them by many other Americans. Puerto Ricans also have a long history of colonial domination by the United States, a fact which has greatly affected the class characteristics, cultural patterns and economic conditions of this population. Other Latin immigrants are willing or unwilling political refugees from their home countries. And still others have chosen to be in the United States for economic reasons, often with short-term goals, often without full legal documentation.

The sociological and anthropological literature on "Hispanics" throughout the United States suggests that differences of these sorts make recent Spanish-speaking immigrants resemble older immigrants in the actual diversity of their adaptations to the United States (see Alvarez 1981; Bach 1978; Chaney 1979; Cue and Bach 1980; Dominguez 1975, 1978; Flores 1984; Flores et. al. 1981; Portes and Bach 1984; Portes et. al. 1980; Prieto 1979, 1984; Safa 1985b). Recent work on Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans, the oldest Spanish-speaking groups in the United States, suggests that these two groups have developed relatively little sense of commonality with one another around their common "Hispanicness" (Arce 1981; Flores 1984; Morales 1982).

It appears that a sense of common identity between some sectors of these two groups, when it occurs, is rooted more often in their shared common identity as minority groups than in their cultural similarities as "Hispanics." Class as much as language can be a basis for identification between them. And class can impel some members of these groups to dissociate from poorer members of their own national-

origin groups. As Arce points out for Mexican-Americans:

"Chicano identity continues to be predominantly Mexican, in spite of national government, media, and academic infatuations with labels such as 'Chicano', 'Hispanic' and 'Spanish-speaker'." (Arce 1981:180)."

Similarly, recent political alliances between conservative sectors of the Cuban and Mexican-American communities apparently originate more in their class interests than in their cultural similarities (New York Times 1983; Lindsey 1984; Rothenberg 1983; Vidal 1986).

This is not to say that the commonalities across different Spanish-speaking immigrant groups in the United States never exist or can never be constructed. The lines of "us" and "them" which divide Spanish-speaking groups are flexible and may shift contextually to include or exclude members of other groups as necessary (see Barth 1969, Cohen 1974). Like other internally segmented social groups, when confronted with a common adversary, Spanish-speaking immigrants may close ranks temporarily, as "Hispanics" or around other labelled common identities -- only to return to their original subgroup identity when the external threat disappears.

Structural Causes of the Current "Hispanic" Immigration

What has brought increasing numbers of Hispanics to the United States recently, and how does American society treat them once they arrive? From the future immigrant's point of view, the decision to leave familiar surroundings and move to a place where the language and customs are radically different from one's own is a complex one, and

one that varies widely from immigrant to immigrant. Some causes of migration are individually determined; others are determined by forces beyond control of the individual. Perhaps the most common denominator of all migrants's motivations is the search for a solution to life-problems -- material and otherwise -- which cannot be resolved in the home society. Thus, people migrate in search of work, in search of new political environments, in search of a better future for themselves and their children. Some plan to migrate permanently, or are required to migrate permanently; others plan to work for a few years in the United States and return to their home countries with new economic and social resources.

From a structural point of view, the disparity of wealth within and between nations does much to promote the movement of people from poorer to richer areas (Castells 1975; Castles and Kosak 1973; Burawoy 1976). That people from different cultures and nationalities gravitate towards nations with advanced economies only represents a latest, but not necessarily a final, link of the migration chain that begins internally in many poor nations, in rural areas, moving progressively towards the more urbanized regions -- first nationally and then internationally. How successful migrants are in their pursuit of a better life depends on a variety of factors.

Compared to economies in western hemisphere nations to the south of the United States, the American economy is one with high labor costs. Past legislative gains by organized labor, the establishment of a welfare system that supports the unemployed and maintains a "floor"

under the salaries of workers, the existence of an advanced capitalist economy with its associated employment opportunities and salaries -- all these things drive up the cost of domestic labor (Bonacich 1979, 1980; Portes 1977; Portes and Walton 1981).

On a regular basis, it becomes necessary for American business to locate additional sources of labor outside the borders of the United States -- reserves of cheap, mobile and unskilled exogenous labor, without the political rights and connections of American labor. Processes of capital concentration at a world level, in which American capitalists and policy-makers play a leading role, also help to create these reserves. The capitalization of Puerto Rican agriculture in the 1930s and 1940s, for example, proletarianized Puerto Rican peasants, making them more available as a reserve labor force both inside the continental United States and in Puerto Rico. Such reserve labor forces will carry out jobs more cheaply than labor from other, more established, mainstream American groups, and can be played off against older American labor to keep everyone's wages depressed. Immigrants are especially instrumental in this respect since their legal weakness serves to counteract the collective organization of older American labor (see also Ernst 1979). In addition, the foreignness of immigrants can be used to pit native workers against "invaders" by appealing to established ethnic and racial distinctions (Bryce-Laporte 1977, 1979; Castells 1975; Piore 1982, 1983; Portes and Walton 1981; Wolf 1982).

The segmentation of the labor force places some workers in privileged sectors of the labor market where they enjoy higher wages,

better working conditions and greater political leverage. At the same time it keeps other workers at the bottom of the occupational structure. This hierarchical ordering of groups is made possible by the continuous production and recreations of "cultural" -- racial and ethnic -- distinctions among workers. Eric Wolf has elucidated the historical underpinning of the process by which stigmatized populations such as Blacks, Indians, Latins and Orientals are relegated to the lower levels of the economy, helping to legitimize its hierarchical segmentation (Wolf 1982).

According to Wolf, "race" and "ethnicity" have different relationships to the processes of world labor mobilization under developing and mature western capitalism, but both are categories constructed by the historical needs of modern capitalism for new sources of labor. "Race" is the result of the subjugation of third-world populations in the course of earlier western mercantile expansion. Terms such as "Indian," "Black", and "Negro" are catch-all terms that encompass diverse populations without regard of the cultural and physical differences within each of these groups. What becomes important in these racial designations is that they reflect the process by which the natives of whole continents were converted into coerced surplus labor. For these reasons, racial designations continue to be associated with civil disability. They invoke descent from subjugated populations so as to deny the access of these peoples to upper segments of the labor market (see also Steinberg 1981).

"Ethnic" distinctions, on the other hand, express the ways in which

particular populations come to relate themselves to given segments of the labor market. According to Wolf, such categories have two origins, one external to the group in question, the other internal. As cohorts enter the work force, they are assigned by others to particular segments of the labor market on the basis of a presumed affinity to those segments for the work involved -- because of perceived characteristics of their racial, religious or geographic origins. For instance, on the east coast, the Irish are traditionally associated with city maintenance works (which probably reflects the sorts of major public works which required their labor when they first immigrated in the early nineteenth century), while Jews are associated with the garment industry and education (a legacy of eastern European Jewish skills, and of the traditional Jewish value of learning). At the same time, these new members of the work force come to value their externally defined membership in these groups as a means of acquiring political gains (Wolf *passim*).

However, these "ethnicities" often fail to coincide with the initial self-definitions of the new workers (See Holli 1977; Lieberman 1982). As indicated above, for "Hispanics" as for older European "ethnics," incoming migrants more often view themselves in terms of regional identities than in terms of the national or supranational memberships to which older Americans ascribe them -- Bavarians and Hanoverians rather than Germans, Neapolitans and Sicilians rather than Italians, village or parish members rather than Poles (see Ernst 1979; La Palombara 1964; Parot 1980). These "ethnicities," then, are not pre-existing social relationships. Instead, they are in part the historical product of labor

market segmentation under capitalism.

Structurally, the immigration process operates in response to what is known as the secondary labor market (Piore 1979, 1983). This sector is composed of jobs which are relatively poorly paid and unstable, with menial social status and no prospects for career advancement. Such jobs are not attractive to national workers precisely because they have no future and add little to the worker's self-definition and esteem. But immigrants perceive these jobs differently. In the early stages of the migration process, immigrants often have strong attachments to their original subgroups, and these subgroups often see work disdained by the larger society in more positive terms. Often they view their migration and their jobs in this country as temporary, and they do not think of themselves as staying long enough for the work they are doing here to define their salient social identities (Piore 1983).

Thus the secondary sector of the labor market operates in such way as to meet the complementary needs and aspirations both of native workers and immigrants at the same time. The problem, however, is that the character of persons in the immigration stream does not remain static, but changes significantly over time. Most migrants intend to stay only for a short time, but a significant number end up staying longer than planned. As they stay, their job aspirations change and many never return to their home societies. Thus an immigration process which begins as temporarily, to complement the needs of the American work force, eventually produces a new generation of workers who are in more direct competition with the older American workers (Piore 1979,

1983).

The impact of immigration on the overall composition of the workforce, the changing character of workers in the secondary sector of the labor market -- both thus have to be seen within the context of American class and race relations. To explain the rise in immigration to the United States between 1960 and 1975, and the recent Hispanic wave in particular, Piore has constructed the following complex argument. Piore argues that the rise in legal immigration between 1960 and 1975 was due in part to the rise in employment caused by the Vietnam war boom. Lower unemployment rates meant a greater potential for established American workers to demand higher wages, and hence a need to increase the supply of workers in order to bring wages down.

Increased immigration during the 1960s and early 1970s was also due to a relatively sudden shift in the character of the Black labor, according to Piore, which up to the mid-1960s had been performing most jobs in the secondary sector of the labor market. By the 1960s, the Black labor reserves of the rural south had been exhausted, and the attitudes of the new Black urban workers were being increasingly shaped by the Civil Rights movement. Employers began to see this new labor force as difficult, if not actually dangerous, to manage. Faced with a general labor "shortage" and a growing distrust of the existing work force, businesses began to look to other sources of labor, and found them increasingly among foreign workers (Piore 1983). With their continuing population growth and unstable governments and economies, many Latin American nations generated workers who were more than

willing to leave.

In the last ten years, the traditional weakness of immigrant workers in the United States has been further eroded by the influx of large numbers of workers who enter the country without legal documentation, at a time when the American economy is experiencing a downward curve. It is estimated that there are between three and twelve million undocumented workers in the country at present (Piore 1982; 1983). Because the majority of these immigrants are here to work, they are often said to be taking jobs away from established American workers and older immigrants. In addition, the immigration debate implies that the general social order and security of the United States is threatened by the illegal entry of large numbers of people who violate government policy and who differ racially and culturally from the majority of the American population. Yet experts also agree that the continued presence of illegal immigrants in this country serves important political and economic functions (Bryce-Laporte 1977; Portes 1977; Portes and Walton 1981).

Massive illegal immigration is allowed because competitive sectors of the increasingly-strained American industrial sector cannot afford other means of labor-cost reduction. To keep immigrants at the legal fringes of society is to exacerbate those features which place all immigrants workers at an economic disadvantage. By the very nature of their illegality, undocumented workers are subject to lower wages, longer hours and greater overall exploitation than any other workers (Portes 1977:33).

*

The diversity which I had observed from my earliest days as a community worker among the Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick was thus the product of a host of factors -- some of which resembled those had which acted on older immigrants in the early stages of their residence in the United States, some of which were more peculiar to contemporary American history and to this wave of immigration in particular. The American economic conditions under which this wave of immigrants has come to the United States are arguably less favorable to migrants than those of some in other, much more booming, expansive phases of the American economy. One locally salient group among them, Puerto Ricans, have been subjects of American colonialism for almost a century -- not a common experience among older immigrants. Also, unlike the situation for many of the older European immigrants, many Puerto Ricans as well as members of other Latin groups look "Black" or racially distinct to most mainstream Americans.

Like most other immigrants in their earliest years, Latins serve as cheap sources of labor, regardless of their internal differences. Given their racial distinctiveness and the difficulties of American Blacks in achieving economic success however, one has to wonder some of the Latins will get ahead as quickly as some members of other immigrant groups had often done.

And on top of these socially imposed disabilities, there are the felt cultural and social differences among them. As was the case in previous immigrant waves, some of the earlier Spanish-speaking immigrants are becoming established and are changing their perspectives towards the United States -- and a few of them have achieved some mobility. Yet others among the slightly older Spanish-speaker migrants are still sufficiently low in the occupational structure to be threatened by the more recent immigrants -- an added dimension of potential conflict on top of other diversities. The initial diversities of their origins are further accentuated in the case of illegal immigrants who, by the nature of their predicament, contribute to the employers' abilities to drive wages down.

Given all these considerations, the wonder was not so much that the diverse local Spanish-speaking immigrants of New Brunswick did not "build community" in the early 1980s. It was more that they could live side-by-side with a modicum of harmony on a daily basis.

Let us turn, then, to the specific history of the city of New Brunswick, and to the particular categories and groups of Spanish-speaking immigrants who found themselves in the city in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER I

1. I am aware that "Other Latins" is itself a heterogenous category. The focus of my analysis, however, is on the Puerto Ricans and the Dominicans, the two largest single national-origin Latin groups in the with. I am dealing with the remaining Latins as best I can -- but in this dissertation, due to the nature of the local population, they are something of a residual category. See Chapter 2 for a more detailed description of the complexity of this category.

2. Since one of the points of this dissertation is that "Hispanic" is meaningless to many of the persons to whom the label is applied, I am generally going to avoid it for descriptive purposes. Instead, I will refer to the subjects here as "Spanish-speaking immigrants" or some near-alternative, with the understanding that this term is short for recent Spanish-speaking immigrants from the Caribbean, Central America or Latin America. When I use "Hispanic," I will be referring more narrowly to political meanings in an American context, to official designations, and to the terms used by certain political activists and organizers. Such was the meaning that "Hispanic" had during the period of my research. Since that time, "Hispanic" has become increasingly polluted -- in the opinion of many activists -- by its use by the U. S. government. At present, Latino, a term long used by activists in the Southwest region, is replacing "Hispanic" -- though it also has some of the same limitations.

Chapter II

NEW BRUNSWICK AND ITS SPANISH-SPEAKING RESIDENTS

Introduction

Three-quarters of the almost fifteen million "Hispanics" reported in the U.S. population in 1980 live in six states in the United States. Not surprisingly, three of the six biggest Latin states are in the southwestern or in the southern parts of the nation. It is difficult to refer to many of the so-called "Mexican-Americans" who predominate in California (31 percent Hispanic) or Texas (20.4 percent) as "immigrants," since their Spanish-speaking ancestors were often in these areas well before the ancestors of "Anglo"-Americans. Florida's Spanish-speaking residents (5.9 percent of the general population) are predominantly of Cuban and Puerto Rican extraction, mostly of much more recent domicile in the continental United States.

The other three states with the highest Spanish-speaking proportions are northern industrial states: New York (11.4 percent Spanish-speaking), New Jersey (6.6 percent) and Illinois (4.4 percent). The earliest Latin populations of these northern states were largely Puerto Ricans drawn by post-World War II labor demands. At present, however, the northeast Spanish-speaking population is growing much more diverse, as a result of continuing economic and political distress in the Caribbean and in Central and South America. These northern Latins are generally urban in concentration: New York's and New Jersey's

center on the greater New York City area, Illinois's on Chicago.

Of the 44 percent of New Jersey's 491,867 "Hispanics" who reported a more specific national origin on the 1980 Census, about 50 percent are Puerto Ricans and 19 percent Cubans. Other significant nationalities include Colombians (about 10 percent), Dominicans (4 percent), Ecuadorians (3 percent) and Mexicans (3 percent). The great majority live in northeast counties of New Jersey closest to New York City; 72 percent of the total reported Spanish-speaking population in the state live in Hudson, Essex, Passaic, Union or Bergen counties (see map 2.1). There are a few rural concentrations as well, such as Cumberland county (12.5 percent), where Puerto Ricans in particular serve as an agricultural labor force.

Middlesex county, of which the city of New Brunswick is the county seat, is on the southern edge of the main northeastern, New York-centered concentration of New Jersey Latins. Middlesex County as a whole is 6.5 Latin, close to the state average and to the median by counties. The county immediately northeast of Middlesex, Union County, is 8.6 percent Latin; the county southwest, Mercer, is 2.7 percent. And the distributions of Latin residents within Middlesex county reflect the same basically urban, New York City-focussed processes that have brought Latins into the northeast as a whole. The two oldest industrial cities in the county, Perth Amboy and New Brunswick, have much higher concentrations than the county as a whole (i. e., very few recent Latin-

MAP 2.1
 PERCENTAGE OF SPANISH-ORIGIN POPULATION IN NEW JERSEY COUNTIES



Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of the Population, Characteristics of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, PC80-1-C. Washington, D. C. 1982.

origin immigrants live in suburban towns alongside the white middle class). And Perth Amboy, closer to New York, is more concentratedly Latin than New Brunswick: 40 percent vs. 12 percent. New Brunswick is thus, within the northeast, a peripheral urban location for Spanish-speaking residence -- but to the extent that the "Hispanic" immigration continues into the 1980s and 1990s, the movement of poorer Spanish-speaking migrants into such peripheral urban areas may become a more and more typical demographic situation.

A Brief Economic History of New Brunswick

New Brunswick is a small city of about 42,000 inhabitants, located in central New Jersey 35 miles southwest of New York City and 60 miles north of Philadelphia. It is the county seat, the central site of Rutgers University, and the location of the world headquarters of the Johnson and Johnson pharmaceutical corporation. New Brunswick was founded by Dutch, English and Scots settlers in 1680, and it owes its existence to the central Jersey transportation corridor. Up to 1840 it was the head of navigation on the Raritan river, a transshipment depot for grain from western New Jersey, and thereafter it was a central railway hub and the beginning of the Delaware and Raritan canal, locations that allowed it to grow as a mildly prosperous industrial center in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. After World War II, like most eastern cities of its size, it decayed as the American economy and the American landscape profoundly changed. Highways became more important than railways, the middle classes fled to the suburbs, the tax base declined, and industries either failed, left, or decentralized production.

Like other American cities, New Brunswick has based its growth -- and its decline -- on the labor of a succession of immigrant groups. Irish, Germans, and Hungarians, along with lesser numbers of Italians, Poles and Greeks, provided the labor for the late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century industrial prosperity of the city, working in a large number of big and small factories which manufactured hosiery, cigars, glass and rubber products, furniture and hospital supplies (see Patt 1982; Wall 1931). Urban ethnic succession in New Brunswick followed the same patterns it did elsewhere: immigrant groups arrived from rural and occasionally urban regions in Europe and forced their way into American society in the face of cultural, religious and economic discrimination on the part of earlier immigrants. The Irish and the Germans came first, in the early nineteenth century.

Despite widespread anti-Irish sentiments and violence throughout the country in the 1850s (Ernst 1979), by the 1870s the Irish in New Brunswick were already part of the local political structure and effectively used their political patronage to help other Irish. According to a local historian:

"In 1877, through a Commission on Streets and Sewers, the city added one million dollars to the bonded debt. It also added to the city payroll many unskilled jobs and often hired Irishmen to fill them" (Byrne 1982:65).

Historical references indicate that the Hungarian immigrants who began arriving in the late-nineteenth century also had to struggle against the same sort of ostracism from earlier immigrants as those experienced by present-day Spanish-speaking arrivals. Hungarian

immigrants were of peasant stock, and came to the region to work on the railroads, in the clay pits and in the metal industries. First-generation Hungarian accounts recall ridicule and prejudice. As late as 1930, the roster of official city commissioners and officers was dominated by names such as Connolly, Hagerty, Hefferty, Lynch, Gleason, Donovan, Higgins and Curran (Wall 1931:441), and although at least thirty years had passed since the arrival of large numbers of other eastern and southern European immigrants (61 percent of the population reported that one or more of their parents were foreign-born), there were no Hungarian, Russian, Greek or Italian names among the elected officials (Reock 1955:39). It was not until 1950 that Hungarians managed to secure four official positions in New Brunswick City government (Molner 1982).

The situation for New Brunswick Blacks, exacerbated first by open racial discrimination and later by institutional and structural racism, was and still is even worse. In 1870, there were 600 blacks living in the city. Forty years later, in 1910, while other immigrant groups grew, the Black population was only 820, probably because local industries simply refused to hire them. The Black population increased in the 1930s, as cheap housing became available due to the Depression, and in the 1940s and later -- as part of the great northern migration of Black labor to replace White labor during World War II -- it boomed. Today Blacks are about one-third of New Brunswick's population, but they are largely absent from key decision-making positions in the city.

Recent Spanish-speaking migrants began arriving in New Brunswick

in the 1950s, and in larger numbers in the late 1960s and early 1970s. They encountered the same initial resistances of prejudice and ostracism as the older migrants. In more mobile late-twentieth century America, there is no way of knowing whether they will stay in New Brunswick or in the immediate area for a number of generations, as the older immigrants have done. And it is still much too early to know if they will be able to work their way slowly into the power structure of the city.

But these newer Spanish-speaking migrants are also encountering something the older migrants did not: a decayed town with marginal services and a weak local economy. Whatever the social discrimination encountered by the Hungarians in the late nineteenth century, their labor was actively sought out; Hungarian workers were regularly recruited by manufacturers and brought to New Brunswick as they arrived at Ellis Island (Reock 1953:26). Contemporary Latins are, for the most part, on their own when it comes to seeking employment, and in New Brunswick they are lucky to find marginal manufacturing or service industry jobs; and it can be argued that the jobs locally available to them have declined in the last ten years.

Between the Depression and the 1950's, most of the older New Brunswick-based industries -- companies such as Michelin Tires, Edison Light Company, National Musical Strings, General Cigar Company and New Brunswick Iron Works -- have gone out of business or left town. And those that remained changed their labor requirements. Chief among these is Johnson and Johnson. Established in 1886 on the side of the

Raritan River as a small factory of medicated plasters, dressing and sutures, Johnson and Johnson later acquired a local button factory and expanded through the years to become a multinational corporation with producing plants throughout the world. Over time the company became central to the political and economic life of the city. With influential links to county and local government, Johnson & Johnson has been capable of affecting the political and social character of the city for several decades.

At the same time that Johnson and Johnson has increased its local political power, the company's relationship to the local labor has also changed. The collection of factories that were once an important source of employment for impoverished immigrants became by 1950 a set of office buildings which served as the administrative headquarters for the multinational corporation. The local employees of the company were now white-collar workers and executives, often the descendants of earlier immigrants who had moved up the company ladder. Actual company production was now carried on outside the city and even outside the United States, most typically in developing countries where labor was cheaper.

Along with the city's economic decline had gone the exodus of second- and third-generation descendants of European immigrants to the suburbs. This residential shift coincided with the migration of rural southern Blacks to the north. Many rural Blacks stopped in New Brunswick on the way to New York, and some stayed. Soon enough the older handsome buildings that had housed New Brunswick's middle-

classes were being sold or closed down. And as the racial composition of the city shifted, the city fell into further into decay. By the 1970's New Brunswick was in bad shape. In the words of a local reporter writing in 1978,

"New Brunswick today is a small, shabby, central New Jersey city with as familiar a litany of ills as ever filled an urban aid application form. Poverty, unemployment, drugs, crime, neighborhood blight. . . they are all here compressed into five and a half square miles" (Young: 1978: 90).

The Advent of Spanish-Speaking Residents

Puerto Ricans

Puerto Rico has a long history of colonialism, first under Spain and, since 1898, under the United States. In the twentieth century, the direct North American involvement in the political and economic life of the island has produced demographic patterns which differ from other areas of Latin America. Unemployment, under-employment and out-migration were part and parcel of Puerto Rico's plantation economy throughout the first half of this century (History Task Force 1980; Lewis 1963; Maldonado-Denis 1976; Ramos 1975); but much higher levels of unemployment and rapid proletarianization occurred when the Puerto Rican economy switched from agricultural to industrial production after World War II.

Puerto Rican industrialization started in the 1950s under the slogan "Operation Bootstrap," and was based on two fundamental inducements for external capitalist investment: extensive tax holidays and infrastructural support (roads, plants, electricity, etc.) for foreign investors; and access to an abundant supply of cheap labor. During the

1950's, foreign investors specialized in labor-intensive industries such as garment, textile and food processing, which primarily employed women at very low wages. By the 1960s, however, capital-intensive industries, especially petrochemicals, also became important. Although these new industries, unlike the earlier ones, favored male workers, they required fewer workers with higher levels of technical skills. Thus, in both types of industries, the Puerto Rican economy failed to absorb the ever-increasing numbers of unemployed males who began to flow from the depressed agricultural regions to the cities in search for work. Welfare was expanded on the island; and with it, and the underemployment of males, the female-headed household became more and more predominant among the poor (see chapter III).

The disparity between female and male urban employment rates generated by Operation Bootstrap continues to this day (See Safa 1985:85). With extensive urban unemployment and with low wages among those who were employed, a new era of Puerto Rican pauperization and mass migration to the United States was inaugurated.

Equally important in promoting out-migration from the island to the United States in the post-World War II years was the increasing demand for labor in the competitive industries and the service sectors in the Northeast region of the United States. During the 1950's and 1960's Puerto Rican workers thus joined southern Blacks as a source of cheap labor for these industries and services (Christopoulos: 1980:158; Lopez 1980:49-53; History Task Force 1979:126-7). The influx of Puerto Rican labor was greatly facilitated by a legal-political linkage between the

island and the mainland, which allowed Puerto Ricans to enter the United States without the legal restrictions placed on other immigrants. Migration to the U.S. was also facilitated by tacit arrangements between industries and the Federal Aviation Administration, which provided frequent and inexpensive transportation between Puerto Rico and United States (Christopoulos 1980:159; Seidl et. al. 1980; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1976:26-30).

Since the 1970s, Puerto Rico has become a prime example of an advanced Welfare State (Safa 1985a:88), depending on a variety of transfer payments which include food stamps, Social Security, Unemployment Benefits and Public Assistance to supplement the high cost of living in the island. Safa correctly points out that while many view these transfer payments as subsidies to the poor, they can also be seen as subsidies to the low-wage industries which otherwise might leave the island (pp. 88-89).

Against this background, Puerto Ricans have struggled for economic survival and have attempted to define and preserve a cultural identity in the midst of ambiguous sociopolitical statuses as citizens of a "Commonwealth" or a "Free Associated State". Among the many consequences of this ambiguous relationship with the United States is a high degree of instability in residential and family patterns on the part of Puerto Ricans, a distinctive pattern which we will see in evidence below. As United States' citizens, Puerto Ricans are able to move between the island and the continent without political and legal restrictions; as a result they move back and forth depending on the

economic conditions and the labor needs of the island and the mainland (Lopez 1980:313).

Ten of the forty-three New Brunswick Puerto Rican persons whom I interviewed in 1984-1985 belonged to families that had lived in New Brunswick over the years on an intermittent basis, moving from the island to New Brunswick, back to the island and back to the mainland again, in a constant cycle of residential mobility documented for U.S. Puerto Rican settlements in other small cities as well as in big ones (see Hernandez 1986; Pelto *et. al.* 1983).

These structural factors, then, generated the great post-World War II Puerto Rican migration to mainland United States, and incidentally first brought Puerto Ricans to New Brunswick. According to the memories of older Puerto Rican inhabitants of New Brunswick in the 1980s, and to some available documentary evidence (Colon 1980; Gutierrez 1982), the first Puerto Ricans to settle in New Brunswick were young men who came between 1948 and 1953, mostly from rural towns in Puerto Rico. Unlike other Puerto Rican migrants who were landless and originally came to other parts of New Jersey as migrant laborers under contract with American farmers, these first New Brunswick settlers belonged to medium-size farming families in Puerto Rico, families affected by new, profound economic changes on the island at the end of World War II.

These earliest New Brunswick migrants were thus of rural background but were not laborers. To North American eyes, they looked

White, and they defined themselves as White Puerto Ricans; the regions in which they originated in the interior of Puerto Rico have high percentages of persons of mostly Spanish descent. Under different circumstances, these young men would have stayed in Puerto Rico and continued the farming traditions of their parents. Instead, they came and -- at first -- worked for hire in local produce and dairy farms for part of the year. Then they worked in the local factories during the winter months; and eventually they permanently abandoned farm work for factory work. Now a few of them are skilled workers, and others have white-collar jobs. They can be said to have entered the lower-middle class.

Some of these first migrants returned to the island, got married and brought their families back to New Brunswick. In one instance, a migrant from a large rural family who came to the New Brunswick area in the late 1940's had been joined fifteen years later by the families of uncles, brothers, sisters and cousins totaling 67 people.

Not all of the first Puerto Rican migrants to New Brunswick were rural in origin, however. The person who owned one of the first Latin restaurants in the New Brunswick, for instance, grew up in an urban neighborhood in Puerto Rico, and chose to live in New Brunswick because he had become familiar with the area as an army recruit stationed in nearby Camp Kilmer.

This early Spanish-speaking population in New Brunswick did not grow very quickly. The 1960 Census reported only 189 "Spanish"

residents of the city. But with the labor boom associated with the Vietnam war in the mid- and late-1960s, the Latin migration swelled, and by 1970 the census reported 1,933 "Spanish-origin" residents of New Brunswick, 1,481 or 75 percent of them Puerto Rican (see table 2.1). Many of these newer immigrants, unlike the first settlers, were Puerto Rican rural proletariat from old plantation-dominated sectors of the countryside, physically darker, with more marks of African descent, seen by White north Americans and by some of the original Puerto Rican immigrants as Blacks or molletos. The later migrants also included Puerto Ricans of urban island origins and Puerto Ricans who had lived elsewhere in the United States -- like rural Black migrant workers -- with no particular ties to the original Puerto Rican small-farmer immigrants.

Many Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick -- Puerto Ricans and Latins of other national origins as well -- arrived at the city after a series of earlier moves. In a typical pattern, people found jobs in the area around New Brunswick while living in cities to the north -- Newark, Jersey City and Elizabeth -- and when they decided to move closer to work, they found New Brunswick a convenient place to live. Migrants of all nationalities mentioned the desire to be away from metropolitan areas with large concentrations of "bad people" or gente mala (e.g. other poor Spanish-speaking migrants, and Blacks). Up to the

TABLE 2.1
SPANISH-ORIGIN POPULATION IN NEW BRUNSWICK
IN 1970 AND 1980

| | 1970 <u>(N)</u> | 1980 <u>(N)</u> | 1970 vs. <u>1980</u> |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Puerto Ricans | 1,481 | 3,316 | 223% |
| Mexicans | 20 | 141 | 705% |
| Cubans | 212 | 317 | 150% |
| Other Spanish- Origin | 211 | 981 | 464% |
| TOTAL | 1,933 | 4,755 | 245% |

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, 1970, Census of the
Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics -- New
Jersey. Vol.1 Series PC-1-32. Washington, D. C. 1973.

late 1970s, New Brunswick was, from the poor migrants' point of view, a viable housing alternative: a relatively quiet town compared to larger Jersey cities, with affordable housing and the basic urban amenities (decent public transportation, accessible welfare institutions) not found in many nearby suburban towns. As happens with all immigrant groups, some Latins stayed in New Brunswick for a while and then moved on, but others remained to form clusters along the lines of nationality. These clusters in turn acted as links for relatives and friends who migrated in subsequently.

The Puerto Rican settlement history of New Brunswick was unusually diverse, however, and the current Puerto Rican residential pattern in the city apparently differs from that in other smaller cities in the northeast United States in what can only be called its amorphousness -- in the weak or absent social ties among many of its Puerto Rican residents. Puerto Rican settlements in cities like Dover, in Northern New Jersey, and in Perth Amboy in Middlesex County, by contrast, grew as a result of chain migrations from particular towns in Puerto Rico -- in a pattern similar to that of today's Dominican migrants in New Brunswick, to be described below.

But the Puerto Rican settlement in New Brunswick never managed to attract large numbers of other migrants from the same locales as original settlers. With rare exceptions -- the large family group mentioned above -- the Puerto Rican migration to New Brunswick was typified by a constant trickle of persons from all parts of the island. And the more successful Puerto Rican residents of New Brunswick often

left the city for other, more flourishing towns and cities. Even many Puerto Ricans who are not especially successful have only stayed in the city temporarily.

If there is a core to the Puerto Rican "community" as it exists in New Brunswick today, it is composed of those families who have lived in New Brunswick area the longest and who have made some institutional inroads in the city -- the families connected with the original immigrants. Almost without exception, members of this core group are very active in the Catholic church -- even if they no longer live within the city limits -- and organize sports and social events through social clubs. Not surprisingly, this small group of Puerto Ricans also has the strongest institutional links with the local political structure and thus benefits from a degree of political patronage in the form of jobs (e. g. housing inspector, policeman, court interpreter). Consistent with their small farmer origins, they tend to be strongly oriented towards Spanish cultural values, and they are generally more politically conservative than other Puerto Rican factions.

This old core group, however, is not typical of the majority of the New Brunswick Puerto Rican population, those derived from later rural proletarian, from urban and from mainland Puerto Rican sources. Some subsets of these populations consider themselves to be Catholics, but their attachments to the Church are not as strong as the core group's; and a sizable number organize themselves around small and separate Pentecostal churches.

A final significant element of the New Brunswick Puerto Rican population is made up of a small but constant stream of politically active Puerto Ricans. Many of these people began to arrive in the 1970s as Rutgers students from Puerto Rico and other parts of New Jersey, and eventually became involved in the local political issues (see chapter V below). The relationship between this group of activists and the older, established migrants has not always been smooth. Part of the reason is that older immigrants view the activists as people who have no permanent roots in the city and who simply do not know the realities of the town. Another reason is that the activists' confrontational tactics contradict the acquiescent philosophy of many of the older migrants (Rivera and Medina 1977).

Dominicans

Although there were a few migrants from the Dominican Republic in New Brunswick as early as the late-1960s, this population, the second-largest Spanish-speaking group in New Brunswick by the mid-1980s, consists on the average of more recent arrivals in New Brunswick than the Puerto Ricans. Statewide Census breakdowns differentiate Dominicans out of "Other Hispanics," but local, municipal figures do not. However, my guess is that about 30 percent of the total Spanish-speaking persons in New Brunswick were Dominican in the mid-1980s. If we follow official figures which indicate that there were about 5000 Spanish-speaking residents in New Brunswick in 1980, this extrapolates to about 1500 Dominicans and perhaps a third more by the mid-1980s. If we follow informal local estimates of 9,000 to 10,000 Spanish-speaking residents of the city between 1980 and 1985, however (see below), this

works out to 2,700 to 3000 Dominicans.

The recent Dominican migration is a result of the rapid recent disintegration of the Dominican economy, which is affecting all levels of that nation. In a sense, the same social dislocations that precipitated rural migration from Puerto Rico in the 1940s and 1950s are occurring in Santo Domingo thirty years later. This is not surprising, since the economy of both islands has been shaped by similar developmental strategies: the establishment of plantation enclaves under foreign auspices, followed by a sudden shift to capital-intensive industries and the establishment of Free Trade zones.

But there is an important difference between the two islands. Unlike Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic remains, at least in name, an independent nation. This means that the Dominican migration has a different legal character from Puerto Rican migration. Unlike Puerto Ricans, Dominicans are not free to move between their island and the United States. In the place of this legal mobility, Dominicans have developed a sophisticated subculture of migration which they use to circumvent immigration laws in the United States. In most cases, Dominicans initially enter the United States as undocumented workers, and eventually obtain resident visas through a variety of stratagems (pro forma marriages to persons with residential status, acquisition of forged documents, etc.) (See Garrison and Weiss 1979; Gonzalez 1976).

The externally visible racial composition of Dominicans in New Brunswick is similar to that of most of the New Brunswick Puerto

Ricans, showing evidence of a rich blend of African, Indian and Spanish ancestries. New Brunswick Dominicans, however, often see the Puerto Ricans as "blacker" than themselves (see chapter III). And unlike many Puerto Ricans, they are eminently rural in origin -- genuinely and recently rural --and this rural culture permeates their everyday lives. Unlike Dominicans settled in New York City, who represent a variety of social strata and rural-urban diversity (see Georges 1984; Pessar 1982, 1985; Ugalde 1979), most Dominicans in New Brunswick made their living from agricultural activities prior to migration, and continue to be involved in those activities on a temporary basis after migration.

Most come from the Cibao region where small and medium-sized farms predominate. The uneven fertility of the soil (Dore 1979:98; Grasmuck 1982:6), and the economic measures implemented by the Dominican government during the last twenty-five years (Vicens 1982:308-9; Vilas 1976) have made agricultural survival almost impossible. For most members of Dominican families, including women and children, this has meant becoming accustomed to long working hours doing agricultural tasks, with antiquated equipment and low agricultural yields (Flora-Butler and Santos 1985; Hendricks 1974; Pessar 1982). It has been estimated that the average daily earnings for an adult rural worker in the Dominican Republic in 1980 amounted to a maximum of \$4.00 per day (Vicens 1982:312). And experts agree that Dominican unemployment and underemployment levels, which in that same year were at 20 percent and 45 percent respectively, show little hope for improvement (Santana and Tatis 1985; World Bank 1981).

Many of the Dominicans who migrate to New Brunswick come from small to medium farms in the Dominican Republic, where they found it impossible to survive entirely on their agricultural work. A good number of them therefore worked as hired labor for larger farm owners (often for wealthier relatives) in addition to working their own land. Some have sold the land they owned but have not lost the hope of saving enough money in the United States to buy new land back in the Dominican Republic eventually.

Though Puerto Ricans have suffered loss of land and livelihood similar to the of Dominicans, and at an earlier date, as United States citizens, they have had access to an inefficient but nevertheless reliable system of transfer payments. And this has put a floor under their poverty of a sort which the Dominicans do not possess. As a result, however, the Puerto Ricans define themselves economically with reference to the standards of the American consumer economy, and feel like second or third-class citizens in these terms. They feel distinctly "relatively deprived." They also have, in a way that simply cannot be ignored in a analysis of this sort, in many cases lost the sorts of energetic rural work-ethic which most of the Dominicans still evince in a variety of ways, and which was apparently much more common among Puerto Ricans migrants with similar rural backgrounds in the 1940s and 1950s (see Padilla 1958).

Many Dominicans, as we shall also see below, possess in addition a vigorous sense of what an anthropologist working among peasants in the Caribbean and Central America has labelled "penny capitalism" (see Tax:

1952). As small independent agricultural producers in a money economy, Dominicans, like many other peasants, have developed keen skills in the sale and exchange of goods prior to migrating (see Mintz 1971) -- skills which they quickly adapt to the American urban environment¹.

Dominicans began to settle in New Brunswick in the late 1960s, after spending a transitional period in New York City, where large concentrations of Dominicans from rural and urban towns already existed (See Dominguez 1975; Georges 1984; Ugalde *et. al.* 1979). Many of the migrants who settled in New Brunswick first travelled to towns in New Jersey for work, from residences in New York City. Don Felo, one Dominican whom I interviewed, who was among the first Dominicans in New Brunswick, told me about his ontogeny. While working in a bread factory in Newark and living in New York City, Don Felo met a Puerto Rican woman employed as a cleaning lady at the Rutgers -- Newark campus. Through her, he got a job in the same capacity at the New Brunswick campus of Rutgers. He then moved to New Brunswick. And in his footsteps followed a string of Dominican migrants who moved to the town, at first from New York City and eventually directly from Santo Domingo, in hopes of getting jobs at the University. Those who did not find jobs with the University began working in factories in neighboring towns.

Of all the Spanish-speaking groups residing in New Brunswick, the Dominicans come closest to illustrating the classic case of chain migration (see McDonald and McDonald 1964;), and in this sense they most closely resemble other peasant immigrations of the turn of the

century. Unlike the highly proletarianized Puerto Rican migrants, most of New Brunswick's Dominicans originate in a few small neighboring towns in their home country.

Apparently due to their common origins, New Brunswick's Dominicans have closer, personal, "community"-like ties (see chapter V) than do any of the other Spanish-speaking groups in the city -- with networks of friendship and family which help newcomers from the same small region make the necessary early linkages to the new social environment. Also, unlike New Brunswick's Puerto Ricans, New Brunswick's Dominicans are not highly heterogeneous by class background. Nor are they diverse in terms of their migration routes to the city. Nor are they by education or by length of residence in New Brunswick (though this last factor will almost inevitably change).

At present, Dominican migration is also circular in ways that the Puerto Rican migration is not. Most Dominicans see their presence in New Brunswick as temporary, even when they have lived in the city for as long as ten years. For many of them, home is the plot of land that they or their relatives own back in Santo Domingo (or that they hope to own, with their profits from the United States), and their family lives are divided between New Brunswick and their hometowns. Most of my New Brunswick Dominican respondents reported returning home periodically for as long as six months or a year, and others reported coming and going as much as twice a year.

The pattern of their movement back and forth between the

Dominican Republic and New Brunswick differs fundamentally from the Puerto Rican pattern. Puerto Rican residential changes are usually in response to family crises, with little or no apparent long-range planning. Dominicans, by contrast, carefully plan their returns home to coincide with their economic, family and legal-status needs; their residential mobility has a longterm logic to it not detectable among the Puerto Ricans.

Even in New Brunswick, the daily interests of the Dominicans often center on the few Dominican towns from which the population originates, and frequent travel between New Brunswick and Santo Domingo insures a reciprocal flow of goods and information concerning all aspects of life "at home" -- food, money, letters, medicine, marriage arrangements, spiritual advice, job possibilities, and general gossip.

The fact that Dominicans are recent immigrants to the United States has obvious implications for their degree of integration with local institutions. Puerto Ricans have some connections with local organizations, through small social clubs and other local organizations; and they have also made some inroads -- albeit limited ones -- into the municipal political structure. Dominicans, on the other hand, have yet to reach out beyond their immediate networks of family and friendship. Unlike Dominican settlements in New York City, which show a considerate degree of formal organization and participation in American politics (see Georges 1984:37-39; Hispanic Monitor 1984:7; Sassen-Koob 1979), in New Brunswick there are no local Dominican clubs; Dominicans only marginally participate in the Catholic Church or in any other religious organizations; and Dominicans workers are not found within the

city bureaucracy -- not even in menial positions.

However, unlike those Puerto Ricans who, in the absence of institutional integration, find themselves isolated from one another as well, Dominicans have effective informal institutions which provide them with sources of social cooperation and which often help to promote their success in the United States (see Sassen-Koob 1979). Predominant among these are Mutual Help Societies, also known as Voluntary Associations and Rotating Credit Associations (Norwell 1969). These societies, which are common throughout the Caribbean as well as in African nations (see Bonnet 1980; Kurtz 1973), vary in their setups. But the most common type found among the New Brunswick Dominicans has perhaps six or eight members, each of whom contributes a fixed amount of money on a regular basis, in exchange for the right to borrow the whole pot on a rotating basis. The Dominicans prefer this system greatly to regular banks (though they also establish personal bank accounts as well), and it is one of the main local lending sources used for paying "business marriage" expenses (see chapter IV), for buying furniture, automobiles, and even homes and businesses -- and of course for travel expenses to Santo Domingo.

"Other Latins": Other Caribbeans and Central and South Americans

Perhaps twenty percent or so of the remaining Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick, as many as two thousand persons, are neither Puerto Rican or Dominican, but of other Caribbean, Central and South American nationalities. For the remainder of this dissertation, I will refer to this heterogenous set -- in the context of New Brunswick

Spanish-speaking residents only -- as "Other Latins". New Brunswick's Other Latins include Cubans, Mexicans, Guatemalans, Hondurans, Salvadorians, Nicaraguans, Colombians, Ecuadorians and Peruvians. There were probably a few persons in this category in New Brunswick's tiny Spanish-speaking population in the 1950s and the early 1960s, but larger numbers have come at the same time as the Dominicans have boomed, in the late-1960s and in the 1970s.

With the exception of Cubans, who are usually in the United States as political refugees, the growth of Other Latin Americans in New Brunswick and elsewhere in the United States in the 1980s is related to the persistent economic -- and sometimes political -- crises of the countries where these migrants originate. Up to the 1960s, Central and South American migration to the United States was predominantly of an urban middle and lower-middle class character (Jaffe *et. al.* 1976). I myself was an example of this category of Central American migrant, when I came in 1965. The typical migrant was often a white-collar worker holding a poor paying job in a large bureaucracy. Some migrants might also have risen from the ranks of the unskilled working class, persons hoping to enter the middle class after acquiring an education -- but becoming increasingly frustrated in their attempts for upward mobility.

For these Latin Americans, migration to the United States was the solution to the problems of social mobility. It was also a way to satisfy consumer needs created by the invasion of foreign goods which, in their respective countries, were only accessible to the more affluent sectors of

the population (Oteiza 1971; Urrea-Giraldo 1982)

Since the 1970's, however, there has also been an increase in the numbers of urban working-class persons seeking entrance to the United States from Central and South American countries. Along with the earlier type of Latin American migrants, who usually arrived in the U.S. with residential visas, this growing proportion of newer urban working class migrants -- like Dominicans -- have lower socio-economic status and often enter the United States as undocumented aliens (see Chaney 1980, 1979; Garcia 1985; Portes 1980, Portes and Bach 1984).

Most of the non-Puerto Rican, non-Dominican Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick are apparently representatives of this newer working-class Central and South American urban migration. Many were born in rural or semirural areas and migrated as children to large cities before coming to the United States; as with New Brunswick Puerto Ricans -- but unlike with New Brunswick Dominicans -- they often suggested in their interviews that rural self-identity was a thing of the past for them. Some had previous contact in their home countries with North Americans, either through work in foreign industries or in the service sector. Even if they were holding low-level jobs, this meant that these Central and Latin Americans had already been exposed at home to aspects of North American consumer culture, and to some of the collective mentalities that go with it.

For instance, many had worked as cab drivers, as maids in hotels and private homes, as waitresses, cooks and at other related jobs, as

operatives in garment and food processing plants and in other manufacturing jobs in their home countries. And occasionally, they had been self-employed in urban activities such as food-vending, or in the slightly more prestigious work of door-to-door sales of clothing and cosmetics. As will become evident in the next chapter, in New Brunswick, these Spanish-speaking residents generally do not have access to jobs of this sort. They have had to get used to the generally more menial jobs which all poor Spanish-speakers do in the city and in the region.

Thus, if many of the Puerto Ricans residing in New Brunswick feel that, between their home country and the United States, they are relegated to the bottom of society, and if many Dominicans feel relatively advantaged by their contact with the North American economy, the Other Latins (and here the Cubans generally identify with this third category, rather than with their fellow Caribbeans from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic) often feel distinctly downwardly mobile in the United States as they know it locally in New Brunswick.

As a rule, members of these much smaller Spanish-speaking populations have little to do with Puerto Ricans or with Dominicans, on whom they tend to look down on allegedly "racial" grounds. If they have close or friendly relationships with Spanish-speaking persons outside their immediate groups, they are likely to have them with occasional Other Latins from nearby countries of origin. Within their much tinier groups, they often maintain the sorts of networks of family and friendship which characterize the Dominicans. And like the

Dominicans, they tend not to have elaborate links to local city institutions. They vary by group and by individual in the nature of their attachment to their countries of origin -- some, such as the Cubans and some of the Central Americans, having as political refugees no immediate prospects of return, whatever their wishes.²

New Brunswick Today

Since the late 1970s, as Spanish-speaking residents have continued to flow into the city, New Brunswick itself has been changing. Its urban ecology has been rapidly altered due to an urban redevelopment plan initiated by the public and private sector -- by the city government and by a coalition of local business among whom Johnson and Johnson is very much the dominant partner (as it is, in this context, with respect to the city government as well). In 1974 Johnson and Johnson, after considering the possibility of transferring its headquarters elsewhere, elected to remain in the city under certain conditions. It required the expansion of a key arterial road to resolve persistent traffic problems. And it made a feasibility study to determine the possibility of economic redevelopment in the city.

This study led in turn to the creation of New Brunswick Tomorrow (NBT), a private, non-profit agency to spearhead massive redevelopment in the city. NBT's private status and financing has been considered by its founders to be its greatest virtue, as it allows it to undertake and execute projects without the usual bureaucratic delays or political interference. Others in the city argue, on the contrary, that NBT, and its offshoot Development Corporation (DEVCO), are successful because

they are at and beck and call of influential power brokers in Johnson and Johnson and in city government -- and that what they seek to accomplish will benefit only a narrow spectrum of the city's residents (Beauregard 1981; Chavana 1980; Community Outreach Center n.d.; Talking Drum 1984).

Through a combination of city bonds, federal grants and private investments, the city now has a new fifty million dollar Johnson and Johnson International Headquarters. Across from it, where the historical Hiram Market section once stood and where poor residents often found their first housing the city, the Hyatt Regency Hotel and Convention Center has been erected to the tune of about twenty-eight million dollars. Albany Street and George Street, two of the city's main streets, have been remodeled with brick paving and wide sidewalks, and a new sewer system has been installed. Some younger white middle-class professionals are beginning to buy and remodel the older homes in what was once the middle-class section of the town, and the planners hope that more and more of them will settle in New Brunswick, and -- as in other refashioned inner city areas in other east cities -- wander around among the projected quaint little shops and expensive restaurants of the new central city.

Like similar schemes in other cities throughout the country, redevelopment is intended to lift New Brunswick out of its urban decay and back into middle-class respectability. In theory, urban redevelopment benefits all social classes in the community. By revitalizing the economy and improving the appearance of the city,

middle-class home owners will return, it is hoped. These residents in turn will enhance the tax base of the city, and further improve city conditions because of their vested interests in the city's affairs. They will also have the political and economic skills to act on its interests in the region. By creating favorable business opportunities, redevelopment is intended to produce trickle-down effects to other social classes in the town, in the form of jobs and increased revenues to all residents.

Regardless of whether redevelopment in New Brunswick is succeeding in benefiting the middle-class as envisioned or not, it is definitely, systematically and by tacit but clear policy, ignoring the needs of low and moderate-income residents -- mostly those of Blacks and Spanish-speaking residents. Older factories and work places have disappeared, replaced by new sources of employment for which the average poor and working-class person is not trained. Instead, city residents must now travel to work in other towns; and the new local jobs are filled by college students and out-of-town residents. Similarly, neglected buildings that previously housed many Black and Latin residents have been torn down to make room for commercial businesses or have been bought by speculators who wait to sell them at the appropriate moment. All of this is done without any systematic effort to create low- and moderate-income housing for the increasing numbers of displaced residents (see Beauregard 1976, 1981; Beauregard and Holcomb 1979; Chavana 1980; Friedman 1979; Keefe 1984; Community Outreach Center n. d.; Young 1980).

A redevelopment program truly committed to cultural and class

diversity might use a combination of strategies designed to make New Brunswick appealing and convenient to all sectors of the population. This would entail attracting the middle class, as is being done, but it would also mean generating secure and stable jobs for poorer residents - - jobs that promote economic mobility and that facilitate neighborhood preservation among poorer residents. Instead, current redevelopment in New Brunswick concentrates on creating a middle-class environment by reducing and eliminating services and housing in poor and working-class neighborhoods.

For residents in these poor neighborhoods, the most palpable result of redevelopment has been high turnover rates produced by the housing shortages, increasingly exorbitant rents -- along with blatant abuses by landlords -- the elimination of the one local supermarket and continued lack of employment. Complaints by Hispanic and Black activists are largely ignored or rejected. "If the poor have complaints about New Brunswick," New Brunswick Mayor John Lynch stated in 1980, "they should leave town."

The "revitalized" city that is emerging in New Brunswick serves different purposes and has a different character from the earlier city which in ways it attempts to recreate. Historically, the city was the starting point for immigrant groups. It was the place where newcomers began their process of integration, as they replaced older migrants who had achieved some economic success. The presence of immigrants complemented the needs of the labor-intensive industries in the city. Working-class neighborhoods formed on the basis of this complementary

relationship; the socio-economic structure of the city depended on the existence of different classes.

But the economic expansion following World War II brought a change in the economic role of cities all over the United States. Industrial production began to occur outside the city, and along with this came the emergence of the suburbs. While in the past, upward mobility was signified by moving to the better neighborhoods in town, beginning in the 1950s a house in the suburbs became the symbol of mobility.

Today, most industrial production, the mainstay of immigrant life, takes place in areas isolated from cities and their convenient transportation networks, in "industrial parks" scattered throughout the landscape. Modern transportation makes it possible for people to live in New Brunswick and to work in other towns. In this sense, the presence of newcomers in the city is almost incidental. Those Latin immigrants who arrived in New Brunswick during the 1960's and 1970's were not attracted by its economic opportunities, as were earlier immigrants, but by two interrelated factors: its proximity to industrial parks in other towns, and the availability of cheap housing. Immigrants could live in the city and work elsewhere as long as mainstream Americans were pursuing their middle-class dreams in the suburbs. In fact, immigrants could have the city to themselves as long as they did not follow the middle classes into the suburbs.

With redevelopment and its concomitant attempts to attract the

middle class back to the city, New Brunswick is taking on a different character. It now attempts to create an image of "cultural" sophistication that was non-existent in the past. Leisure activities for the middle class, rather than material production, constitute the basis of the new local economy. Most important, perhaps for the first time in the history of the city, poor and working class persons are competing with the middle class for the same living space. The old city was class-heterogenous; the new city is trying to impose on urban areas the class-homogeneous character of American post-world war II suburbs.

Redevelopment advocates have repeatedly argued that the new plans would generate jobs for the local population (NBT Annual Report, 1980). But as of 1985, the jobs generated have been limited. Most of them are service jobs in the hotel and in the Johnson and Johnson headquarters, with Latins and Blacks overrepresented in low-level occupations. Figures provided by the union officials who attempted unsuccessfully to organize service workers at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in 1983 and 1984 show that over 90 percent of jobs in the housekeeping and stewarding went to Blacks and Latins, while only 8 percent of Blacks or Latins were employed in the much better paying jobs such banquet services and hostessing (Communication Workers of America -- Local 1082 1984:2; see also Talking Drum 1984:4).

Here again, the shift in the economic base impacts upon the new migrants differently than it did older immigrants. Unlike with industrial jobs, the service jobs for which immigrants must qualify -- such as restaurant and hotel worker -- involve interpersonal contacts across

class and racial categories. Often this requires a certain level of knowledge and identification with middle-class values and cultural tastes -- not to mention with language and racial traits -- so as not to offend customers' sensibilities. These requirements almost automatically exclude first-generation immigrants. Instead, these jobs are often held by college students (there are perhaps 20,000 Rutgers university undergraduates in the New Brunswick area), suburban youths and older mainstream-population women returning to work.

Whether redevelopment as envisioned by the city and by Johnson and Johnson will succeed remains to be seen. Although property values continue to rise, New Brunswick remains a sleepy conservative town. To nearby middle-class persons, New Brunswick is still far from being the cultivated, dynamic urban setting its planners had hoped to create. Most middle-class whites continue to avoid the downtown area, especially at night, still fearful of its Black and Puerto Rican residents. New restaurants and other businesses oriented to middle-class tastes have been opening and closing rapidly, and local rumor claims that the centerpiece of the program, the Hyatt, is doing rather poorly within the anti-union, profit-oriented world of the Hyatt Corporation. Much of the older housing has already been pulled down.

Without genuine new vitality, the present mood of New Brunswick is evoked with some passion in a commentary which appeared in a Rutgers University student newspaper in 1985:

"Streets on the condemned side of town vibrate with the energy of life. Young, old, healthy, sick, black, white, Spanish-speaking,

student, workingman, unemployed -- all those that survive or barely survive, all those that define life. On the clean side of town, humanity seems on the ebb. Human forms never seem to emerge from the mausoleum of J & J. The iron gates which stand poised, watchful, like the gates of a cemetery, are utterly lifeless. Yet these gates and those cool aloof buildings are not equated with the death of the city. On the contrary, they symbolize revitalization -- the glorious rebirth of what was once considered dead. And each year more memorials to honor revitalization rise, more steel and glass. The flesh and the blood elements in this city become less and less significant" (Kearney 1985).³

Current Living Conditions and Other Demographic Indicators

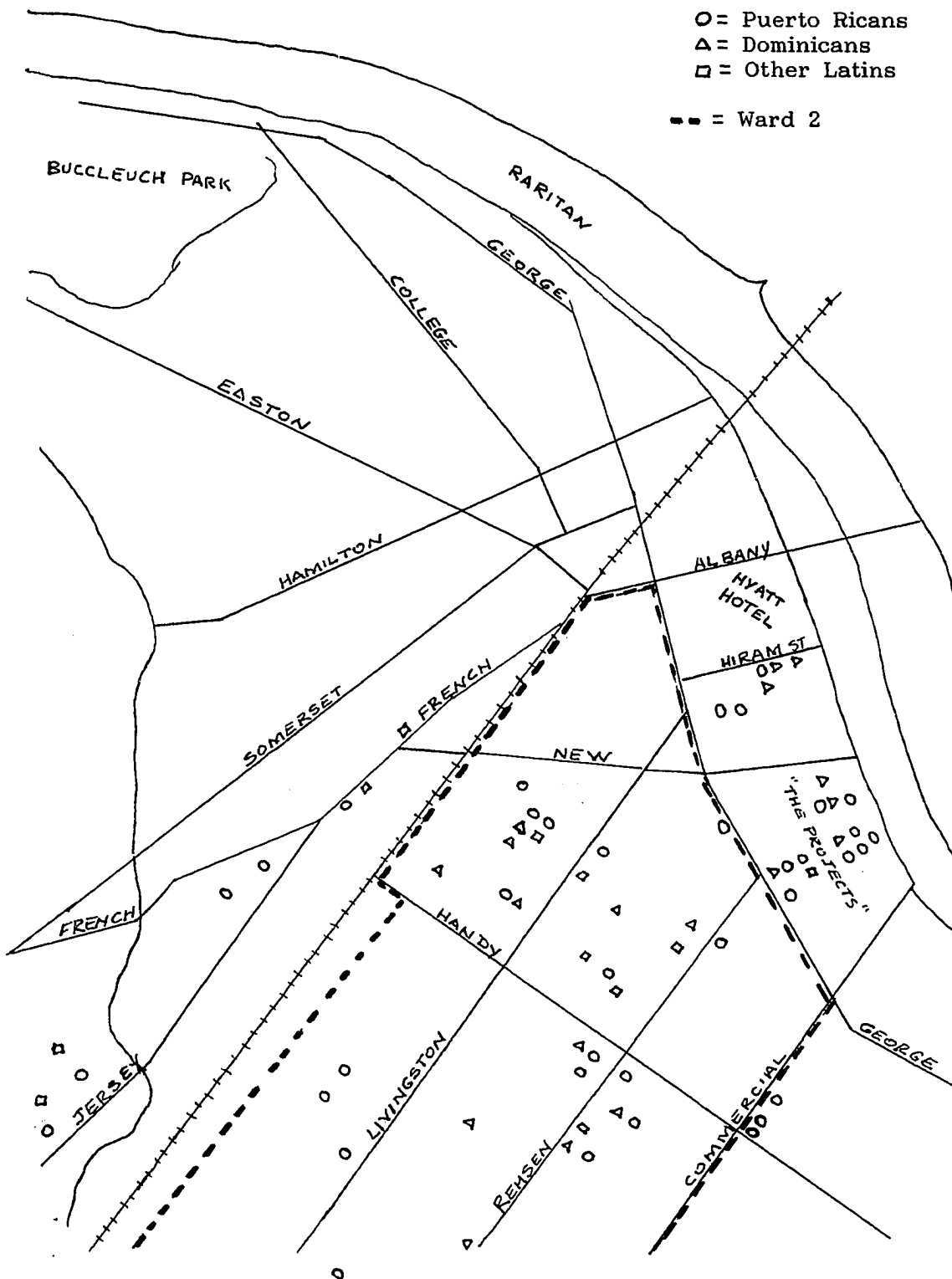
Whatever their own internally-diverse self-identifications and modes of in-group social organization, most of the Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick in the mid-1980s are perceived by mainstream Americans as racially distinct inner-city poor people who do not speak English well enough to function reliably in most middle-class settings⁴. Despite the changes in the city in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, they still find rental housing in New Brunswick -- and the homes and stores that the more entrepreneurial among them sometimes purchase -- in the poorest, most overcrowded, rundown remaining areas of the city, in the two wards of the city which are also characterized by high Black residency -- and stigmatized in middle-class perceptions as the "ghettos" of New Brunswick. Within these wards, there is occasional clustering of related persons of the same Latin national origin, but there are no clear Latin neighborhoods. The only ecological rule seems to be, 'If Blacks live in this part of the city, so too do Spanish-speaking residents' (see map 2.2¹).

1. The heart of the Black and Latin neighborhood in New Brunswick is District 2 on map 2.2, an area which middle-class Whites often avoid entering (enclosed by the dark dotted line on the map). Its "worst" street is commonly agreed to be Remsen Avenue. The areas where the Latin population spills out of District 2 are also rundown

In 1980, according to the US Census, twelve percent of New Brunswick's population was reported as "Hispanic," numbering 4,755 persons. However, as indicated several times above, the real figures are apparently much larger than these official figures. Many local sources, including the city government, agree that the official figures are far too low, due to the usual problems of accurately documenting inner city populations, and due to the special problems of counting undocumented aliens. A study done in 1980 by a local social service agency put the total number of Hispanics in New Brunswick close to 9,000 (Friedman 1979), about 20 percent of the city population. Without a doubt, the presence of Latins in New Brunswick is greater and more diverse today than a decade ago. Many more Latins are seen in public places, and in public institutions, and more variations of Spanish language are spoken today than in the past. But it is difficult to translate these indicators into concrete figures. My own estimate is that the current Spanish-speaking population of New Brunswick is probably between about 8,000 and 9,000. An additional problem presented by the 1980 Census data is that the socioeconomic characteristics of "Hispanics" are broken down according to the major groups only at the State and National levels (Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Cubans and Latin Americans), while city and municipal data give only aggregate figures under a "Spanish origin" category. Thus local census figures are of some use for outlining very

neighborhoods full of poor Blacks. On the mid-right of Map 2.2, above George Street, is the old "Hiram Street" neighborhood, and the "The Projects," down by the river and next to the highway. On the lower left, French Street marks the boundary between the "minority" neighborhoods and the big Hungarian neighborhoods of New Brunswick.

MAP 2.2
RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEW BRUNSWICK LATIN SAMPLE



general demographic characteristics of local Spanish-speaking residents - but not subgroup differences -- and for comparing New Brunswick's total Spanish-speaking population with the state and national populations (where the figures are also considerable under-counts).

According to the 1980 Census figures, 4,420 of all 4,755 Spanish-origin persons in New Brunswick were distributed among 1222 households -- 971 or 80 percent were classed as "family households" and the remaining 251 or 20 percent as "non-family households." Most of the remaining Latin population of the city, 335 persons, was college students housed on the various campuses of Rutgers College.

Consistent with the national trend, the Census suggests that New Brunswick Spanish-origin families were larger than average families in other sector of the population, 4.02 family members as compared with 2.95 family members for Whites and 3.87 for Blacks. Twenty-three percent of the reported Latin families were maintained by women with no husband present, compared with 16.6 percent for Whites and 44 percent for Blacks (table 2.2).

The median age of the Latin-origin population in New Brunswick reported in the 1980 Census was 21.6 years, slightly lower than the state and national figures for Spanish-origin persons. Median age for Blacks in New Brunswick was 22.3, and for Whites was 24.5. The White figure was drastically lowered over the State median for the General Population (32.2 years old) by the high proportions of White college-age students in the city.

Median "Hispanic" family income in the Census figures was \$14,575, with married-couple families averaging \$17,630 and female-headed families averaging \$6,300. There were only 19 families earning over \$35,000. Thirty-one percent of all Latin households had one worker; the median income of this subset was \$11,900. Thirty-seven percent had two workers; the median income for this group was \$19,000. And twelve percent had three or more workers with combined median incomes of \$25,575. Households with no salaried workers had median incomes of \$4,480 (table 2.3).

These figures confirm Angel and Tienda's (1982) interpretation of the increased income of "Hispanic" families shown in the 1980 Census.

TABLE 2.2
 FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS OF
 SPANISH-ORIGIN, BLACK AND WHITE POPULATIONS
 IN NEW BRUNSWICK IN 1980

| | <u>Median Income</u> | <u>Female- headed Families</u> | <u>Median Age</u> | <u>Persons per Family</u> |
|--------------------|--------------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Spanish- origin | \$14,575 | 23% | 21.6 yrs | 4.03 |
| Black | \$11,881 | 44% | 22.3 yrs | 3.87 |
| White | \$20,330 | 17% | 24.5 yrs | 2.95 |

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics -- New Jersey. Volume 1, Series PC-80-1-C-32. Washington, D. C. 1983.

TABLE 2.3
 INCOME OF SPANISH-ORIGIN FAMILIES
 BY NUMBER OF WORKERS IN FAMILY
 IN NEW BRUNSWICK IN 1980

| | <u>Number of Families</u> | <u>Percent of Total Families</u> | <u>Median Income</u> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| All Latin Families | 911 | 100 | \$14,575 |
| No workers in family | 205 | 21 | \$4,482 |
| One worker | 297 | 31 | \$11,900 |
| Two workers | 359 | 37 | \$19,100 |
| Three or more workers | 110 | 11 | \$25,557 |

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, 1980. Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics -- New Jersey. Volume 1, Series PC-80-1-C-32. Washington, D. C. 1983.

Angel and Tienda argue that the apparent increase in income is not necessarily a reflection of an improvement in the working condition of Spanish-origin Americans, but rather an indication that a greater number of workers are needed to maintain a minimum standard of living. Thus, in the case of New Brunswick, it takes almost twice as many workers in a Latin family to earn what one worker earns in a White family.

The educational levels of the New Brunswick Latin population are lower than the national averages for Spanish-origin persons. Forty-two percent of the adults report 8 years or less years of schooling. Only 35.5 percent of Spanish-speaking adults in New Brunswick graduated from high school, as compared with 46 percent in nationwide "Hispanic" figures. These lower educational levels probably reflect the relatively high concentration of educationally-disadvantaged Puerto Ricans in town, as well as the low educational levels of much of the Dominican population.

In 1980 there were 1895 Spanish-origin workers reported in New Brunswick, and their unemployment rate was 11.9. As expected, this unemployment rate was higher than the unemployment rate for Whites -- 6.6 percent -- but lower than unemployment rate for of Blacks -- 12.4 percent.

Like first-generation immigrants in New Brunswick from the early nineteenth century, most recent first-generation Spanish-speaking residents of in New Brunswick share with one another the general low status of their jobs. Almost half of them work as unskilled factory

laborers, often in tiny, marginal manufacturing establishments. Smaller percentages progressively have maintenance and cleaning jobs, do menial work in restaurant kitchens, are sales personnel, and are skilled workers; and about 10 percent report "professional" occupations of modest sorts - - schoolteacher, social worker, counsellor, etc.

That these various Spanish-speaking workers share similar positions in the American occupational structure does not necessarily mean that they also share the same socio-economic background or the same attitude towards American society, as we have already suggested above. The intricacies of intergroup relations in the work place will be discussed in detail in chapter III. Suffice to say here that the pool of unskilled jobs filled by Latins is in fact filled by people with divergent backgrounds and with different experiences concerning the working world. Most often, Spanish-speaking persons come together in the work place because of the circumstances of migration (or because of lack of qualification for a better job), not because of prior class background or cultural preparation for a given job. Thus it is not uncommon to find a former taxi driver, a small farmer and a high school drop-out all working side-by-side. The world views that separate these three workers, however, may be much greater than their commonality of language or their job status can bridge.

The Questionnaire: The New Brunswick Latin Sample

I learned much of the qualitative information reported here -- and some of the quantitative data -- in the course of administering 78 questionnaires to a selected sample of the diverse Spanish-speaking

residents of New Brunswick (see appendix 1 for my questionnaire, and appendix 2 for a description of my "field technique"). What was my sample, and how did the local figures reported in it compare to the demographic indicators just outlined, taken from official sources?

The 78 Spanish-speaking subjects whom I interviewed in New Brunswick, New Jersey in 1984 and 1985 were distributed as follows.

-- Nationality: 43 (58 percent) were Puerto Ricans, 20 (27 percent) were Dominicans and 15 (20 percent) were drawn randomly from the remaining set of Latin nationalities (Cuban, Guatemalan, Honduran, Salvadorean, Nicaraguan, Ecuadorean and Columbian (table 2.4).

-- Rural-urban Background: the interviewees were equally distributed between persons of rural and urban origins, but there were some differences by nationality. Over half the Puerto Rican sample was of rural origin and had lived in the countryside long enough to yearn for the rural life experiences of their early life, but very few of these had led a recent rural life. Most rural Puerto Ricans had migrated to the mainland directly from the countryside in their youth, or had moved between rural and urban areas of Puerto Rico before migrating to the United States. A similar situation existed with Other Latins. Although most had been born and/or raised in the rural towns, their rural identity seemed more somehow more cultural-ideological than factual.

By contrast, almost all the Dominicans had arrived directly from the countryside -- even if they had travel to larger town on regular

basis --and continued to be involved with rural life after migration, although less actively. Almost all of them defined themselves as farmers and/or as rural workers in the Dominican Republic. Only four had been raised in urban environments.

It must be remembered, however, that for most of these Latin immigrants, rural versus urban living fell on a continuum; they did not necessarily consist of drastically divided environments. But, for the most part, the Puerto Ricans and the Other Latins in my sample were closer to the urban end of the continuum on the average, while the Dominicans were closer to the rural end.

-- Sex: 48 (62 percent) of my respondents were females and 30 (38 percent) were males. Women outnumbered men by a ratio of two to one in my Puerto Rican Sample. Both sexes were evenly distributed in my other two categories (table 2.4).

-- Age: Interviewees ranged between the ages of 18 and 68. Within this range, Puerto Ricans were evenly distributed throughout, Dominicans were more concentrated between the ages of 25 and 40 and Other Latins were closer to the older end of the spectrum -- between 30 and 50 years of age. This age distribution is consistent with the general age-trends of different Latin groups indicated in the national Census. That is, Puerto Ricans tend to be younger, Other Latins tend

TABLE 2.4
SEX AND NATIONALITY OF PERSONS
IN THE NEW BRUNSWICK LATIN SAMPLE

| | <u>Puerto Ricans</u> | <u>Dominicans</u> | <u>Other Latinos</u> | <u>TOTAL</u> |
|----------------|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| Females | 28 (58%) | 10 (21%) | 10 (21%) | 48 (100%) |
| Males | 15 (50%) | 10 (30%) | 5 (20%) | 30 (100%) |
| All Persons | 43 | 20 | 15 | 78 |

Source: Author's stratified random sample of 78 New Brunswick Latin residents.

to be older, and Caribbean migrants are somewhere in between.

-- Years in New Brunswick: Overall, a considerable number of my interviewees, 30 (38 percent), had lived in New Brunswick for more than fifteen years, 8 of these for more than 25 years. Twelve (15 percent) had lived in New Brunswick between ten and fifteen years. Thirty-six (46 percent), on the other hand, had lived in New Brunswick for less than ten years (table 2.5). Differences by national origin were consistent with the history sketched above. Puerto Ricans were the oldest immigrant group in town. Twenty-six out of the twenty-nine people residing in the city over 15 years were Puerto Ricans -- which also represented almost two-thirds of the total Puerto Rican sample. At the same time, ten of the Puerto Rican people and/or families I interviewed had lived in New Brunswick on an intermittent basis -- moving from the island to New Brunswick back to the island and again back to the mainland on a constant cycle of residential mobility documented in Puerto Ricans communities elsewhere (see Hernandez 1986; Pelto *et. al.* 1983).

Most Dominicans and Other Latins, on the other hand, had resided in New Brunswick for less than ten years. Out of 38 Dominicans and Other Latins, 13 had lived in the city less than five years, 12 had lived in the city between five and ten years, 7 had lived in the city between ten years and fifteen years and only one person had lived New Brunswick for more than twenty years (table 2.5). Dominican residents acknowledged returning home periodically for as long as six months or a

TABLE 2.5
 LENGTH OF U.S. RESIDENCE OF PERSONS
 IN THE NEW BRUNSWICK LATIN SAMPLE

| | <u>Puerto Ricans</u> | <u>Dominicans</u> | <u>Other Latinos</u> | <u>TOTAL</u> |
|-----------|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| 0-5 yrs | 8 (18%) | 8 (40%) | 5 (33%) | 21 (27%) |
| 6-10 yrs | 5 (12%) | 8 (40%) | 4 (27%) | 17 (22%) |
| 11-15 yrs | 4 (9%) | 4 (20%) | 3 (20%) | 11 (14%) |
| 16-20 yrs | 7 (16%) | -- | 2 (13%) | 9 (12%) |
| 21-25 yrs | 11 (26%) | -- | 1 (7%) | 12 (15%) |
| 26+ yrs | 8 (18%) | -- | — | 8 (10%) |
| TOTAL | 43 (100%) | 20 (100%) | 15 (100%) | 78 (100%) |

Source: Author's stratified sample of 78 New Brunswick Latin residents.

year, but they followed the regular planned cycle rather than the crisis cycle which characterized the Puerto Ricans, as discussed above.

-- Family Size and Household Composition: The 78 subjects were distributed among 66 households. The average family size in the sample was almost identical to the Census figure for New Brunswick "Hispanics," 4.02 (table 2.2).

Only 24 of the 66 households consisted of "nuclear families" -- father, mother and children. Most other Spanish-speaking residents of all nationalities combined a variety of living arrangements that included nuclear families living with non-related individuals, multigenerational families with and without non-related individuals in them, households headed by women -- either nuclear, multigenerational and/or with other non-related individuals -- unrelated families living together, and single individuals living with others as a "family" or as boarders (see chapter IV).

Nineteen families (28 percent) were headed by women, a higher figure than the city census for the Spanish-origin population. Though the sample is too small for this breakdown to be statistically significant, a higher proportion of Puerto Rican households were headed by single women -- 36 percent -- than was the case in other Latin groups in New Brunswick. And this statistic is consistent with the last United States Census figures for Puerto Ricans in the state (Table 2.6)

-- Education: The educational levels for all Spanish-speaking

groups in my sample were below the state and national norms for Spanish-origin persons. Eleven of those interviewed had no formal education at all. Another 18 had only had between first- and a fifth-grade educations. Thus more than one-third of my sample were functionally illiterate. Twenty-eight subjects had completed elementary education and/or had some high-school education. And twenty-one persons were high-school graduates, less than thirty percent of the sample -- contrasting with the state figures for Latins of 45.2 percent (table 2.7). Only five of all high-school graduates had any college education, and only one person had a post-graduate education.

The generally low educational level of many of Spanish-speaking residents of the city may further explain why they have had trouble getting together on local issues, especially when much of the attempted local leadership was emanating from a select group of college-educated persons.

TABLE 2.6
 PROPORTION OF FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS
 IN THE SPANISH-ORIGIN POPULATION, 1980 --
 THE UNITED STATES AND NEW JERSEY

| | <u>TOTAL Spanish- origin</u> | <u>Mexican</u> | <u>Puerto Rican</u> | <u>Cuban</u> | <u>Other Spanish- origin</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| In the United States | 23% | 18% | 45% | 18% | 22% |
| In New Jersey | 25% | 21% | 36% | 14% | 17% |

Sources: United States Bureau of the Census, 1980. Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics -- New Jersey. Vol. 1. Series PC-80-1-C32. Washington, D. C. 1983. And United States Bureau of the Census, Population Characteristics. Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: 1982. Series P20-396. Washington, D. C. 1985.

TABLE 2.7
 PERCENT DISTRIBUTION, LEVEL OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED
 SPANISH-ORIGIN POPULATIONS, 1980 --
 NEW JERSEY, NEW BRUNSWICK AND THE NEW BRUNSWICK LATIN
 SAMPLE COMPARED

| | No Education | Less than 5 yrs | 5-8 yrs | Some High School | High School Grad. | Median yrs Educ. |
|--|-----------------|-----------------------|------------|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| All persons, New Jersey (Anglo and Spanish- Origin) | -- | 3% | 5% | 8% | 66% | 12.5 |
| New Jersey Spanish- Origin | -- | 11% | 11% | 16% | 45% | 10.8 |
| New Brunswick Spanish- Origin | -- | 17% | 10% | 22% | 35% | 10.1 |
| New Brunswick Latin Sample | 14% | 23% | 19% | 17% | 27% | 7.7 |

Sources: United States Bureau of the Census, 1980. Census of Population. General Social and Economic Characteristics -- New Jersey. Vol. 1. Series PC-80-1-C32. Washington, D. C. 1983. And author's stratified random sample of 78 New Brunswick Latin Residents.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER II

1. With the arrival of Dominicans in New Brunswick, there has been a proliferation of small grocery stores in the poor downtown areas in which Latins and Blacks live. In the absence of a local supermarkets, these bodegas make a hefty profit from poor residents who are dependent on them for their daily shopping. The more successful among these grocery store owner also become involved in the buying and selling real estate.

Such enterprises come easiest to those who already have had trading experience in the Dominican Republic. Nevertheless, there is an unmistakable entrepreneurial zeal among many Dominicans. In New York City, for instance, Dominicans are reported to control ninety percent of the city's "gypsy" taxi-cabs and 85 percent of the Latin grocery stores (Hispanic Monitor 1984b:7) -- as well as a good number of small enterprises, including sweat-shops (Waldinger 1984).

2. Among this highly heterogenous Spanish-speaking subset, Central Americans represent a small but rapidly growing portion of New Brunswick's residents. The existing political instability in Central America has precipitated the migration of people who leave their countries because of acute economic problems as well as due to fears of political retaliation. Whether migrants from this region are viewed as political refugees or economic migrants is a strictly political issue determined by the relationship that the United States government has to the specific countries in question. The experiences of the following two Central American families may be worth noting here.

I met Dona Elsa only a few days after she arrived in New Brunswick in 1982. She had left Nicaragua only a few weeks before and had flown to Mexico City. When I met her, she had walked for several days with her three children in order to cross the Texas border illegally. Dona Elsa's husband had worked as a guard for the Somoza government, and the people who helped her across the border had also helped her fill out the necessary documents to qualify for refugee status. She had also been given the addresses of several places where she could possibly find work here in New Jersey.

Dona Elsa does not know how to read or write, but after only a week in this country she had a job. Although initially she had problems with her living arrangements, once she started working, her supervisor -- an American of Polish descent -- helped her find a place for herself and her children to live. In addition, a call went out to the membership of the supervisor's church to help furnish the apartment and clothe the family.

Like Dona Elsa and her children, the Valdez family had walked for days before crossing the U.S. border, from El Salvador. They had left El Salvador after Mr. Valdez's brother and father had been killed by Government troops. The Valdez family are from a professional

middle class family and, were it not for the political risks, they would have stayed in their country. But unlike the Dona Elsa's Nicaraguan family, these Salvadorians are considered economic migrants and have no friendly connections to help with the immigration office. In spite of the fact that Mr. Valdez and his family are sheltered by a local Sanctuary Movement staffed by Hispanic and American political liberals, Mr. Valdez has been arrested by immigration officials for entering the country illegally. Although he was subsequently released, he and the rest of the family live in constant fear of being involuntarily returned to El Salvador.

3. Given the increasing rate at which New Brunswick redevelopment has torn down the historic inner city -- and with it, cheap housing -- and given the fact that virtually no low-cost public or private housing has been fostered in its place, it is quite possible that, by the late-1980s, the Spanish-speaking populations who are the subject of this dissertation are beginning to decline in the city. The 9,000 to 10,000 persons whom I estimate being present around 1984-1985 may thus be a high for New Brunswick. In the late 1980s, many Dominicans, Puerto Ricans and Other Latins are moving out. New Brunswick Tomorrow is thus beginning to achieve its goals -- a more middle-class city, by default.

Such developments make it possible for middle-class Americans to imagine they live in an almost classless society. The social classes they would have lived alongside in past generations are pushed out of sight -- either to even fouler large, distant, inner city locations, to suburban slums, or back to the third-world.

4. An example of the sort of racism which the average poor Spanish-speaking resident of New Brunswick encounters regularly is the following incident. Dona Luisa is a respectable Dominican woman, married young, widowed at 33 and remarried at 38. In 1983, she showed a symptom in a routine medical checkup which was in fact due to a tropical disease, but which -- symptomatically -- left traces in the blood resembling those from syphilis. In her first encounter with White doctors, she attempted to explain that she had shown this symptom in the past, and that it was the product of a certain disease. They ignored what she told them and insisted that she and her entire family be checked for syphilis. I then accompanied her on her second medical visit, where the White doctor again told me that he simply didn't know "what kind of life a woman like this leads," or "how many husbands she has had." His disbelieving, patronizing attitude would have intensely annoyed any middle-class White woman. It was even more irritating to a woman from a culture that sets a higher value on chastity and virginity than mainstream American culture does at present.

As evidence, however, of internal antagonisms among New Brunswick Spanish-speaking residents, Dona Luisa also observed later that what had irritated her most in the interaction was that the White doctor had thought she was a "Puerto Rican!" (and, Dona Luisa implied, Puerto

Rican women did fit his stereotypes of the sexual habits of poor women).

Chapter III

WORK AND STEREOTYPES

It is the recurrent hope of liberal and radical critics of advanced capitalistic society that those persons who are similarly oppressed by the relations of production -- those persons whose jobs are similarly low-paid, low in status and relatively meaningless -- will come to understand the "objective conditions" of the social formations in which they are embedded, and will join together in common political action against the classes and the social conditions which so oppress them. That, in addition to being "classes in themselves," they will become "classes for themselves."

But it is the recurrent finding of those who do research among low-status peoples in all parts of the world, however, that -- except under exceptional and unpredictable world-historic conditions -- those at the bottom of the economic pyramid do not so define the conditions of their existence. Rather, many times reminded by their daily experiences of their personal powerlessness, they tend to take society as it exists for them for granted; it is, for the most part, invisible or "opaque" to them. Instead, they perceive that, within narrow limits, they have a certain room for maneuver, for success, and for economic self-improvement. But this realm is a limited one. In it, life looks like a zero-sum game to them. Competitors are to be kept out. And competitors, unavoidably, are other persons similarly located at the

bottom of the economic pyramid.

Under the conditions of advanced American industrial capitalism, even low-status White workers who are relatively homogeneous in cultural, "ethnic," and "racial" terms show little tendency to develop class-consciousness. It should not be surprising, then, that the various Spanish-speaking residents of a small city such as New Brunswick, New Jersey -- divided, as suggested above, by many more differences than White workers (by national origin, by felt social class and race, by felt reasons for immigration, by legal status, by personal and group history, etc.), should evince no strong tendencies to come together around what may seem, to outsiders, like very strong shared characteristics -- the Spanish language, common residence in the poorest sections of New Brunswick, and common employment in some of the most menial jobs available in the modern American economy.

In the social organization of their private lives, in the relationships of family, of friendship and of mutual assistance, the Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick have little to do with one another across the divisions defined by regional or national origins -- especially across the divisions between Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and "Other Latins" respectively. Where they do encounter one another on a daily basis is in the work place. Here, however -- consistent with the above -- their intergroup dynamic is not one of cooperation and solidarity-building. It is one of competition and of complex attempts at mutual exclusion.

The dynamics of this competition and exclusion by the Spanish-

speaking residents of New Brunswick are the subject of this chapter. Particular attention will be paid to the use of cultural stereotypes which act as group dividers -- as the cultural tools whereby one Latin group attempts to exclude members of other Latin groups from desired sectors of low-level employment. I will try to show how stereotypes, together with the use of effective intragroup networks, are used in attempts to make -- or keep -- certain types of jobs the monopolies of particular Spanish-speaking groups.

It will be argued that peoples' perceptions of one other are related both to their experiences prior to migration, and to the particular characteristics of the American labor force at the lower skill levels. This analysis is based on the argument, supported by Barth, Cohen and others, that the underlying thread of inter-ethnic conflict is the struggle for control and exercise of power over critical resources as they are available to different groups in different contexts (Barth 1969:19; Cohen 1967:96).

Types of Work

General

According to information reported on the 1980 Census for New Brunswick (see table 3.1)¹, almost half of the Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick, 45%, did unskilled jobs in small and medium-sized factories, working as operators, tenders, assemblers, packers, inspectors, floor cleaners, "filler-uppers", laborers, etc. Two out of five of these jobs were at the most menial levels of unskilled labor -- laborers, handlers, cleaners, etc.; and sixty percent of the workers in this

category were men. A much smaller percent of the industrial jobs done by Spanish-speakers were skilled or "precision" tasks -- 8% -- and in this smaller category, the disproportion of males over females was even greater.

Another 20% of the Latin population worked in the service sector, mostly in food-service or cleaning and maintenance. Here also, they tended to do the poorest paid, least prestigious jobs -- working as dishwashers and salad makers in small restaurants and diners, and as janitors and cleaning persons for cleaning companies, for city government and for the University. Slightly higher status jobs in service sector -- those which involve direct contact with customers or clientele -- require better knowledge of the English language and of American middle-class culture than most of the local Latins possess. Those Latins who hold such positions tend to be young Puerto Ricans with high school degrees who have been raised in the continental United States.

According to Census figures, somewhat more Latin women than men worked in the service sector. This datum is especially unreliable, however, since many of these jobs in particular in the unrecorded informal economy, where men seem to work as often as women at such jobs as, for instance, cleaning. Restaurant-kitchen jobs are more often (but not invariably) male jobs. They have a high rate of turnover and are easily entered and left. For these reasons, jobs in these sectors are often the starting point of recently arrived Dominicans and Other

TABLE 3.1
 OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED SPANISH-ORIGIN RESIDENTS
 OF NEW BRUNSWICK

| | <u>N</u> | <u>Percent</u> |
|---|----------|----------------|
| Managerial, Professional and Semi-Professional | 180 | 11 |
| Male | 99 | |
| Female | 81 | |
| Technical, Clerical and Sales | 261 | 16 |
| Male | 94 | |
| Female | 167 | |
| Service | 325 | 20 |
| Male | 141 | |
| Female | 184 | |
| Precision Production | 140 | 8 |
| Male | 118 | |
| Female | 22 | |
| Operators, Fabricators and Laborers | 736 | 45 |
| Male | 451 | |
| Female | 285 | |
| Total | 1668 | 100 |
| Male | 929 | |
| Female | 739 | |

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population. General

Social and Economic Characteristics of the Population - New Jersey. Vol.1 Series PC-80- 1-32. Washington D.C. July 1983.
 And Middlesex County Planning Board. Labor Force and Employment Characteristics - New Brunswick. 1980. Census of Population and Housing, Municipal Profiles. Vol. 1 Part B.

Latin immigrants, especially for undocumented ones -- because they involve activities which are easily hidden from public view.

For this same reason, undocumented workers are preferred as factory workers in the smallest, most competitive manufacturing companies. Although the majority of these businesses are owned by Americans of European ethnic extraction, increasing numbers of owners are small entrepreneurs of other more recent immigrant extraction: Koreans, Pakistanis, Greeks, Cubans. These new entrepreneurs are more likely to overlook the possibly-illegal status of workers, while also exploiting their precarious legal position.

Sixteen percent of the Spanish-speaking workers in the 1980 census had jobs that might be called "white-collar" -- "technical or sales" jobs, here again women more than men (in this case, the disproportion was two to one). Many of these jobs were probably in local toiletry and clothing stores, conventionally women's work in the United States. And a remaining 11% of the Latin population did "managerial or professional" jobs, again ones that tended to have relatively low prestige within that particular category. The "managerial" occupations tended to be done by men. The "professions" were generally sex-stereotyped in a woman's direction: teaching, social work, counselling, librarianship.

Differences

Relatively few of the jobs done by these Spanish-speaking residents thus qualify as "middle-class" occupations, and most of them range from menial to very menial. Nevertheless, social status is a relative

calculation, and among persons at the bottom of an economically defined system of social class, small occupational differences can count for a great deal. In some of the occupational sectors just noted, members of the Spanish-speaking groups of different national origins in New Brunswick compete with one another directly. In others, they have found different niches, either parallel ones or status-differentiated ones.²

Thus, for instance, in New Brunswick, as in other metropolitan areas (see Cooney and Ortiz 1981; Safa 1981), the highest-status jobs possessed by Latins, the middle-class and white-collar occupations (those technically classifiable as "professional/managerial" and "technical/sales" ones), tend to be filled by Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans are the oldest Spanish-speaking population in New Brunswick. They have had the longest time to work their way up the local occupational structure; they may be more "Americanized"; and they are more likely to be educated. These particular Puerto Ricans are also less likely to live in the central city location with the rest of the Spanish-speaking residents; they are individuals whose social distance from other Puerto Ricans may be considerable.

Note, by the way, that two out of three of these relatively high-status occupational clusters (the "white collar" ones and the "professional" and "semiprofessional") are female-dominated. It is thus Puerto Rican females more than males who are doing the most prestigious work among the Spanish-speaking residents of the city. This Puerto Rican pattern resembles that of American working-class Blacks; and, as with Blacks, it correlates with the centrality of women as heads

of households among Puerto Ricans compared to other Latins (see chapter IV).

In "service" -- cleaning and maintenance -- Puerto Ricans are more likely to work for the city and Dominicans for the University. The Puerto Ricans' connection with the city reflects the modicum of local patronage they have accrued as the oldest Latin group in town. The Dominicans' cleaning/maintenance connection with the University, on the other hand, was one of the original reasons that the first Dominicans came to New Brunswick; and after that, they continued to find jobs for one another in the University through personal recommendations within their group (see below).³ Skilled factory labor is more likely to be done by Puerto Ricans -- here, more by males than by females -- once again apparently on the principle, 'first come, first served.'

The very bottom of the occupational system consists of menial restaurant jobs in the "service" category, and work in the smallest and most exploitive of the factories that operate outside the formal economy. Dominicans often take these jobs. Puerto Ricans and Other Latins rarely do.

And in the rest of the unskilled sector, in other factories, where a third to a half of the Spanish-speaking residents of the city find their livelihoods, members of all three groups, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Other Latins, come into contact and into direct competition (the Other Latins tend to resemble the Dominicans in being near the bottom of the pyramid as new arrivals. When they are undocumented, they have to

take the worst of the unskilled factory jobs. But they resemble the Puerto Ricans in considering menial restaurant work beneath their dignity).

The Dynamics of Competition

Work Ethics

The Dominicans, known for their work ethic -- of which they give lots of evidence -- are classic, optimistic, socially uncritical early immigrants. Compared to the severely depressed economy of the Dominican Republic, the mildly sluggish American economy in the 1980s -- even the bottom of it -- looks good to them. They come to the United States to make what they consider good money, in a few years, and often they succeed by their standards. Yet they have not been in the United States long enough to discover whether or not their successes will be limited, nor to have become Americanized enough so that their expectations have risen and their successes no longer seem so satisfying to them (the fact that they appear "Black" to many Americans may be one eventual impediment).

At the same time, as non-citizens and sometimes as initially illegal immigrants, Dominicans do not have the economic safety nets under them that the Puerto Ricans, by contrast, possess. And so they have to hustle to succeed. And many of them do. Many of them simultaneously work two or three jobs at once, taking virtually any employment which is available. Sixty percent of the Dominicans in my interview sample, seven women and five men, reported holding two or more jobs at one time.⁴ In their domestic arrangements, Dominicans also economize and

cooperate in ways not common among the other Latin groups. Women work as hard or harder than men outside the household. Adult family members pool their resources; a Dominican family composed of a wife, a husband, two late-teen children and perhaps a husband's brother may thus bring in the multiple earnings of five workers (see also chapter IV).

Dominicans commonly set up their own revolving credit associations (see chapter II). When a number of them find a job in a suburban factory with no convenient transportation, one of them may scrape together enough money to buy an old car (on which he sometimes saves by not investing in such irrelevancies as insurance)⁵. He then informally contracts with the others at a low rate to deliver all of them reliably to the factory on a daily basis. Someone's brother-in-law is a good mechanic and will work cheaply on the car, for money or for exchange of other goods or assistance.

As recent migrants without citizenship status, Other Latins tend to resemble Dominicans in their work-ethics, exhibiting perhaps slightly less intensity -- and not being quite as willing to take any available job. Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, tend to contrast with these two groups, both in their observed work patterns and in their apparent work ethics.

Very few of the economic arrangements practiced by the Dominicans are common among the poor Puerto Ricans of New Brunswick. For example, I know of no one in New Brunswick who have successfully set up credit associations. Their behavior within families

and other domestic settings is not as economic as that of Dominicans (see chapter IV). They are much less likely to undertake small entrepreneurial ventures. And they are much less likely to work multiple jobs than are Dominicans -- only nine percent of the Puerto Ricans in my questionnaire sample reported doing two or more jobs.

If many of the local Dominicans and Latin Americans are classic early migrants in their economic mentalities, many of the local Puerto Ricans are classic, economically and socially pessimistic examples, in their attitudes and orientations, of members of long-term American disadvantaged "minority" groups. In their current political, social and demographic characteristics, they resemble American Blacks. Thus there are among them impressive, sometimes politically conscious, often economically successful small "elites" of various kinds. The perhaps one-in-five Puerto Ricans in New Brunswick with white-collar or middle-class occupations are a local example. Beneath these "elites", on the other hand, there is a much larger 'underclass' whose chances for life-improvement seem if anything to be declining in the 1980s. Those poorer New Brunswick Puerto Ricans who are competing with other Latins for unskilled factory work in New Brunswick -- many of them recent arrivals to New Brunswick -- are the local example.

From the point of view of those who make use of it, "welfare," the various programs of Public Assistance to which Puerto Ricans generally have access both in the United States and in Puerto Rico, and to which they have had access for about twenty years, is inefficient, irritating, and run by unsympathetic, patronizing officials. But it is there for most

Puerto Ricans. It is a resource which they have and which is not available to most of the other Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick. And, as a wide range of research on Puerto Ricans and on other disadvantaged American minorities has suggested, it has apparently created psychological and economic dependence, and eroded cultural values associated with work -- in ways observable among many of the Puerto Rican residents of New Brunswick (see Blumberg 1976; Dietz 1979; Leacock 1976; Piven and Cloward 1971).⁶

Welfare is only one of the reasons for the differences between the Puerto Ricans and the rest of the Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick, however. In my questionnaire sample, more Puerto Ricans received Government Assistance than did members of other groups, but only a minority of them did so -- 30%.⁷ Other cultural differences related to the whole mixed history of Puerto Rico, and to the Puerto Ricans' sense that even if they are second-class citizens of the United States, they still are citizens. They are insiders, not outsiders. They do not have to act as if they are unwelcome guests in the United States, as many other Spanish-speaking immigrants feel they do.

Getting Jobs

As the oldest Spanish-speaking population in New Brunswick, the Puerto Ricans are distributed through the occupational hierarchy, as high as middle-class and lower-middle class occupations. And that minority of Puerto-Ricans in higher status jobs have had to qualify for them as anyone would, generally through education, language-proficiency or cultural proficiency (e. g. by becoming as fluent in English, and by

becoming almost as "Americanized" as the mainstream Whites who also qualify for these jobs) -- or occasionally through political patronage.

The bulk of recently-arrived Puerto Rican residents, on the other hand, can only qualify for the lowest of unskilled occupations. If they were among the few populations who tried for such jobs (Blacks are another), they would not have to worry much about their work habits and about the definition of same on the part of employers -- the employers would have to take them, like it or not. Such has not been the case in the New Brunswick area since the mid-1970s, however. In terms of the employment market, there has been a better product around more recently, or so many employers believe -- Dominicans and Other Latins.

If there was 'solidarity at the bottom,' Latin workers of various national backgrounds might support one another in their need to find jobs, and to keep them when found. They would downplay, and mute, differences among themselves. They would be loyal to one another as workers. But because the perceived situation at the bottom is rather different, full of evident scarcity, inter-Latin relations in the area of unskilled employment are in fact characterized by competition and by attempts at mutual exclusion.

This exclusion operates almost automatically through the process by which Latins find unskilled jobs. Because employers of Spanish-speaking workers are sometimes dealing with undocumented workers, and because they are often dealing with persons whose language they

themselves do not speak well, they are unusually dependent on the Spanish-speaking workers whom they already employ to recommend new workers to them. They also believe that a new worker will be more reliable if she or he is linked to an older one -- the older employee's reputation with the boss will suffer if the new employee does not work out, as everyone knows.

And such recommendations almost always occur within Latin groups of a given national origin. Dominicans almost always recommend other Dominicans. Other Latins, as smaller populations, often range outside their immediate groups, but they tend to stay as close to home as possible. Thus a Colombian worker is more likely to recommend an Ecuadorian or a Peruvian than a Puerto Rican or a Dominican.

Ironically, Puerto Ricans have, up until recently, apparently been more generous about 'recommending out' -- perhaps because, given the fact that some of them have much better jobs, they have not seen the lowest-status jobs as especially desirable, or perhaps because they have taken their ability to get them for granted. It is also definitely the case that some Puerto Rican unskilled workers have been influenced by the arguments of Puerto Rican activists -- that all "Hispanic" workers should be supportive of one another, irrespective of national origin.

Toward the end of my research period, however, I detected an increasing reluctance among some Puerto Ricans to recommend non-Puerto Ricans in unskilled factory labor. They were beginning to notice that the favor was seldom reciprocated. And the Dominicans were

increasingly forcing them out of work sectors which were, a few years earlier, theirs for the asking.

The second way in which Latin workers exclude, or attempt to exclude, one another from employment is through the construction and promulgation of negative cultural images -- roughly, of stereotypes -- of the routine cultural characteristics of the different national-origin groups among them.

Stereotypes

"The foremen always want to hire the best workers for the jobs. They don't consider whether you are from this country or that country. All they want is a good worker. When they ask me to do a job, I don't ask questions. Even if I don't know how to do it, I go ahead and do it. This way I show that I am willing to work and make a good impression -- that we Colombians are hard workers.

The foremen like that. That's why there are so many of us in my factory. Some people say that we've come here to take their jobs, but that's not true. We are doing the jobs they don't want to do. I've seen it. Many people, they want to start at the top or they won't work at all. That should not be so. That's why I don't believe in welfare. Welfare is shameful. It makes people lazy. It spoils them.

And another thing. We are more educated. We have better manners (mejores costumbres). We have more culture (mas cultura). We know how to behave in a foreign country. Some people say they are 'latinos,' but they don't even know how to speak good Spanish."

-- (Colombian male, translated from an interview, Fall 1984).

Among Latins as among other human beings, stereotypes serve to justify peoples' behavior and to remove the responsibility for discriminating against members of other groups -- against persons of other groups as the stereotypes themselves define them (see Lieberman

1982). In the present cases, they define the generally negative characteristics of persons in Spanish-speaking groups of national origins other than ego's.

Stereotypic definitions tend to be ego-centered and self-serving; under conditions of perceived scarcity, they define 'why my group deserves to succeed at the expense of another group.' The people who articulate them know that they are negative, inferiorizing collective images, and they often state them in somewhat indirect ways, so they cannot be held personally responsible for being openly insulting. Thus the Colombian male above never directly identifies the target of his comments -- but given the context and the attributes mentioned, it is clear that the "some people" whom he characterizes as 'lazy', 'uncultured' and 'ruined by welfare' are Puerto Ricans.

When I pressed my Spanish-speaking subjects on the reality of a particular group stereotype, they often admitted to personal exceptions to any stereotypical rule. But even the exceptions were stated in terms of the stereotype -- "Oh, yes, he's a Puerto Rican who doesn't act like a Puerto Rican."

Stereotypes are generally rooted in some aspect of perceived reality among those who hold them; without regular reality checks of some sort, they could not survive. Thus, for instance, for Other Latins to attempt to stereotype Puerto Ricans as education-hungry, overcompetitive, apolitical individualists probably would not work at present. But stereotypes also exaggerate these perceived realities and attach them to

other, more arbitrary values ('race,' 'level of culture'); they "hyperbolize" them around key oppositions which most clearly serve the self-interests of whatever stereotype-builders are at work. They are not subjected to formal critiques. Not much effort is made to explain them in other terms. They function almost solely as self-justifications.⁸

Because the work place is the primary context in which Spanish-speaking people of different national backgrounds come together and interact for long periods of time, it could be said that it is at work that people's ideas about each other are learned and become established. The work place is perhaps the central stereotype-generator within the Spanish-speaking population.

Once established, stereotypes have a momentum of their own, and they are continually reinforced through a wide range of contexts. In the following dialogue with a Honduran woman worker, the subject shows an initial polite avoidance of stereotypic characterizations; but once she descends to them, she does so more directly than the Colombian above. And, according to her account, the stereotypes are now defining reality in the factory in which she works. Given the perceived work ethic of 'all Puerto Ricans,' even a hardworking Puerto Rican could not get in the door of the factory in which she works, unless he already had a lot of influence inside the shop:

Sociologist: "How did you get your job?"

Honduran woman: "Through my brother-in-law. There are a lot of foreigners in my factory. Many of them I don't know. Chinese. The bosses are Jewish. And there are a lot of people who speak Spanish. Hondurans, Dominicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, others that I don't know."

S: "Do you have friends among any of the workers?"

H: "Just acquaintances. I keep to myself."

S: "Is there any difference in the way the supervisor treats people from different countries?"

H: "No, not really, as long as you work hard."

S: "You work with Celia [a Puerto Rican woman], don't you?"

H: "Only a little. Sometimes I'm sent somewhere else, to the packing section."

S: "How come?"

H: "Because I'm a fast person and also because I can do several jobs well."

S: "Does Celia do other jobs too?"

H: "No, she mostly just fills up the machines."

S: "Why is that?"

H: "Well, you see, we Hondurans are good workers. Dominicans too. They work like mules. I feel sorry for them sometimes. Celia is a nice person, but you know how Puerto Ricans are. Don't get me wrong, I have nothing against them. But most of them don't get past the door here. They have a bad reputation . . . They don't like to start from the bottom. They think that because they are citizens they shouldn't do the same jobs as the rest of us [Spanish-speakers]. And the truth is, Puerto Ricans are lazy. . ."

S: "What would happen if a hard-working Puerto Rican came looking for a job?"

H: "I haven't met one yet. He'd have to be very lucky and know someone inside. But even then . . . the bosses don't trust Puerto Ricans."

-- (Honduran woman, translated from an interview,
Spring 1984).

The ways in which the different Spanish-speaking groups stereotype one other reflects, in part, their contradictory interests and their differing statuses. Hence, people's stereotypes can be seen as a kind of

condensed, scurrilous language for talking about key social differences: about differences in legal statuses -- citizen vs. resident alien vs undocumented alien -- about differences in lengths of time in the United States, about differences in educations and about differences in attitudes toward work.

Recently-arrived undocumented migrants tend to be collectively self-righteous about their work ethic compared to earlier Spanish-speaking residents, who have already been hardened by the contrast between the working conditions of American low-level occupations and the expectations created by American mass culture. Migrants with higher educational levels tend to use stereotypes less antagonistically than less educated migrants. Men tend to articulate stereotypes among other men more frequently and aggressively than women do among women.

Dominicans and Other Latins, as the aggressive newcomers to the New Brunswick labor market, tend to do direct stereotypic characterizations most consistently at those they seek to displace, at Puerto Ricans. As above, Puerto Ricans are denigrated as lazy and as lacking in ambition -- as unaccustomed to hard work -- and this trait is often linked to welfare (which, the Puerto Ricans reply, the Dominicans and Other Latins would be happy to accept if they had a chance to). Puerto Ricans are also said to be loud and vulgar, and to be lacking in good manners. The relatively assertive Puerto Rican women, moreover -- somewhat acculturated to mainstream American patterns of female autonomy -- are said to be immodest, morally loose and overly

aggressive by most men and women of other Latin nationalities.

(See also chapter IV).

According to the Other Latins, Dominicans share loudness and bad manners with Puerto Ricans -- speaking loudly, carrying "ghetto boxes", etc. However, Latin Americans are more lenient to Dominicans than to Puerto Ricans, explaining that they have to behave in such ways because they are "peasants" and do not know any better -- they are "stupid."

Other Latins Americans also stereotype Puerto Ricans as lacking in (Latin) "culture." In most cases, Other Latins link this opinion to what they see as the "deterioration" of Spanish language among Puerto Ricans, to their "imitation" of American culture and the fact that they are "molletos", a derogatory term for Blacks, equivalent to "nigger".

The term "molleto" is not only used by Dominicans and Other Latins. White and light-skinned Black Puerto Ricans use it to refer to darker Puerto Ricans and to any Black American. Ironically, the term is also used by Latin people who are of African descent. African-descended Dominicans consistently classify themselves as "indios", while Black Cubans and Black Colombians recognize themselves as "prietos" ("dark ones") or "mulatos", but further distinguish themselves from "el molleto americano" and "el molleto puertorriqueno" (the American 'nigger' and the Puerto Rican 'nigger'). The term "molleto," racist in essence, thus has more complex cultural and class overtones as well (see Hoetink 1970, 1973; Morner 1970; also Pitt-Rivers 1973). From the point of view of most Latins in this country, being "molleto" not only means

being Black but also having the behavior patterns of the American urban poor.

Puerto Ricans reply by counterstereotyping Dominicans and Other Latins, though not on the whole as aggressively. They often say that Dominicans are "echaos pa'lante" and "afrontaos" ("pushy, cocky"), that they are "torpe" ("stupid" or "backwards"), and that they are greedy and clannish -- but they sometimes redefine these last characteristics as positive traits which they themselves unfortunately lack. Puerto Ricans both humor and resent Dominicans for their willingness to work hard and to be underpaid. In Puerto Rican opinion, being "torpe" is intrinsically linked to the Dominicans' rural origins. They are torpe" because they are "jibaros" ("peasants"); they lack the urban "sophistication" of Puerto Ricans.

Puerto Ricans's characterizations of Other Latins are negative in slightly different ways. They see Other Latins as "pushy" and "cunning" like Dominicans, but in addition they describe them as "solapaos" ("sly or sneaky") and arrogant. According to Puerto Ricans, Dominicans work hard because they have to and because they do not know any better, but Other Latins work hard because they are greedy. Other Latins are greedy, some Puerto Ricans say, because they come from places where valued consumer goods -- electrical appliances, furniture, second-hand cars, etc. -- are not as accessible as in the United States. Hence, Other Latins derive an undue sense of satisfaction from having access to these goods in the United States. They themselves, Puerto Ricans explain by contrast, had lived with these material goods all their lives;

to them this is just "part of being American".

The arrogance and superiority which Puerto Ricans perceive in Other Latins also has a political corollary. I often heard Puerto Ricans say that non-Caribbean Latins came from places where there was no democracy, and where people "made a big deal about differences among folks" (because their home countries were undemocratically hierarchical). Puerto Ricans contrasted this behavior to that "us Americans" who treated everyone equally, on the basis of their qualities as persons. And, just as the Other Latins have a racial interpretation of Puerto Ricans (as "molletos"), so too Puerto Ricans counterinterpret continental Latins as indios: "son solapaos como todo indio" ("they are sly like all Indians").

And finally, Puerto Ricans reply to the Other Latins' denigration of the cultural style of their women with a counterdenigration: the Other Latins are "abusive" to their own women. Puerto Rican women's styles are a combination of American styles and Caribbean styles, in which women have a certain autonomy and latitude less common in mainland Latin American culture. Other Latin women are oppressed, in Puerto Rican terms. On this point, the Puerto Ricans and the Dominicans, as co-Caribbean, are in accord -- Other Latin men are nasty and abusive to women.

The Puerto Ricans and the Dominicans tend to feel that as fellow Caribbean, they are both capable of extroverted, fun-loving behavior. They know how to enjoy themselves. Other Latins, on the other hand,

are in their opinion much too serious and stuffy.

Puerto Ricans resent the fact, however, that Dominicans and Other Latins sometimes "pass" as Puerto Ricans in contexts where it suits their purposes, in social service agencies or in selected work environments. At the same time, according to Puerto Ricans, "they stab Puerto Ricans in the back" by discriminating against them and by using negative labels to push them out of housing and jobs.

Although intergroup stereotypes have a complementary quality, the attitudes behind them are not always reciprocal. Latin stereotypes tended to be symmetrical in that, for every label that group A applies to group B (e. g. "lazy"), there is a corresponding label that group B applies to group A (e.g. "greedy") (see table 3.2 for a summary of this system of stereotypes). However, group A may apply a strongly negative label to group B without group B reciprocating in equally negative terms. And this is often the case in the exchange of stereotypes between Dominicans and Other Latins on the one hand, and Puerto Ricans on the other -- with the former group often the more assertive, and the apparent 'winners' in the exchange.

In some cases, the stereotypes can be seen as a dialogue in which opposed groups know full well what the other says about themselves, and in which a given group (especially the one that seems to be losing) reinterprets the other's stereotype of itself into a new, positive, self-image. Thus Puerto Ricans are viewed by non-Puerto Ricans as lazy and disorderly, qualities that indicate lack of self-respect. According to

TABLE 3.2

THE SYSTEM OF RECIPROCAL STEREOTYPES
UNSKILLED WORKERS: PUERTO RICANS, DOMINICANS AND OTHER LATINOS

STEREOTYPES SAID ABOUT:

| | <u>Puerto Ricans</u> | <u>Dominicans</u> | <u>Other Latins</u> |
|----------------------|--|---|--|
| STEREOTYPES SAID BY: | | | |
| <u>Puerto Ricans</u> | HONEST, EASYGOING, FUNLOVING. DEMOCRATIC. DEFEND RIGHTS. CARE ABOUT HISPANIC CULTURE. LACK AMBITION. DIVIDED. | HARDWORKING, AMBITIOUS, FUNLOVING. GREEDY. PEASANTS. <u>TORPE.</u> UNGRATEFUL. EXPLOIT ONE ANOTHER. | HARDWORKING. UNDEMOCRATIC. TOO SERIOUS. RACIST, ARROGANT, SUPERIOR. <u>INDIOS.</u> SLY, GREEDY. ABUSE WOMEN. |
| <u>Dominicans</u> | GENEROUS, FUNLOVING. LAZY, LOUD, BAD MANNERS. NO REAL LATIN CULTURE. LOOSE WOMEN. NO RESPECT FOR FAMILY. <u>MOLLETOS.</u> | HARDWORKING. CLEVER. WANT TO GET AHEAD. HELP COUNTRYMEN. FUNLOVING. MORAL WOMEN. RESPECT FAMILY. <u>INDIOS.</u> | HARDWORKING. CLEVER. TOO SERIOUS. ARROGANT, SUPERIOR. ABUSE WOMEN. |
| <u>Other Latins</u> | (same as above) | HARDWORKING. <u>TORPE.</u> <u>MOLLETOS.</u> LACK CULTURE. | HARDWORKING, SERIOUS. RESPECTFUL. GOOD MANNERS. REAL LATIN CULTURE. MORAL WOMEN. CLEVER. |

these stereotypes, not only are Puerto Ricans "lazy," but when they work they refuse to do certain jobs; it is said that they refuse to work as hard as others and that they complain a great deal about working conditions.

Puerto Ricans shrug off these criticisms, however, and justify their work attitudes as the correct ones for the American work environment. Workers should not willingly tolerate abuses and exploitation from managers, they suggest. From Puerto Ricans' perspective, other Latins are stupid, greedy, disloyal to other workers and are also lacking self-respect. Puerto Ricans do not consider Dominicans and Other Latins to be intrinsically better workers than themselves. They see them as people who either have no other choice but to be underpaid and tolerate abuses in order to survive; or they see them as too greedy to care for their self-respect.

In the words of one Puerto Rican subject:

"[Dominicans and others] say they are hard workers. Of course they have to be because they are starving in their country. That's why they come here and have to be hiding all the time. They are jealous because they cannot have the privileges that we citizens do. We don't have to put up with abuse from foremen. We are citizens. This is our country."

-- (Translated from an interview, Summer 1984)

Dominicans and Other Latins define "self-respect" in terms of their

ability to work hard under any conditions. Puerto Ricans, conversely, consider it a mark of self-respect not to allow others (e. g. bosses) to abuse you. Furthermore, they consider the attitudes of other Latin workers to be damaging to all workers. It is culturally interesting that, for these politically polarized Latin groups, an axis of stereotyping is "self-respect." For "respect" (respeto) is a central, generalized Latin value, one that probably would not be the subject of the same cultural centrality among, for instance, mainstream American small groups.

And yet, in this interchange of stereotypic perceptions and in others, Puerto Ricans are almost always less ready to express their negative opinions of others than others are to do it to them -- and this holds true for the poorer 'underclass' Puerto Ricans as well as for higher-status Puerto Ricans. Dominicans and Other Latins, on the other hand, more readily volunteer such opinions about Puerto Ricans. In addition, Puerto Ricans are more willing to agree with others about the negative labels applied to them by non-Puerto Ricans. Thus, many Puerto Ricans agree that "we Puerto Ricans" were not ambitious enough, and are unreliable about commitments to others (es. g. getting to work on time, keeping appointments). Many also agree with other Latins that their own knowledge of Spanish language and "culture" is insufficient.

From the point of view of the other groups, the fact that Puerto Ricans agree with these negative perceptions is more than sufficient proof that they (other Latins) are correct in denigrating them. And for non-Puerto Ricans, this lack of group solidarity among Puerto Ricans is in itself a negative trait and a sign of weakness.

On the other hand, non-Puerto Ricans also recognize the benefits of this trait with respect to themselves (a number of the earliest arrivals among them, for instance, were recommended into their first jobs by Puerto Ricans). And they also note, on a rare positive stereotypic note, that Puerto Ricans are "open" and "generous."

The Puerto Ricans' partial acquiescence to the negative stereotypes directed at them by other Latin groups may be related to the lack of intragroup connectedness among the Puerto Ricans noted in chapter II above. It may also be related to Fannon's and Memmy's interpretation of colonial mentalities, to the proposition that colonized populations internalize the definitions held by those who control their destinies (Fanon 1952, 1963; Memmy 1965). Low self-esteem, and the orientation of passive and overt aggression against one's own people rather than against those who oppress one -- both are well-documented psychosocial consequences of colonial relationships. Thus the structural role of Puerto Ricans as a colonized minority not only affects their external relationship to other groups, but in addition affects Puerto Ricans' self-perceptions and group behavior.

Not all New Brunswick Puerto Ricans have internalized these negative self-images, however. There is a degree of political awareness among many local Puerto Ricans, and some visible pride in Puerto Rican culture and art. In New Brunswick, this awareness and this pride is reinforced by the constant influx of island-educated people with a strong commitment to the anti-colonial movement, fueled in part by the

wavering commitment of Rutgers to a program in "Puerto Rican studies."

And the political critiques of the Puerto Rican activists find some reflection in the stereotypic logic of some of the less educated Puerto Ricans, which in ways are more thoughtful and analytic than the folk logics of the Dominicans and the Other Latins. A Dominican is unlikely to be able to go beyond a stereotypic characterization of another group -- "that's the way they are because they are Puerto Ricans," is the beginning and end of the average Dominican analysis. A Puerto Rican often has the ability to interpret a stereotypic trait with some further insight, often with a degree of empathy -- "Dominicans are like that because they are from a very poor country"; "Dominicans (or Other Latins) are like that because they have no experience with democracy."

The structure and complementarity of inter-Latin stereotypes suggests that the choice of stereotypes is by no means capricious, but rather reflects the structured existential realities of each group. For instance, Puerto Ricans' stereotypes of other Latin groups, while reflecting a distinct cultural style, revolve primarily around the perceived and real threat that the presence of Dominicans and Other Americans represent to their own access to jobs and other resources. In this context, Puerto Ricans retaliate by using their citizenship as a weapon against people from other groups; and they have been known to report undocumented workers from other Spanish-speaking groups to immigration offices.

Similarly, the notions that Dominicans and Other Latins have about

Puerto Ricans's attitudes towards work reflect their own present and past work experiences. Dominican peasants in the Dominican Republic work an average twelve-hour day for a maximum daily wage of \$4.00, and thus in their own terms correctly perceive their new earnings in the United States -- however low by American standards -- as a radical improvement. Also, the high unemployment rates in Santo Domingo and other Latin American countries make the idea of rejecting any kind of work in the United States incomprehensible to most Dominicans and to Other Latins.

Consequences

At the time I was doing research for this dissertation, the work-related stereotypes about the differences between different Latin groups -- strongly articulated by the Latin workers themselves -- reinforced by observable work habits and attitudes which at least occasionally coincided with the stereotypes, were having an unmistakable negative impact on the employment of Puerto Ricans in jobs that required the lower skill levels. The non-Latin bosses of the factories and maintenance companies which employed Spanish-speaking workers expressed disdain for certain "eccentricities" of Latin culture found among workers of all national backgrounds (strange foods, bright colors in clothes, the preference to stick to their own kind rather than to get to know the "Americans" who could teach them something). But these supervisors also expressed an almost universal preference for the "mature" and "dedicated" workers coming from Latin America, Cuba and the Dominican Republic -- over Puerto Ricans.

As a result, the bosses were often willing -- in the absence of a recommended worker -- to take on an unknown Dominican or Other Latin, without a recommendation; but even a Puerto Rican worker with a recommendation often had a hard time finding a vacant job. Nor in every case could higher-level Puerto Ricans help them out, on the 'in-group' principles that had worked in the past or that work in other groups.

Wanda, for instance, was an assistant floor-supervisor in a vitamin "laboratory" (actually, a small factory), the only Puerto Rican in an industrial supervisory position whom I encountered during my fieldwork. Her lab had just been relocated in New Brunswick, from northern New Jersey, and she had been recommended to her job by relatives who had worked in the previous location. She supervised the packaging of vitamins, and assigned workers to different tasks according to the daily production needs. As the only bilingual person on the supervisory staff, she was instrumental in finding Latin employees as production expanded.

The lab began operating on one eight-hour shift using six packing employees, all of them women: three Puerto Ricans, two Phillipines and one Mexican. By the time I met Wanda, production had increased to the point where she was alternating shifts and supervising between twelve and fifteen employees on each shift. By now, about half the Latins were Dominicans and the other half were a mix, including a few Puerto Ricans.

I asked Wanda how she made her hiring choices. She said that as

long as she had openings she took anyone who applied, and that employees always knew someone else who needed a job. I then asked her why there were so many Dominicans and so few Puerto Ricans; and I even told her I would have expected her to favor Puerto Ricans. She said that the first Dominicans were recommended by a Puerto Rican worker. After that, the Dominicans kept bringing more friends and relatives, exclusively Dominicans. The factory was expanding, so they got the jobs. "Did any of the Puerto Ricans workers ever recommend other Puerto Ricans?" I asked. She answered with an interesting case history:

". . . Yes they did, but it's not always easy for Puerto Ricans to keep a steady job. I had a couple of good workers, but they had kids, and when the bosses wanted them to work overtime, they couldn't leave the kids alone. . . . Also they had trouble getting a ride home during the night shift. . . . so I had to let them go.

At first it didn't bother me that I was hiring so many Dominicans, but now I would think it over more. Back then I just thought, 'These are people who need jobs -- they have a hard time because they are illegals.' At first I was very pleased with the them because they don't miss a day. They are fast workers too, and this made me look good to my supervisors.

After a while the boss got smart and told me, 'We are only taking Dominicans from now on.' I didn't like that. I don't mind being a supervisor if I can get jobs for other Hispanics, but I wasn't going to keep my own people out. I had arguments with the boss about it. He said that now that he was expanding he needed fast and dependable persons. What he really meant was fast and cheap. People worked hard enough for their money before, but these small factories just want to get more and more work out of people without increasing the pay. Now with so many Dominicans they can do that. They work fast and keep their mouths shut.

What I really don't like is that Dominicans gang up against everyone else. They stick together and they keep making nasty remarks about Puerto Ricans and other people too. I just don't like it".

-- (Translated from interview, Fall 1985)

Soon after this interview, I lost contact with Wanda. I had asked her if she could help me get a job at the lab, and she said she would try -- but I never heard from her again. Three months later, I found out accidentally that Wanda had left her job a couple of months earlier as a result of disputes with her supervisor over hiring practices. A Dominican woman now held the position. Significantly, this woman was a highly atypical Dominican, an urbanite with a considerable amount of English, rather than a rural migrant.

If the Puerto Ricans seem to be definitely losing out to other Spanish-speaking groups in the economic competition at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy, the balance tips back in their favor at the higher levels -- at least for now. For Puerto Ricans, or at least a small number of them, are more likely to know English, and they are also more likely to be technologically proficient, than other recent Latin migrants. In some ways, for middle-class Latins, class solidarity becomes more important than Latin sub-group identity. Lower-middle class Puerto Ricans, for instance, will often side with lower-middle class persons from other cultural backgrounds against poorer Puerto Ricans on issues such as public behavior and work attitudes. And middle-class Latin Americans who have immigrated in the past will distance themselves from some of younger Latin American migrants arriving more recently from poor urban areas, whose attitudes -- in the opinions of the older Latin Americans -- resemble those of United States-raised Puerto Ricans.

Though networks and patronage are still important in the

acquisition of middle-class jobs, especially in the face of racist discrimination on the part of mainstream Americans, other 'objective' qualifications do matter as well. One is now much less likely to be competing with other Latins for scarce economic resources. This, combined with the fact that 'open prejudice' is not exactly the mark of middle-class good manners, means that the intra-Latin stereotypes become far less salient, and far less negative when they are articulated among the middle-class.

If middle-class Latins have roles as Latins, they are likely to be spokespersons for their whole "community," following political styles to be analyzed in chapter V. If they still tend to favor persons from their own national or regional backgrounds, they must do so quietly; they can hardly advertise their tendencies by articulating the older, nastier stereotypes. Thus middle-class Puerto Ricans may refer to themselves, in passing -- articulating the benign "Caribbean" theorem in the older stereotype set -- as more extroverted, exuberant and fun-loving than Latin Americans. And middle-class Latin Americans may reciprocate amiably by referring to themselves -- compared to Puerto Ricans -- as reserved, calm and serious. Both, in so talking, have now become real middle-class Americans. Both, like other contemporary middle-class Americans from other backgrounds, now have their own "ethnic identities."

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1. As is true for other Census data on Latins, in the case of labor statistics as well, the size of the Latin labor force is likely to be under-represented. This is especially true due to the proliferation of informal and unregulated economic activities such as small sweatshops, home assembly and production of goods, and the subcontracting of services. All these activities absorb most of the undocumented workers, as well as other 'legal' portions of the Spanish-speaking labor force.
2. These characterizations of intra-Latin occupational differences are based on information gathered on my questionnaires and in participant-observation; and many of them were widely known in general terms to the Spanish-speaking residents of the city.
3. The near-monopoly of the Dominicans in jobs in the University, at least among those Dominicans resident in New Brunswick, was apparently very strong during the periods of my research. More recently, however, the University seems to have been hiring more broadly through the local Latin population.
4. Sometimes this meant a fulltime job and a part-time, do-it-yourself job such as door-to-door salesmanship. Sometimes this meant two full-time jobs. Sometimes it meant a full-time job and two part-time jobs.
5. If something unfortunate happens, the owner simply disappears back to the Dominican Republic for a few months; and there are half a dozen other "Jose Santanas" in the local Dominican population, and no one is too sure about who is who when outside investigators start poking around.
6. It is difficult to write about Puerto Rican work patterns in an honest way without appearing to "blame the victim," without apparently confirming the attitude of many social reactionaries toward "welfare cheats" and toward "the welfare mentality." I can only say that I see the patterns characterized here as the structural consequences of a particular political history, in which mainstream Americans have played a long-term, effectively repressive and often racist role. Nor is there is anything 'essential' about the present work-ethic of the Dominicans and the Other Latins -- they are not somehow just 'naturally' better workers. If either of these groups acquired the second-class citizenship of Puerto Ricans tomorrow, and then discovered over one or two generations that in fact only a small number of its members could make any headway in the American economy, members of either of these groups would in all likelihood develop the same mixed, ambivalent economic and political attitudes as contemporary inner-city Puerto Ricans.

7. 10% of the Dominicans and 20% of the Other Latins also reported varying amounts -- workman's compensation, social security, public assistance when their children had the status of American citizens.

8. The logic of stereotypic thinking can be amazingly circular and unfalsifiable. Dominicans and Other Latins claim they are good and sober workers, and worry about drug-use in their young people -- which they see as a Puerto Rican trait they wish to avoid. In visiting some factories which had no Puerto Rican workers in them anymore, however, I became aware that marijuana was in use, and that many of the older workers were drinking on the job. When I pointed this out to non-Puerto Rican subjects, however, they turned the observation around and claimed that the young Dominican and Other Latin workers would not have learned to smoke marijuana if the Puerto Ricans had not been in the factories at one time -- and that this was all the more reason to keep excluding them. As for drink on the part of the older workers: "Well, you need to fortify yourself to work long hours at hard physical labor."

..

Chapter IV

FAMILIES

If the work place, or unskilled factory labor, is where Latins from different national backgrounds come together and compete, family life is where they segregate -- where, for the most part, they only associate with their own kind. There is an incidence of intermarriage between members of different Latin groups -- 15% in my sample, more than half of which were marriages in which Puerto Rican men had married Dominican or Other Latin women. In all but one case, these intermarriages were between people who had lived and met elsewhere before coming to New Brunswick.¹ These exceptions aside, however, the Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick marry or have married in, with persons from the same Latin group as themselves.

In ways, the ensuing family cultures of the different Latin groups are similar, or are more like one another than any of them is like current mainstream North American family patterns. To some degree, it is possible to outline an 'all-Latin' ideal of family life which various Latin groups and persons approximate to varying degrees. Within such resemblances, however, there are also important differences in family culture among the Latin residents of New Brunswick. Some of these differences the residents have brought with them from their countries of origin. Others have emerged in the complex interactions between the different Spanish-speaking groups of New Brunswick, or are the product of the adaptations which these immigrants have had to make to the

realities of poverty-stricken, inner-city life in the United States.

And, as they do with one another's work-habits, the Latin residents of New Brunswick have also constructed a strong set of stereotypic beliefs about one another's comparative family-cultures -- about those typical actions and attitudes which differentiate 'one's own group' from 'Latins of other national origins' when it comes to sexuality, marriage, children, relations to wider kin, etc.

All over Latin America and the Caribbean, family is both a source and a symbol of identity and of social esteem. In the United States, family may become even more salient for the esteem of Latin migrants, as other sources of status are often stripped away by generally inferiorizing conditions of immigration. If, for reasons of the labor market, most poorer Latins seek to differentiate themselves from one another by national group, one of the principal icons of these intra-Latin differentiations, therefore -- one of the essences of those things which make one's own group superior to other Latin groups -- must be matters of family.

What, then, are these similarities and these differences in Latin family patterns? And what in particular are the common stereotypic conceptualizations of intra-Latin family differences on the part of the local Spanish-speaking resident of New Brunswick, New Jersey?

The Latin Family

Though there are many regional and class variations, the upper- and middle-class family all over Latin American tends toward a particular ideal. This ideal is based on some version of the old Spanish patriarchal family, in which women are subordinated to men and presumably confined to the domestic activities. In public at least, men are supposed to make all the important family decisions; and a man's respect (respeto) outside and inside his family is based on his ability to support his wife and his children economically. His respect in the eyes of others -- of other men in particular -- is also based on his demonstrated authority over his wife, and in many cases on his virility and his machismo, on his skill at insuring the faithfulness of his own wife and the virginity of his daughters, while at the same time managing sexual liaisons with the wives and daughters of other men, often those of lower social classes. Latin macho amounts to an intense double standard -- male sexual freedom (and intense intra-male competition) combined with female subordination (see Pitt-Rivers 1968; Steward 1956).

Latin women, on the other hand, though they may be experts at the subtle manipulation of men, and though they may exercise considerable covert power within the family (Stevens 1973), are expected to defer to men in public. And their own respect, the status of the family as a whole -- and that of the men in the family -- all are dependent on their discrete, ideally chaste sexual behavior. Women should be virgins at marriage and thereafter faithful to their husbands. Their public behavior should never lead to malicious gossip. Inside the

family, they should be good housekeepers and they should bear children, preferably male children. Eventually, as mothers with strong emotional ties to male offspring, their covert power is often enhanced. As in other patriarchal cultures, the role of mother is the most highly valued role a woman can attain to in mainstream Latin culture, often -- in these strong Catholic nations -- being identified with that of the Virgin Mary herself (Stevens 1973).

A wide range of anthropological and sociological work has demonstrated, however, that this patriarchal Latin ideal, though it is generally culturally prestigious through the social hierarchy, does not conform to the lives of families in the lower socioeconomic classes in many Latin American and Caribbean nations. For this domestic ideal depends largely on men having access to occupations and other sources of income substantial enough to permit them to be the sole economic supporters of their wives and families. Men do not have this economic position at many class levels, especially at the lower levels. Women's labor outside house and family then becomes essential to the economic survival of the family (Brown 1975; Flora 1973; Gonzalez 1976; Lomnitz 1977; Rubbo 1975; Safa 1974, 1985a). And with women's work tends to come higher levels of female autonomy outside the household, and of female authority inside the family (see Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1983, Nash and Safa 1985, 1976, Padilla 1956, Safa 1974, Steward 1956).

The middle and upper-class family ideals, however, prove amazingly enduring, and among many of the poor Latin families who were the subjects of my research in New Brunswick -- among families in which

women's labor is invariably essential to family maintenance -- these ideals were still in effect, at least in terms of the articulated values of the families, the public faces which these families presented to the world.

With respect to the role of women, one last Latin distinction should be mentioned initially here -- one that tends to distinguish Caribbean cultures from other Latin American cultures. Historically, Caribbean class structures have perhaps been more systematically dependent on women's labor outside the household, or at least on certain forms of it, than have Latin American class structures. Plantation economies, for example, have been much more salient in the Caribbean than elsewhere in Latin America -- with the exception of in some coastal regions of Central America and some South American countries -- requiring, domestically, long male absences for plantation labor, leaving women alone, on their own, to manage their lives and their families. The Caribbean has also arguably been more influenced by African cultural traditions of female autonomy than has the rest of Latin America. As a result, Caribbean cultures -- while still, in the last analysis, generally valuing male authority in the family -- have traditionally allowed women more latitude in their public and sexual behaviors than have mainland Latin American cultures.

Latin Families in New Brunswick

In spite of the belief of many local Latins that their family lives differ in systematic ways, there are many daily family customs and routines which they have, to varying degrees, in common -- and which

distinguish them from mainstream Americans. My American-born husband, for example, whose "ethnic background" is white-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant, cannot easily tell the difference between Puerto Rican and Dominican family culture. And, before including him on a dinner-visit to a Latin household of either national background, unless I brief him carefully, his American notions of family etiquette may violate either Puerto Rican or Dominican notions in similar ways.²

As is common throughout Latin America, Latins in New Brunswick prefer to have their main meals towards the middle of the day, but since American schedules make this impossible, they try to have their big meal in the late afternoon instead, as soon as possible after the children arrive home from school and parents arrive home from work. The basic staples are coffee, rice, beans, plantains, potatoes, beef and pork. Spicing and cooking styles resemble one another but there are regional preferences for particular foods. The use of corn and corn products such as tortillas and tamales, for instance, is more prevalent among Central and South Americans, while Caribbeans have a greater preference for roots such as yucca, cassava, sweet potatoes, etc.³

Although overcrowded apartments are the norm among the Latin residents of New Brunswick, most people's homes are neat and clean, and their overcrowded spaces tend to look tidy and well-organized. Furniture is generally bought on installments at the local stores, and is covered with plastic to prevent damage. Colors, styles and favorite art forms are rather different than those of the American middle-classes -- bright, vivid, realistic art objects, for example, which "well-bred"

Americans have been taught to disdain, are very popular. Latins and older American ethnics from European backgrounds, however, may resemble one another more in these tastes.

Latin families seem to be much more tolerant of noise than middle-class American families. The decibel level of normal talk is much higher. Family members and visitors do not worry about the etiquette of 'turning-taking' in the way middle-class Americans do ⁴; in most Latin homes in New Brunswick, Spanish radio and television stations are turned on loudly most of the time. Some people in a room carry on family conversations in loud voices; others drift back and forth between attention to the conversation and attention to the television. Spanish soap operas are favorite background entertainment.

Generally, men talk with men and women talk with women. It is not expected that people will have easy common interests across the lines of gender, though people will often listen in on opposite sex talk, politely or with joking comments, when they have a chance to do so.

Children are expected to be much more respectful toward their parents and toward other adults in Latin families than are mainstream American children, and ordinarily they are -- sitting quietly in conversational groups with adults, not speaking unless spoken to by elders, in ways most American children would find entirely incomprehensible. Age-respect continues into adulthood; a Latin man or woman will treat a senior relation with the same respect, under ordinary circumstances. At the same time, Latin family culture is not ordinarily

stratified into age-segregated groups to the extent that mainstream American family life is in the 1980s. If a Latin family with children visits another Latin family with children, the children are not immediately introduced to one another and then sent away to play on their own. Rather, it is assumed that they will want to sit around with the adults for a while, and then to make their own plans for themselves. And at Latin family parties, the children may try to stay up all night -- as the adults do at a good party -- and they often expect to be included by adults in games and dancing, etc.

Children are a source of great pride to most Latin families, an investment for the future, evidence -- if numerous -- for macho Latin males of their potency. Lots of child-swapping goes on among relatives, and the exact boundaries of a given family and a given household are often hard to determine in terms of which child lives where, or who is visiting whom at the moment. And even among the poorest households, parents put a great deal of effort into sending their children to school neat and clean.

Latin children, in the United States as in Latin America, are expected to help with household chores; and girls in particular are given cooking and child-care responsibilities from early age, especially by working mothers. It is not uncommon for working mothers to expect a ten-year old girl to cook a full meal for her brothers and sisters when she arrives home from school, and to have them fed by the time parents arrive from work. Latin parents are generally concerned about the negative influences of the outside world on their children -- and they

are especially alarmed at popular American adolescent culture. The greatest restrictions are placed on girls, of course. Regardless of economic position and family structure, all parents attempt to guard a daughter's virginity. However, should a girl become pregnant, family is in the end more important than virginity, and she and her child are often accepted in the family without stigma if efforts to marry her to the father's child fail.

For upper- and middle-class Latins, a woman must be married in the church in order to be respected. Among lower-class Latins and, once again, among local Spanish-speaking residents from Caribbean backgrounds, however, there is a great deal more flexibility. Trial marriages in which a couple lives together before actually committing themselves to marriage are quite common. And though women in particular may desire a church wedding, there is no strong social disfavor attached to common-law marriages -- some of which can last a lifetime -- or to the practice of serial monogamy (See Brown 1975; Rubbo 1975; Safa 1974; Steward 1956).

Latin families often extend beyond the conventional ties of kinship and marriage. Co-parenthood (compadrazgo), the ritual bonds between the parents and the god-parents of a child, brings additional members into the kin group, who are then accorded the duties and privileges of relatives (see Mintz and Wolf 1950). A friendship which has been proven over time to be worthy of trust can also take on a 'fictive kin' quality even without the official rituals of co-parenthood. Thus longtime friends can refer to one another as "co-mother" or "co-father"

("comadre" or "compadre"). Many of the Latins of New Brunswick conserve these amenities. They try to live near relatives and family-like friends, and they depend one another for help and support. And co-parenthood is especially strong among all Dominicans and many Puerto Ricans.

Latins, like many people with recent links to rural life, can also be considered "familistic" in the sense of having established patterns of support and mutual aid among their family members -- narrowly or widely understood. The family is expected to offer protection, advice, guidance, nurturance, and support during periods of major crisis as well as during everyday life. These patterns are strong enough that so that collective needs often take precedence over what mainstream Americans would consider individual ones.

Spanish-speaking immigrants to the United States often have to adapt these familistic patterns -- which have developed in the more flexible time-frames of their more rural societies -- to the exigencies of a strictly, rigorously scheduled industrial culture, however, to negotiate them around the requirements of work schedules and household responsibilities under conditions of urban poverty. Hence little family socializing takes place among working adults during the week. When childcare is done at the homes of relatives living elsewhere in town, parents -- usually, but not always, mothers -- occasionally stop for a quick cup of coffee, and then rush home to look after the rest of the family. Those who work outside the home dedicate weekends to house cleaning and maintenance, food shopping, laundering and errands.

Most men are reluctant take a hand in these tasks, even though the women have often been working as hard or harder outside the household than the men during the week. Occasionally young husbands, and those who have lived here in the United States for several years, cooperate with shopping and laundering in public laundromats, on the grounds that these two things are at least outside-the-household activities. Cooking, cleaning, ironing, and the care of small children, on the other hand, are in local Latin culture still left entirely in the hands of women. A man at a stove, for instance, is an utter anomaly (at least among Dominicans and Other Latins).

One way mothers manage to stay home and also to earn some money is to do childcare, for small fees, for other mothers. Quite a few of them also combine care of their own children with industrial piecework in the household, with the assembly of small manufacturing goods for nearby factories. This industrial work is unusually exploitative, even within the parameters of the lowly-paid unskilled work which Latins do outside the home. It is, nevertheless, a way for women with small children to do what virtually all poor Latins in the United States must do -- combine various economic strategies in order to cope economically.

Latins of any national background who attend church see relatives and friends regularly on religious occasions. Pentecostals generally see more of one another than active Catholics, because Pentecostal religious gatherings take place several times a week rather than just on Sundays.

For active Catholics, Sunday mass is the focal point of family gatherings. After attending religious services, relatives generally visit each other. During the summer, they may prepare picnics which they take to local public parks, and they may attend local baseball or soccer games. Among poor and working class Latins, men's sports and these picnics aside, leisure activities which require exercise, 'roughing it' or extended stays in nature are a cultural curiosity known to be to the tastes of certain Americans -- but not considered normal Latin pleasures⁵ (see also chapter V).

During the cold winter months, people gather for Sunday supper -- occasions when women have more time to socialize with each other and to exchange useful information about work, school or church-related issues. Men, on the other hand, sit in front of the television and watch sports events, or they play cards, dominoes and bingo on the kitchen table. Women are as likely to participate among these games as men among poor Latin families; but, in upwardly-mobile families, the sexes differentiate out more strictly, and these activities tend to turn into exclusively male leisure culture.

All Latins celebrate special occasions such as baptisms, weddings, birthdays, First Communion, Saints Day, etc., with family feasts and dancing which can last till through the night. Guest at these festivities include relatives and fictive kin. Only very rarely do such affairs include guests from other national groups -- perhaps a very special friend known over a long period of time through church or through work, for instance. For the most part, however, these family festivities,

like the family itself, are in-group affairs; they mark, even if they are done in similar ways from one Latin group to another, the boundaries and divisions between persons of different national or regional identities among the Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick.

Family Structures, and Other Domestic Arrangements

Families

The family and other domestic arrangements of the Latin residents of New Brunswick are not easily categorized by type or by subtype. About the only simple rule for understanding them is a negative one. Older American social science concepts -- middle-class based -- of the so-called "nuclear" family (father and mother, with children, residentially and economically separate from others, etc.), are simply too simple-minded to deal with the complex sociological realities of the Latin family.⁶ Rather, these Latin families represent the different ways in which the immigrants have reconciled fluid residential styles initially designed for rural and urban non-industrial life with the highly nucleated living imposed by modern urban society. They present the same problems of simple typologies which anthropologists have repeatedly found in dealing with Caribbean and Latin American rural kinship systems, especially among poorer people.

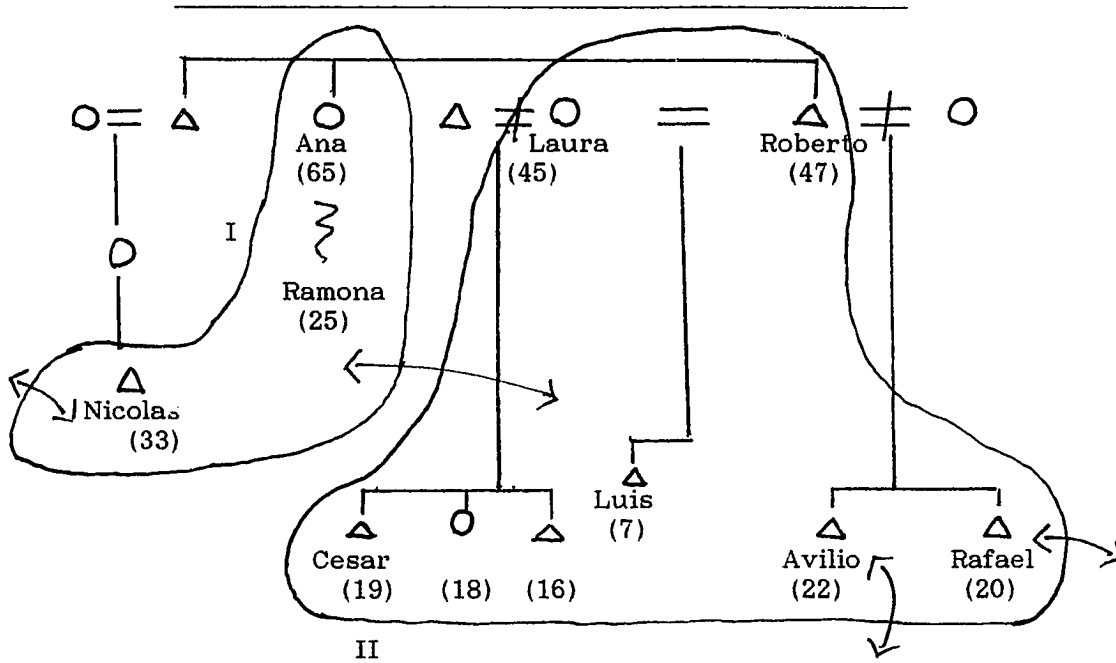
Thus some Spanish-speaking residents of the city, especially the longest term residents in town, live in three- and even four-generation families -- some headed by couples and others by women alone. Some live two-generation units, one-parent or two-parent headed, with extended kin nearby. Some live in big and small units with kin by blood

or marriage or by "fiction" who are not in parent-child relationships. Some, mostly new immigrants, live in childless adult groups of women and men (see below). Other live as boarders in any of the above units. And an unfortunate few, live as a last resort alone, in impersonal rooming houses.

Nor are the boundaries of established families always clear. It is not uncommon for a person to eat in one household and to sleep in another, or for children to spend from a few days to a few weeks at a relative's home nearby when the need arises. Family members can arrive from other towns or other countries at a moment's notice and stay for varying amounts of time. And the boundaries between close kin, more distant kin and non-kin are not always predictably or strictly construed.

Consider, for instance, the not-atypical immediate family of Ana⁷, a woman in her late 60s, roughly sketched in diagram 4.1. Ana was born in the countryside, but as a young adult she worked off-and-on as a maid with several middle-class families in a nearby large city. She never married, but she had seven children, by four different men from her own social class. Most of her children were farmed out to her relatives to be raised. One of her younger brothers, Roberto on the diagram, was among the first Latins to come to New Brunswick, in the mid-1970s. A son of Ana's also came to New Brunswick at about the same time, and then brought Ana. He was subsequently killed under mysterious circumstances. During the time of my research, Ana lived in a tidy apartment in a rundown old building in the historic "Hiram Market" section of New Brunswick, currently slated for destruction

DIAGRAM 4.1
ANA'S FAMILY



Symbols:

I: persons in the same household with Ana
II: persons in the same household with Roberto

△: male
○: female

=: a marriage
≠: a broken marriage

┌: a sibling tie

△
○ : a parent-child tie

(18) : age of person shown
} : Godparent-Godchild

↔: Persons who regularly change household

as part of inner-city "revival." In the same apartment with her lived Ramona, a god-daughter of hers, and Nicolas, her grandnephew. She cooked for Ramona and Nicolas, who made financial contributions to household expenses, and for one or two elderly men who lived elsewhere, not shown on the diagram. Her grandnephew Nicolas was thus in her immediate family household in New Brunswick, but the rest of his immediate family, his wife and children, lived elsewhere.

Ana's younger brother Roberto lived in another apartment in an old building two blocks away (since destroyed -- now he lives further away, in "The Projects", also slated for eventual destruction). With him lived his second wife, Laura, who was also in her second marriage. The two of them had one child in common, Luis. On days when they were both working, Luis would go to his aunt, Ana, who would feed him and would often kept him with her for the night. Another five children of Roberto and Laura by their respective first marriages lived with them off and on: Cesar and his two younger brothers; Avilio, who was in the army but lived with his father when he was on leave; and Rafael, who spent about half the time with Roberto and half the time with his natural mother in New York City.

Normally, these two household units were separate cooking units, though any member of one was welcome in the other when food was on the table. Childcare was done jointly between them, and assistance in times of crisis would be indiscriminately rendered among persons in either unit, or by other close kin in other households in New Brunswick -- not shown on this simplifying diagram.

To narrowly typologize the complexities of Latin families such as these is to misrepresent their essential fluidity, their adaptiveness, and the creativity with which the local Latins bring "family" to bear on a tough, complex, every-changing set of personal circumstances. To give some sense of the range and distribution of different sorts of Latin families, however, the following things can be said about them, crudely, at a typological and quantitative level.

The 78 Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick whom I interviewed lived in 66 residential units. Sixty-three of them lived in houses or apartments, all but two with other people (always with other Latins, generally of their own national origin). Fifteen of these units were in houses, all of them owned by at least one of their Latin residents (seven of the owners were Puerto Ricans, three were Dominicans and five were Other Latins). In addition to the two persons who lived alone in apartments, three also lived alone in rooms in boarding houses (see table 4.1).

Sixty-one of the houses and apartments thus contained living groups of more than one person. Eleven of these living units I am calling "adult groups," to be described in detail below. The other fifty can be considered "families" or parts of families. Most or all of their members were in some way related by blood or marriage or strong

TABLE 4.1
TYPES OF RESIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENTS --
THE NEW BRUNSWICK LATIN SAMPLE

| | |
|---|-------|
| 1. Alone in Boarding Houses: | 2 |
| 2. Alone in Apartments | 3 |
| 3. In Adult Groups ¹ | 11 |
| 4. In Family Groups in Apartments or Houses | 50 |
| | <hr/> |
| | TOTAL |
| | 66 |

¹. Two of these were in houses owned by those who ran them.
Nine were in apartments.

fictive kinship; and they tended to cooperate economically in ways to be described below. 62% of these families were two-generational, generally composed of one or two parents with dependent children (see table 4.2). 68% of these two-generational families had two parents in the household and the remainder were single-parent households. Nine out of ten of these single-parent, two-generational families were female-headed.

The remaining 38% of the fifty total families were multi-generational, by which I mean that they contained persons of three or more generations. Ten of them, or 53%, centered on a married parental couple (but then also either included a younger couple -- a married child and spouse -- or single parent, or a mother or father or aunt, etc.). And nine of them (47%) were single-headed (again, all but one female-headed).

Curiously, the relative proportions of single-headed and dual-headed families in the sample were exactly the same as the cross-cutting proportions of multi-generational verses two-generational families -- 32% vs. 68% in both instances (see table 4.2).

The divisions between two-generational and multi-generational households should not be taken too literally, however, for extended outside-the-household kinship relations are in fact the rule in most two- and three-generation Latin families in New Brunswick. Of the persons who placed themselves in one of the 50 families, less than 1 in 4 had no

TABLE 4.2
 TYPES OF FAMILY UNIT
 THE NEW BRUNSWICK LATIN SAMPLE

| | <u>Two-parent</u> | <u>Single-parent</u> | <u>TOTAL</u> |
|------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| Two- generational | 21 (68%) | 10 (32%) | 31 (100%) |
| Multi- generational | 10 (53%) | 9 (47%) | 19 (100%) |
| TOTAL | 31 (62%) | 19 (38%) | 50 (100%) |

other relatives in the town of New Brunswick outside these families. 78%, on the other hand, were linked in one way or another to other local family units.

Among my Puerto Rican subjects, for instance, thirteen persons indicated that they lived in biparental, two-generational families, in apparent "nuclear families" (a married couple and their children). In more than half of these cases, however, there was a mother in a nearby apartment who was as involved in care of the couple's children as the parents themselves, and with whom all kinds of other family sharing (cooking etc.) occurred. And several more of these two-generation households had an extra real or fictive family member of the same generation as the married couple living in the same unit with them.

How do these rough family types distribute among the different national-origin groups of Latins in New Brunswick? Of fifty families identified in the sample, 31 were Puerto Rican, nine were Dominican and ten were Other Latin^a (see table 4.3). When cross-cut even by simple dimensions, these numbers become so small, especially for the Dominicans and the Other Latins, that they lose statistical significance -- but they are worth noting in any case. Seven out of nine of the Dominican families were multi-generational, a higher percentage than is the case with Puerto Ricans (ten out of thirty-one) or Other Latins (two out of ten). The high Dominican percentages may be related to the fact that Dominicans are more economic about housing and family life than

TABLE 4.3
 FAMILY COMPOSITION
 (TWO-GENERATION VS. MULTIGENERATIONAL)
 THE NEW BRUNSWICK LATIN SAMPLE
 BY NATIONAL-ORIGIN GROUP

| | <u>Two-generation families</u> | <u>Multigenerat- ional families</u> | <u>TOTAL</u> |
|---------------|------------------------------------|---|--------------|
| Puerto Ricans | 21 (68%) | 10 (32%) | 31 (100%) |
| Dominicans | 2 (23%) | 7 (77%) | 9 (100%) |
| Other Latins | 8 (80%) | 2 (20%) | 10 (100%) |
| TOTAL | 31 (62%) | 19 (38%) | 50 (100%) |

other local Latins (see below) -- more willing to pack more persons (and thus more generations) into a given household unit. And a Puerto Rican "two-generational family" with a mother in another apartment a block away is not necessarily much less multi-generational in the way it works than a Dominican family with three generations in a single apartment.

As for single- versus bi-parental households, 42% of the Puerto Rican households in my sample, 13 out of 31 -- whether they were two-generational or multigenerational -- were headed by single parents, 12 out of 13 by women. In the remaining Dominican and Other Latin families, single-headed households were somewhat less common, but not much less common -- 31% (three out of nine Dominican families and three out of ten Other Latin families), all by one female-headed⁹ (see table 4.4)

A third intra-Latin difference when it comes to domestic arrangements was not a matter of subtypes of the family narrowly construed. Rather, it has to do with the incidence of what I am calling "adult groups" -- none of which were Puerto Rican, and all but two of which (9 out of 11) were constituted by recent Latin immigrants from the Dominican Republic.

Adult Groups

As indicated in chapters III and IV above, the Dominicans are the

TABLE 4.4
 FAMILY COMPOSITION
 (TWO-PARENT VS. SINGLE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS)
 THE NEW BRUNSWICK LATIN SAMPLE
 BY NATIONAL-ORIGIN GROUP

| | <u>Two-parent households</u> | <u>Single-headed households</u> | <u>TOTAL</u> |
|---------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| Puerto Ricans | 18 (58%) | 13 (42%) | 31 (100%) |
| Dominicans | 6 (67%) | 3 (33%) | 9 (100%) |
| Other Latins | 7 (70%) | 3 (30%) | 10 (100%) |
| TOTAL | 31 (62%) | 19 (38%) | 50 (100%) |

most recent of the larger Latin immigrant populations to come to New Brunswick. Local economic conditions, however bad by American standards, tend to look much better to Dominicans than conditions in the Dominican Republic. Nevertheless, the Dominican Republic is where most of them want to wind up, with the money made by working as hard as possible in the United States.

As a result, Dominicans have patterns of migration quite different from those of many other Latin residents -- circular or rotating patterns. Some Puerto Ricans move back and forth between Puerto Rico, New Brunswick and other East Coast cities, but generally with less planning and with less sense of an ultimate destination. And many Other Latins are economic or political refugees from their countries of origin. Many Dominicans, on the other hand, move so regularly between the Dominican Republic and the United States that, during their years in New Brunswick, they can really be said to live in both countries.

They often come to New Brunswick, first of all, in stages. A woman may arrive first, on her own, with the help of a relative living in New Brunswick -- there is no particular preference for male-first migration among the Dominicans. Her husband may remain in the Dominican Republic, especially if he has land to look after.¹⁰ If they have small children, a female relative may be left in charge of them in the Dominican Republic, in exchange for a monthly payment, or for a promise of help should this person want to migrate later on. Sometime later, when the wife has established herself in town, she may be joined by her husband. When he is established, she may return to the

Dominican Republic for some time to take charge of her children. While there, she may then make arrangements to bring other family members back with her -- a sister, a brother or a child if he or she is of working age.

And eventually she may bring her small children to New Brunswick, even though the intense, two- and three-job working schedules of most Dominican women and men in New Brunswick makes it especially difficult for women to look after small children. For many Dominican parents miss their children badly when they are in the United States, and they do not want them to grow more attached to their care-takers than to themselves. Also, it is generally easier to obtain residential visas for children than for adults. Sometimes Dominican parents bring young children to New Brunswick temporarily, to obtain resident status, and then take them home again until they are old enough to come back to the United States for work. Resident visas can also enhance their chances to make a good marriages when they grow up¹¹.

In any case, their circular migration patterns mean that there are often Dominican adults of both sexes coming in and out of town on rotating bases, sometimes with spouses, often without -- and often without children. It is not easy for them to establish conventional family units under these circumstances. Yet it is too expensive, and too lonely, to live alone.¹² So instead, Dominicans (and in two cases, Other Latins) set up living units not unlike those set up by rural migrants in urban settings during earlier historical period (see Hareven 1982, Tilly and Scott 1978).

Adult groups are homes-away-from-home, not "families" but family-like units, transitional groups for recent immigrants, tolerable living arrangements until they can bring enough of their immediate family members into the country to set up what most of them would rather live in, their own family-based households. The adult groups may be seen as one end of a continuum that begins when established families take in a few extra boarders for a profit, as in the case of Ana's family above. As pure cases, however, adult groups are comprised almost entirely of complexly related adults with no parents-and-children at the core of them, and with various links of kinship, fictive kinship and friendship among them.

Altagracia's adult group, shown in diagram 4.2, is an example. At one point when I knew the unit well (it is the nature of these groups to change rapidly), it consisted of the following persons and relationships:

-- Altagracia, who rented the apartment, paid all the bills, and collected room and board from all the other people in it.

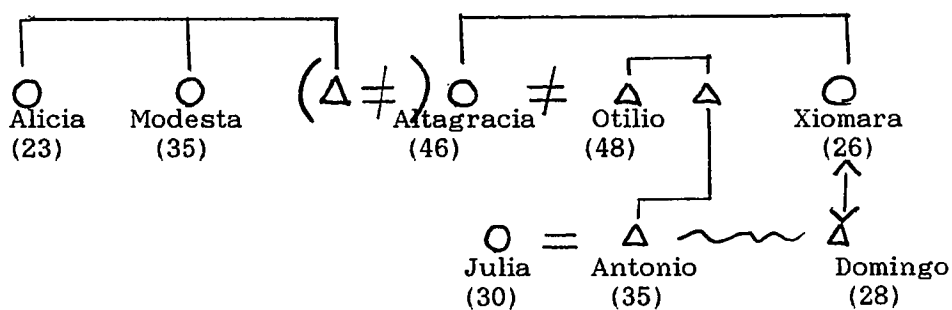
-- Her younger sister Xiomara, who shared with Altagracia the cooking duties, for everyone else in the group.

-- Two sisters of Altagracia's first husband (no longer around), Modesta and Alicia.

-- Altagracia's second husband, Otilio, and his nephew Antonio.

DIAGRAM 4.2

ALTAGRACIA'S ADULT GROUP

Symbols:

The same as in DIAGRAM 4.1 except:

~~~~~ : relationship of friendship

↔ : relationship of laundry-doing, later of marriage

( ) : persons not living in the units

-- Antonio's wife Julia, and a friend of Antonio's, Domingo.

In addition to their assorted kinship links, all the members of Altagracia's adult group were from the same small, rural town in the Dominican Republic. Most of them had known one another before, therefore, or had at least been the friends of friends.

In Altagracia's group as in other such groups, one senior person, often a woman, was in charge. The adults ate together, or as much together as their various work-schedules permitted, and provided one another with company and with a certain amount of mutual aid (especially the vital initial contacts for brand-new immigrants). Cooking aside, the men had to make their own arrangements for other female services, such as laundry and ironing. In Altagracia's group, Domingo -- after attempting to get Julia, Antonio's wife, to do his laundry (it was her marital duty to do it for her husband, but not for her husband's friend) -- made a financial arrangement with Xiomara to do it. And later, they married one another.

Space-use in adult groups (and in Latin families in general in New Brunswick) is unbelievably efficient by North American standards. Altagracia, for example, squeezed her eight residents into a two-bedroom apartment.<sup>13</sup> She and her husband curtained off a section of the living room as their sleeping area. When he was single, Domingo slept in a cubby-hole attached to the hallway. As the other married couple, Antonio and Julia had one of the bedrooms; and the other three women shared the other bedroom. When one of the husbands of Alicia

or Modesta visited from the Dominican Republic, however, a shower curtain was hung down the center of Antonio and Julia's room, and the temporary couple shared it with the married couple. The same arrangement was made after Domingo and Xiomara married.<sup>14</sup>

Adult groups are family-like units of sociability for those who live in them, but they are also economic arrangements. From the point of view of the boarders, the adult groups are a far better deal than any alternative in expensive, housing-poor New Brunswick. At the time of my research, a boarder paid around \$210 a month, for housing plus coffee with plantains in the morning and one large meal a day. The hard-working, economizing women who ran the groups, on the other hand, could make a profit of \$75 - \$100 per month per boarder.

With the profits, plus the money they made at the job or jobs they did outside the household, the women or married couples who ran these adult groups often supported remaining family members in the Dominican Republic, covered expenses for arranged marriages and other costs of bringing more relatives to the United States. At later stages, migrants also used their savings to buy land in the Dominican Republic, on which they eventually built a home -- or they increased the size of their landholdings and built or bought more houses if they already were owners. If they had brought other family members in, they might also use their profits to buy a house in New Brunswick, and build rooms into the basement. Now the family lived upstairs and the boarders lived downstairs -- and, in the rough-and-ready categories I am using here, the unit then shifted from an "adult group" to "two- or multi-

generational family" plus boarders.

There were intermediate forms as well. The residential unit of which Teresa and her husband Samuel were the heads also consisted of three unmarried sons in their late-teens and early 20s, two married daughters whose husbands and children were back in the Dominican Republic, and two unrelated boarders. Teresa and her husband had not started by running an adult group, however. Two of their older sons had come first to New Brunswick, on their own, and initially lived in other adult groups. Then Teresa had done the same. Finally Samuel had arrived, and the four of them had at that point come together in a family unit. The other family members and boarders had subsequently attached to this family unit (I'm classifying this unit, somewhat arbitrarily, as a two-generational family above).

As for Altagracia, it was not clear that her household would ever make the shift from adult group to family. When she was first in the United States, she had collected unemployment benefits for a short time, without knowing that this made her subject to considerably more scrutiny when she tried to bring her five children into the United States from the Dominican Republic. So far, she had not succeeded. She and her husband were making money, between their adult group and the three jobs the two of them held. She worked in an egg-processing plant washing eggs, and as a cleaner three or four more hours a day; he worked in a factory that makes cardboard boxes.

At the time of my research, Altagracia said she wanted to invest

her profits in land back in the Dominican Republic. If she found a way to bring her children to the United States, however, she could easily change her mind, buy a house, and move toward the establishment of a somewhat more permanent family unit in the city.

Why are adult groups confined to Dominicans and to a few Other Latins, and not found among the Puerto Ricans of New Brunswick? First of all, the adult group is a living strategy for the early migrant. No well-established resident likes to have to endure its inconveniences -- and the Puerto Ricans of New Brunswick are usually among the older migrants, some of them with degrees of economic success (after which, most Latins of all national backgrounds are generally unwilling to share intimate living space with non-relatives). Second, many Puerto Ricans do have a "welfare floor" under them, for the most part, and to some degree can perhaps manage without the degree of daily-life economizing that the adult group facilitates. Third, because a number of the Puerto Ricans do receive public assistance of some sort or another, their household arrangements are subject to outside scrutiny -- they have to be more careful about living with non-relatives, and about profiting from such arrangements.

And fourth, adult groups come together among Dominicans because Dominicans are practicing chain migration into New Brunswick. They have available to them lots of other Dominicans known on a local-level in the Dominican Republic -- persons with whom one is willing to live closely. They are also return-migrating on a regular basis, making the adult group a handy way-station; it is both easier to leave and easier to

join an adult group than it is to set up or terminate a family living unit.

The Puerto Ricans of New Brunswick are not nearly so interrelated, and not quite so circularly migrant. It is possible that, on the other hand, that among the poorer, more recent Puerto Rican immigrants to Perth Amboy, the locus of real chain-migration from Puerto Rico, adult groups are found.

Padilla has written about Puerto Ricans who arrived in New York during the 1940s and 1950s, migrants who in many ways resembled the Dominicans currently coming into New Brunswick -- they were from rural backgrounds; their family structures were more obviously patriarchal. Among these older Puerto Rican populations, the sorts of mutual aid and support -- and perhaps living groups like the current Dominican adult groups in New Brunswick -- were much more common (Padilla 1958:127-31).

#### Economic Styles

The careful blend of economic cooperation and economic individualism that characterizes Dominicans in their adult groups also operates on an adult-to-adult basis inside the Dominican family. And here, once again, the Dominicans (and Other Latins) tend to contrast most sharply with the Puerto Ricans.

Consider the contrasting financial arrangements within two apparently similar multi-generational, two-parent households, for instance

-- the Santanas, who were Dominican, and the Vegas, who were Puerto Rican. Both lived in the same Black-and-Latin neighborhood in downtown New Brunswick. Both shopped in the same little Dominican-owned bodega for emergency items. Members of both families were equally committed to "family" as they understood it; in many ways, it seemed to be the most important thing in their lives. Yet neither family knew the other. And the two families operated quite differently, in economic terms.

The Santanas consisted: of Lidia and Juan, both from the rural Dominican Republic, both in their late 30s; four unmarried children ranging in age from 8 to 22; one married daughter and her common-law husband; Lidia's mother; Lidia's mother's younger brother; and two adult boarders, one of whom was a godchild of Juan's. Lidia held two jobs (maintenance worker at the university; cook in a local Dominican restaurant); Juan held two jobs (cleaning work in a shopping mall; housekeeping at a hotel); the older children worked after school; and every other adult in the household had at least one job.

The adult family members did not pool their incomes, not even Lidia and Juan (many Dominican couples in New Brunswick kept their own separate accounts). However, they had a careful system of personal savings and of household contributions. Lidia's mother stayed home, did the cooking, cleaning and laundry. Lidia collected \$60 a week per person toward rent and household expenses. She also personally supervised individual savings, demanding that all the adults in the household -- with the exception of Juan and her mother -- show her



their bank books regularly to make sure they were all putting aside a certain amount every week. Juan's godchild was not a legal resident and could not open a bank account. Accordingly, Juan had opened two, one for himself and one for the godchild.

Given their joint resources, the Santanas could easily have afforded to buy a house in New Brunswick several years ago. But this was not their plan. Their plan was to build a house on some land they own in the Dominican Republic.

The sort of strict economic planning done by the Santanas was typical of virtually all the Dominican families I knew well. Family sentiment did not enter into economic relationships. Once you could earn money, you started helping out, and you started looking out for yourself.

The Vegas -- Puerto Ricans -- were a slightly less complex family unit than the Santanas. Rosa and Benito were also in their late 30s, from urban Puerto Rico, both with ninth-grade educations. They had four children ranging in ages from ten to twenty. The oldest was married, and he, his wife and their baby lived in the household. The Vegas owned their own home. Two boarders lived in rooms in the basement. Benito worked in a packaging company. Rosa earned money taking caring of children in her home (she also looked after the baby of her son and daughter-in-law, for free); and she did piecework at home for a nearby factory on a part time basis. The second-oldest son worked after school in a local supermarket; and the married son and

daughter-in-law had fulltime jobs.

But though the combined incomes of all the wage-earners in the household was in the vicinity of \$45,000 a year in 1984, the Vegas -- unlike the Santanas -- always seemed on the edge of financial crisis. For with the Vegas, as with many other Puerto Ricans, the rules of economic exchange within the family, and outside, were much less formalized and money-centered than with the Dominicans. Puerto Ricans tend to have an easy-going, generous economic culture which states that you should help others without expecting material rewards, whenever others need help. It is good when others return the favor; but expectations of material reciprocity are not the reason you give help in the first place. Puerto Ricans see themselves as generous; this generosity is important to their self-images. And it is particularly expected between family members.

Thus, with the Vegas and with other Puerto Rican families, relatives from out-of-town might (and did) appear out of the blue at any time. They might stay for months. And they were rarely asked to donate a fair share toward household expenses while they were staying with the family. Relatives might show up among the Dominicans as well, but they usually did so with advanced notice or planning; and as soon as they were able, they began to make the same contribution as any other household member.

And the Vegas, like other Puerto Ricans, seemed to have a much harder time extracting contributions from their own grown children.

Rosa and Benito offered their son and daughter-in-law a room so that they could save money and find an apartment of their own. They had lived in the household for two years at the time I knew them. Though the two of them were making about half the income in the household (around \$22,000), they were not saving much of it. They had recently bought a new car. And together, the two of them made irregular contributions to household expenses totalling around \$150 per month. The Dominicans, by contrast, would have extracted about \$480 a month from two working adults in addition to a child-care fee.

The Vegas even had difficulty being strict with their boarders. One of them was injured at work, and had a hard time collecting disability or unemployment for some weeks. During this period, the Vegas felt that they could not possibly demand rent from him.<sup>15</sup>

Unlike a number of Puerto Rican households, the Vegas were not especially dependent on public assistance<sup>16</sup>. Other Puerto Rican households were -- eight out of 31 families were entirely dependent, and another 9 partially. Some of these families made good use of this money. Others were less rational about their internal economies -- products, it appeared, of longterm economic dependency within a U.S.-type consumer culture. One such Puerto Rican family was that of Carmen and her daughter.

Carmen was 43 when I knew her, a single mother who had come to the United States sixteen years ago after separating from her husband -- because she could not make enough as a cook in Puerto Rico. Now

she lived with four of her children and one grand-child in a three-bedroom apartment; and a daughter of hers, also a single mother, lived in an apartment downstairs, with two small children. For all practical purposes, the residents of these two apartments operated as a single household, with constant shifts and sharing of food, clothes, childcare and sleeping arrangements.

Neither Carmen nor her daughter had steady jobs when I knew them. Carmen suffered from diabetes, and from "nerves" (nervios), a condition related -- she said -- to the fact that her seventeen-year old son was killed in a neighborhood fight three years ago. And she feared that the same thing would happen to her younger son. Both she and her daughter survived almost entirely on public assistance. Though it would be difficult to live decently on the amount money they received even if the two of them had been efficient in the use of their money, they were not. Carmen cooked Latin food daily, but her daughter spent much of her food allowance on soft drinks and other non-nutritious food bought on a piecemeal basis in expensive local bodegas. Dominicans, as well as many other Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, generally arrange one way or another to get a ride to the less expensive supermarkets which "revitalizing" New Brunswick now locates only on its suburban peripheries.

Carmen and her daughter were at one extreme among the Puerto-Rican female heads of household. Only four out of nineteen of the Puerto Rican single mothers actually lived entirely on Public Assistance. Seven worked fulltime and did not receive any kind of government aid.<sup>17</sup>

Eight combined public assistance with a variety of jobs: child-care, house-cleaning, assembly of factory goods at home; working in factories under assumed names. The sorts of jobs done by women on assistance have to be hidden. Accordingly, the official appearance is sometimes created that women in this category, single mothers on welfare, work less than they actually do.

Consider the case of Paquita. I had known Paquita for several years. She was a 52 year-old lady raising two grand-children on her own. She moved from New York City to New Brunswick in the late 1970, after her son and his wife died of a drug overdose. As a guardian for the children, she receives Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) money. Although she was not in good health, and she knew very few people when she first arrived in New Brunswick, she always managed to provide a stable home for her grandchildren. She is unable to work outside the home, but she does piecework assemble for a nearby factory at home. She also does take care of other children, and in emergencies she raffles money or appliances among her neighbors.

Paquita does not own a car, but in order to save money in food and other necessities, she exchanges childcare for car rides to the supermarket and other more distant stores. The traumatic experience of losing her son to drugs has made her very zealous with her grandchildren, whom she insists on accompanying to and from school every day. She has also enrolled the children in a after-school program run by one of the local churches. Although by her own admission, she is not a religious person, Paquita visits the church regularly to "make

sure that the children are kept in the program."

As a rule, in any case -- compared to Dominicans in particular, Puerto Ricans (like most mainstream Americans) -- consider it somewhat indecent to mix family relationships with strict economic calculations. And Puerto Ricans are more likely -- with lots of variation -- to convert money immediately into consumer goods that to save it against future plans. In all probability, this tendency of some poor Puerto Ricans is related to the long-term dependency of poor Puerto Ricans on what they themselves call "Wilfredo" (welfare).

And, as was the case for different behaviors in the work place, here too with these family behaviors, these and other tendencies are picked up, and highlighted, in the stereotypes that the various Latin groups construct as boundary-maintaining beliefs with respect to another.

### The Stereotypes Revisited

When talking conversationally about other Spanish-speaking groups, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and Other Latins articulate certain stereotypic views of one another's family lives -- images which, like the work images, exaggerate certain broad inter-group differences at the expense of the group described, and to the advantage of the speaker's group.

Thus Puerto Ricans, drawing on relatively Americanized notions of the relations between the sexes, make fun of Dominican patriarchy. "In my house I wear the pants" (En mi casa yo llevo los pantalones) is considered a typical Dominican male's talk by Puerto Ricans. This

somewhat old-fashioned notion of male supremacy, according to the Puerto Ricans, has to do with Dominicans being rural folk, peasants -- del campo, "from the countryside." Other Latins, on the other hand, with their particularly strong double standards with respect to males and females, are seen by Puerto Ricans in more negative terms -- as simply abusive and disrespectful in their attitudes toward, and treatment of, women.

Puerto Ricans are also aware of the economic relations between Dominican adults in families and in adult groups -- and they criticize Dominicans for being so uncivilized as to exploit and make money from their own kin. Hence Paquita, who is respected by her Dominican neighbors for being unusually entrepreneurial for a Puerto Rican, is quick to distinguish herself from the Dominicans.

"Puerto Ricans are humble people . . . we were not born to be rich. If we were, we could act like Dominicans, exploit everyone, even our own families, and make money fast . . . . But the Puerto Rican heart is not like that. I work hard because I have these two children to look after, but I don't take advantage of people. That's not right, because when you are poor, you always need others, especially your family. That's why we Puerto Ricans always help others, because we are poor and we need each other all the time. And we are happy this way."

( -- Translated from an interview, Fall 1984).

As is the case when it comes to work, however, Puerto Ricans are the targets of more negative stereotyping when it comes to family than are Dominicans or Other Latins. Dominicans and Other Latins see the Puerto Rican family as especially disorganized, and to some degree, Puerto Ricans agree with them. Focussing on the higher incidence of female-headed households among Puerto Ricans, non-Puerto Ricans say

that Puerto Rican males are happy to get their own women pregnant, but that then they are not men enough to look after their children -- that they are "shameless" (sin verguenza) and "irresponsible" in allowing the government to take over their economic responsibilities. They also say that Puerto Ricans lack a commitment to marriage, that the Puerto Rican family is "loose" -- whereas Dominican and Other Latin families are "close-knit," members of these other Latin groups claim.

Finally, some non-Puerto Ricans say, the Puerto Rican family is unstable because Puerto Rican women "do not take their proper place in the family." Puerto Rican women refuse to keep house properly, it is said; they spend a great deal of time in the streets, they have loose sexual morals, and they clearly lack respect for the authority of men. Puerto Rican women are also blamed for being unduly attached to their mothers; their loyalty to their mothers interferes with their loyalty toward their husbands (and with their willingness to submit to their authority).

Dominicans and Other Latins give Puerto Ricans some credit as well, however -- for their generosity, for the fact that many of them do go to extraordinary lengths on behalf of relatives poorer than themselves.

As with the work stereotypes, the family stereotypes have a certain rootedness in observable reality, some of it indicated above. There is a higher incidence of female-headed households among the Puerto Ricans of New Brunswick (and of other parts of the country) than there are



among Latin groups of other national backgrounds. Sociologists and anthropologists widely agree that this has to do with the pauperization of Puerto Ricans both on the island and on the mainland (Dietz 1979, Safa 1985a). Attempts by the Puerto Rican government since the 1960s to counteract the persistence of male unemployment by offering various family subsidies have undoubtedly created psychological and economic dependence, have eroded cultural values associated with work, and have diminished the essential role of men as economic providers.

The same syndrome is found among many other disadvantaged minorities (Leacock 1971, Piven and Cloward 1971). And some of the Puerto Ricans I knew in New Brunswick themselves recognized this association between "Wilfredo" and weak male attachments to families of women and children.

At the same time, the stereotypes tend to de-emphasize the occurrence and the significance of counterinstances. There are also female-headed households among Dominicans and Other Latins. Many Dominican "marriages" in particular are actually common-law arrangements. Others are "business marriages" (matrimonios de negocio) related to the acquisition of legal residence status. I heard through gossip within the Dominican population that a few of the Dominican women in New Brunswick who took the greatest pride in being "respectable" married women, obviously superior to the average unwed Puerto Rican mother, had themselves had (in terms of these judgmental values) sexually dubious backgrounds in the Dominican Republic.

And Dominican female-headed households are very common among the lower socio-economic sectors in the Dominican Republic. These families do not become visible in New Brunswick for the simple reason that Dominican mothers cannot easily come to the United States with their children. Instead they must leave their children behind with relatives, and migrate alone.

And when I compared all the women's life-history material in my interviews, in fact, I discovered that over half the women across all the groups had been married two or more times. 'Commitment to marriage' was in fact no more discernible among Dominican and Other Latin women than among Puerto Ricans. The difference was that Dominican and Other Latin women were more likely to live in families with their husbands, while married; and were more likely, in public at any rate, to defer to their husband's formal authority.

Stereotypic thinking also rarely represents any attempt to rethink differences in terms of alternate cultural values -- making them, instead, simple matters of obvious personal degeneracy. What looks like sexual "looseness" and unwomanly assertiveness to Dominicans and Puerto Ricans is not unlike the sexual autonomy and egalitarianism which is the goal of many American women.

With their wider experience as independent economic agents, and their longer familiarity with mainstream American culture, some Puerto Rican women simply play less by 'traditional' Latin women's rules. They are not afraid to argue openly with men. Like many American Anglo-

Saxons, they do not assume that women should only talk to women, and men to men. They are not afraid to express opinions on "unwomanly" topics. They are even willing to make "romantic" overtures toward men whom they fancy. 'A woman who behaves like that,' according to Dominicans and Others Latins, 'must be Puerto Rican. No decent Dominican (Ecuadorian, Honduran etc.) would do a thing like that.' From the Puerto Rican point of view, on the other hand, these behaviors have to do with female self-sufficiency and autonomy.

And some non-Puerto Rican women who have a chance to escape male authority do so as well, and then follow 'Puerto Rican' patterns. One such case was Emilia. When Emilia was 18 years old, her father had arranged a good marriage for her with a "visado" (a legal resident) in the United States. Although she was not the only single daughter in her family, Emilia says she was chosen for the marriage because she was "bonita y de buen color" ("pretty and of good color" -- she has light skin and straight hair). After she obtained her visa and arrived here, however, Emilia divorced her husband and went to live with another man.

Emilia is very outspoken about her views on men and on male authority -- even in front of Francisco, the man she lived with and the father of her two small children. He was present during part of this interview.

Emilia: "I have no interest in getting married. Francisco here says we should get married so that the children can have his name. I tell him he can give the children his name if he wants to. I don't really care one way or another."

Sociologist: "How do you feel about this, Francisco?"

Francisco: "She is telling the truth. She tells me that all the time. She should be ashamed of it but she is not. To be honest, I want to marry her for the children, but I don't really trust her. Since we have been together, she has left me twice already. We cannot continue this way."

E.: "And I would do it again if I wanted to. You are not the only one who can run around and stay away from home whenever you want to. I can do it to."

Sociologist: "What does your family in Santo Domingo say about all this?"

E.: "They say they are very ashamed that I am so irresponsible. But I really don't care. I know all they want is for me to make another good marriage so that I can help bring my brothers and sisters here. They cannot support them there. I try to help if I can, but I am not going to tie myself to anyone in order to do it."

-- (Translated from an interview, Winter 1984).

Emilia eventually left Francisco permanently. When I last met her, she was receiving public assistance and was working at night at a local candy factory. I asked her if she did not regret her decision not to marry Francisco. She said that life was harder this way, but at least she did not have a man telling her how to live her life.

One last point should be made about the stereotypes. Listened to in themselves, they imply a timeless 'natural' difference: "Dominicans respect the family"; "Puerto Rican women are loose." In fact, they are closely related to the stage of immigration in which each group finds itself. It was noted above that, quite possibly, the sorts of economic uses of family now common among the Dominicans once characterized the Puerto Ricans, earlier in their movement to the northeast United States (chapter II).

Conversely, the proletarianization which has affected the Puerto Ricans and the Puerto Rican family for a generation or more may be starting to have an impact on other immigrant groups, especially as they become internally stratified. Already, some of the poorer families among the longest-term Dominican residents of New Brunswick are beginning to exhibit, with late-adolescent children who have grown up mostly in the United States, some of the sorts of "family disorganization" which according to the stereotypes are uniquely Puerto Rican.

## ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

1. Intermarriage rates among different Spanish-speaking groups vary a great deal. The ones in New Brunswick are relatively low, an index, perhaps, of the newness of Latin residence in the town. A study of marriage patterns among different Latin nationalities in New York City indicates that Puerto Ricans and Dominicans are less likely to marry members of other groups -- about 30 percent marry out -- while Cubans, Central and South Americans have a much higher rate of out-marriage, near 60 percent. These New York figures are for much older Latin immigrant groups, however, and include second and third generation out-marriages. Even in the second and third-generations, however, Puerto Ricans continue to have the lowest out-marriage rate of all Latin groups (Gurak 1981).
2. About, for example, how long one appears before an invitation and about how long one sits around after (a total visit of five to six hours is usually optimum), or about what one talks about or jokes about, and with whom.
3. Even among the Latin middle classes in the United States, these food preferences hold up. According to a report in The New York Times in spring, 1987, an American supermarket chain in southern California has, for the first time, begun specializing in the tastes of American Latins. The market is reported to stock much more food in bulk than the ordinary American supermarket, much less "convenience food" and much less "diet food."
4. American working class patterns may resemble Latin patterns when it comes to family talk. See Paul Fussell's satiric contrast of "middle class" and "high prole" in his book on social class (Fussell 1983).
5. My Costa Rican mother, for example, believes that my American husband's "bird-watching" expeditions are really just a cover for the sort of amorous adventures which most married Costa Rican men consider their right, and she cannot believe that I am evidently taken in by so transparent an excuse. Upwardly mobile, Americanizing Latins, on the other hand, often do mark their changing identities by taking up hobbies such as weight-lifting, jogging and camping.

Among working class Latins, even 'sport' does not potentially bring persons of all national-origin groups together. Caribbean males, for example, are passionate about baseball, while Latin American males give the same attention to football

(soccer in American terms). Dominican men, out of their hardworking peasant background, enjoy watching sport but wouldn't consider engaging in it. They get enough exercise in work.

6. With the increased complexities generated by middle-class American serial monogamy in the 1980s, however -- step-relationships, joint custody, etc. -- the American mainstream family has come to resemble "third-world" patterns much more than it did back in the heyday of modernization theory, when anything but the nuclear family was often taken as an index of 'backwardness.'

7. Ana happens to be Dominican, but I am not emphasizing her national-origin group in this example, for this sort of family could as easily be found among Puerto Ricans or other Caribbeans as among Dominicans. It would be less likely among Latin Americans, however.

8. In the case of intermarriages, it was usually possible to make a clear judgement as to which group the couple had married into -- about which set of relatives tended to incorporate it more clearly. The out-marrying Puerto Rican males, for instance, were usually incorporated into their wives' Dominican or Other Latin families. There was one instance of a Dominican woman with no close relations in town, however, who had married a Puerto Rican and in most ways was incorporated into his family.

9. The high percentage of female-headed households is another index by which Puerto Ricans tend to resemble American Blacks more than they do other Latins. As noted in chapter 2, in 1980, 23% of the "Spanish-origin" households in New Brunswick were reported to be female-headed, without other breakdowns (see table 2.2). And in the same year, the state average for all "Spanish-origin" families was 25%, ranging from Puerto Ricans (36%) to Mexicans (21%) to Other (17%) to Cubans (14%) (see table 2.6). Nationwide, in 1982, the Puerto Rican average was reported as 45%, verses the Hispanic norm of 23%.

10. One reason for woman-first migration is the following tactic for acquiring residence status in the United States. A woman comes in with a visitor's permit and then overstays her legal period in the United States, leaving her husband behind in the Dominican Republic -- perhaps a common-law husband whose relationship to her is not well documented back home. Meanwhile, often through friends and relatives here, she arranges for a pro forma marriage with a Dominican male who has resident status in the United States, in exchange for money. Marriage to him -- with whom she rarely lives -- then gives her resident status. Whereupon she divorces him, and brings in her common-law husband on the strength of her resident status.

Complications can ensue. If she is carrying a child by her

husband in the Dominican Republic, and if the child is born while she has her pro forma marriage with the Dominican in the United States, for the rest of his life the child is likely to carry the pro forma father's name -- an affront to the macho sensibilities of most Dominican husbands.

11. For a detailed study of the economic aspects of marriage arrangements and migration see Pessar 1982.

12. The saddest Latin immigrants are the few males living alone in rooming houses or apartments. As males, they will not or cannot cook for themselves. They yearn for home life. And they particularly speak of their cravings of regular Latin food, and for Latin conviviality.

13. When I first met Altagracia, she had a larger, three-bedroom apartment, into which she was shoe-horning eleven residents.

14. In New Brunswick, this crowding is somewhat ameliorated by the fact that many of the adult-group members are on different work schedules. Many of them thus rotate through the sleeping spaces. Also, Latins who work in restaurants some distance from New Brunswick often sleep over in the backs of the restaurants on a regular basis.

Anthropologically, it should be noted that middle-class American notions of the space-requirements per person are almost unheard of, outside the elite, in the third world. Especially in tropical parts of the world, where most living goes on out-of-doors, peasants commonly divide up internal space this intimately as a normal practice. And urban third-world slums are even more crowded.

15. Another Puerto Rican biparental family is worth describing to give a better sense of family variation within each national-origin group. The Torres struck me as one of the better adjusted, more stable young Puerto Rican couples I knew. Lucy and her husband Junior were in their late twenties, both Puerto Rican-born, both brought to the mainland as children. They had married young, and had three children, aged 12, 8 and 5. Both of them worked as operatives in the nearby Squibb company. Their salaries were not high -- their joint income might have been about \$22,000 in 1984 -- but the jobs were better than alternative unskilled work, in sweatshops, for instance. They had held these jobs for eight years, and hoped to continue to do so indefinitely.

Like many other Latin parents in New Brunswick, Lucy and Junior were frustrated with New Brunswick's public school system and with its housing. They would have liked to send their children to a parochial school, but they had decided against it because they wanted to save their money to buy a house eventually. They were fortunate at the time I knew them to live in Government-subsidized housing, which allowed them to save more money than most families with their joint income.



They had their share of family problems -- an epileptic child who required special treatment and childcare, not easily found among their relatives and neighbors. Yet they were among the few parents to participate regularly in the Bilingual Parent Council (see chapter 5), and they took an active interest in their children's education, visiting teachers, and structuring study hours for their children at home with some care.

Household responsibilities in the Torres family were also more equably distributed between Lucy and Junior than was common in many other Latin families. Although Lucy took care of basic housekeeping, Junior frequently helped cook, made beds, shopped for groceries and looked after the children when Lucy was otherwise engaged. Most Dominican and Other Latin husbands expect to be served hand-and-foot in their homes. Junior -- and many other Puerto husbands -- tended to be much more self-sufficient around the house.

The Torres' family day was Sunday. After attending Catholic church, they would cook a special meal and have relatives in -- or they would attend such a meal at the home of relatives. They were both aware of how hard it was to maintain a stable family life under conditions of urban poverty. As Junior put it, in Lucy's presence:

"You don't just have to deal with your own poverty. You also have to deal with the poverty of others . . . your family, your friends. You see your relatives with problems, and you know it could happen to you anytime. You lose your job, you get sick or have an accident, your kid gets into bad company. That's all you need, and your family life begins to fall apart. We're just lucky, right, Lucy?"

( -- translated from an interview, Summer 1985)

16. They did receive small social security payments, to help with one of their children, who was mildly retarded.

17. An example of one of these Puerto Rican mothers was Ivette, a woman in her late-thirties, who managed to keep a stable family life intact for her four children, without welfare, after her husband was killed in a car accident. At first she had received public assistance, but as she explained:

"They always made me feel so cheap. I was so humiliated whenever the social workers kept asking me about my personal life. 'Where did I get the money to buy the new kitchen table?' 'Did I have visitors?!' 'Did they spend the night in my apartment?'

I just knew what they were after when they asked me that. They think every mother on welfare is a whore. There's no use telling them off. Of course I have visitors. My mother visits me, and my sisters, and nephews and friends. And yes, I have men friends who visit. That doesn't mean I go to bed with them or

that they support me. But it doesn't matter what you tell them. They never, never believe you. So you have to lie.

After a while, I said to myself, 'If this is the price they want for the little help they give, I'd rather have me and the children eat shit!'"

-- (Translated from an interview, Fall 1984)

When I first met Ivette, she was working nights as a cleaning lady for the University. Her English proficiency was not great, but she knew her way around the city, and during the day she earned some money acting as an interpreter for people who knew even less English than she did. She also earned some money driving people around on errands. She did this in a beat-up station wagon which she had learned to repair herself.

Ivette was loving but strict with her children. Her oldest daughter, an eleven-year old, came home during the school lunch-hour and cooked a dish like rice and beans, which the family would eat together before Ivette went off to her work in the University after 3:00 in the afternoon. Ivette cooked a meat dish such as beef stew (carne guisada), to go with the rice and beans, between her daily errands.

Like Lucy and Junior Torres (see note 15), Ivette considered her children's education essential. Since her work schedule prevented her from supervising homework on a regular basis, she assigned this task to her older son, aged fourteen. But she visited teachers regularly and kept up with school events. She kept her job in the University in part so that her children would have the chance to attend college tuition-free.

Unlike many other single parents, Ivette seemed to have no difficulty exercising parental authority. Her attitude toward life had a lot to do with her success as a mother. Within economic limits, Ivette was in charge of her own life, and her positive attitude was clearly transmitted to her children. Her older children occasionally got mad at her strict demands, but they also clearly loved and respected her. Because all of them worked so hard, Ivette was very careful to allot time for family leisure whenever she could. She would take the children to a park for a picnic and a game of softball during summer months, and she encouraged her children's musical ability. Her eldest daughter was especially gifted, and on weekends, family and friends would gather to sing and dance.

Yet, like other poor Puerto Ricans, Ivette regularly received unexpected visits from relatives, which disrupted the delicate balance she had established. On one occasion, a younger sister separated from her husband and arrived for a three month stay with two children. During their stay, the atmosphere in Ivette's small apartment became distinctly tense, and her children's grades dropped.

As I sat at the kitchen table one afternoon helping the children with their homework, I asked Ivette if it wouldn't be wiser, for her childrens' sake, to ask her sister to leave. The moment I spoke, I knew I had put my foot in my mouth as far as Puerto Rican family norms went. Ivette looked at me nonplussed for a few seconds, and then told me off:

"When my husband died, my sister took me in with all my children. She never asked for a penny. She never asked me to leave. We stayed for six months. I want my children to do well in school, but I would never throw my sister out just because I am doing better than she is. There are worse things in life than not having an education. Like not having a family. That would really be sad."

-- (Translated from an interview, Winter 1984)

## Chapter V

## THE POLITICS OF "COMMUNITY"

As indicated at the beginning of this dissertation, I originally became acquainted with the Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick through my employment as a community organizer and social worker in an outreach organization in the city. And I first became interested in the actual diversity among the local Latin population due to my perceptions -- in that job -- that my working understandings were a long way from the various perceived social realities of the people in question.

Given the sorts of inter-Latin conflicts and mutual stereotypes indicated above, it should come as no surprise to the reader -- at this point -- that community organizing among such a heterogenous population was likely to be an uphill battle. In this penultimate chapter, I would like to review the question of "community" in the New Brunswick Latin community -- the ways in which I originally became aware of the hiatus between our political ideals and the daily lives of our clients, the theoretical and cultural issues involved, and the reality of Latin social organization as it existed in the city in the early 1980s. I will then illustrate all of these points by outlining a case-history of one issue of interest to almost all the Spanish-speaking residents of the city, the issue of "bilingual education" in the local public school system.

### My Brilliant Career

When I first began doing community work among the Latins of New Brunswick<sup>1</sup>, I had completed graduate coursework toward a Ph.D. in political sociology, with an emphasis on political economy and development theory. I myself had been a Latin immigrant to the United States in the mid-1960s, who had spent some time after my arrival doing the sort of menial jobs which most recent Spanish-speaking Caribbean and Latin American migrants to New Brunswick do -- before finding a white collar job and eventually making my way into higher education. I had a number of reasons to be intensely interested in my job in the city.

For three and a half years, my salary was paid by an outreach organization supported by a large mental health institution linked in turn to Rutgers University. Seen in the best possible light, the patrons of our organization were motivated by the belief that the mental health of a local inner-city population derives in part from its social and political health. Seen more pragmatically, our patrons found us useful tokens. In exchange for paying four or five salaries and maintaining a very modest, store-front facility, they could in turn represent themselves to their patrons, to State- and national-level funding agencies as well as the University, as a socially-conscious agency with links to needy local people.

Though I was aware from my first days on the job that the Spanish-speaking migrants who were our clientele were an exceedingly diverse population, I nevertheless shared with others in my agency --

and with certain articulate Hispanic activists --the assumption that people who spoke the same language, who lived in the same dilapidated neighborhoods doing similar low-status jobs, and who generally had similar problems of adjustment to a new culture, had something in common. And, like other activists, I firmly believed that those who had these things in common -- common "oppression" in a word -- ought to come together and organize against those who abused and exploited them. They ought, in short, to "build community."

Around what identity? Well, around the identity which many mainstream Americans gave them. They were not "whites" of European ancestry. They were not recent European or Asian immigrants. They were not Blacks or native American Indians. They were Spanish-speaking, and they had some generalized cultural traits in common. Therefore, they were "Hispanics."

From my first days on the job, however, most of my daily activities indicated a strong disjunction between my agency's agenda and the apparent felt needs and identities of many of those whom we supposedly served. We were very selectively utilized by our "community." A few people came in a great deal. A few more sought us out for pragmatic services which we were happy to provide, for "social worker"-types of assistance, generally with local bureaucrats and officials, often with local landlords. Many Latin residents of the city, especially the considerable number whose documentation for being in the United States was not entirely in order, carefully avoided us. And our ability to bring together larger numbers of local Spanish-speaking

migrants for more political purposes was especially limited.

For quite some time, I explained the lack of collective participation and "vision" on the part of most Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick as "false consciousness". Like other liberal and radical reformers, I thought that my role was to educate people and to develop their "correct" awareness of the real situation -- which would, in turn, encourage them to organize as I thought they ought to. As I continued on in the job, however, and as I have continued to think about my experiences during the research for this dissertation, it slowly became clearer to me that our collective efforts in New Brunswick often failed in part because we failed to consider the realities of those we were supposed to organize.

College-educated activists such as myself perceived New Brunswick as a place which was ripe for collective action. The residential exodus of White ethnic groups and the influx of Blacks and Latins had changed the shape of the city, but the older White ethnic groups had continued to hold a firm grip on the local power structure. The onset of a big urban redevelopment scheme in New Brunswick in the 1980s had further exacerbated already existing inequalities. In the late 1970 and early 1980s, discrimination, chauvinism and abuses against poor and non-White residents were common throughout the city. We organizers and other activists considered these factors a sufficient base on which to build a grass-roots offensive against the corrupt power structure of the city.

However, we failed to take into account the needs of diverse

"disadvantaged" Spanish-speaking residents from their own points of view. We very much wanted to believe that those at the bottom could easily come together if only there were enough of us to show them the way. We neglected to consider that -- as indicated above -- many were recent immigrants who were only beginning to get a grasp on a new society and who had, as a result, few links to the city, to its institutions or to other groups. And for many of these people, our political language -- referring to "exploitation", "abuse" and "inequality" on the one hand, and to "togetherness," "Hispanicness" and "community" itself on the other -- was full of bloodless abstractions that had little meaningful bearing on their everyday lives.

Many of the Spanish-speaking residents felt that they were treated unfairly in the United States, but what alternative did they really have? Many were undocumented. Others did not intend to stay long. And still others could only compare their present experiences with past ones in their native countries -- where, by and large, conditions were worse.

The notion of "relative deprivation" is not a popular concept among American progressives. The fact that a poor American has access to a television set or a second-hand car does not make him any less oppressed, in conventional progressive opinion, than the poor Latin American who is not likely ever to drive a car, and whose only access to a T.V. is through the local grocery store. Nevertheless, the term "relative deprivation" did very appropriately describe the way many poor immigrants evaluated their situation in the United States. New Brunswick's streets were not, for them, paved with gold. Far from it.



But in spite of the difficulties and discrimination which Spanish-speaking immigrants encountered in this country, many of them perceived greater opportunities here than they could ever hope for in their own countries. Puerto Rican migrants were an exception to this generalization. As underprivileged participants in the North American economic system, Puerto Ricans' sense of deprivation was dictated by the living standards of the United States, not by the much lower living standards of many Latin American nations.

Finally, collective organization was also complicated by the fact that local Spanish-speaking residents interpreted the behavior of organizers on the basis of their own political experiences prior to arrival. For those from Caribbean and Central American backgrounds, this experience has often been characterized by quid pro quo patronage at best, by demagoguery, corruption, and exploitation at the worst. The notion that anyone might be interested in helping them without wanting anything in exchange was ludicrous. Not surprisingly, Latins like myself who became involved in organizing efforts were greeted with great distrust from immigrants, and sometimes with good reason.

And, given the frustrations engendered by inefficiencies of our operation, the inadequacies of our ideology, and the deeply embedded power structures with which we were struggling, it was difficult to avoid the suspicion that some of us did very much get something in exchange for extending minimal aid to local residents -- a cushy job in which our performances were minimally monitored by anyone who knew anything about them. During some years, the principal "community" activity in

which the head of our agency could take personal pride -- over a number of months -- was the hosting of a small Christmas party for 20 or 30 residents and their children.

So while this dissertation is about Latin diversity at an intellectual and academic level, at a personal and political level it is about my loss of innocence. And one key change in my thinking had to do with my changing understanding of a central term in the lexicon of us activists, with "community."

#### "Community" in Contemporary American Political Rhetoric

"Community" as it is used by social activists in the United States is a term with a very particular history. To persons not raised in the United States, the word tends to have little or no meaning in its American sense. Anthropologist Herve Varenne has written about the difficulty which he had, as a middle-class Frenchman whose native language apparently had a cognate term, "communaute", learning current American usages -- "University community," "Hyde Park community," "Department of Family and Community Education," etc. (Varenne 1986: 213-215). And to most recent Spanish-speaking immigrants to the United States, the term is similarly an odd one. In their home countries, Spanish-speaking migrants are likely to apply its equivalent, "comunidad," to inclusive religious entities only. Religious leaders, for instance, refer to the "community of God" (la comunidad de Dios). In Caribbean and Latin American countries, even one of the simpler current American meanings -- people who live together in a single locality or neighborhood -- does not take the term. A "barrio" is not a

"comunidad."

Anthropologist Micaela Di Leonardo, drawing in part on the work of sociologist Dennis Wrong, points out that the current American meaning of "community" expresses a paradox that has been in effect in liberal western thought for at least two hundred years. Those enthusiastically in favor of modernization have tended to see small, personalistic, face-to-face human groupings as "stolid backwaters" characterized by "narrowness, hidebound tradition and ignorance." Those uncomfortable with the impersonal, individualistic, anomic properties of contemporary American middle-class culture, on the other hand -- those influenced by what Wrong characterizes as the "conservative critique of modernity" (Wrong 1976:77) -- have tended to romanticize the "simple, humanly satisfying, face-to-face, traditional rural community," and its alleged urban offspring, the ethnic neighborhood (Di Leonardo 1984: 132).

In the 1960s in particular, the second meaning of "community" came to dominate American liberal and radical politics. The success of the Black movement (see Blumberg 1984) inspired other minorities to organize around common "identities" -- women, the gay movement, White ethnics -- and in the recurrent rhetoric of such organizations, these minorities were increasingly said to "share" a common purpose and a common historical-ethnic essence of some sort.

Ruskin and Varenne have argued that, though ethnically distinct subcultures undoubtedly exist in the contemporary United States -- though Americans are certainly in no way "fully melted" into being the

carriers of a single uniform culture -- the "discourse of ethnicity" may be "fully melted" (Ruskin and Varenne 1983). Any ethnic leader who wants to articulate an argument about the ethnic uniqueness of any particular group has to do so in terms which are logically identical to those used by any other community leader. There is one all-American<sup>2</sup> language when it comes to discussing ethnic diversity, politically speaking. Group X is a "community" with common goals and common interests and no significant internal divisions. Those who belong to it in some sense both essentially belong to it and chose to belong to it, for current American "community" must also be democratic; it must be voluntaristic (see also Higham 1978).

No leader, "Hispanic" or other, can say, 'My group deserves certain benefits because we are better people than our rivals.' No leader can say, 'Though we have lots of internal differences, I know what's best for our group; give us the following.' No leader can say, 'We're not really a group; we're just a set of people with some similar problems which need addressing in common. Nevertheless, I know what these problems are and I can speak to them.' Every leader in the modern American polity, Latin or otherwise, is virtually required -- by the rhetoric of contemporary American democracy -- to say, 'Our like-minded, culturally-similar group has a voluntary consensus on the following issue, and I have been chosen to express this consensus.'

Some contemporary American "communities," in this rhetorical sense of the term, have no single spatial locations. And if they have a shared culture, it is one that has often been very much constructed, recently,

or that is somehow said to emerge from common experiences (e. g. that of the "community of women"). Di Leonardo refers to these contemporary usages of community as "metaphoric" ones, for they do not imply certain older meanings of "community" -- face-to-face interactions among its members, for instance, or long-term personal knowledge of one another (Di Leonardo 1984:133-134).

When it comes to the communities of recent migrants from other cultures, moreover, loose American notions of urban life have led American middle-class activists to hold less metaphoric expectations about the groups in question -- to expect that persons in such communities will live, closely clustered together, in common neighborhoods, sharing the common culture, rituals, customs etc. that supposedly characterize social solidarity in more traditional parts of the world. In her recent study of Italian-Americans in California, Di Leonardo effectively satirizes the expectation of a visiting researcher that "key community women" among the Italians must live in coherent, distinctive residential areas -- and that if di Leonardo cannot come up with such individuals, either she is keeping them to herself, or she is not actually in contact with "real" Italian ethnicity in the state (Di Leonardo 1984:129-130).

Among the Latins in New Brunswick in the early 1980s, those persons who used the term "community" in ordinary discourse -- and the term "Hispanic" -- were almost exclusively political activists and their sympathizers, and workers in social service agencies. Use of "community" and of "Hispanic community" tended to be associated with

people who used a style of confrontational politics which derived from the 1960s. Older Latins involved in accomodationist strategies did not use it as often, nor was it common among business people. It came up most spontaneously in such contexts as the following:

- In a Board of Education meeting, to protest a cutback in the bilingual programs and the loss of jobs for Hispanic teachers;
- In a meeting with City Council members, to protest elimination of funds for Hispanic agencies;
- In a demonstration against Johnson and Johnson and New Brunswick Tomorrow, to protest discriminatory hiring practices;
- In a demonstration against the Department of Housing and Urban Development, to protest the closing of a public housing project;
- In public meetings of a Hispanic social service organization, to foster Latin support for the above issues;
- In promotion materials published by the same Hispanic social service organization.

In New Brunswick as elsewhere in American political life (see for instance Rogler 1976), "community" was used in the same general sense both by social activists and by a wide range of spokespersons in the political mainstream -- though each of them attached it to different groups for different political purposes -- from the mayor of New Brunswick to the governor of the state of New Jersey. It was thus ironic that, among the Latins, it was just this mainstream American term which was distinctive of those Spanish-speaking leaders most in favor of separate Latin cultural identity. For most of the rest of the Spanish-speaking residents of the city, on the other hand, "community" was an alien word:

"'The Hispanic community' is what [activists in the Hispanic social service agency] and places like that call us Puerto Ricans."

"'The Hispanic community' is those Latins who use the social service agencies."

"I hear that word a lot in the mouths of people involved in politics. They use it to get our votes."

#### Latin Social Organization in New Brunswick

Let us assume, however, that "community" can be given an unromanticized version of its first, older meaning as well, however -- separate from the metaphoric meaning which the activists tended to adopt. Let us assume that it can be used to indicate a relatively small, face-to-face human collectivity whose members are in long-term, diffuse (or "many-stranded") social relationships with one another. And let us assume that community in its first, non-metaphoric meaning implies a degree of cultural sharing. None of these characteristics, of course, means that a community of this sort is harmonious or conflict-free. Social scientists are always discovering that such collectivities are highly conflict-laden, in fact. In any case, to what degree do the Latin residents of New Brunswick form a community, or several communities, in this first sense of the term?

First of all, they do tend to cluster in the same parts of the town, but not because they necessarily chose to live close to one another. Among the Dominicans, newly arriving family members and friends of those who are already in the United States do chain migrate to be near those like themselves, for initial mutual support, at least in their first few years in the city.

But the same process does not occur as often for the Puerto Ricans and the Other Latins -- nor do members of the different national-origin groups particularly want to live near one another. Rather, poor Latins live together in the same poor neighborhoods because they cannot afford to live anywhere else, and because they are near accessible public transportation. They are also the neighborhoods in which other residents who are the objects of discrimination on the part of mainstream Americans -- poorer American Blacks -- live as well. They are the places in which the majority culture dumps those against whom it discriminates in similar ways.

Within these neighborhoods, however, the Latins do not form distinct residential clusters as Latins. They are randomly mixed among the larger populations of these slums, among Blacks. Nor do they particularly cluster by different, smaller national-origin groups (see map 2.2, chapter II).

And when Latins live near one another, they do not necessarily know one another on a personal basis. Many of the Spanish-speaking residents of the city whom I asked about community in the first sense of the term said that they worked so hard at their job or jobs that they rarely had time for any activities outside the household and their family group once they were home. In rural Latin America, work has different rhythms, and communities have informal public spaces and public institutions which encourage sociability (the village plaza, etc.). New Brunswick presents the immigrating Latin -- like the middle-class American -- with only a dangerous, unappealing public urban



environment.

And when Latins do know one another, they do not always get along intimately. Latin families will actively avoid one another for reasons both of different national origins and for reasons of social class. I interviewed three families living within fifty yards of one another on the same block, all of whom had been neighbors for at least three years. They knew one another's names and nationalities and they all usually exchanged "hellos," but their children did not play together. Two of the families said their children would pick up bad habits from playing with the children of the third -- or from playing in the street in general. The mother in the third family said that "some people" did not like to play with her children because her children had Black friends. She was careful to watch her children when they played, and to correct their conduct. The first two families were mildly prosperous by local standards -- a Puerto Rican family who owned their own house and a Salvadorian two-parent apartment-dwelling family respectively. The third was a poorer single-parent Puerto Rican family who lived in a small apartment.

Latin coworkers did not commonly continue associating with one another outside the work place. The Spanish-speaking parents who attended school meetings together knew one another casually, but not well enough to carry on discussions about educational issues outside these meetings. Good friendships among Latins tended to be confined to members of a single national-origin group, especially to those who had known one another before immigrating to New Brunswick (as was more

often the case with the Dominicans than with the other groups).

Outside work, three things brought the Spanish-speaking residents of the city together beyond the ties of family and a few old friendships: church membership, credit associations and sports activities. But few or none of these relationships cut across the national-origin groups in any serious way, on the evidence I gathered.

Six churches catered to Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick, one Catholic and five Protestant. Sixty-three percent of the Spanish-speaking people in my sample considered themselves to be Catholics (see table 5.1). The Catholics included persons from all the national-origin groups, and from all class levels in the city (a few middle-class Latins who had moved out of New Brunswick also came back to this church). On this basis, the Catholic Church had the potential for being the one linking institution shared by the most Latins in the city.

But only a minority of the Latin Catholics were active or very active in the church. The "inactives," 27 out of 49, only attended church on special occasions, and observed the basic sacraments (baptism, confirmation, First Communion). The "actives," 17 out of 49, attended mass regularly, but had little or no involvement with other church members except for their relatives, nor did they participate in other

TABLE 5.1  
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS  
THE NEW BRUNSWICK LATIN SAMPLE

---

|                | TOTAL    | Puerto<br>Ricans | Dominicans | Other<br>Latins |
|----------------|----------|------------------|------------|-----------------|
| CATHOLIC       | 49 (63%) | 23               | 16         | 10              |
| very active    | 5        | 4                | 0          | 1               |
| active         | 17       | 8                | 5          | 4               |
| inactive       | 27       | 11               | 11         | 5               |
| PROT-ESTANT    | 19 (24%) | 14               | 2          | 3               |
| very active    | 17       | 12               | 2          | 3               |
| active         | 2        | 2                | --         | --              |
| inactive       | --       | --               | --         | --              |
| OTHER          | 3        | 2                | 1          | --              |
| NO AFFILIATION | 7        | 4                | 1          | 2               |

---

church-related activities or organizations (choir, prayer groups, Knights of Columbus). Only five "very active" members were involved in these extracurricular church-related activities, and four of them were Puerto Ricans.

The Protestants, on the other hand, though they were a minority of my sample -- 24% -- were much more likely to be highly involved in their much smaller, much more personalistic churches. Seventeen out of 19 of them were "very active" church members. They attended church two and three times a week. They were involved in church activities ranging from religious instruction, to self-help and cooperative projects. And they extended help and exchanged services with other members of the same church -- painting and furnishing an apartment; providing food, clothing and childcare for needy families; exchanging job information etc. These active Protestants did see their small churches as comunidades.

Four of these five Protestant churches were Pentecostal, and they tended to attract some of the poorer Latins, many of them lapsed Catholics. But though these churches did involve their members in outside-the-family social networks, they were very small, and they were almost all Puerto Rican in membership. Their congregations did not cut across the national-origin groups to any great extent. The fifth Protestant church was a revived Reformed Church in the downtown area, which tended to appeal to upwardly-mobile Puerto Ricans, and to a few Other Latins.

Rotating credit associations are briefly described above, in chapter II. They were found only among the Dominicans. And although they represented a impressive form of mutual self-help, they were established in general only between kin, and friends, who knew one another well before they came to New Brunswick.

And sporting activities were occasional events at best when it came to community in the first sense of the term. Sometimes they were part of the extracurricular events associated with the Catholic church. But they also did not cut significantly across the national-origin groups, for the sporting tastes of each group varied. The Puerto Ricans enjoyed playing baseball, and the Other Latins loved soccer. And although the Dominican Republic currently provides perhaps one-quarter of the starting short-stops in American Big League baseball, the Dominicans in New Brunswick came from hardworking peasant stock for whom physical, sporting participation was above and beyond the call of duty.

Among the three national-origin groups or categories distinguished in this dissertation, the Dominicans on the whole -- with their chain-migration pattern from the Dominican Republic, their credit associations, and their economically-rationalized adult groups and families -- were the most community-like in the original sense of the term. And yet they were the hardest to politicize. Many of them were trying to making it in individual terms in the United States. Many of them did not expect to stay in the United States indefinitely. Many of them had a minimum of links with the important institutions in the city of New Brunswick. Many of them were here without their children, and thus without the

sorts of social commitments that tend to accrue to those with full family status. And most of them considered themselves stereotypically superior in personal terms to the Puerto Ricans, to the Latin group in which most of the activists in the town resided.

The Other Latins had their own reasons for avoiding political, "community" involvements. Often they were here as political refugees, if not as undocumented aliens. They also tended to value their own difference from stereotypic Puerto Ricans as they saw them. And they themselves were not any sort of single coherent group in a sociological sense.

And the Puerto Ricans were internally divided among themselves, some of them direct migrants from the island, others arrivals in New Brunswick from other American cities; some older immigrants, some new; some aspiring to the middle-class prosperity, others very poor, working-class folk -- and some were what can only be labelled lumpen proletariat.

And most Latins of all national origins in the New Brunswick were in fact recent arrivals, many of them still highly mobile -- with the weak commitment to "community" in any given place which such mobility entails. A few Puerto Ricans were the oldest Latins in the town, and the average time those in my sample had been in New Brunswick was 12.4 years (although they had been coming and going from the mainland United States for an average of 18.5 years). Dominicans averaged 8.5 years in the city. And Other Latins averaged 4.5 years in town (see

also table 2.5, chapter II).

According to the 1980 census, over seventy percent of all the Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick had been born outside the U. S. mainland -- and most of those born on the mainland were under twenty years old. Finally, those persons in my sample who had the most "community" in New Brunswick in the older, social structural sense of the term -- the Dominicans -- were also the most migratory, coming and going between the Dominican Republic on an average of two times a year.

#### The Politics of Bilingual Education: a case study

One of the most important Latin "community" issues on which I worked in my years as an activist in New Brunswick was the Bilingual Education Program in the local school system, the program whereby Spanish-speaking children could be taught both in their mother tongue and in English. The program was generally controversial, and it was one about which the Latin residents themselves were in some disagreement.

The issue of bilingual education serves as a concrete illustration of the difficulties of "building community" among such diverse Spanish-speaking residents -- among persons with such different cultural backgrounds, and with such different legal and historical relationships to the United States. It also illustrates the tough and often hostile local political climate with which the Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick had to cope. To follow it as a local cause in New Brunswick in the early 1980s, however, we must first look at it briefly as a

national and State-level issue over a longer period of time.

### Bilingual Education in its Early Years

In the late 1960s, the success of the Black Civil Rights movement, and the subsequent ideological redirection of the movement toward "Black culture," encouraged other American minority groups to assert their own identities, and to lobby -- as the Black movement had done with some skill -- for Federal intervention into matters which hitherto had been ones for local control, such as primary and secondary public education.<sup>3</sup>

In 1965, Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Under Title 1 of the act, millions of dollars became available to local school systems for educational enrichment for poor, predominantly Black children. Spanish-speaking Americans, whose migration into the country was beginning to boom in these years, organized and made Washington aware of levels of deprivation in their own populations equal to those of Black Americans, and Congress responded by passing the Bilingual Education Act in 1968.

These Federal initiatives in turn encouraged the formation of State-level Hispanic lobbying organizations in New Jersey, and in 1975, thanks principally to the growing strength of the Puerto Rican Congress, New Jersey passed its own Bilingual Education Act, which included a provision mandating bilingual instruction in any school district having twenty or more English-deficient students in the same language category (Burke 1971: 170-171). Bilingual education in Spanish thus became



necessary in virtually all towns with significant Latin concentrations, including, of course, in the city of New Brunswick.

With these post-Civil Rights developments in the United States, Puerto Rican activists on the mainland now had an opportunity to advocate on an issue which had been fought over for many years in Puerto Rico -- on the connection between Puerto Rican or Hispanic "identity" and the Spanish language. In the first fifty years in which Puerto Rico was a territory of the United States, the U. S. government had sought in various ways to make English the principal language of the island. An effort to make English the medium of instruction in the schools, however, had met with such overwhelming resistance that it had been dropped as of 1947, and since then, Spanish has been -- de facto - - the official language of the island (see Bonilla 1977:5).

In subsequent years, Puerto Rican activists had struggled with varying success to define "Puerto Rican culture," in reaction to the real dependency and to the growing cultural Americanization of the island. Retention of the Spanish language had remained one real success, however -- one unmistakable emblem of the distinctiveness of the Puerto Rican people in an American context (see Safa 1985b). It had also been an issue which generated and continues to generate considerable consensus among many Puerto Ricans. The attempted forced imposition of English on Puerto Rican children was widely regarded by Puerto Ricans of all social classes as an act of unmistakable cultural imperialism on the part of the United States government.

Given this background in Puerto Rico, Puerto Rican activists began to attempt to shift the definition of the purpose of bilingual education in the mainland United States in the 1970s. To the American liberals who had supported the relevant legislation, the purpose of bilingual education was to allow children raised in one language to learn another quickly enough so that they would not fall behind educationally. For them, bilingual education was an "English as a Second Language" (ESL) program. English was the "second language" for Spanish-speaking (and for other non-English language speaking) children, but it was ultimately the more important public language, the one the schools ought to be teaching children in order for them to have a chance of success in the United States. Bilingual education would allow non-English speaking children to make the transition from Spanish to English (or from any other language to English) as quickly as possible.

As the increasingly organized Puerto Rican activists on the mainland saw the new program, on the other hand, it ought to facilitate for Puerto Ricans (and for other Spanish-speakers from other Latin nations) the goal of many Puerto Rican activists on the island -- the maintenance of bicultural identity. It ought to allow Puerto Rican children not simply to learn English. It ought to permit them to maintain their competence in spoken and written Spanish, and their knowledge of Puerto Rican culture (Bonilla 1977: 205-211).

Such a redefinition accorded with the opinion of some liberals in mainstream American society in the mid-1970s, that American culture was best envisioned not as a homogenous way of life, but as a pluralistic

culture which preserved ethnic -- and possibly linguistic -- differences. But this Puerto Rican activist position was not altogether popular among other U. S. citizens, especially among those White ethnics whose parents and grandparents had no choice but to learn English and to "Americanize" in previous generations.<sup>4</sup> As Burke puts it:

"Many of [New Jersey's] political leaders are first- and second-generation immigrants -- proud of their accomplishments and of their success in integrating into the dominant Anglo system. Even given the fact that memories are often selective, these men and women who dominate state and local politics seriously question why Hispanic-Americans should receive exclusive and expensive educational prerogatives" (Burke 1981:174).

In New Jersey, the powerful New Jersey Education Association (NJEA) also feared that the new bilingual teachers would replace Anglo teachers, and only agreed to endorse the 1975 act if it explicitly prohibited the replacement of existing teachers by Hispanic teachers (Burke 1981:172).

The first bilingual program in the New Brunswick School District was developed, on a voluntary, trial basis, with the support of State funding in 1972. The first advocates of the program were local Puerto Ricans allied with the New Brunswick political machine, but by the mid-1970s, as the Spanish-speaking population of New Brunswick grew -- and as Puerto Ricans and other minorities acquired more political leverage at the national and state level -- new activists became more prominent in Latin city politics. Many of them were college-educated, with ties with the University. Most of them were Puerto Ricans, but a few were also Other Latins (Rivera and Medina 1977). A number of them had previous political experience in minority-related issues, especially involvement in the Puerto Rican Independence movement. These new activists began to push for the bicultural definition of the program as outlined above,

rather than for its more limited ESL goals.

Meanwhile, however, reaction against the bicultural model had continued to grow in the State and in the city. By 1976, a compromise set of guidelines had been hammered out at the State level, one that satisfied neither side in the developing controversy, but which tilted more towards assimilation than toward biculturalism. Bilingual programs were to be three-year transitional programs, after which a child ought to be placed, at grade level, in a monolingual English program. But, as a sop to the Puerto Rican activists, a local school system could agree to allow a child to remain in a bicultural program for more than three years. And the programs were to stress the learning of mainstream culture and standard academic knowledge in two languages; but, as another sop to the activists, they were also to contain a "full-time program of instruction in . . . the history and culture of the country where the child's parents are from" (Chavana 1982:23).

For three years, from 1976 to 1979, Federal and State funds would be automatically available to support such programs. Thereafter, local school districts would have to develop their own sources of support for them. And though the State set the guidelines, each local school system was to determine the particular nature of each bilingual program -- and the degree of biculturalism which each one attempted to maintain.

In New Brunswick, the implementation of the mandatory bilingual education programs was problematic from the beginning. There was, to start with, an extreme mismatch between those who used the school

system and those who controlled it. The former were mostly the children of the minorities who had moved into the city since World War II, Blacks and Latins, about 85% of the school population (about 60% of the total enrollment was Black, about 25% was Latin). The majority of the latter were representatives of the old White ethnic groups who had taken control of New Brunswick in the early twentieth century. An estimated 67% of the teachers and administrators in the school system were White, typically from Italian, Hungarian, Polish and Irish backgrounds.

In part because of this mismatch, and because of the poor tax base which had developed in the city with the exodus of the White middle classes, the public school system was and is one of the worst in the State of New Jersey. In 1982, its eleventh grade students scored lowest of those in any municipality in Middlesex County on the New Jersey Minimum Basic Skills Test, in the 77th percentile in reading and the 71st in math. Eleventh grade students in virtually all the surrounding suburban towns, on the other hand, had scores ranging from the high 80s to the high 90s on both tests. And the high-school drop-rate in the New Brunswick school system was 23%, versus about 4% for the State as a whole.

In my observations, those who controlled the school system and the city of New Brunswick had patronizing attitudes -- at best -- toward the minorities who made up most of the town's population. Toward Latin students and parents, official attitudes could be especially scathing. The poorer, more monolingually-Spanish parents were often treated with

extreme rudeness by White secretaries when they tried to visit the school. They were sometimes left cooling their heels at the entrance of the school, for instance, with little or no help, and no recognition of their presence, for long periods of time.

And, prior to the advent of the bilingual programs (and even afterwards), the cultural mistreatment of Latin students could be extensive. Thus if Latin students had learning difficulties based on language problems, it was not uncommon for the school system to give them psychological tests evaluated by monolingual English-speakers, to declare them retarded, and to place them in special education classes. There was some bad faith on the part of these evaluators, for when Latin parents inquired about these placements, they were often misled about the nature of the evaluations and incorrectly denied access to records which they had a right to see.

White clerks in the school system also often made unilateral, uninformed decisions about the Latin group to which a given child belonged (almost any Latin was assumed to be Puerto Rican), and about such things as the simplification of Latin names. Thus the second-to-last surname in most Latin names is the father's, or family, name. Clerks would redefine this, in Anglo terms, as the final surname, effectively renaming the child in official records for the rest of her or his life.

As the bilingual guidelines began to come down from the State, however, and as the new Hispanic activists took stronger roles in the

town, the school system started to make certain accommodations to the Spanish-speaking students and parents (though the fundamental social attitudes of those in control did not change much). Consistent with NJEA agreements, Hispanic teachers were not to have a monopoly in the administration of the program. The Director of the new Bilingual Office in the New Brunswick school system, in fact, was an older White woman of Italian ethnic background, who had requalified in second-language education. By the early 1980s, she had two other professionals (an assistant Director and a community liaison worker) and two secretaries working for her, all of them Puerto Ricans.

In addition, another 31 teachers in the school system were involved in the bilingual program in various ways (there were over 350 teachers in the whole system at the time). Sixteen of them were from Latin backgrounds, mostly Puerto Ricans plus a few Cubans. Only a few had been hired specially for the program. The rest already taught in the system. The remaining fifteen teachers in the program were non-Latins.

Under State guidelines, the program was to be linked to the local community through a Parent Council with up to 30 members. But the council had no separate budget, and its agenda tended to be set entirely by the Director of the Bilingual Office, with results which will be described below.

Theoretically, any Spanish-background child in the New Brunswick school system, from kindergarten through high school, was tested for language ability, and either recommended to the bilingual program or not

accordingly. It was difficult to know for certain how these assignments were made, and what sorts of education the children in the bilingual program latter received. Individual teachers had considerable individual latitude. There was some skepticism about the ability of non-Latin teachers to communicate fluently in Spanish; and there was also some skepticism about how strongly Puerto Rican and Other Latin teachers who were teaching in Spanish were working to give the English side of their instruction equal importance. And even under the best of pedagogical circumstances, some critics of the program sincerely wondered whether children who were educated simultaneously in two different languages and cultures could in fact keep up with those who concentrated on one.

Once the program was established, it was able to attract outside funding commensurate with its size -- so it was in the interests of its Director to make every effort to build its numbers. Most Latin parents willingly placed their children in it when first invited to do so. But eventually, a number of them began to complain that their children were not learning English or Spanish at the rate they expected, or other subjects taught in either of the languages. Even worse, after three years in the bilingual program, many children did not turn out to be ready to join regular instruction at their appropriate grade levels. They either had to be placed in a lower grade, or kept in the bilingual program longer -- perhaps indefinitely.

Accordingly, a climate of opinion began to develop among some of the Latin parents, within a few years, against the program. A number



of them began to feel -- based on their own experience -- that their children would be better off in a regular classroom environment. Thus, between parental resistance, the fact that some students tested out, and the fact that some students eventually placed into regular instruction, only a little over one-quarter of the Spanish-background students in the New Brunswick school system in the early 1980s were enrolled in bilingual education, (about 300 out of 1200). There is no way of knowing how much of this relatively low enrollment was due to parental resistance and how much was due to other factors.

#### Bilingual education in New Brunswick in the early 1980s

If Act One for the bilingual program was the years of preparation at the national and State level, in the early 1970s, and if Act Two was the first years of implementation of the required program in New Brunswick, in the late 1970s -- then Act Three was when I came in, in the early 1980s. By this time, the pedagogical problems with the program were becoming apparent; some of the tougher, more experienced activists were leaving the city and either going on to other levels of Latin politics in the state, or returning to Puerto Rico; and Federal and State monies were becoming harder to come by. At the same time, the program had become increasingly institutionalized in the school system, with non-Latin as well as Latin teachers committed to it at a working level.

The lines of disagreement were also clearly drawn between the remaining Hispanic activists on the one hand, and the Director and other school officials on the others -- between those favoring the bicultural

goals of the program and those favoring its ESL goals. And the arena in which this conflict was fought out was the Parents' Council.

The Parents' Council was supposed to link the program to the community, to provide a channel of communication between the school and the Spanish-speaking parents, and to "educate" the parents about their rights and responsibilities with respect to the school system. Its steering group included the Director of the Bilingual Office, Hispanic activists in the town, and selected parents of children enrolled in the bilingual program -- one of whom was required to be President of the Council. General meetings were held about once a month to which any parent with a child in a bilingual program could come, and planning meetings were held between general meetings, supposedly by the steering committee.

Very little of the Council's activity, however, was concerned with issues which the parents brought to the meetings on their own initiative. Most Council actions reflected the points of view of the two opposed parties, the Director and other school officials on the one hand, and the Hispanic activists on the other. The parents who came to the meetings tended to be recruited to the meetings by one or the other side, and to vote for the side that brought them. In any given year, the Director would insist that the President be a Latin parent, and then she would recruit one who supported her own point of view. The activists would reply by demanding that the Secretary be one of them. In my years as a community worker, that Secretary was me. And so on. And then both sides would go out and recruit parents for the general meeting who

would vote for candidates to the steering group supported by the side which recruited them. Relatively few unrecruited parents ever wandered into these meetings, and when they did, there was no evidence that they had much idea of what was really going on in them.

Parents thus became the means by which the two factions on the Parents' Council lobbied for their vision of the program. Though the program's general tilt was in the direction of ESL, activists would encourage parents who were sympathetic to their own point of view -- even those whose children were relatively competent in English -- to enroll their children and to become active on the Council, in hopes that, with greater support, they could push the program back toward their own bicultural ideals.

The Director, on the other hand, had a number of ways in which she could run things her own way. Some parents would go along with her out of their general cultural respect for educational authorities (see below) -- and on the Latin assumption that it was a good idea to find a patron in powerful institutions. In other ways, she made it difficult for her general constituency to know what was going on. For instance, she refused to make the list of bilingual parents' names available to everyone, on the grounds that this violated the rights to privacy of these parents. Her office then became solely responsible for publicizing meetings and issues. Often it did so via documents that were literal translations of bureaucratic English into Spanish, and which were virtually incomprehensible to the Spanish-speaking parents who received them.

Channels of delivery were also uncertain. Notices would be passed to teachers in the bilingual program, for distribution to the appropriate children. Sometimes they would not make it to the parents until after the meeting had occurred. In one instance, I discovered a pile of undelivered notices in a teacher's desk. The teacher defended herself by claiming that Latin parents never read (or couldn't read) such literature in any case. The Director also had the tendency to call the planning committee meetings on the spur of the moment, without inviting the activists. In both these ways, she could see to it that only her own people were involved in general and planning meetings, and she could do what she wanted with the program -- with only a pretense of proper consultation.

The activists' counter-strategy was to get inside information on the Director's plans and to show up at the meetings in question with as many supporters as possible, to cause trouble.

The yearly meeting on the proposal for continued State or Federal funding was a good example of the Director's approach to committee democracy. Under State guidelines, the Director was responsible for developing a funding proposal for the following year, on which the "parents and community members" had to be consulted, and which they had to approve with a list of signatures. This consultation meant that the parents and other committee members supposedly had the right to know, for instance, the degree to which the school was planning to prioritize ESL versus bicultural goals in the following year, the teachers

and resources it intended to use the following year, etc.

The New Brunswick Director complied with this regulation, most years, by calling a last-minute "emergency" meeting to which, as usual, the activists somehow were not invited -- but enough of her own supporters were invited to get the necessary signatures. She then usually gave an oral report on the proposal for the coming year, a fairly vague one, without presenting the document itself to the committee members. One year the activists obtained a copy of the document on their own and showed up unexpectedly. All they achieved was the satisfaction of exposing the Director's shenanigans. For the participants at the meeting -- the activists included -- agreed that the proposal was so late that it had to be signed in any case, for fear of a delay which might result in loss of funding for the program as a whole.

Under the best of circumstance, most of the Spanish-speaking parents would have had a tough time making much impact on something like the Parents' Council. Many of them were overburdened with work. Many of them lacked formal education, language skills, or familiarity with the sorts of semi-democratic, semi-bureaucratic structure which the Council represented. Given their work schedules, their lack of transportation and the defective publicity coming out of the Director's office, many of the meetings were difficult for them to attend -- and were long, boring and often incomprehensible when they did make it to them.

When they did understand what was going on in these meetings,

however, many of the Latin parents did not necessarily agree with what they heard, even from the Hispanic activists. Despite the activists' claims that they were speaking for the entire "Hispanic community," many of the parents did not necessarily go along with the activists' position concerning the best direction for the program, for a number of reasons.

First of all, the sort of participatory democracy which the Council at least in theory represented was alien to the experience of persons who had not been raised in the United States. Most recent migrants, including a number of the Puerto Ricans, were accustomed to Latin American authoritarian approaches to education, in which educational institutions and their representatives were viewed with near reverence. Given the high illiteracy rates in most Latin American countries, and given the close links between the intelligentsia and the ruling classes, education is highly valued in most Caribbean, Central and South American countries. It is generally considered to be more a privilege than a right. Parents with little or no education in particular place a great deal of trust in teachers. For most parents, it is unthinkable to question school policy or to make demands of the educational system. It is assumed that schools know how to educate children. The parents' responsibility is to make sure that the children go to school, that they are respectful to their teachers, and that they are well-behaved.

Now, in New Brunswick, the Spanish-speaking parents were being asked to reverse these deeply rooted assumptions, to actually have a say in school policy. They were being given at least hypothetical authority

to do something that they often did not want to do, and would not have known how to do even if they had wanted to. It is true that the activists were somewhat aware of these attitudes, and that they attempted to overcome them with parent workshops. But there was a certain naivete in the notion that strong cultural beliefs and values could be changed with a few hours of simple instruction about "parent's rights and responsibilities."

Second, a significant portion of the parents did not even agree on the value of a bilingual program. As indicated above, some of the parents had begun to feel that their children did better, overall, if challenged by monolingual classrooms. Some Puerto Rican parents even felt this way. One, for instance, was a hardworking single mother whose two daughters did well enough in the local high school to gain admission to Rutgers.

Those Dominicans who were planning to return to the Dominican Republic often considered that English-language fluency was one of the most valuable things that their children could acquire in the United States. Other monolingual Spanish-speaking parents wanted their children to learn English as quickly as possible so that they could help their parents deal with the English-speaking world -- and so that the children themselves could do better in the United States than the parents were able to do.

Dominicans and Other Latins were not especially concerned that their children would lose their Spanish if they did not speak it in

school. For they continued to use it at home. And Dominicans and Other Latins did not think, in any case, that it was the school's responsibility to keep up their childrens' mother tongue. This was a private, family responsibility. Dominicans and Other Latins often turned the language issue around, in fact, and said that it was strictly a Puerto Rican problem. As one non-Puerto Rican subject put it, "[The Puerto Ricans] are so assimilated that they don't speak either Spanish or English properly any more." But they did not see why the solution to this problem should involve their own children having to study in two languages in an American school.

Third, many of the Latin parents did not agree with the activists on the bicultural definition of the program. This was due in part to the fact that the "culture" which the activists promoted was often specifically Puerto Rican, in the opinion of other Latin residents. Puerto Ricans, for instance, made a great deal of "Puerto Rican Discovery Day," the day on which Columbus discovered Puerto Rico. On this day, the bilingual teachers invited parents to a variety of activities, including a luncheon of Puerto Rican traditional food (roast pork with rice and pigeon peas) and school play exalting the virtues of the island's indigenous population -- the Taino indians. Non-Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, observed a generalized American Discovery Day (Descubrimiento de America), and they resented the way in which the Puerto Rican day was the only one observed in the program.

Christmas food also varied. Traditional Puerto Rican Christmas food once again included roast pork. The Dominicans, on the other



hand, relished goat-meat stew. Politicized Puerto Ricans sang Christmas songs which idealized both their African and their Native American ancestry. These songs made no connection whatever with the sensibilities of Cubans and Central and Latin Americans, who liked to think their "blood" was Spanish.

And fourth, Dominicans and Other Latins simply noted that "Puerto Ricans are running the show" when it came to "Hispanic community" and the bilingual program in New Brunswick. And, given the inter-group stereotypes indicated in chapters III and IV, many of these non-Puerto Ricans had no desire to be part of anything run by Puerto Ricans.

A number of discriminatory attitudes on the part of the non-Puerto Ricans were involved, many of them outlined in earlier chapters. One important one had to do with nuances of Spanish usage. Each national-origin group tended to feel that the particular dialect of Spanish it spoke was obviously superior to that of every other Spanish-speaking group. But judgments of Puerto Rican Spanish on the part of non-Puerto Ricans were especially harsh. The "bad" Spanish spoken by many Puerto Ricans ("Spanglish," "Nuyorican," etc.), in the opinion of a number of Other Latins in particular, was a leading reason they did not want their children in the bilingual program. They did not want the predominantly Puerto Rican teachers in these programs to "corrupt" their children's Spanish, they often said.

And finally, as a rule, the non-Puerto Rican residents of New Brunswick did not make the same sort of connection between the

Spanish language on the one hand, and positively-desired "Hispanic cultural identity" on the other, which was common among the activists - - and which reflected specific Puerto Rican historical experiences. And though Puerto Ricans in general tended to make this connection, not all of them did so either. Older, first-generation Puerto Ricans were likely to assume it: "Without a language there is no culture"; "Forgetting you language is like forgetting your mother."

But some younger Puerto Ricans, raised predominantly in the United States, in fact spoke English as a first language. And though their sense of Puerto Rican identity was strong, Spanish was not essential to this identity for many of them. In some cases, they saw their parents' insistence that they learn Spanish as an impediment to their getting ahead. And a number of them felt that belonging to the bilingual program did not greatly benefit them in the long run.

Given all these doubts among the Spanish-speaking residents of the city, it was remarkable that the program had even one-quarter of the Latin children in it. And these doubts were an important reason why the Hispanic activists often had difficulty getting sympathetic parents to attend the Parent Council meetings. Perhaps fifty households, mostly Puerto Rican, mostly families that the activists helped in other ways, could be recruited to these meetings. Other Latin parents, including some Puerto Rican parents, tended to avoid them and the activists as much as they could.

\*

After 1983, both locally and in the State of New Jersey, the consensus on bilingual education continued to move away from the Hispanic activists' position. A new State Commissioner of Education pushed for tougher high school graduation requirements for all students in the State, and in 1984, the State announced a new approach to the bilingual problem, "immersion" programs conducted predominantly in English. Ten percent of the instructional time was to be in the student's native language; a small modicum of "study of the students' native culture" was to be included; teacher competency was to be monitored more carefully; and three-year transitions from Spanish to English were to be the goal -- explicitly without longterm "maintenance" of bilingualism (Braun 1984).

"Immersion" is now the new bilingual gospel in the New Brunswick school system, and with it has apparently come a reduction in the size and importance of the Bilingual Office -- which limps along with a reduced staff, an emphasis on student competency in English, and the attempted provision of special help for Latin students who need it. And the Parents' Council is also a thing of the past.

The outcome is not surprising. In the early 1980s, for a variety of reasons, it is hard to find any "good guys" among the various actors in the bilingual education controversy. The school authorities often did their best to use the program to continue to treat Spanish-speaking students and parents as second-class citizens. The activists -- at least

as I understand them, and myself, four years later -- were a long way from actually representing the people they claimed to represent, and in ways they manipulated the local Latins as cold-bloodedly as did the school authorities. And the local Latin residents often had attitudes toward one another not unlike those of the mainstream, middle-class Whites who discriminated against them as a whole.

And finally, at least one underlying sociological cause of all this is clear, again in retrospect. "Community" -- either in its metaphoric, ideological sense, or in its more down-to-earth social organizational sense -- simply did not exist among the diverse, culturally-heterogenous Latin residents of the city of New Brunswick, New Jersey in the early 1980s.

## ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER V

1. In 1979, I was a part time worker for the Bilingual Office of the New Brunswick Public School system. From 1980 to 1983, I worked fulltime in the outreach center. Both are described below.
2. I have tried to avoid the adjective "American" in this dissertation, out of dislike for the assumption by citizens of the United States that all of "America" is found in one nation in the North Hemisphere of the Americas. In this instance, though, I have given in to "American" chauvinism. 'All-American' here refers to a code possibly common to -- and peculiar to -- all of the United States.
3. For this wider history, I am relying extensively on an excellent analysis by a former commissioner of education for the State of New Jersey, Fred G. Burke. See Burke 1981.
4. The United States tolerated considerable multilingualism during its first hundred years, but according to Burke, as the great European immigrations of the late-nineteenth century developed, a monolingual definition of 'being American' became more and more central ideologically. Local school systems increasingly mandated only English as the medium of instruction, and by 1917, Teddy Roosevelt could characterize the perpetuation of language differences in the United States as "a crime," and could recommend that any immigrant who after "five years hadn't mastered English should be sent back to the land from whence he came" (Burke 1981: 167-168). Such modern attitudes seem to have characterized the general American consensus since. To be "American" is to speak English. Such attitudes are now under consideration as official legal positions, in the form of a number of State- and national-level bills declaring English the "official language" of the United States. Such legalization of these twentieth-century understandings, in turn, is arguably a reaction to the strong multilinguistic positions entertained by some American Hispanic activists in the last fifteen years.

## Chapter VI

## CONCLUSION

In one sense, this dissertation is a local ethnography, a "community study" -- or more appropriately, a "noncommunity study." For it has centered on a wide range of culturally and socially constructed relationships, cognitions and life-experiences among a small group of people who live near one another. It has centered on a small sample taken from about 9,000 Latin residents who live in the same neighborhoods in the same poor neighborhoods of the small northeastern city.

However, this dissertation has also been an attempt to think, sociologically and politically, about something much larger than the local facts of a single case study. In order to summarize the argument and the findings in this dissertation, it is worth reviewing, briefly, the ways in which this analysis might be read more macrocosmically on the one hand, and as an account of "just New Brunswick" on the other.

Larger Implications

First of all, as a case history, this study is intended to be read more generally, alongside other such studies of contemporary Latins in the United States in the late twentieth century, in hopes that such cumulative knowledge about local level Latin social organization will allow Latin leaders -- and even, perhaps, mainstream Americans -- to

find ways to bring these new "Spanish-Origin" Americans into the American mainstream in mutually beneficial and meaningful ways.

Second, at a more theoretical level, a consistent effort has been made throughout this dissertation to locate the Latin residents of New Brunswick, New Jersey, in much larger sociological, economic and historical contexts. The analysis began by comparing the current "Hispanic" immigration to earlier ones in American history. Though other incoming immigrant groups have had to reinvent themselves as ethnic entities in the past -- have had to forget older differences and become a single "community" if they have wanted to have an impact on American polity -- current Latins, it has been suggested here, are even more diverse than older ethnic immigrants. The effort to lump the current Spanish-speaking immigrants under the single category "Hispanic" is therefore even more artificial than it was for the older European immigrants.

Mexican-Americans, for instance, were in the territory now considered the United States long before the ancestors of most of the mainstream Anglos arrived (including, especially, those of the White ethnics). Puerto Ricans have been subject to American imperialism for almost a century. Other Latin immigrants resemble older immigrants in coming to this country for economic or political reasons -- but they disresemble them in coming from an entire continent, from origin-nations that differ tremendously in history, in culture, in their own ethnic makeups, etc.

The analysis of the tremendous felt-differences between the Puerto Ricans and the Dominicans in this dissertation -- equally poor immigrants from two islands near one another in the Caribbean -- suggests that "intra-ethnic" conflict among "Hispanics" according to their nations of origin ought to be the rule, rather than the exception, among the Latins resident in the United States. This should especially be the case in circumstances under which these immigrants are competing directly with one another for the same scarce economic resources.

The relationship between world economic forces, capitalism, poverty and ethnic segmentation was sketched theoretically in chapter I. Chapters II through V illustrated the operation of some of these macrostructural features at the microstructural level, among the different Latin national-origin groups in New Brunswick. The extension of American capitalism into Puerto Rico in the 1930s and 1940s proletarianized the Puerto Rican peasantry, and converted many of them into a welfare-supported underclass of unskilled factory laborers. Under conditions of wartime labor scarcity around World War II, some of them began moving to the continental United States, where they were originally the best sorts of workers available to the lower reaches of American industry. Subsequently, however, they became somewhat more politicized and somewhat less tractable.

In the 1960s, another period of wartime labor scarcity helped to touch off another wave of Latin immigration. The Dominicans and the Other Latins in New Brunswick are its current representatives. This new wave of more recently proletarianized laborers is a threat to the



older Puerto migrants in the city. The intergroup stereotypes sketched in chapters III and IV can then be said to be the ways in which ethnicity reproduces itself under these structural-historical conditions. In the mid-1980s, Dominicans and the Other Latins are evidently willing to work much harder, and under worse circumstances, than the Puerto Ricans (just as Puerto Ricans were probably cheaper, more docile labor, compared to older American work forces, in the late-1940s).

All the Latin groups in New Brunswick, especially the Puerto Ricans on the one hand, and the Dominicans and the Other Latins on the other, are threatened by this situation. The stereotypes, accordingly -- touching on the work and family characteristics of competing groups (and on features such as "female-headed households" which are, in turn, generated by the same structural causes) -- are the ethnic-boundary maintaining attitudes and cognitions by which the groups in question try to fight one another off in the marketplace and in their own senses of collective esteem (see also Barth 1969, Di Leonardo 1984:168-178).

Another difference between the current Spanish-speaking immigration and older ethnic immigrations is the sort of racism directed by mainstream Americans against at least some of these new immigrants. Racism was also directed at mid- and late-nineteenth century "White" immigrants from Europe. But racism with respect to persons whom Americans see as "Blacks" has been especially virulent in the history of the nation -- and Latins from the Caribbean are particularly the objects of it<sup>1</sup>. And non-Caribbean Latins, some of them racists in their own home countries, additionally respond to mainstream American opinions.

They are as unlikely to want to have much to do with their darker-skinned "co-Hispanic" sisters and brothers for racist reasons as they are for other reasons (social class, distinctive Latin cultures, etc.).

#### This Dissertation as a Specific Case Study

Clearly, on the other hand, there are ways in which the social relationships analyzed here were specific to New Brunswick in the early 1980s. First of all, the Latin settlement of New Brunswick is very recent. The "community" is in no way "mature." Second, by the standards of urban Latin settlements in the American northeast, it is very small. Latin activists moving into town frequently observe (as do some middle-class Whites about other types of "community" in the peculiarly heterogeneous semi-suburban social organization of central Jersey) that there is "no Hispanic community here" -- compared, say, to in New York. And a Puerto Rican garage mechanic I know, who operates a business in New Brunswick but comes from a Latin neighborhood three times as large in Perth Amboy, says disparagingly of 'Latin community' in New Brunswick that "nothing is going on in this town."

Third, it is not at all clear that the Latin population of New Brunswick in the mid-1980s is continuing to grow. New Brunswick's future is still uncertain, and if the city has the sort of future its leaders dream of, there will not be much place in it for non-middle class urban residents. Nor even for persons with less than upper-middle class income. In the mid-1980s, between the current business boom along the Route 1 "corridor" between New Brunswick and Princeton, and the

unending student housing crisis in the University, house and apartment prices in the city are doubling every four or five years. Dominicans might continue living under such conditions at three or four persons to a room. Latins in search of slightly better living conditions will be less and less likely to find them in New Brunswick.

And fourth, the politics of community discussed in chapter V have a very specific history. With a different political leadership, or a different "community" issue, these events might have gone in a different direction. Other ethnic leaders in the United States do use the metaphoric sense of community with some success (see Rogler 1976). In order to do so, however, they have to appeal to something that those they are leading feel they do have in common. And they have to deliver the goods, or at least some of them. They have to bring discernible benefits to those they are leading.

It was often difficult to say that the Hispanic leaders in New Brunswick in the early 1980s were doing much for their putative clients. When it came to bilingual education, their political agendas were those of one segment of one of the three Spanish-origin groups in the town -- unlikely to appeal to a majority of the Latin residents. Some of them were holding comfortable, relatively secure social agency jobs. Others were practicing political skills for other uses elsewhere. The New Brunswick city leaders and the authorities in the school system, on the other hand, would undoubtedly have done even less for Latin parents and children in the local schools if the local Hispanic activists had not been there to badger them.

\*

Accordingly, I hope that my case history in chapter V -- and the rest of this dissertation -- will not be read to suggest that political action should not be undertaken on behalf of people who, however diverse, are nevertheless for the most part (in 'objective' terms) disadvantaged and discriminated against. It is my belief, however, that more complex, diverse understandings of the nature of the contemporary experience of recent Spanish-speaking immigrants in cities such as New Brunswick will make such action more effective.

## ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER VI

1. Up to the time the United States took over Puerto Rico in 1898, it had always put new U. S. territorial acquisitions through a uniform constitutional process -- "the establishment of territories destined soon to graduate, after a period of apprenticeship, as states of the Union" (Lewis 1963:51). With the acquisition of Puerto Rico, however, the United States first adopted a new policy which amounted to the inauguration of clear imperialism on the part of the nation -- a betwixt-and-between legal status of "incorporation," without local representation and without full Civil Rights to members of the territory. The reason for this different treatment? In historian Gordon Lewis's judgement, "fear of cultural contamination by 'non-Western' peoples" (Lewis 1963: 57).

Some of these arrangements have been revised in the twentieth century, but the relationship of Puerto Rico to the mainland United States remains anomalous. And contemporary American racism still seems to lie squarely behind the anomaly.

## APPENDIX I

## CONDITIONS OF RESEARCH

During my three-and-a-half years of social work in the city of New Brunswick, I succeeded in developing good relationships with many Spanish-speaking migrants of various nationalities, and apparently in gaining the trust of a number of them. As a Costa Rican, I did not belong to any of the larger Spanish-speaking minorities in the city. My marginality as a Latin worked in my favor for the most part. I did not fit easily into the most salient of the local intergroup stereotype categories (see chapters III and IV). And, as part of these stereotypes, the local Latins tended to assume that members of other large Latin groups in town would have automatic points of view on many political issues, and would find it difficult to empathize with members of one's own group. I was happy not to be easily categorizable in these local terms.

Despite my initial ideological assumptions as an activist about the realities of migrants' lives, I did have certain initial understandings as well of often-tacit cultural traits among the Spanish-speaking residents to the city. One reason for this was my Latin American upbringing -- some general Latin cultural understandings, about interpersonal etiquette, for instance, or about the nature of the family, are widely shared through the Caribbean and Latin America. Another reason was the fact that, for years in the United States, I had lived 'inter-ethnically' among Caribbean, Central and Latin American friends and acquaintances.

When, during my community work, I first sensed that the cultural style of many college-educated American activists was unacceptable among the people who were our clients, I managed half-consciously to transform my 'presentation of self' into a style which was more meaningful to many of them. Since one part of my job was to be as helpful as possible, and since I knew that Latins often feel more comfortable in personalistic rather than in 'rational' institutionalized relationships, I soon found myself acting, in many cases, as a "cultural broker."

In cultural anthropology, the term "cultural broker" or "gate-keeper" refers to those individuals who are able to act as intermediaries between one culture or subculture and another (see Wolf 1956, Rollwagen 1974 and Snyder 1976). Among immigrants, such persons are often but not always members of immigrant communities who have for one reason or another become adept in dealing with the new cultural environment and particularly with its confusing, unknown institutions. The main difference between the classic cultural broker and myself was that typically the cultural broker expects material rewards to return for helping others negotiate their ways through bureaucracy and the culture of the country of immigration. I, on the other hand, wanted at least initially to exchange my help for the local immigrants' friendships, so that I might in turn be able to influence them politically.

Manipulative as my desire for these friendships was at first, in time the friendships grew stronger, and I began to realize that in many cases I cared for the people I knew more as complex, often contradictory individuals than as subjects of my rarely-effective efforts

at collective organizing. And through these friendships, I found myself brought into intimate contact with those things which were basic to the people from their own points of view -- rather than continuing to prioritize what I thought it was basic to them. I became increasingly aware of the great distance that separated us organizers from the local Spanish-speaking immigrants, and I became increasingly attuned to the likely futility of many of our efforts.

In 1983, I resigned my position as a community organizer and returned to graduate school at Rutgers, with the intention of combining my knowledge of the Spanish-speaking migrants of New Brunswick with more formal research into their complex sociology. I developed a standard questionnaire to elicit basic demographic data, migration history, and attitudes toward work, family, education, mainstream American society and other Spanish-speaking immigrants (see appendix II). Between July 1984 and October 1985, I administered this questionnaire to 78 adult Spanish-speaking immigrants to New Brunswick, to persons from a representative spread of different national origins. And in 1983 and 1984, I conducted additional participant-observation in the public and private contexts in which the local residents lived.

When I started administering the questionnaires, I already had firm links with many of the Spanish-speaking immigrants to New Brunswick, from several different nations of origin; but I was also beginning to realize, through the interviewing and the participant-observation, how partial my understandings of the local Latins had been as a result of the knowledge I had acquired on the job. Those persons who came to the



agency for help were very much a self-selected sample. The real texture of local Latin culture was even more complex and diverse than I had realized from the point of view of the agency.

I followed a version of the "snowball sampling" method for locating my interview subjects. I began with five people whom I already knew well, from as widely varying backgrounds as possible -- five Spanish-speaking subjects who did not know one another. Then I asked each of them to recommend people for the next round of interviewing. I checked the distributions of persons I was coming up with against available data on sources of Latin immigration into New Brunswick, and when I had too many people from one national background, I knocked on doors of persons from other backgrounds until someone who fitted into the criteria of my stratified sample granted me an interview. I tried to diversify my subjects by sex; and I tried to interview subjects from different social class levels to the extent that my qualitative knowledge of the local population made me believe that such class differences existed. The shape of my ensuing sample is discussed in detail at the end of chapter II.

Initially I went to great lengths to tell people the purposes of my interviews and my research. Later I simplified my self-presentation -- in many cases, I had been telling people more than they wanted to know. Those people who had known me before tended to associate me with the agency I had worked for and with its purposes, and sometimes it took me some time to reexplain myself to them. It was hard to convince others that a cup of coffee and some conversation was all I

wanted from them, and some told me later that they initially suspected that I was a welfare or an immigration agent. As anthropologists often discover, however, longer term contacts often allayed these suspicions -- return visits, indications of a genuine interest in their lives, participation in their own etiquette patterns of friendly behavior (regular phone calls and visits to inquire about family members, attendance at family and religious gatherings, etc.). I continued to work as a cultural broker as well, for old and new friends, and this in turn enhanced my reputation and neutralized suspicions that I was an enemy rather than a friend among some of my subjects.

I did in fact still want something from the local Spanish-speaking migrants -- dissertation research and the Ph.D. which was based on it. In a sense, some of them knew this. Latins understand reciprocity as well as other people do. But a number of them were quite happy to help me toward this goal. They respect education, and they were impressed that I was studying at "The University," which they knew mostly as a source of employment. And some of them wanted to contribute to one purpose of my research as I tried to explain it to them: to make North Americans more aware of the lives of the newest wave of immigrants to American shores.

The formal data from the interviews themselves gave me a certain quantitative framework for the analysis in this dissertation -- but I often found myself very dissatisfied with the sort of interaction which the interviews produced. The interview was lengthy (45 to 90 minutes) and it took a lot of patience and good will on the part of my subjects

(especially since they were often interrupted in the non-private settings in which many of them lived). Most subjects were superficially cooperative but in fact rather inhibited by the formality of the questionnaire. They would give brief answers to my questions and then stop and wait for the next question. And on sensitive topics (sources of income, marital status, immigration status) they were predictably very reticent.

But when I put the questionnaire away and began to chat about anything and everything with them, often over coffee or a plate of hospitably offered food, my subjects often became far more expansive and told me more than I had dared to ask even on the questionnaire. This extra-interview data, over the course of my research, was to prove as important or more important than the formal data. And eventually I brought my two methods closer together. I memorized most of the questions on my form and used the interview schedule only occasionally. I could then introduce questions as they were appropriate within the flow of conversation. Between interviews, lacking the time to write down everything I'd heard, I soon began using a tape recorder to unload my fresh memories -- a mnemonic which later allowed me to recall and record most of what I had heard.

And some of what I heard informally was a big surprise to me -- especially the recurrent, structured intergroup stereotypes which I describe and analyze in chapters III and IV. It is conventional in social science epistemology to say that you only discover what you set out to discover, that your methods and your research questions "determine"

your results. To some extent, this was true. I was interested in the way the Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick saw one another across the lines of the national-origin groups. But I did not at all expect such clear, antagonistic findings. They came at me multiply, from many directions. For better or for worse, they were the sorts of serendipitous results that those who engage in participant-observation eventually come to expect.



- 4a. Racial characteristics as perceived by interviewer:  
 Blanca (White)  
 Negra (Black)  
 Otra, esp. (Other, sp.) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mixed, specify: \_\_\_\_\_
5. Edad (Age):  
 15 - 19                       40 - 44  
 20 - 24                       45 - 49  
 25 - 29                       50 - 54  
 30 - 34                       55 - 59  
 35 - 39                       60 y mas (60 or over)
6. Nivel de educacion:  
 (educational level)
7. Cual es el grado mas alto que completo Ud. en su pais de nacimiento? (What is the highest grade you completed in your country of birth?):
8. Ha continuado su educacion desde que llego a los Estados Unidos? (Have you continued your education since you arrived in the United States?):
- Si  
 No  
 SR
- If the answer to 8. is yes,
- 8a. A que tipo de escuela asiste (o ha asistido) en los EU.? (What kind of school do you attend [or have attended] in the U. S.):
9. Estado civil (marital status):
- |                                                                           |                   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Soltero(a)                                       | (single)          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Casado(a), viviendo con el conyugue              | (married)         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Casado(a), con el conyugue ausente temporalmente |                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Casado(a), pero unido(a) a otra persona          |                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Unida                                            | (living together) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Divorciado(a)                                    | (divorced)        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Separado(a)                                      | (separated)       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Viudo(a)                                         | (widowed)         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Otro (esp.)                                      |                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> SR                                               |                   |

If applicable:

9a. Nacionalidad del esposo conyugue? (spouse's nationality?):

- Puertorriqueno
- Dominicano
- Cubano
- Columbiano
- Hundureno
- Guatemalteco
- Mexicano
- Nicaraguense
- Otro, esp.

10. Cuantos hijos tiene? (how many children do you have?):

\_\_\_\_\_

If any children:

10a. Cuantos de sus hijos viven con Ud.? (How many of your children live with you?): \_\_\_\_\_

If any children live elsewhere:

10b. Con quien viven sus hijos? (with whom do your children live?):

- con familiares en el pais de origen (esp.)
- con otras personas en el pais de origen
- con familiares en los E. U. (esp.)
- con otras personas en los E. U.
- otra, esp.
- SR

11. Cuantas personas adultas (mayores de 18 anos) viven en esta casa? (How many adults [over 18 years old] live in this house?):

\_\_\_\_\_

12. Podria decirme quienes son? (Could you tell me who they are?):

| Relacion con el entrevistado(a) | Sexo | Edad | Estado civil | Nivel de educacion | Ocupacion |
|---------------------------------|------|------|--------------|--------------------|-----------|
|---------------------------------|------|------|--------------|--------------------|-----------|

13. Cuantas personas menores de 18 anos viven en esta casa?  
(How many minors live in this house?):

If persons under 18 years old are present:

13a. Pudiera decirme quienes son?

| Relacion con el entrevistado(a) | Sexo | Edad | Estado civil | Nivel de education | Ocapacion |
|---------------------------------|------|------|--------------|--------------------|-----------|
|---------------------------------|------|------|--------------|--------------------|-----------|

- 13b. Cuantos de ellos asisten a la escuela? (How many of them attend school?):  
edad grado

If any children are in school:

- 13c. Cuantos de ellos estan en el Programa de Educacion Bilingue? (How many of them are in the bilingual program)?
- 

14. Que opina Ud. acerca de la educacion bilingue, cree que es benefiosa para sus hijos, o no? Por que? (What is your opinion about bilingual education? Do you think it is beneficial for your children, or not? Why?)

General:

New Brunswick:



## Section B -- Migration History

1. Antes de venir a los E.U. vivia Ud. en:  
 (Before coming to the U.S., did you live in a:)
- zona urbana grande (large urban area)  
 zona urbana pequena (small urban area)  
 zona rural (rural area)  
 zona mixta (mixed zone)  
 otro  
 SR
2. Se crio Ud. en ese lugar?  
 (Did you grow up in this place?)
- si  
 no  
 otro  
 SR
- If not,
- 2a. Donde se crio Ud.? (Where did you grow up?)
- zona urbana grande (large urban area)  
 zona urbana pequena (small urban area)  
 zona rural (rural area)  
 zona mixta (mixed zone)  
 otro  
 SR
3. En que ano vino Ud. a los EU. por primera vez? \_\_\_\_\_  
 (In what year did you come to the U.S. for the first time?)
4. Como fue que termino viniendo a los E. U.?:  
 (How did you happen to come to the U. S.?)
5. Que esperaba Ud. que sucederia al llegar a los E. U.? Tenia algunos planes? (What did you hope would happen in the U.S.):
- If yes:
- 5a. Sucedio lo que esperaba? Llevo a cabo sus planes?  
 (How did your hopes work out? Did your plans come through?):
6. Tenia Ud. familiares o amistades en los E. U. cuando vino ?  
 (Did you have relatives or friends here when you came?)
- si  
 no  
 otro  
 SR

If yes:

6a. Rel. con entrev.                      Año de mig.                      Ciudad de res

7. Cuantos familiares o amistades han venido a los E. U. desde que Ud. llego? (How many other relatives or friends have come to the U. S. since you arrived?)  
 Rel. con entrev.                      Año de mig.                      Ciudad de res.

8. Cuantos anos tiene de vivir en New Brunswick? \_\_\_\_\_  
 (How many years have you lived in New Brunswick?)

9. En que otras ciudades ha vivido desde que llego a los E. U.?  
 (In what other cities have you lived since you arrived in the U. S.?)
- | Cuidad | Año | Duración |
|--------|-----|----------|
|--------|-----|----------|

10. Como fue que termino viviendo en New Brunswick?  
 (Why did you happen to end up living in New Brunswick?)

11. En cuantos sitios ha vivido en New Brunswick?  
 (In how many places have you lived in New Brunswick?)
- | direccion | año | duración | alq./hip | por que |
|-----------|-----|----------|----------|---------|
|-----------|-----|----------|----------|---------|
- se mudo Section C -

- Legal Status, Non-US Citizens

1. Cree Ud. que terminara viviendo en los E. U. permanentemente?  
 (Do you feel that you'll remain in the U. S. permanently?):
- ( ) si  
 ( ) no  
 ( ) otro  
 ( ) SR

If no:

1a. Que cree Ud. que va a hacer?  
(What do you think you're going to do?):

2. Cuantas veces a visatado su pais desde que vino a los E. U.?  
(How many times have you visited your country since you came to the U. S.?) \_\_\_\_\_

Ano                      Duracion

3. Para la mayoria de la gente es dificil obtener visa de residente a los E. U. Cuan facil o dificil le fue obtener su visa? (For most people, it is difficult to obtain a resident visa. How easy or difficult was it for you to obtain yours?):

4. Que tipo de visa tiene Ud. actualmente?  
(What kind of visa do you have at the moment?)

5. Que tipo de visa tenia cuando vino a los E. U. por primera vez? (What kind of visa did you have when you came?)

If different from present visa:

5a. Como consiguio su visa de residente?

(How did you get your resident visa?)Section D -- Work

History

1. A que edad comenzo Ud. a trabajar? \_\_\_\_\_  
(At what age did you start working?)

2. Que tipo de trabajo hacia Ud. antes de venir a los E. U.?  
(What type of work did you do before coming to the U. S.?)

3. Puede decirme los trabajos que ha tenido en los E. U. comenzando con el mas reciente? (Could you please tell me the jobs you've had in the U. S., starting with the most recent?):

| Tipo de trabajo | Duracion | Edad | Local |
|-----------------|----------|------|-------|
|-----------------|----------|------|-------|

4. Como consiguio su primer trabajo en los E. U.?  
(How did you get your first job in the U. S.?)
  
5. Como consiguio su ultimo trabajo en los E. U.?  
(How did you get your last job in the U. S.?)
  
6. De que origin son la mayor parte de la gente que trabaja con Ud.? (What origin are most people who work with you?).
  
7. Cree Ud. que para las personas de su pais es especialmente dificil o especialmente facil conseguir trabajo en los E. U.?  
(Do you think that it is especially difficult or easy for people from your country to get jobs in the U. S.):
  
8. Cuan bien conoce Ud. a sus companeros de trabajo?  
(How well do you know your co-workers?):

If well-known:

8a. De que nacionalidad son? (What nationality are they?):

If not well-known:

8b. Es dificil llegar a conocer a la gente en su trabajo?  
Por que es eso? (Is it hard to get to know people at work? Why is that?):

9. Cree Ud. que en sus jefes tratan a alguna gente mejor que a otra? (Do you think employers favor any group more than another?):

If yes:

- 9a. A que gente favorecen? (What people do they favor?):
- 9b. Por que cree Ud. que eso sucede? (Why do you think that happens?):
- 9c. Que le parece a Ud. eso? (What do you think of that?):
10. Sabe Ud. si la empresa en que trabaja emplea personas indocumentadas? (Do you know if your company employs undocumented workers?):
- If yes:
- 10a. Que opina Ud. acerca de esa practica? (What do you think of this practice?)

#### Section E -- Group Identity

1. Como residente de New Brunswick, se considera Ud. miembro(a) de un grupo o comunidad en particular? (As a New Brunswick resident, do you consider yourself a member of any group or community?):
- ( ) si
- ( ) no
- ( ) otro
- ( ) SR
- If yes:
- 1a. A cual grupo o comunidad pertenece Ud.? (To which group or community do you belong?):
2. En su opinion, cuales grupos de habla hispana existen en New Brunswick? (In your opinion, which Spanish speaking groups exist in New Brunswick?)

3. Que diferencias, si algunas, ve Ud. entre estos grupos?  
(What differences, if any, do you see among these groups?):
  
4. En su opinion como se llevan entre si los grupos de habla Hispana que viven en New Brunswick? (In your opinion, how do the Spanish-speaking groups in New Brunswick get along?):
  
5. A que cree Ud. que se debe el que los diferentes grupos se relacionen en esa forma? (Why do you think that the different groups relate to each other the way they do?):
  
6. Basado en su experiencia, como cree Ud. que los americanos tratan a la gente de habla hispana? (In your experience, how do Americans treat Spanish-speaking people?):
  
7. Cuando Ud. dice americano, que quiere decir, a quien se refiere? (When you say American, what do you mean, who are you referring to?):
  
8. Cree Ud. que los americanos tratan a los hispano-americanos como si fueran un solo grupo o como si fueran grupos diferentes? Me puede dar ejemplos? (Do you think that Americans treat Hispanic-Americans as one group or as separate groups? Can you give me examples?)

9. En cuales situaciones sucede esto mas:  
(Where does this happen most often?):
- en el trabajo (at work)
  - en las tiendas (in the stores)
  - en las agencias de servicios (in social service agencies)
  - en las escuelas (in the schools)
  - en la calle (in the street)
  - en oficinas de gobierno (in government offices)
  - otro, esp. (other, specify)

---

SR NA

10. Cree Ud. que la ciudad de New Brunswick ha cambiado desde Ud. llego aca? (Do you think the city of New Brunswick has changed since you first came?):
- si
  - no
  - otro
  - SR

If yes:

- 10a. En que forma ha cambiado? (In what way has it changed?):

- 10b. Que opina Ud. de esos cambios?  
(What do you think of these changes?):

11. Cree Ud. que la poblacion de habla hispana ha cambiado desde que Ud. llego? (Do you think that the Spanish-speaking population in New Brunswick has changed since you arrived?):
- si
  - no
  - otro
  - SR

If yes:

- 11a. Que opina Ud. de estos cambios?  
(What do you think about these changes?):

12. Cuales son los problemas y necesidades mayores que tienen los miembros de su grupo o comunidad? (What are the greatest problems and needs of members of your group or community?):
13. Que cree Ud. que se debe hacer para resolver estos problemas y necesidades? (What do you think should be done to solve these problems and needs?):
14. Cree Ud. que es posible hacer eso aqui en New Brunswick? (Do you think it is possible to do this here in NB?):
- ( ) si  
 ( ) no  
 ( ) otro  
 ( ) SR
- If yes:  
 14a. Como? (How?):
- If no:  
 14b. Por que no? (Why not?): Section F -- Religion
1. Pertenece Ud. a alguna religion? (Do you belong to any religion?):
- |                                   |                         |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| ( ) Catolica, practicante         | (practicing Catholic)   |
| ( ) Catolica, no practicante      | (non-practicing C.)     |
| ( ) Evangelica, practicante       | (prac. evangelical)     |
| ( ) Evangelica, no practicante    | (non-practicing e.)     |
| ( ) Otra religion, practicante    | (prac. other rel.)      |
| ( ) Otra religion, no practicante | (non-practicing, other) |
| esp. otra religion: _____         |                         |
| ( ) Sin religion                  | (no religion)           |
| ( ) SR                            | (NA)                    |



If any religion:

- 1a. Ha sido siempre \_\_\_\_\_?  
 (Have you always been \_\_\_\_\_?):  
 si  
 no  
 otro  
 SR

If a recent joiner in any affiliation, or converted:

- 1b. Cuanto tiempo tiene de ser \_\_\_\_\_?  
 (How long have you been \_\_\_\_\_?)
- 1c. Como fue que volvio a su religion (o convertirse)  
 (How did you happen to go back to church, or  
 to convert?):

If no religion or non-practicing:

- 1d. Ha estado afiliado o ha sido miembro activo de alguna  
 religion en su vida? (Have you ever been affiliated with  
 or an active member in any religion?):  
 si esp. \_\_\_\_\_  
 no  
 otro  
 SR

If yes:

- 1d.1. Como fue que dejo su religion, o dejo de  
 practicarla? (How did you happen to leave your  
 religion, or stop practicing it?): If respondent belongs to  
 a religion:
- 2a. Cree Ud. que ha diferencias entre Catolicos y  
 Pentecostales, me puede dar ejemplos? (Do you think  
 there are differences between Catholics and Pentacostals?  
 Can you give me examples?)

If respondent belongs to no religion:

- 2b. En su opinion, como actuan los miembros de las diferentes  
 religiones? (In your opinion, how do members of the  
 different religions act?):

3. Entre la gente de habla hispana, quien cree Ud. que tiende a ser catolico y quien tiende a ser evangelico? (Among Spanish-speaking people, who do you think tends to be Catholic and who tends to be evangelical?):

Section G -- Income

Podria decirme cuantas personas contribuyen al mantenimiento de su familia? (Could you tell me how many people contribute to the maintenance of your family?): \_\_\_\_\_

| rel. con<br>entrevistado<br>(relation to<br>respondent) | fuelle<br>(source) | cantidad<br>semanal<br>(weekly<br>amount) | ing. an.<br>aprox.<br>(appx.<br>annual inc.) |
|---------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
|---------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|

---

TOTAL:

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- African Heritage. 1984. "Racism at the Hyatt: The Shocking Statistics." The Talking Drum 2 (Spring):8-9. New Brunswick.
- Agar, Michael. 1980. The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography. New York: Academic Press.
- Alvarez, David. 1981. "Socio-economic Patterns and Diversity Among Hispanics." Research Bulletin 4 (July):11-14. Hispanic Research Center, Fordham University.
- Angel, Ronald and Marta Tienda. 1982. "Determinants of Extended Household Structure: Cultural Patterns or Economic Necessity." American Journal of Sociology 87 (May):1361-83.
- Arce, Carlos. 1981. "A Reconsideration of Chicano Culture and Identity." Daedalus 110 (Spring):177-91.
- Bach, Robert. 1978. "Mexican Immigration and the American States." International Migration Review 12 (Winter): 536-58.
- Barth, Fredrick. 1969. Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.
- Baron, Harold. 1975. "Racial Domination in Advanced Capitalism: A Theory of Nationalism and Divisions in the Labor Market." Pp. 173-216 in Richard Edwards et. al., eds. Labor Market Segmentation. Lexington: D.C. Heath and Co.
- Beauregard, Robert. 1981. "The Redevelopment of the Advanced Capitalist City." Washington D.C. Conference on New Perspectives on the Urban Political Economy: The American University.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1976. "Revitalizing a City: 'New Brunswick Tomorrow' for Whom?" New Brunswick: Department of Urban Planning, Livingston College, Rutgers University.
- Beauregard, Robert and Breviel Holcomb. 1979. "Dominant Enterprises and Acquiescent Communities: The Private Sector in Urban Revitalization." Urbanism Past and Present 8 (2):18-31.
- Blauner, Robert. 1972. Racial Oppression in America. New York: Harper and Row.
- Blumberg, Rae and Pilar Garcia. 1977. "The Political Economy of the Mother-Child Family." Pp. 99-163 in Luis Lenero-Otero, ed., Beyond the Nuclear Family. London: Sage Publications.
- Blumberg, Rhoda. 1987. Organizations in Contemporary Society. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 1984. The 1960s Freedom Struggle. Boston: G.K. Hall and Co.
- Bonacich, Edna. 1980. "Class Approaches to Ethnicity and Race." The Insurgent Sociologist 10 (2):9-23.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1979. "The Past Present and Future of Split Labor Market." in Cora Marrett and Cheryl Leggon, eds. Research in Race and Ethnic Relations 1:17-64.
- Bonilla, Frank. 1979. "Towards a Language Policy for Puerto Ricans in the United States: An Agenda for a Community in Movement." Pp. 205-11 in Raymond Padilla, ed., Bilingual Education and Public Policy in the United States. Ypsilanti: Department of Foreign Languages and Bilingual Studies, Eastern Michigan University.
- Bonnet, Aubrey. 1980. "An Examination of Rotating Credit Associations Among Black West Indians." Pp. 271-85 in Roy Bryce-Laporte, ed. Sourcebook on the New Immigration: Implications for the U.S. and the International Community. New Brunswick: Transaction Books.
- Braun, Robert. 1984. "Cooperman Charts Campaign to Educate Bilingual Teachers." The Star Ledger, p. 1, 6. March 5.
- Brown, Susan. 1975. "Loves Unites Them and Hunger Separates Them: Poor Women in the Dominican Republic." Pp.322-33 in Rayna Reiter, ed. Towards an Anthropology of Women. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Bryce-Laporte, Roy, ed. 1980. Sourcebook on the New Immigration: Implications for the U.S. and the International Community. New Brunswick: Transaction Books.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1979. "New York City and the New Caribbean Immigration." International Migration Review 13 (Summer):214-34.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1977. "Visibility of the New Immigrants." Society 14(6):18-22.
- Burawoy, Michael. 1976. "The Functions and Reproduction of Migrant Labor: Comparative Material from Southern Africa and the United States." American Journal of Sociology 81 (March):1050-87.
- Burke, Fred. 1981. "Bilingualism/Biculturalism in American Education: An Adventure in Wonderland." Annals of the American Academy Political and Social Science 454 (March):164-77.
- Byrne, Margaret. 1982. "The Irish Community." Pp.60-67 in Ruth Patt, ed. The Tercentennial Lectures. New Brunswick: The City of New Brunswick.
- Castells, Manuel. 1975. "Immigrant Workers and the Class Struggle in Advanced Capitalism: The Western European Experience." Politics and Society 5:33-66.

- Castles, Stephen and Godula Kosack. 1973. Immigrant Workers and the Class Struggle in Europe. London: Oxford University Press.
- Chaney, Elsa. 1980. "Colombians in New York City: Theoretical and Political Issues." Pp. 285-94 in Roy Bryce-Laporte 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1979. "The World Economy and Contemporary Migration." International Migration Review 13 (Summer):204-313.
- Chavana, Felipe. 1980. Citizen Participation in the Community Development Grant in New Brunswick. New Brunswick: Legal Services of New Jersey Report.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1982. Public Education in New Jersey. New Brunswick: Legal Services of New Jersey, Inc.
- Christopoulos, Diane. 1980. "The Politics of Colonialism: Puerto Rico from 1898 to 1972." Pp. 129-170 in Lopez 1980.
- Cohen, Abner. 1976. Two-Dimensional Man: An Essay on the Anthropology of Power And Symbolism in Complex Society. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Colon, Otilio. 1980. A Brief History of the Hispanic Community in New Brunswick: 1948-1980. Unpublished Manuscript.
- Communication Workers of America - Local 1082. 1984. Report on the Employment of Stewards, Housekeeping Personnel, Waitresses and Desk Clerks at the Hyatt Regency -- New Brunswick. Presented before the National Labor Relations Board. Newark, New Jersey.
- Community Outreach Center, RCMHC; Middlesex Country Economic Opportunities Corporation, et. al. n. d. "Community Critique: The City of New Brunswick's Relocation Program for the Downtown Development District, UDAG Project Area." New Brunswick.
- Cooney, Rosemary and Vilma Ortiz. 1981. "Hispanic Female Participation the Labor Force: Comparative Analysis of Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and Cubans." Paper presented at the Population Association of America Conference.
- Cue, Roberto and Robert Bach. 1980. "The Return of the Clandestine Worker and the End of the Golden Exile." Pp. 257 -269 in Roy Bryce-Laporte, 1980.
- Dietz, James. 1979. "Imperialism and Underdevelopment: A Theoretical Perspective and Case Study of Puerto Rico." The Review of Radical Political Economy 11 (Winter):16-32.
- Di Leonardo, Micaela. 1984. The Varieties of Ethnic Experience. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Dominguez, Virginia. 1978. "Show Your Colors: Ethnic Divisiveness

- Among Hispanic Caribbean Migrants." Migration Today (February):5-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1975. From Neighbor to Stranger: The Dilemma of Caribbean People in the United States. Antilles Research Project. New Haven: Yale University.
- Dore y Cabral, Carlos. 1979. Problemas de la Estructura Agraria Dominicana. Santo Domingo: Taller.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. 1964. The Absorption of Immigrants. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Ernst, Robert. 1979. Immigrant Life in New York City 1825-1863. New York: Octagon Press.
- Fanon, Frantz. 1965. A Dying Colonialism. New York: Grove Press Inc.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1963. The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press Inc.
- Flora-Butler, Cornelia and Blas Santos. 1985. "Women in Farming Systems in Latin America." Pp. 208-28 in Nash and Safa 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1973. "The Passive Female and Social Change: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Women's Magazine Fiction." Pp. 59-86 in Ann Pescatello, ed. Female and Male in Latin America. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Flores, Juan. 1984. "Que Assimilated, Brother, yo Soy Asimilao: The Structuring of Puerto Rican Identity in the United States." Paper Presented at the Conference on Popular Culture, National Identity, and Migration in the Caribbean, February. Gainesville: The University of Florida.
- Flores, Juan, John Attinasi and Pedro Pedraza. 1981. "La Carreta Made a U-Turn: Puerto Rican Language and Culture in the United States." Daedalus 110 (Spring):3-218.
- Foerster, Robert. 1968. The Italian Immigration of Our Times. New York: Russell and Russell.
- Ford Foundation. 1984. Hispanics: Challenges and Opportunities. Working Paper. New York: The Ford Foundation, Office of Reports.
- Friedman, Jack. 1979. "Class and Ethnicity as Political Strategies." Paper presented at the 55th Annual Meetings of the Central States Anthropological Society. Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
- Fussell, Paul. 1983. Class: A Guide to the American Status System. New York: Summit Books.
- Gans, Herbert. 1962. Urban Villagers. Glencoe: The Free Press.

- Garcia-Castro, Mary. 1985. "Work Versus Life: Colombian Women in New York." Pp. 231-59 in Nash and Safa 1985.
- Garrison, Vivian and Carol Weiss. 1979. "Dominican Family Networks and United States Immigration Policy." International Migration Review 13 (Summer): 264-84.
- Gendrot, Sophie and Joan Turner. 1983. "Ethnicity and Class: Politics on Manhattan's Lower East Side." Ethnic Groups 5 (July):79-108.
- Georges, Eugenia. 1984. "New Immigrants and the Political Process: Dominicans in New York." Occasional Paper 45. New York: Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, New York University.
- Glazer, Nathan and Daniel Moynihan. 1979. Ethnicity: Theory and Experience. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Gonzalez, Nancy. 1976. "Multiple Migratory Experiences of Dominican Women." Anthropological Quarterly (January):36-45.
- Gordon, Milton. 1964. Assimilation in America. London: Oxford University Press.
- Grasmuck, Sherry. 1982. The Impact of Emigration on National Development: Three Sending Communities in the Dominican Republic. Occasional Paper 33. New York: Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, New York University.
- Greene, Victor. 1977. "Becoming American: The Role of Ethnic Leaders -- Swedes, Poles, Italians, Jews." In Melvin Holli, ed., The Ethnic Frontier: Essays in the History of Group Survival in Chicago and the Midwest. Grant Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.
- Guterbock, Thomas. 1980. "The Political Economy of Urban Revitalization." Urban Affairs Quarterly 16:177-99.
- Gurak, Douglas. 1981. "Family Structural Diversity of Hispanic Ethnic Groups." Research Bulletin 4 (July):6-10. Hispanic Research Center, Fordham University.
- Gurak, Douglas and Mary Kritz. 1982. "Women in New York City: Household Structure and Employment Patterns." Migration Today 10 (3,4): 15-21.
- Gutierrez, Edwin and Eladio Sanchez. 1982. "The Hispanic Community." Pp. 57-60 in Ruth Patt, ed. 1982.
- Hareven, Tamara. 1982. Family Time and Industrial Time. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hernandez Cruz, Juan. 1986. "Reintegration of Circulating Families in Southern Puerto Rico." International Migration Review 24 (June): 397-409.

- Herbstein, Judith. 1983. "The Politization of Puerto Rican Ethnicity in New York: 1955-1975." Ethnic Groups 5 (July): 31-54.
- Higham, John. 1978. "The Forms of Ethnic Leadership." Pp. 1-17 in J. Higham, ed., Ethnic Leadership in America. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Hispanic Monitor. 1984a. "Hispanics Can Make a Difference." Vol. 1 (February): 1-7. New York: Hispanic Monitor/Observador Hispano, Inc.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1984b. "New York, Dominican Republic's Second Largest City." Vol. 1 (March): 5. New York: Hispanic Monitor/Observador Hispano, Inc.
- History Task Force, Centro de Estudios Puertorriquenos. 1979. Labor Migration Under Capitalism: The Puerto Rican Experience. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Hoetink, Harry. 1970. "The Dominican Republic in the 19th Century: Some Notes on Stratification, Immigration and Race." Pp. 73-96 in Magnus Morner, ed. Race and Class in Latin America. New York: Colombia University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1973. Slavery and Race Relations in the Americas. New York: Harper and Row.
- Holli, Melvin, ed. 1977. The Ethnic Frontier: Essays in the History of Group Survival in Chicago and the Midwest. Grand Rapids: William B. Eermans Publishing Co.
- Jaffe A.J., R.M. Cullen and T.D. Boswell. 1976. Spanish Americans in the U.S.--- Changing Demographic Characteristics. New York: Research Institute for the Study of Man.
- Kantowicz, Edward. 1975. Polish-American Politics in Chicago: 1888-1940. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kearney, Matt. 1985. "Death of a City: From Economic Resurrection to Spiritual Destruction." The Targum, September 25.
- Keefe, Richard. 1984. "Rebuilding a City, the New Brunswick Story." Presented at the Spring Colloquium Revitalizing a City: The New Brunswick Experience. Douglass College, Rutgers University.
- Kurtz, Norman. 1973. "The Rotating Credit Association: An Adaptation to Poverty." Human Organization 32:49-58.
- Lauria, Anthony. 1964. "'Respeto,' 'Relajo' and Interpersonal Relations in Puerto Rico." Anthropological Quarterly 37 (April):53-67.
- La Palombara, Joseph. 1964. Interest Groups in Italian Politics.



- Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Leacock, Eleanor, ed. 1971. The Culture of Poverty: A Critique. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Lewis, Gordon. 1963. Puerto Rico: Freedom and Power in the Caribbean. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.
- Light, Ivan. 1984. "Immigrant and Ethnic Enterprise in America." Ethnic and Racial Studies 7 (April): 196-213.
- Lieberson, Standley. 1982. "Stereotypes: Their Consequences for Race and Ethnic Interaction." Pp.47-68 in Robert Hauser et. al. eds. Social Structure and Behavior. New York: Academic Press.
- Lindsey, Robert. 1984. "Hispanic Voters at the Right Time and Place." The New York Times June 3, Section E:4.
- Lomnitz, Larissa. 1977. Networks and Marginality: Life of a Mexican Shantytown. New York: Academic Press.
- Lopez, Adalberto. 1980. "The Puerto Rican Diaspora: A Survey." Pp. 313-45 in Adalberto Lopez, ed. The Puerto Ricans: Their History, Culture and Society. Cambridge: Schekman Publishing Co.
- Maldonado-Dennis, Manuel. 1976. Puerto Rico y los Estados Unidos: Emigracion y Colonialismo. Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno.
- MacDonald, John and L. MacDonald. 1974. "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks." Pp. 226-235 in Charles Tilly, ed. An Urban World. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.
- Memmy, Albert. 1965. The Colonizer and the Colonized. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Middlesex County Planning Board. 1982a. Census Tract Data for Middlesex County: Socio-economic Characteristics. New Jersey 1980 Census of Population and Housing - Municipal Profiles, vol.4.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1982b. Labor Force and Employment Characteristics. New Jersey 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Municipal Profiles, vol.4, part B.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1982c. Income and Poverty Estimates for Families, Households and Persons. New Jersey 1980 Census of Population and Housing- Municipal Profiles, vol. 5.
- Mintz, Sidney. 1978. "Ethnicity and Leadership: An Afterward." Pp. 198- 205 in John Higham, ed. 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1971. "Men, Women and Trade." Comparative Studies in Society and History. 13 (July):247-69.

- Mintz, Sidney and Eric Wolf. 1950. "An Analysis of Ritual Coparenthood (Comadrazgo)." Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 6:341-368.
- Molner, August. 1982. "The Hungarian Community." Pp. 83-91 in Ruth Patt 1982.
- Moore, Joan. 1981. "Minorities in the American Class System." Daedalus 110:(Spring).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1970. "Colonialism: The Case of the Mexican-Americans." Social Problems 17:463-72
- Mora, Marife. 1984. Hispanic Population Survey of New Brunswick and Franklin Township. Milltown: United Way of Central Jersey, Inc.
- Morales, Waltraud Quieser. 1982. "Identity: Cuban and Puerto Rican Migration." Revista/Review Interamericana. 10 (winter):567-575.
- Morner, Magnus, ed. 1970. Race and Class in Latin America. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Nash, June and Helen Safa, editors. 1985. Women and Change in Latin America. Massachusetts: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, Inc.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1976. Sex and Class in Latin America. New York: Praeger.
- Nash, June and Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, eds. 1983. Women, Men and the International Division of Labor. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- New Brunswick Tomorrow. 1980. Annual Report. New Brunswick.
- The New York Times. 1983. "The Hispanic Vote: How Much Strength in Numbers is Big Question in 1984." September 11. Section E:5.
- Newsweek. 1980. "The New Immigrants." 96 (January), pp. 26-31
- Norwell, Douglass and James Wehrly. 1969. "A Rotating Credit Association in the Dominican Republic." Caribbean Studies 9(1):45-52.
- Oteiza, Enrique. 1971. "Emigracion de profesionales, tecnicos y obreros calificados argentinos a los Estados Unidos." Desarrollo Economico 10 (January-March):429:94.
- Padilla, Elena. 1958. Up From Puerto Rico. New York: Columbia University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1956. "Nocora: The Subculture of Workers on a Government - Owned Sugar Plantation." Pp.265-314 in Julian Steward et. al., eds. The People of Puerto Rico. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

- Park, Robert. 1950. Race and Culture. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- Parot, Joseph. 1980. "Sources of Community Conflict in Chicago Polonia: A Comparative Analysis and Historiographical Appraisal." Ethnicity 7:333-48.
- Patt, Ruth ed. 1982. The Tercentennial Lectures. New Brunswick: The City of New Brunswick.
- Pelto, Pertti, M. Roman and N. Liriano. 1982. "Family Structure in an Urban Puerto Rican Community." Urban Anthropologist 11 (Spring):39-58.
- Pessar, Patricia. 1985. "The Role of Gender in Dominican Settlement in the United States." Pp.273-94 in Nash and Safa 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1982. "The Role of Households in International Migration." International Migration Review 16 (Summer):324-64.
- Piore, Michael. 1983. "The American Work Force: Labor and Employment in the 1980s." Presented at the Owen Graduate School of Management, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1982. "Undocumented Workers and the U.S. Immigration Policy." Revista/Review Interamericana 9 (Winter):507-629.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1979. Birds of Passage. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pitt-Rivers, Julian. 1973. "Race in Latin America: The Concept of 'Raza'." European Journal of Sociology 914: 12-30.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1968. "Honor y categoria social." Pp.21-74 in J.G. Persiatiany, ed., El Concepto de Honor en la Sociedad Mediterranea. Barcelona: Editorial Labor.
- Piven, Frances and Richard Cloward. 1971. Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare. New York: Random House.
- Portes, Alejandro. 1983. "The Informal Sector." Review 7 (Summer): 151-175.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1977. "Labor Functions of Illegal Aliens." Society 14 (September): 31-37.
- Portes, Alejandro and Robert Bach. 1984. Latin Journey, Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Portes, Alejandro, R. Parker and J. Cobas. 1980. "Assimilation or Consciousness: Perceptions of U.S. Society Among Recent Latin American Immigrants to the United States." Social Forces 59(October): 200-224.

- Portes, Alejandro and John Walton. 1981. Labor, Class and the International System. London: Academic Press.
- Prieto, Yolanda. 1984. Reinterpreting a Immigrant Success Story: Cuban Women, work and Change in a New Jersey Community. Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1979. Women, Work and Change: The Case of Cuban Women in the United States. Erie: The Northwestern Pennsylvania Institute for Latin American Studies.
- Ramos, Aaron. 1975. "Agrarian Structure, Labor Migration and Urbanization in the Plantation Economies of the Caribbean." Unpublished manuscript. New Brunswick, Rutgers University.
- Reock, Jeanne. 1953. The Hungarian Community of New Brunswick. New Brunswick: Honor Thesis, New Jersey College For Women, Rutgers University.
- Rischin, Moses. 1962. The Promised City: New York City Jews, 1870-1914. Massachusets: Harvard University Press.
- Rivera, Miriam and Luisa Medina. 1977. The History of the Puerto Action Board in Relationship to the Development of the Hispanic Community in New Brunswick. New Brunswick: Puerto Action Board Inc.
- Rogler, Lloyd. 1976. "Alienation and the Raise of an Ideology of Activism in a Puerto Rican Migrant Organization." Pp. 261-73 in Roy Bryce-Laporte and Caldwell Thomas, eds., Alienation in Contemporary Society. New York: Praeger.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1972. Migrant in the City: The Life of a Puerto Rican Action Group. New York: Basic Books.
- Rollwagen, Jack. 1974. "Mediation and Rural-Urban Migration in Mexico." Latin American Urban Research 4:47-63.
- Rothenberg, Stuart. 1983. Ethnic Voters and National Issues -- Coalitions in the 1980s. Washington D.C.: Free Congress, Research and Educational Foundation.
- Rubbo, Anna. 1975. "The Spread of Capitalism In Rural Colombia: Effects on Poor Women." Pp. 333-58 in Rayna Reiter 1975.
- Ruskin, Francine and Herve Varenne. 1983. "The Production of Ethnic Discourse: American and Puerto Rican Patterns." Pp. 553-58 in Bruce Bain, ed. The Sociogenesis of Language and Human Conduct. New York: Plenum Press.
- Safa, Helen. 1985a. "Female Employment in the Puerto Rican Working Class." Pp. 84-105 in J. Nash and H. Safa 1985.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 1985b. "Migration and Identity: A Comparison of Puerto Rican and Cuban Migrants in the United States." Unpublished Manuscript.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1981. "The Differential Incorporation of Hispanic Women Migrants Into the U.S. Labor Force." in Delores Mortimer and Roy Bryce-Laporte, eds. Female Immigrants to the United States: Caribbean, Latin America, and African Experiences. Washington, D.C.: Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1974. The Urban Poor in Puerto Rico. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Safa, Helen and Brian du Toit, eds. 1975. Migration and Development: Implications for Ethnic Identity and Political Conflict. The Hague: Mouton.
- Saloutos, Theodore. 1964. The Greeks in the Unites States. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Santana, Isidro y Antonio Tatis. 1985. "Tendencias recientes y perspectivas de la situacion ocupacional en la Republica Dominicana." Poblacion y Desarrollo. Santo Domingo: Boletin del Instituto de Estudios de Poblacion y Desarrollo.
- Sassen- Koob, Saskia. 1981 "Exporting Capital and Importing Labor The Role of Caribbean Migration to New York City." Occasional Paper 28. New York: Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, New York University.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1979. "Formal and Informal Associations: Dominicans and Colombians in New York." International Migration Review 15(Summer): 314-32.
- Schermerhorn, R.A. 1970. Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Practice. New York: Random House.
- Seda Bonilla, Eduardo. 1972. Requiem por una cultura. Rio Piedras: Ediciones Bayoan.
- Seidl, Tom, J. Shenk and A. DeWind. 1980. "The San Juan Shuttle: Puerto Ricans on Contract." Pp.417-33 in Adalberto Lopez 1980.
- Snyder, Peter. 1976. "Neighborhood Gatekeepers in the Process of Urban Adaptation." Urban Anthropology 5(1):35-51.
- Stack, Carol. 1974. All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in the Black Community. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.
- Steinberg, Stephen. 1983. The Ethnic Myth. New York: Atheneum.
- Stevens, Evelyn. 1973. "Marianismo: The Other Face of Machismo." Pp.87-102 in Ann Pescatello 1973.

- Steward, Julian. 1956. "Introduction." Pp.1-21 in Julian Steward et. al. eds. The People of Puerto Rico. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Sutton, Constance and Susan Makieski. 1975. "Migration and West Indian Racial and Ethnic Identity." Pp. 113-144 in Safa and Du Toit 1975.
- Tilly, Louise and Joan Scott. 1978. Women, Work and Family. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Time. 1978. "Hispanic Americans: Soon the Biggest Minority" Special Report, October 16:48-61.
- Tax, Sol. 1952. Penny Capitalism. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Institute of Social Anthropology - Publication 16. Government Printing Office.
- Ugalde, Antonio, F. Dean and G. Cardenas. 1979. "International Migration from the Dominican Republic: Findings from the National Survey." International Migration Review 13 (Summer): 235-254.
- Urrea-Giraldo, Fernando. 1982. "Life Strategies and the Labor Market: Colombians in New York in the 1970s." Occasional Paper 34. New York: Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, New York University.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1963. Census of Population 1960. Characteristics of the Population. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1973. Census of Population 1970. Characteristics of the Population. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1985. Population Characteristics. Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: 1982. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1983. Census of Population 1980. Characteristics of the Population. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. 1976. Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States: An Uncertain Future. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Varenne, Herve. 1986. "'Drop in Anytime': Community and Authenticity in American Everyday Life." In Herve Varenne, ed. Symbolizing America. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Vicens, Lucas. 1982. Crisis Economica: 1978-1982. Santo Domingo: Editora Alfa y Omega.

- Vidal, David. 1986. "Life in Hispanic Queens: Together, Yet Separate." The New York Times, May 11, Section B, pp. 1, 6; May 12, Section B, pp. 1, 6; May 13, Section B, pp. 1, 8; May 14, Section B, pp. 1, 6.
- Vilas, Carlos. 1976. "La politica de dominacion en la Republica Dominicana." Pp. 125-160 in A. Corten et. al., eds., Azucar y Politica. Santo Domingo: Taller.
- Waldinger, Roger. 1984. "Immigrant Enterprises in New York City." Social Problems 32(October):60-77.
- Wall, John. 1931. Chronicles of New Brunswick, New Jersey. New Brunswick: Thatcher-Anderson Co.
- Wrong, Dennis. 1976. Skeptical Sociology. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wilson, Kenneth and Alejandro Portes. 1980. "Immigrant Enclaves: An Analysis of the Labor Market Experiences of Cuban in Miami." American Journal of Sociology 86 (2):295-319.
- Wittke, Carl. 1956. The Irish in America. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University.
- Wolf, Eric. 1982. Europe and the People Without History. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- World Bank. 1981. "Republica Dominicana: Analisis del Sector Agricola." Report prepared for Department of Latin American and Caribbean Regional Office.
- Young, Randy. 1978. "Can Johnson & Johnson Save New Brunswick?" New Jersey Monthly 2 (12): 91-103.

## Yanet Baldares

- 1943 Born September 5 in San Jose, Costa Rica
- 1960 Graduated from Saint Louis Gonzaga Secondary School, Cartago, Costa Rica.
- 1961-65 Attended University of Costa Rica, Costa Rica. Bachelor's degree, 1965, majoring in Education and Psychology.
- 1973-74 Attended Rutgers The State University, New Brunswick. Bachelor's degree, 1974, majoring in Sociology.
- 1974-79 Graduate Work in Sociology, Rutgers, The State University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Masters degree in Sociology, 1977.
- 1974-76 Teaching Assistant, Department of Sociology.
- 1977-78 Walter Russell Scholarship.
- 1978-1979 Field Coordinator, Hispanic Research Center, Fordham University, for research project of Dr. Eleanor Rogg among Cubans of West New York.
- 1980-1983 Staff member, Rutgers Community Outreach Center, in charge of community development and local advocacy for Spanish-speaking residents of New Brunswick.
- 1983-84 Visiting Part-time Lecturer, Department of Sociology, Rutgers, The State University.
- 1987 Ph.D. in Sociology, Rutgers, The State University.