“THE BATTLE FOR HARMONY”: INTERGROUP RELATIONS BETWEEN BLACKS AND LATINOS IN PHILADELPHIA, 1950S TO 1980S

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“THE BATTLE FOR HARMONY”: INTERGROUP RELATIONS BETWEEN BLACKS AND LATINOS IN PHILADELPHIA, 1950S TO 1980S

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This dissertation is a case study that explores black and Latino relations in North Philadelphia neighborhoods from the 1950s through the 1980s. It draws upon community organization records, local government documents, newspapers, and oral histories. In the fifties and sixties, scarce housing, language barriers, Puerto Ricans’ ambiguous racial identity, and slow adaptation by local institutions contributed to racial tension and social segregation. But from the late sixties through the late seventies, black-Latino relationships markedly improved. During this crucial decade, blacks and Latinos increasingly drew upon their shared circumstances to form strategic alliances. They used grassroots organizing to pressure existing institutions, focusing on basic issues like schools, housing, and police. Coinciding developments like the election of a racially-polarizing mayoral administration and greater federal funding for antipoverty programs boosted these efforts. The Philadelphia case provides a counterpoint to studies that have emphasized black-Latino conflict and contributes to an emerging literature on multiracial coalitions.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In 1979, Philadelphia's Black Political Convention produced a human rights agenda that sought better lives for "Black *and* Puerto Rican communities" throughout.[1] Just eleven years earlier, though, there was widespread racial tension between the city's black and Puerto Rican residents. The shared agenda of 1979 symbolized a greater sense of unity that had developed during the interceding decade among neighbors, classmates, and colleagues pressing for change. Along the way, a number of historical trends coincided to produce an environment more conducive to interracial cooperation in an ongoing "battle for harmony."[2]

Black and Latino communities have coexisted in United States cities for many decades, but their experiences are usually considered separately. We know relatively little about the history of cooperation and conflict between these groups in the twentieth century. At what times and over what issues did black and Latino citizens unite or split? This dissertation addresses that larger question through a case study of the relationships and interactions between blacks and Latinos in Philadelphia from the 1950s through the 1980s.[3]

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[1] Emphasis added. "Human Rights Agenda: Black Political Convention Focus '79," 26-30 Dec 1978 and 5-7 Jan 1979, Box 22 Folder 9, Acc 580 Tenant Action Group, Temple University Libraries, Urban Archives, Philadelphia (hereafter TUA).

[2] Lewis Carter, quoted in Lou Antosh, "Rumors of Rapes, Beatings at Stetson Hashed Out," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 5 Dec 1974, Rouse, Mary Mrs. - Civic Leader, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Newspaper Clipping Collection (hereafter Bulletin Clippings), TUA.

[3] A note on terminology: Throughout this dissertation, I use the terms "Latino" and "Puerto Rican" almost interchangeably. The vast majority of the Latino population in Philadelphia was of Puerto Rican descent. Though some Latinos of Cuban, Mexican, Venezuelan, and other descent also lived in the city during this time, their

Philadelphia had an established free black community dating back to colonial times. In the twentieth century, the black population grew exponentially as a result of the Great Migration of African Americans from the South. Philadelphia's manufacturing jobs also attracted labor migrants from Latin America, particularly Puerto Ricans. Accelerating postwar deindustrialization and suburbanization made these groups an ever-larger city presence, especially in North Philadelphia neighborhoods like Spring Garden, Ludlow, and Kensington.[4] Black and Latino communities in Philadelphia shared many circumstances: housing and employment discrimination, struggles over school policy, and confrontations with local government over police brutality and urban redevelopment.

In the fifties and sixties, racial tension and social segregation hampered interactions between blacks and Latinos. But from the late sixties through the late seventies, the relationship between blacks and Latinos markedly improved. During this crucial decade, blacks and Latinos increasingly drew upon their shared circumstances to form strategic alliances while working to better their lives and neighborhoods. Their efforts built upon tentative cooperation in earlier years and were boosted by coinciding political, economic, and social developments. By the eighties, the closer alliance between black and Latino communities had become formalized in local politics.

Several factors contributed to the emergence of more peaceful and cooperative relations in Philadelphia. The city's black population established a strong activist tradition based on self-help

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presence was very small and all Latino organizations in the city were dominated by Puerto Ricans. Thus in many cases it makes sense to assume that the Latino population under consideration was almost entirely Puerto Rican. I employ the term "Latino" in addition to "Puerto Rican" because many contemporary documents referred not to Puerto Ricans specifically, but rather to the "Spanish," the "Spanish speaking," or "Hispanics." In some cases, these documents may actually reflect the presence of Spanish-speaking persons who were not of Puerto Rican descent.

[4] By 1972, for example, Kensington's Penn Treaty Junior High School enrolled equal proportions of black, Latino, and white students. Office of Research and Evaluation, School District of Philadelphia, "Enrollment: Negro and Spanish Speaking in the Philadelphia Public Schools 1971-1972," 12, Box 18 Folder 15, Acc 469 Floyd Logan, TUA.

and representative democracy. While evolving notions of Black Power pushed black activists in some other cities toward racial exclusivity, those in North Philadelphia focused more on the shared oppression of racial and ethnic minorities. As U.S. citizens with voting rights, their Puerto Rican neighbors were potential political allies. Blacks far outnumbered Puerto Ricans; in 1970, they represented 33 percent and 4 percent of the city population, respectively.[5] This size disparity helped to foster alliances in two ways. First, the large black population did not feel threatened by such a small Latino presence. Second, Puerto Ricans had an incentive to cooperate with blacks because they were politically weak on their own. City politics that privileged whites and the middle class made it increasingly clear that as nonwhites with fewer resources, many Puerto Ricans and blacks faced similar discrimination.[6] Moreover, blacks and Latinos lived in close proximity in several North Philadelphia neighborhoods, facilitating daily contact and providing shared place-based concerns. The Philadelphia case presents a counterpoint to black and Latino relations in many other cities, which have been characterized by more persistent conflict or limited interaction.

[5] Based on figures in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1970, Subject Reports, Final Report PC (2)-1C, Persons of Spanish Origin* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1970), Table 14, 163; Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States," Table 39, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Working Paper No. 76, February 2005, http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/twps0076.html. It should be noted that Puerto Rican leaders in Philadelphia assailed the 1970 census for underestimating the Puerto Rican population.
[6] While many Puerto Rican migrants may have preferred to claim a white identity in the fifties and early sixties, as time went on it was increasingly clear that even light-skinned Puerto Ricans faced significant prejudice. I therefore generalize Puerto Ricans and blacks as "nonwhite" here and elsewhere as a reflection of the discrimination faced by both groups in their interactions with white Philadelphians. For simplicity, references to white Philadelphia residents in this dissertation do not encompass light-skinned Latinos unless otherwise noted.

1.1 HISTORIOGRAPHY

The literatures on urban history, migration history, civil rights, and the experiences of African Americans and Latinos overlap at times, but often exist in parallel without speaking to each other. As a result, glimpses of black and Latino relations can be found in many works, but the topic has rarely been a primary focus for historians. Sociologists and political scientists, prompted to investigate the implications of a growing Latino population, have produced a body of work on black and Latino relations in the 1990s and early 2000s based largely on attitudinal surveys and municipal election results. Recently, an increasing number of historians have turned their attention to the longer trajectory of black and Latino relations, propelled by broader conceptions of American race relations that reach beyond black and white alongside reconsiderations of the periodization and manifestations of the civil rights movement. Their works join a growing body of literature on relations among various minority groups.[7] Existing studies have been confined almost exclusively to Southwestern cities, Chicago, and New York.

Scholars have reached little consensus on the general character of black and Latino relations, and instead see them as highly contingent. While earlier works tended to emphasize either conflict or cooperation, more recent studies inhabit the middle ground, demonstrating that tension, collaboration, and neutral separation often existed simultaneously.[8] Research in the field

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[7] Lilia Fernandez, *Brown in the Windy City: Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Postwar Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Scott Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Cheryl Lynn Greenberg, *Troubling the Waters: Black-Jewish Relations in the American Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); Mark Wild, *Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

[8] As Brian D. Behnken states it, "black and brown relations in the United States, especially during the civil rights era, could be both conflicted and cooperative, contentious and collaborative." Behnken, "Introduction," in *The Struggle in Black and Brown: African American and Mexican American Relations During the Civil Rights Era*, ed. Brian D. Behnken (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 4. Other works that seek to balance instances of conflict and cooperation include Sonia Song-Ha Lee, *"Proud to Be Maladjusted": Puerto Ricans, Black Americans,*

continues to emerge, but my survey of the existing literature suggests some broad generalizations. Overall, the historical contours of black and Latino relations in U.S. cities vary by population demographics, geographical scale, and social class.

Demographic variations in the character of black and Latino relations overlap heavily with regional differences. Latino, as a pan-ethnic category of analysis, obscures the uneven settlement patterns of persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban descent, to name only the most populous groups. It also masks the phenotypical diversity of Latinos, as lighter- and darker-skinned individuals may have different experiences. The relative sizes of black and Latino populations vary widely from city to city. Citizenship matters as well; immigration policy may be less of a concern in areas where Latinos are primarily Puerto Rican, and eligibility to vote may open the door toward political coalitions with blacks.

Overviews of black and Latino relations in the Southwest have shown very limited cooperation between the groups. In general, these cities have Latino populations that are primarily of Mexican descent and that match or outnumber their black counterparts. Throughout much of the twentieth century, black and Latino neighborhoods in these cities were separate and distinct. In areas like South Los Angeles, where formerly black residential areas became increasingly Latino from the sixties onward, ethnic succession combined with economic factors to create conditions ripe for competition over jobs and housing.[9] Brief studies of Compton, Phoenix, and Houston show that coalitions have generally been fragile, and that blacks and

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and the Building of a Latino Civil Rights Movement (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, forthcoming); Shana Bernstein, *Bridges of Reform: Interracial Civil Rights Activism in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Gordon K. Mantler, *Power to the Poor: Black-Brown Coalition & the Fight for Economic Justice, 1960-1974* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Luis Alvarez and Daniel Widener, "A History of Black and Brown: Chicana/O-African American Cultural and Political Relations," *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 33, no. 1 (2005): 143-54.

[9] Melvin H. Oliver and James H. Johnson, Jr., "Inter-Ethnic Conflict in an Urban Ghetto: The Case of Blacks and Latinos in Los Angeles," *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change* 6 (1984): 57-94.

Latinos have often worked toward group goals separately if not been in outright conflict.[10] Neil Foley argues in his work on black and Mexican-American relations in the 1940s and 1950s, based primarily in Texas, that one significant obstacle to a stronger alliance was Mexican-Americans' claim to whiteness and their attendant prejudice against blacks.[11] Brian Behnken continues that story in showing how black and Mexican-American organizations in Texas fought parallel, yet separate battles for civil rights, as prejudices on both sides prevented a more unified effort.[12] Mark Brilliant's work on civil rights reform in California reveals how the legal campaigns waged by black, Mexican, Chinese, and Japanese Americans did not foster significant interracial unity because "different axes of discrimination demanded different avenues of redress."[13] Studies of Miami, where the Latino population is primarily Cuban, also find more conflict than cooperation.[14]

Meanwhile, studies of Northeastern cities have identified more comprehensive cooperation. These cities have Latino populations that are heavily Puerto Rican and are smaller than or just equal to the black population. In these dense inner cities, black and Puerto Rican

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[10] Albert M. Camarillo, "Black and Brown in Compton: Demographic Change, Suburban Decline, and Intergroup Relations in a South Central Los Angeles Community, 1950-2000," in *Not Just Black and White: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States*, ed. Nancy Foner and George M. Fredrickson (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004), 358-76; Matthew C. Whitaker, "Great Expectations: African American and Latino Relations in Phoenix since World War II," in *African American Urban History since World War II*, ed. Kenneth L. Kusmer and Joe W. Trotter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 83-97; Tatcho Mindiola, Jr., Yolanda Flores Niemann, and Néstor Rodriguez, *Black-Brown Relations and Stereotypes* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 7-18.

[11] Neil Foley, *Quest for Equality: The Failed Promise of Black-Brown Solidarity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

[12] Brian D. Behnken, *Fighting Their Own Battles: Mexican Americans, African Americans, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Texas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

[13] Mark Brilliant, *The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941-1978* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 9.

[14] Raymond A. Mohl, "Blacks and Hispanics in Multicultural America: A Miami Case Study," *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 40, no. 3 (1995): 389-413; Morton D. Winsberg, "Ethnic Competition for Residential Space in Miami, Florida, 1970-80," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 42, no. 3 (1983): 305-14; Guillermo J. Grenier and Max Castro, "Blacks and Cubans in Miami: The Negative Consequences of the Cuban Enclave on Ethnic Relations," in *Governing American Cities: Interethnic Coalitions, Competition, and Conflict*, ed. Michael Jones-Correa (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001), 137-57; Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

residential spaces are more likely to overlap. In New York City, historian Sonia Lee and others have found a considerable amount of solidarity between blacks and Puerto Ricans in the sixties and seventies. Black-Puerto Rican coalitions were rooted in neighborhood movements surrounding crime and schools, received a boost from War on Poverty funding, and culminated in campaigns for community control of schools. These relations, of course, were not completely harmonious, and were still given to tensions over the distribution of power and funding.[15] Lee sees the genesis and subsequent fracturing of black-Puerto Rican coalitions as directly related to two factors. First, changing racial identities among Puerto Ricans determined their willingness to link their fate to that of African Americans. Throughout the fifties and early sixties, many Puerto Ricans preferred to distinguish themselves from blacks by claiming a Hispanic identity that might allow them greater access to the privileges of whiteness. As that hope faded and blacks continued to make civil rights gains, a community identity that celebrated Puerto Rican heritage and vehemently fought Puerto Ricans' marginalization as a minority group gained currency. Second, within the Puerto Rican community, the differing priorities of middle class professionals and the working class majority undermined their ability to sustain an alliance with blacks.[16] Observations of Boston and Newark note similar alliances and fractures between blacks and Latinos.[17]

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[15] While War on Poverty funding initially boosted black-Puerto Rican coalitions in New York, over time the administration of War on Poverty programs led to notable conflict between the groups over finite resources. Lee, *"Proud to Be Maladjusted"*; Frederick Douglass Opie, "Developing Their Minds without Losing Their Soul: Black and Latino Student Coalition-Building in New York, 1965-1969," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 33, no. 2 (2009): 79-108; Wendell Pritchett, *Brownsville, Brooklyn: Blacks, Jews, and the Changing Face of the Ghetto* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 191-238.

[16] Lee, *"Proud to Be Maladjusted"*; Sonia S. Lee and Ande Diaz, "'I Was the One Percenter': Manny Diaz and the Beginnings of a Black-Puerto Rican Coalition " *Journal of American Ethnic History* 26, no. 3 (2007): 52-80.

[17] Mauricio Gaston and Marie Kennedy, "Capital Investment or Community Development? The Struggle for Land Control by Boston's Black and Latino Community," *Antipode* 19, no. 2 (1987): 178-209; Komozi Woodard, *A Nation within a Nation: Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) and Black Power Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 138-55.

Intergroup relations also vary depending on the scale of analysis. Scholars using neighborhoods as their framework tend to find more everyday cooperation and accommodation. Researchers considering city or national politics, meanwhile, find less consistent cooperation and sometimes outright conflict. A possible exception to this pattern is interaction surrounding public schools, which by their nature are both extremely local and municipal institutions. That is, on the one hand schools occupy neighborhood spaces and serve youth in the immediate area, leaving them subject to the demands of those residents. On the other hand, since public schools are a government entity, they also embody city politics and priorities. The effect of geographic scale on patterns of black-Latino interaction is linked to that of social class. Broadly speaking, working class relationships (often seated at the neighborhood level) have been more consistently harmonious than those among members of the middle class (more evident in city and national politics). At times, white elites seeking to maintain their own hegemony have intentionally fostered distance between black and Latino middle-class leaders and politicians.[18]

Historian Albert Camarillo has noted that many harmonious relations between blacks and Latinos occur "under the radar," failing to draw the outside attention or media coverage that conflict does.[19] Many of these day-to-day interactions take place at street level where blacks and Latinos live in the same areas. In Compton, there was little connection between larger political tensions and street-level relations.[20] Indeed, at times the lack of adequate political representation actually fostered grassroots connections between blacks and Latinos as they worked for

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[18] I have drawn these generalizations from a survey of works cited in the following four paragraphs.
[19] Albert M. Camarillo, "Cities of Color: The New Racial Frontier in California's Minority-Majority Cities," *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 1 (2007): 27. Bill Piatt also notes the unsung role of countless individuals in forging group ties. Piatt, *Black and Brown in America: The Case for Cooperation* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 11-12.
[20] Camarillo, "Black and Brown in Compton," 372.

improvements through a place-based organizing strategy.[21] One example is the 1980s campaign by a black and Latino neighborhood group to fight gentrification and gain resident planning input for the Roxbury section of Boston.[22] Shared neighborhood concerns also allowed individual black and Mexican American women to maintain cooperative relationships in South Central Los Angeles during the 1980s, despite larger group tensions.[23]

Another manifestation of close local relations appears between ethnic nationalist groups like the Black Panthers, the Puerto Rican Young Lords Organization, and the Brown Berets. These groups were dedicated to protecting and improving their immediate neighborhoods, and scholars including Jeffrey Ogbar, Johanna Fernandez, and Laura Pulido have documented their connections in the late sixties and early seventies.[24] While communication certainly occurred at higher leadership levels, much of the interaction between these groups took place between rank and file members of local chapters, who were sometimes neighbors. Groups like these had relatively small memberships, but their high visibility expanded their influence. In Newark, for instance, Komozi Woodard has shown how a mutual defense pact struck at the neighborhood level between the Committee for a Unified New Ark and the Young Lords translated into a larger

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[21] John J. Betancur and Douglas C. Gills, "The African American and Latino Coalition Experience in Chicago under Mayor Harold Washington," in *The Collaborative City: Opportunities and Struggles for Blacks and Latinos in U.S. Cities*, ed. John J. Betancur and Douglas C. Gills (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 63.

[22] Gaston and Kennedy, "Capital Investment."

[23] Abigail Rosas, "Raising a Neighborhood: Informal Networks between African American and Mexican American Women in South Central Los Angeles," in *The Struggle in Black and Brown: African American and Mexican American Relations During the Civil Rights Era*, ed. Brian D. Behnken (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 237-56.

[24] Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar, "Puerto Rico en Mi Corazón: The Young Lords, Black Power and Puerto Rican Nationalism in the U.S., 1966-1972," *Centro* 18, no. 1 (2006): 148-69; Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar, "Brown Power to Brown People: Radical Ethnic Nationalism, the Black Panthers, and Latino Radicalism, 1967-1973," in *In Search of the Black Panther Party: New Perspectives on a Revolutionary Movement*, ed. Jama Lazero and Yohuru Williams (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 252-87; Johanna Fernandez, "The Young Lords: Its Origins and Convergences with the Black Panther Party," in *Radicals in Black and Brown: Palante, People's Power, and Common Cause in the Black Panthers and the Young Lords Organization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2007), 8-10, published in conjunction with the exhibition "Radicals in Black and Brown" shown at the Sonya Haynes Stone Center for Black Culture and History, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

political alliance that reshaped city elections.[25] Other scholars have documented cultural influences in music, dress, and sport, which provided shared reference points and experiences among black and Latino neighbors.[26]

At the municipal level, Camarillo finds that education and politics are among the most divisive issues in California's smaller minority-majority cities.[27] A few studies have shown how battles over local schools can become racially charged despite otherwise harmonious neighborhood relations. In Compton and the Chicago neighborhood of Lawndale, friction over control of school policies, personnel, and resources drove a wedge between black and Latino groups.[28] From the eighties onward, major cities like Chicago, Houston, and New York have seen electoral coalitions between black and Latino communities. Yet these have generally been halting and temporary, sustained only through the municipal election cycle at hand. And at times blacks and Latinos have failed to reach consensus on a candidate, occasionally ensuring the success of other contenders.[29]

At the national level, cooperation has occurred, but alliances are fragile. Black and Latino

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[25] Woodard, *Nation within a Nation*, 138-55.

[26] Luis Alvarez and Daniel Widener, "Brown-Eyed Soul: Popular Music and Cultural Politics in Los Angeles," in *The Struggle in Black and Brown: African American and Mexican American Relations During the Civil Rights Era*, ed. Brian D. Behnken (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 211-36; Many of the contributions in Miriam Jiménez Román and Juan Flores, eds., *The Afro-Latin@ Reader: History and Culture in the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Luis Alvarez, *The Power of the Zoot: Youth Culture and Resistance During World War II* (Berkeley: Universiy of California Press, 2008); Juan Flores, *From Bomba to Hip Hop: Puerto Rican Culture and Latino Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Adelaida Reyes-Schramm, "The Role of Music in the Interaction of Black Americans and Hispanos in New York City's East Harlem" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1975).

[27] Camarillo, "Cities of Color," 18.

[28] Emily E. Straus, "Unequal Pieces of a Shrinking Pie: The Struggle between African Americans and Latinos over Education, Employment, and Empowerment in Compton, California," *History of Education Quarterly* 49, no. 4 (2009); Jeremy D. Browning, "Intergroup Conflict in Chicago: The Intersection of Ethnicity and Economic Restructuring at the Neighborhood Level" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1994).

[29] Betancur and Gills, "African American and Latino Coalition"; Mindiola, Niemann, and Rodriguez, *Black-Brown Relations*, 16, 127; Frank Bonilla and Walter Stafford, "African Americans and Puerto Ricans in New York: Cycles and Circles of Discrimination," in *The Collaborative City: Opportunities and Struggles for Blacks and Latinos in U.S. Cities*, ed. John J. Betancur and Douglas C. Gills (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000); Howard Gillette, *Camden after the Fall: Decline and Renewal in a Postindustrial City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 116-19.

civil rights and advocacy groups like the NAACP, the Urban League, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), and the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) have a long history of communication and are nominal allies. Gordon Mantler suggests that the common fight against poverty waged by black and Latino organizations in the sixties and seventies "held the greatest potential for multiracial cooperation at the time."[30] Yet divisions over a number of issues festered. Different strategies and leadership clashed. Black groups were not necessarily anxious to see Latinos benefit from the fruits of their struggle, while many Latinos felt ignored in favor of blacks. At times, these groups disagreed over how inclusive government policies designed to ameliorate discrimination should be.[31]

In recent years, a number of popular and scholarly works have commented on the shifting terrain of black and Latino relations. These works see trends that emerged in the 1990s and 2000s as transformative. First among these are pure demographics: the continued immigration of Latinos and their attendant population growth have dramatically increased their political profile. Latinos now command greater attention from politicians, both Democratic and Republican. In turn, that same population growth has increased friction between blacks and Latinos over employment, language, and immigration reform. Whether correct or not, many blacks developed the perception that Latinos were taking jobs at their expense. Meanwhile, many blacks supported policies making English the official national language and sought to preserve scarce school funding. Latinos, on the other hand, opposed English-only policies and pushed for expanded bilingual education. As Latino population movement into the U.S. continued, immigration

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[30] Carlos K. Blanton, "George I. Sanchez, Ideology, and Whiteness in the Making of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement, 1930-1960," *Journal of Southern History* 72, no. 3 (2006): 569-604; Mantler, *Power to the Poor*, 4.

[31] Earl Ofari Hutchinson, *The Latino Challenge to Black America: Towards a Conversation between African Americans and Hispanics* (Los Angeles: Middle Passage Press, 2007), 152-61; Nicolás C. Vaca, *The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict between Latinos and Blacks and What It Means for America* (New York: Rayo, 2004), 4-5, 8-10.

reform became another arena of conflict, with some blacks leaning toward stricter controls and Latinos toward leniency.[32] These trends have drawn the interest of a number of sociologists and political scientists who see the course of present and future black and Latino relations as having huge policy and practical implications.[33]

My survey of existing studies suggests that we are most likely to find historical cooperation between blacks and Latinos given particular circumstances. An ideal setting for harmonious local relations between the groups might include: 1) a size disparity between black and Latino populations; 2) a Latino population that has high rates of U.S. citizenship; 3) overlapping residential areas which would provide shared neighborhood concerns; and 4) shared economic concerns, particularly among working-class residents.

1.2 SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

In order to provide a nuanced portrait of relations between blacks and Latinos, I consulted an array of qualitative sources that illuminate group experiences at varying levels, from individual accounts on up to metropolitan political observations. Geographically, I emphasize a few North

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[32] For general overviews on these issues, see Hutchinson, *Latino Challenge to Black America*; Vaca, *Presumed Alliance*; Piatt, *Black and Brown in America*. For a survey of studies on the impact of Latino migration on black employment, see Frank D. Bean et al., "Immigration and Labor Market Dynamics," in *Just Neighbors? Research on African American and Latino Relations in the United States*, ed. Edward Telles, Mark Q. Sawyer, and Gaspar Rivera-Salgado (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011).

[33] These works, focusing on the 1990s and early 2000s, find a wide range of relationships between groups. While identifying factors like racial stereotypes and language that hinder close, prolonged cooperation, they also highlight successful coalitions (if only temporary) as building blocks for more sustained future alliances. Edward Telles, Mark Q. Sawyer, and Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, eds., *Just Neighbors? Research on African American and Latino Relations in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011); Anani Dzidzienyo and Suzanne Oboler, eds., *Neither Enemies nor Friends: Latinos, Blacks, Afro-Latinos* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 159-279; Mindiola, Niemann, and Rodriguez, *Black-Brown Relations*; James Jennings, ed. *Blacks, Latinos, and Asians in Urban America: Status and Prospects for Politics and Activism* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994).

Philadelphia neighborhoods that had the most integrated black and Latino populations, but connect these neighborhoods to wider city dynamics.

Because Puerto Ricans are far fewer and more geographically concentrated than their black counterparts, my research strategy was to scour potential sources for references to Puerto Ricans, Hispanics, Latinos, or Spanish-speaking residents and to see what, if anything, they also told me about their black neighbors. As a result of this research strategy, portions of this dissertation place more emphasis on the Latino side of black-Latino relations. But this unevenness is fitting for a few reasons. Latino Philadelphia has attracted far less scholarly attention than black Philadelphia. In addition, the disparity in relative population sizes may have made strategic alliances more crucial to the advancement of Puerto Ricans than blacks.

Research at five Philadelphia archives allowed me to collect a wealth of primary sources.[34] Newspaper articles offer chronology and descriptions of community actions and reactions, often including personal quotations.[35] Archival records from community organizations, particularly correspondence and meeting minutes, document the daily activities of these organizations and the networks they formed. Local government records reveal whether agencies addressed black and Latino citizens on the same terms. Oral history interviews, both existing collections and those I conducted myself, grant access to experiences absent from the written record. Recent

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[34] I consulted primary sources at Temple University Libraries' Urban Archives, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia City Archives, the Eugenio Maria de Hostos Archives Center at Taller Puertorriqueño, and the Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center.

[35] I draw heavily from major daily newspapers like the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and the *Philadelphia Daily News*, as well as an African American newspaper, the *Philadelphia Tribune*. I also make use of a Spanish-language newspaper from the early seventies, *La Actualidad*, and several underground newspapers written from more radical perspectives: *Kensington Peoples Press*, *Philadelphia Free Press*, *Distant Drummer*, and *The Organizer*. These alternative newspapers often covered demonstrations and events absent from major daily newspapers. On the postwar history and significance of the underground press, see John McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Rodger Streitmatter, *Voices of Revolution: The Dissident Press in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 181-278.

monographs on Puerto Rican migrants, Black Power and civil rights, and employment programs in postwar Philadelphia and a host of local theses and dissertations provide context and corroboration.[36]

I use these sources to identify instances of cooperation, conflict, and parallel efforts among blacks and Latinos. I consider these instances against the backdrop of relations with whites and the larger urban setting. I also carefully note the influence of overlapping identities of class, gender, and nationality. With this approach, I have chosen to focus on black and Latino relations in the context of everyday urban struggles for power and resources. Overall, my broad source base allows me to present a close, textured reading of intergroup relations.

1.3 THE PHILADELPHIA CASE

My research on Philadelphia confirms that demographic factors play a major role in determining the character of black-Latino relations in American cities. Philadelphia also shows us the importance of two additional factors that have received much less attention from other scholars. First, youth play a significant role in facilitating contact between black and Latino communities. Second, forces external to black and Latino communities themselves can often prove decisive in spurring or preventing greater unity among blacks and Latinos. A historical approach to black-Latino relations seated at the neighborhood level allows us to see both temporal change and the actions of individuals responding to everyday concerns. Lastly, the "battle for harmony" in

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[36] Carmen Teresa Whalen, *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia: Puerto Rican Workers and Postwar Economies* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Matthew J. Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Guian A. McKee, *The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

Philadelphia joins other recent studies that delineate a vast and complicated middle ground between conflict and cooperation.

The Philadelphia case shows how a disparity in population size, a Latino population with high rates of citizenship, overlapping residential areas, and shared economic concerns all led to more cooperative relations between black and Latino residents. The Puerto Rican population's small size encouraged political alliances with the black community. Blacks and Puerto Ricans lived in the same North Philadelphia neighborhoods, drawing their attention to shared place-based concerns about schools, housing, redevelopment, and police. Economic concerns surrounding welfare, employment, and consumer issues also provided fertile ground for black and Latino cooperation.

The role of youth as "brokers of intimacy" between black and Latino communities comes to the foreground in my study.[37] While other scholars have generally focused on the role of adults, I show that it was often young people themselves who served as points of contact between the groups. Over time, the early relationships formed among black and Latino youth could help drive generational change in intergroup relations.

In addition, I show how forces originating outside of black and Latino communities shaped intergroup relations. While others have primarily documented the actions of blacks and Latinos themselves, my study lends more weight to *re*actions. I see, for instance, the influx of federal antipoverty funds and police brutality as catalysts for change in black-Latino relations in Philadelphia. Black and Puerto Rican residents often collaborated specifically in response to external resources or threats.

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[37] Judith Goode and Jo Anne Schneider, *Reshaping Ethnic and Racial Relations in Philadelphia: Immigrants in a Divided City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 146.

As a result of favorable demographic factors, the involvement of youth, and external influences, black and Latino communities in Philadelphia did not experience as much conflict over antipoverty programs, education, or politics as other major cities. Whereas those issues exacerbated black-Latino tensions in places like New York, Chicago, Phoenix, and Los Angeles, Philadelphia was different. Black and Latino groups collaborated in Philadelphia's antipoverty programs, cooperated in the campaign for a new Edison High School, and united in opposition to Mayor Frank Rizzo.

My case study also enriches our understanding of the temporal and personal dimensions to black-Latino relations. Contemporary social science studies provide only a snapshot of intergroup relations at a particular moment and offer less explanation of the trajectory behind those attitudes. Tracing a few decades of interactions, on the other hand, allows us to see how relationships developed and changed over time. Like some other historical works, I find the decade stretching from the late sixties to the late seventies was particularly conducive to greater cooperation. Moreover, a neighborhood-level analysis renders visible the everyday concerns that provided the greatest impetus for black-Latino unity and allows us to see the role of particular individuals in forming stronger group connections.

Black and Latino cooperation in Philadelphia was, to borrow historian Shana Bernstein's phrase, "pragmatic and interest-based."[38] Philadelphia blacks and Puerto Ricans formed many strategic alliances centered on everyday neighborhood concerns. They did so by building connections between established black and Puerto Rican organizations, founding new multiracial organizations, and pressing for greater inclusion of both blacks and Puerto Ricans in established institutions. Even as these alliances formed, other elements of black and Latino communities

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[38] Bernstein, *Bridges of Reform*, 15.

worked separately for change and sometimes came into overt conflict. The overlap of cooperation, separation, and conflict among Philadelphia blacks and Latinos confirms the difficulty of making broad generalizations about the history of black-Latino relations.

This study begins with a background chapter sketching the origins of Philadelphia's black and Latino communities and the tension between these groups in the fifties and sixties. I continue with six thematic chapters which show how various historical trends propelled the development of a more harmonious relationship between blacks and Latinos. Chapter 3 covers the implementation of federally-funded programs in Philadelphia. I argue that citizen participation requirements in the War on Poverty and Model Cities set a framework for integrated resident involvement at the neighborhood level, building relationships among activists and funding projects that benefited both blacks and Latinos. Chapter 4 considers interactions among youth in day care centers, schools, and recreation programs, arguing that these increasingly integrated settings exposed blacks and Latinos to the other group's culture at an early age while building shared experiences. At the same time, youth involvement in integrated settings created common ground for parents, program administrators, and other adults. Chapter 5 examines efforts by blacks and Latinos to improve their lives in the areas of welfare rights, food access, and housing. I find a pattern of strategic alliances, where the groups worked separately on projects that would have targeted benefits, but cooperated when seeking broad policy shifts. Chapter 6 explores the employment situation in Philadelphia. I find some friction as blacks and Latinos vied for increasingly scarce jobs, but overall their shared experiences in training programs and at work helped them join forces in pushing for better working conditions and pay for all. Chapter 7 is dedicated to selected organizations. It describes how two established local institutions adapted to changing residential demographics to serve blacks and Latinos. It also shows how two grassroots

organizations capitalized on integrated black and Latino membership to attain neighborhood improvements. Chapter 8 turns to local government. I find that black and Latino groups established ties while working to change relations with the police force and school policy. Prior to the seventies, the groups existed in somewhat separate political spheres, but during the seventies they grew much closer and emerged in the eighties with a similar political outlook. The concluding section discusses patterns of cooperation and peaceful coexistence.

2.0 LIFE IN THE CITY OF BROTHERLY LOVE

The histories of black and Latino communities in Philadelphia bear many similarities and overlap in important ways. Here, I establish some general background on Philadelphia and major issues confronting the city in the postwar period. I also sketch the genesis and features of the black and Latino communities and describe the conditions that contributed to tension between these groups in earlier years. Because black and Latino residents faced similar discrimination from white Philadelphians, they were often channeled into the same housing, jobs, and schools. Competition over those resources emerged in the fifties and sixties, but over time those shared spaces would also help build solidarity between blacks and Latinos.

2.1 AN EVOLVING CITY

Philadelphia was originally founded by English Quakers and played a major role in the colonial and early national periods due to its commercial activity and prominent port. Until the late nineteenth century, immigration to the city had been predominantly German, British, and Irish. In the early decades of the twentieth century, large numbers of Southern and Eastern Europeans

arrived, forming enclaves of Jewish, Italian, and Slavic peoples.[1] As elsewhere, most immigrants formed tight, ethnic communities and filled specific occupational niches. Federal legislation in 1924 virtually stopped further immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. Still, due to other migration streams and natural increase, the population of Philadelphia continued to grow for a few decades. The city was the fourth largest in the nation for many years, with its population peaking at just over two million residents in 1950.

Employment opportunities in Philadelphia's broad-based manufacturing economy attracted migrants during the first half of the twentieth century. Major industries included metal working and heavy equipment, textiles and apparel, and a wide variety of small consumer goods. Philadelphia turned out everything from locomotives to Stetson hats, and the bulk of production was carried out by a network of small- to medium-sized firms. The diverse and decentralized nature of these businesses partially insulated the city from downturns in the economy.[2]

Newcomers to Philadelphia found a "City of Homes" architecturally dominated by rowhouses in lower- and middle-income areas. Streetcar suburbs established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were more likely to consist of single-family, detached homes. Neighborhoods, some drawing their identity from earlier municipalities that had been consolidated into Philadelphia during the nineteenth century, served an important role in residents' perceptions of the city.[3]

War production during the forties temporarily boosted employment and production. But by the mid-twentieth century Philadelphia was losing population and some of its major industry, trends that would continue over the next few decades. During the fifties and sixties, population

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[1] Roger D. Simon, *Philadelphia: A Brief History*, Pennsylvania History Studies No. 27 (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 2003), 73-75.
[2] Simon, *Philadelphia: A Brief History*, 64.
[3] Conrad Weiler, *Philadelphia: Neighborhood, Authority, and the Urban Crisis* (New York: Praeger, 1974), 11.

loss measured just a few percent each decade, in part because many whites moved to previously undeveloped parts of the Northeast that were still inside the city limits. In the seventies, outmigration accelerated and Philadelphia lost 13.4 percent of its residents.[4] By 1980, two-thirds of the region's population lived in the suburbs.[5] At the same time, the city's older housing stock and infrastructure were deteriorating, the school system was floundering, and tax revenues were declining. The city tried multiple strategies to stem these losses and improve life for remaining residents.

Reform-oriented Democratic administrations under Mayors Joseph Clark and Richardson Dilworth secured a new city charter in 1951 and turned back entrenched corruption and patronage in city government. These administrations broke a long period of Republican machine dominance and vested more power in the mayor's office as opposed to city council. The Democratic takeover had been supported by much of the Philadelphia business community, embodied in a coalition group called the Greater Philadelphia Movement. It also coincided with a shift in black political allegiance from the Republican machine toward reform Democrats who supported policies addressing racial equality.[6] The new city charter created a Commission on Human Relations to help enforce ordinances against racial discrimination in employment and other areas. Though helpful in attracting black votes, legal statements against discrimination and their tentative enforcement proved largely inadequate in practice.

Meanwhile, Philadelphia took advantage of federal funding for urban renewal programs

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[4] Sean Patrick Griffin, *Philadelphia's 'Black Mafia': A Social and Political History* (New York and Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003), 68.
[5] Carolyn Adams et al., *Philadelphia: Neighborhoods, Division, and Conflict in a Postindustrial City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 16.
[6] John F. Bauman, *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal: Urban Planning in Philadelphia, 1920-1974* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 118-19; James Wolfinger, *Philadelphia Divided: Race and Politics in the City of Brotherly Love* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 216-41; Charles A. Ekstrom, "The Electoral Politics of Reform and Machine: The Political Behavior of Philadelphia's 'Black' Wards, 1943-1969," in *Black Politics in Philadelphia*, ed. Miriam Ershkowitz and Joseph Zikmund II (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973).

by initiating a number of physical redevelopment projects from the forties onward, attempting to target both the central business district and housing in sixteen neighborhoods. Redevelopment was a selective process. Planners consciously bypassed some areas they felt were too far gone to save, focusing their efforts in ways that benefited some Philadelphians more than others. Renewal in the Society Hill area near Independence Mall displaced poorer, established residents to make way for the upper-middle class, while also enriching private developers. Many believed city officials were trying to whiten central Philadelphia in the process. Society Hill became a celebrated example of successful renewal in some circles, but among others the project became synonymous with the pernicious effects of redevelopment.[7]

In the neighborhoods, the need to address vacant and deteriorating structures led redevelopment to focus more on slum clearance than on producing an adequate supply of new or improved low-income housing. North Philadelphia had already witnessed two clearance projects by the end of the forties, one of which paved the way for a public housing development named the Richard Allen Homes. Clearance and increased code enforcement continued to affect wide swaths of the area; from 1950 to 1970 over six thousand households were displaced while the housing supply decreased. A heavy majority of those residents affected were racial minorities, and they usually relocated to other substandard housing nearby.[8] Concern about the contours of redevelopment boosted resident involvement in local neighborhood councils and block clubs that

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[7] Many critics of redevelopment agendas in Philadelphia and other cities decried a lack of citizen participation in planning processes, especially prior to the mid- or late sixties. Sebastian Haumann points out that Philadelphia planners actually involved citizens in the process throughout the fifties and sixties; that early involvement laid the foundations for more widespread resident participation by the 1970s. Haumann, "Modernism Was 'Hollow': The Emergence of Participatory Planning in Philadelphia, 1950-1970," *Planning Perspectives* 26, no. 1 (2011): 55-73.

[8] Andrew Feffer, "The Land Belongs to the People: Reframing Urban Protest in Post-Sixties Philadelphia," in *The World the 60s Made: Politics and Culture in Recent America*, ed. Van Gosse and Richard Moser (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 71, 73; John F. Bauman, Norman P. Hummon, and Edward K. Muller, "Public Housing, Isolation, and the Urban Underclass: Philadelphia's Richard Allen Homes, 1941-1965," *Journal of Urban History* 17, no. 3 (1991): 274, 280-281; Bauman, *Public Housing*, 144-59.

attempted to improve the appearance and safety of their streets and secure more attention from the city.

Philadelphia officials also tried to bolster their waning manufacturing base by pursuing a program of industrial renewal starting in the late fifties. Many existing firms were located in outmoded, multi-floor production facilities. The city, through a public-private enterprise called the Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation, provided financial assistance to construct one-story plants in outlying, vacant areas of the city. In other cases, the city renovated existing inner-city facilities. Industrial renewal efforts had limited reach, though, because the city's economy was undergoing a major transition away from manufacturing and toward services. Traditional pillars like metal and textiles declined precipitously after reviving temporarily during the boom of war production. In their place, employment centers like universities, healthcare providers, banking, and retail took on greater significance. Loss of manufacturing jobs, alongside the displacement or closure of smaller businesses, hit North Philadelphia particularly hard.[9]

In late August 1964, North Philadelphia erupted in three days of riots. The spark was an incident where a white policeman attempted to help a possibly intoxicated black woman out of a car that was blocking an intersection. A bystander attacked the policeman and a rumor soon spread that "a pregnant black woman's been beaten and shot to death by a white policeman."[10] Masses of people took to the streets, looting stores and defying police. For their part, the police responded cautiously, under orders to prioritize lives over property. Six hundred stores suffered

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[9] Guian A. McKee, "Urban Deindustrialization and Local Public Policy: Industrial Renewal in Philadelphia, 1953-1976," *The Journal of Policy History* 16, no. 1 (2004): 66-98; Bauman, Hummon, and Muller, "Public Housing, Isolation," 279, 281.
[10] Quoted in Matthew J. Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 156.

losses and the overall bill of destruction topped two million dollars.[11] To some, the 1964 riots served as a major turning point, marking "the end of the white mercantile and residential presence in North Philadelphia" and accelerating outward migration of white, black, and Latino residents.[12]

In the early to mid-seventies, officials turned to sprucing the city up for the nation's Bicentennial celebration, which placed even more symbolic importance on downtown redevelopment. Yet they were hampered by a growing fiscal crisis and large budget deficit, which not only limited their Bicentennial efforts but also drained resources from other potential projects. By the late seventies and early eighties, city officials were even more firmly focused on revitalizing Center City. They supported the Gallery, a shopping complex along East Market Street, and developed an underground commuter rail tunnel and a new convention center. Many poor and minority residents objected to these projects, arguing that they sapped vital funding from the city's neighborhoods and schools while displacing poorer residents from the Chinatown area.[13]

While concentrating on physical and industrial renewal, Philadelphia officials paid little attention to the public school system prior to the mid-sixties. All the while, the schools were growing increasingly overcrowded, underfunded, and segregated. These problems were exacerbated by deference to the fiscally conservative Add Anderson, secretary business-manager for the school system. Anderson had powerful influence over the schools for thirty years, ending in the early sixties. During his tenure, the school system never pressed the Pennsylvania

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[11] Joseph R. Daughen and Peter Binzen, *The Cop Who Would Be King: Mayor Frank Rizzo* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977), 93-95; Countryman, *Up South*, 157.
[12] Judith Goode and Jo Anne Schneider, *Reshaping Ethnic and Racial Relations in Philadelphia: Immigrants in a Divided City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 101.
[13] Andrew Feffer, "Show Down in Center City: Staging Redevelopment and Citizenship in Bicentennial Philadelphia, 1974-1977," *Journal of Urban History* 30, no. 6 (2004): 791-825.

legislature for more adequate funding.[14]

After Anderson's death, the city revamped the Board of Education under the leadership of former mayor Richardson Dilworth. The Board recruited a young superintendent, Mark R. Shedd, who attempted to breathe new life into the system. The schools received more funding, particularly through bond measures, and made some physical improvements. Shedd also encouraged a collection of experimental programs ranging from learning laboratory-type classrooms to a community-controlled minischool in the Mantua-Powelton area of West Philadelphia. Reform was limited by a combination of factors including the demands of teachers unions, lack of political will among residents to finance or commit to major changes, the attachment of the bureaucracy to the status quo, and inadequate funding.[15]

In November 1967, student discontent with the school system reached a high point. Black students staged a walkout and peaceful demonstration at the Board of Education headquarters building on Benjamin Franklin Parkway. Organizers had only predicted three hundred and fifty students would participate, but their estimate was off by a factor of ten, and nearly three thousand students eventually gathered. The students demanded a more sensitive curriculum that included black history and culture as well as the right to wear African-inspired dress to school. A contingent of student leaders met inside with Shedd and other administrators to work out a deal. Meanwhile, alarmed by the growing crowd, the civil disobedience police officers on the scene called for reinforcements. Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo soon arrived from City Hall with busloads of newly-promoted officers. Up to that point, the students had been peaceful, but now a

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[14] Lisa Levenstein, *A Movement without Marches: African American Women and the Politics of Poverty in Postwar Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 125-26.
[15] Jon S. Birger, "Race, Reaction, and Reform: The Three Rs of Philadelphia School Politics, 1965-1971," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 120 (1996): 163-216; Fred J. Foley, Jr., "The Failure of Reform: Community Control and the Philadelphia Public Schools," *Urban Education* 10, no. 4 (1976): 389-414; Henry S. Resnik, *Turning on the System: War in the Philadelphia Public Schools* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970).

few stood on the roofs of nearby parked cars. Rizzo, feeling that the students were becoming a menacing mob, ordered police to disperse the crowd. They did so by charging the students, nightsticks swinging. Many students were injured, and others fled through the city. School administrators felt Rizzo had instigated the incident, but Rizzo maintained his actions were justified. Public opinion on the matter was sharply divided along racial lines and contributed to rising tension between police and minority residents.[16]

In this atmosphere, Frank Rizzo was elected mayor in the fall of 1971 and remained a polarizing figure. Many Democrats had hoped he could bring back votes from the white working class, which had been slipping to the Republicans, and in this he succeeded. Of Italian-American heritage, Rizzo was raised in South Philadelphia. He ran on a platform that included a strict law and order stance, endearing him to white voters who felt threatened by the burgeoning minority population. Despite the city's growing financial woes and budget deficits, Rizzo promised not to raise taxes. The black population, however, was so repulsed by Rizzo that the black vote swung heavily to his Republican opponent, Thacher Longstreth.[17] Once in office, Rizzo used his administration as a patronage mill, staffing not only existing positions with his supporters but adding new jobs to the payroll as well.[18] The Rizzo administration's spending habits and reluctance to raise taxes placed additional pressure on the city's finances.

As anthropologists Judith Goode and Jo Anne Schneider have observed, postwar transformations were especially hard on Philadelphia. The city lost a larger share of its jobs to the suburbs than was the case in other metropolitan areas. The parallel loss of population wreaked havoc with a city budget that was overwhelmingly dependent on local taxes. And its

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[16] Daughen and Binzen, *Cop Who Would*, 114-19.
[17] Daughen and Binzen, *Cop Who Would*, 145, 24-25, 182; Weiler, *Philadelphia: Neighborhood, Authority, and the Urban Crisis*, 56-57.
[18] Daughen and Binzen, *Cop Who Would*, 186-89.

geographic location meant that Philadelphia was forced to compete against more powerful regional centers like New York City and Washington, DC.[19]

2.2 ORIGINS OF BLACK AND LATINO PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia had a well-established free black population long before the turn of the twentieth century.[20] By the early twentieth century, the established black elite had staked out professional footholds and enjoyed relatively good relations with the white population. This community had also relocated from Center City, taking up residence in newer homes in West Philadelphia. The remainder of Philadelphia's turn-of-the-century black population remained in older, poorer neighborhoods, concentrated especially on the southern side of Center City.[21]

This base community was joined by a large black migration from the South in the early and mid-twentieth century. Black migrants were drawn by employment opportunities, the defense buildup for World Wars I and II, and the perception of better race relations. At the same time, they were propelled by the harsh realities of Jim Crow segregation and the mechanization of agriculture. Some friction emerged after their arrival, as established black residents felt their standing in the city was slipping due to negative perceptions of the newcomers, who were often less educated and came from poor, rural areas. As the black population grew, relations

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[19] Goode and Schneider, *Reshaping Ethnic and Racial Relations*, 30-31.
[20] Major works on Philadelphia's black population in earlier periods include W. E. B. DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, [1899] 1996); Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Julie Winch, *Philadelphia's Black Elite: Activism, Accomodation, and the Struggle for Autonomy, 1787-1848* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988).
[21] Bauman, *Public Housing*, 32-33; Countryman, *Up South*, 15.

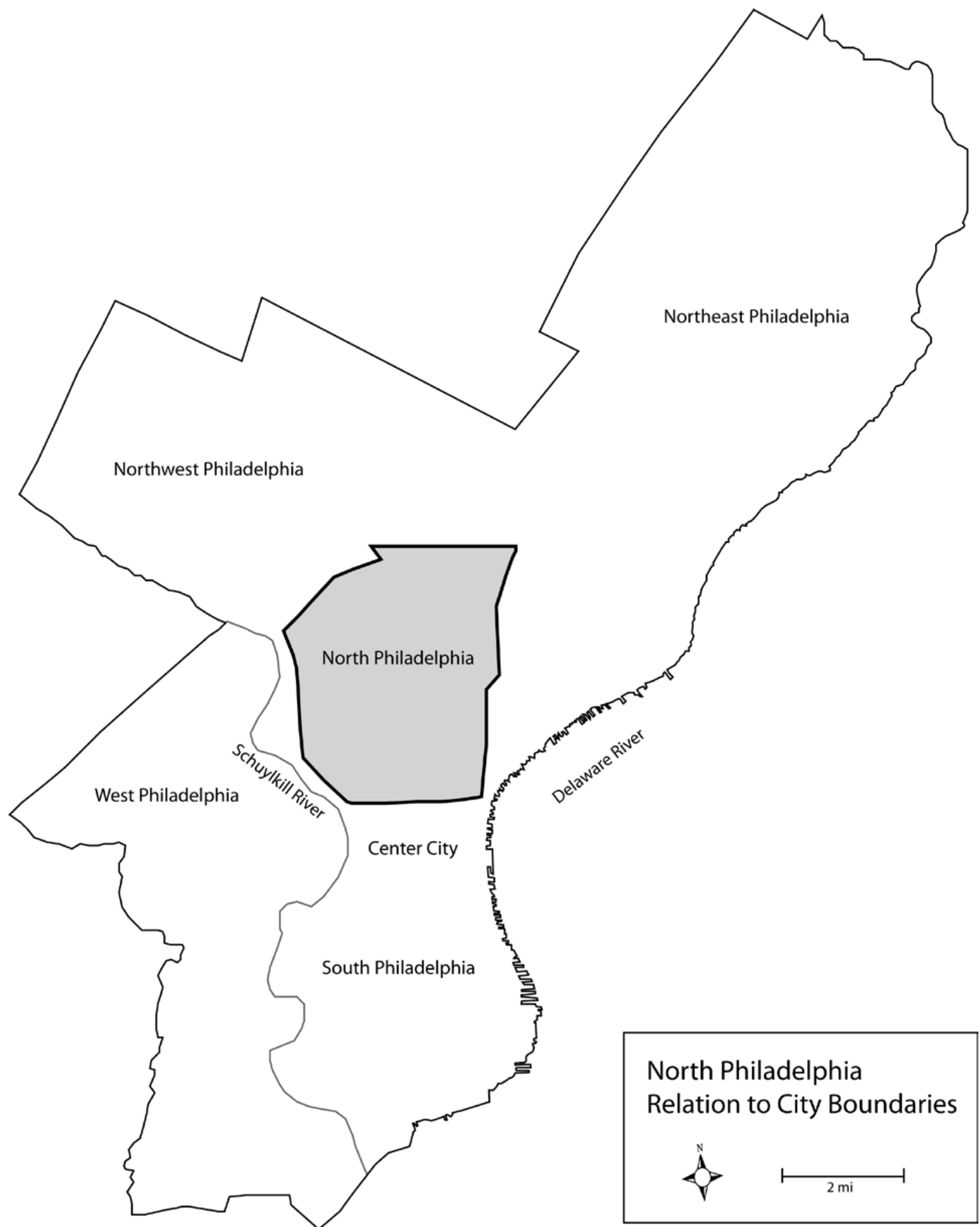

Figure 1. North Philadelphia: Relation to City Boundaries

Adapted from Philadelphia City Planning Commission, *North Philadelphia Plan: Draft*, [1986], p.2, available from Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text and Image, University of Pennsylvania Libraries, http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017.4/4782.

with whites also became more strained.[22] Black migrants first moved into Center City neighborhoods before expanding into North, West, and South Philadelphia (see Figure 1). As they did so, many white residents moved out of those areas.[23] Over the years, Philadelphia's black population had risen from 219,599 in 1930, to 376,041 in 1950, to 653,791 in 1970. During that time, black representation among the total city population grew from 11.3 percent in 1930, to 18.2 percent in 1950, to 33.6 percent in 1970. In North Philadelphia, proportions were even higher, with the black population representing 69 percent of residents by 1960.[24] As the black population there grew, it also became increasingly concentrated.

The growing black community drew support from several institutions. Black newspapers, most prominently the *Philadelphia Tribune*, provided an alternative information source from major daily newspapers that were often insensitive to or silent on black community issues. Churches drew reliable attendance at Sunday services and served as forums for spreading information. In addition, they spawned a network of women's auxiliary clubs that provided support services for the community. The local chapter of the Urban League assisted new migrants, while the NAACP worked to challenge discriminatory policies.[25]

During the sixties, elements of Black Power ideology were gaining hold in Philadelphia neighborhoods, embodied in part by the establishment of the Freedom Library on Ridge Avenue in North Philadelphia in 1964. By fall of 1965, some of the same activists had founded the Black

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[22] Bauman, *Public Housing*, 13; Countryman, *Up South*, 19.
[23] Bauman, *Public Housing*, 32-33.
[24] Countryman, *Up South*, 14, 51-52.
[25] When black and white students started picketing Philadelphia Woolworth stores in 1960 in solidarity with the sit-in movement sparked in Greensboro, North Carolina, the local NAACP was painfully slow to support their actions. The branch's eventual support and mobilization, though, helped reveal the possibilities for mass protest in Philadelphia. On the streets and even in the local NAACP offices, an impetus for more aggressive tactics grew during the very early sixties. Some who found the NAACP's approach too conservative instead embraced ideologies of black nationalism as early as the fifties, particularly through the Nation of Islam. Malcolm X himself helped organize the Philadelphia temple and ministered there regularly. Countryman, *Up South*, 98-101, 125, 88-90; Leon H. Sullivan, *Build Brother Build* (Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Company, 1969), 70-84.

People's Unity Movement. They hoped to unite blacks across class and ideological lines and rejected more traditional, integrationist approaches. By summer of 1966, a wide variety of Philadelphia groups were openly embracing the concept of Black Power.[26] Cecil Moore, leader of the local NAACP, asserted his own brand of Black Power-type leadership, at times denouncing other black leaders as "Uncle Toms" and maintaining a close relationship with supporters in the Nation of Islam. Moore and his followers weighed in on many issues, but their most prominent protests involved employment in the construction industry and the desegregation of Girard College.[27] Over time, Moore's outspoken and flamboyant style increasingly bothered some observers. After an initial rise, membership in the Philadelphia NAACP declined precipitously under his rule, and the national organization subsequently split the branch into five chapters in order to mute Moore's influence.[28]

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[26] Countryman, *Up South*, 186-90, 198-206.

[27] NAACP pickets at a school construction site in the Strawberry Mansion area of North Philadelphia had followed CORE protests over segregated hiring for construction of the Municipal Services Building in 1963. After a week of tense encounters between picketers, workers, and police, Moore succeeded in opening five skilled positions for black workers and securing an oversight panel. The NAACP, the Building Trades Council, and the Commission on Human Relations then turned to hashing out a larger solution for union integration. This was a tall order, as many white union members were already underemployed and feared the economic implications of integration. Though threats of further protests by civil rights groups garnered some concessions that summer, effectively implementing equitable hiring in the construction industry would continue to cause problems throughout the decade and involve the federal government along with city officials and labor unions. The eventual result, called the Philadelphia Plan, helped set a precedent for affirmative action programs across the nation. Girard College, a boarding school for fatherless boys located in North Philadelphia, had long admitted only white males. Moore and the NAACP staged a picket line outside the school that lasted seven and a half months during 1965. The protest attracted a range of participants, most notably many young gang members. Attitudes on these picket lines reflected a firm belief in residents' right to self-defense as opposed to the strict nonviolence that many national civil rights leaders at the time espoused and at times they clashed violently with police. When the city and state commenced legal action against the College, Moore suspended the pickets. Girard College still refused to change its admissions policy until finally ordered to do so by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1968. On the construction demonstrations and agreements, see Countryman, *Up South*, 132-44, 146-47; Terry H. Anderson, *The Pursuit of Fairness: A History of Affirmative Action* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 105, 115-25. On Girard College, see Countryman, *Up South*, 171-73, 177-78; Daughen and Binzen, *Cop Who Would*, 96-98.

[28] Paul Lermack, "Cecil Moore and the Philadelphia Branch of The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: The Politics of Negro Pressure Group Organization," in *Black Politics in Philadelphia*, ed. Miriam Ershkowitz and Joseph Zikmund II (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 145-60.

Latinos had a much smaller presence in Philadelphia in the years before World War II. As historian Víctor Vázquez-Hernández has described, small enclaves of Latinos from Mexico, Spain, and Cuba had formed in the city by the 1890s, with many working in the cigar making industry. In the early twentieth century, they were joined by a small stream of working class Puerto Ricans who took mostly unskilled positions at places like the Baldwin Locomotive Works. Over time, geographically separate enclaves grew into a more unified, Spanish-speaking colonia. Migrants to different Philadelphia neighborhoods were drawn together by their use of common Spanish-speaking institutions. Of particular importance were the Catholic mission La Milagrosa and the First Spanish Baptist Church, both located in the Spring Garden area.[29] During this process, the Latino population in Philadelphia was becoming predominantly Puerto Rican.

Historian Carmen Whalen notes three interrelated trends that heavily influenced Puerto Rican migration, initially within the island and then to the mainland United States. First, the traditional rural occupations of agriculture, crop processing, and home needlework were declining by the mid-twentieth century, mostly due to mechanization. At the same time, the island embarked on an export-oriented industrialization program which concentrated jobs at factories in more populous areas. Particularly prominent were textile and garment production, which disproportionately hired female labor. Third, a high birth rate and a perception of limited resources on the island had led Puerto Rican officials to fear overpopulation. As a result, they implemented a two-pronged strategy to combat population growth, encouraging migration off the island on the one hand and fertility control through sterilization on the other. The Puerto Rican

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[29] Víctor Vázquez-Hernández, “From Pan-Latino Enclaves to a Community: Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia, 1910-2000,” in *The Puerto Rican Diaspora: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Víctor Vázquez-Hernández and Carmen Teresa Whalen (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005), 89-97; Edwin David Aponte, “Latino Protestant Identity and Empowerment: Hispanic Religion, Community, Rhetoric, and Action in a Philadelphia Case Study” (PhD diss., Temple University, 1998), 60-61, 70-73.

government therefore sponsored programs for agricultural laborers to work seasonally on farms on the U.S. mainland. Migrants to Philadelphia primarily came from the sugar and tobacco growing regions of the island.[30]

World War II production demand had helped set a precedent for migration, placing two thousand Puerto Ricans in cannery and railroad jobs in the mid-Atlantic region. After the war, recruitment sanctioned by the island's Department of Labor was joined by the private efforts of farm and business owners and their agents. While agricultural positions drew males to Philadelphia's hinterland, domestic work contracts pulled a stream of female migration to the city. Once in Philadelphia, migrants preferred the conditions and pay at the city's factories. Women, however, were much more successful than men in finding manufacturing employment; many worked in garment and textile production.[31]

Laborers who migrated for "seasonal" work or limited contract positions often stayed on the mainland long past their initial assignment. Unlike labor migrants from other nations, Puerto Ricans were already U.S. citizens and could legally do so. Trends and policies on the island and countless individual decisions therefore helped set in motion a process of chain migration. Typically, one wage earner would settle in a new area and then send for the rest of the family. That first family would then sponsor the migration of another family. The second family would then sponsor a third, and so on.[32] Some moved straight to Philadelphia; others came by way of agricultural settlements in New Jersey or the barrios of New York City. Many migrants stayed in

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[30] Carmen Teresa Whalen, *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia: Puerto Rican Workers and Postwar Economies* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 17-39.
[31] Whalen, *From Puerto Rico*, 52-53, 56-62, 73-74, 131.
[32] Joan Dee Koss, "Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia: Migration and Accommodation" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1965), 12.

Philadelphia on a permanent basis, while others moved in a cyclical pattern between the island and the mainland, maintaining strong social networks in both places.

By the mid-1950s, multiple Latino settlements had taken shape in North Philadelphia and were growing quickly. The influx prompted the *Philadelphia Tribune* to start a regular column about the Puerto Rican newcomers called "Under Two Flags" in 1957. Residential patterns reflected the limitations placed upon Latinos by cost, housing discrimination, and the location of employment and transportation. Then too, they followed in the footsteps of earlier Spanish-speaking migrants and benefitted from established institutions. Considered together, the most dense areas of settlement formed a rough reverse "L" shape, with the short leg extending west of Broad Street into the Spring Garden neighborhood, and the long leg located on the east side of Broad Street, reaching many blocks north to Susquehanna Avenue. Over time, Puerto Rican residents moved further north and east while establishing a business corridor along North Fifth Street. A small number of Puerto Rican families settled in South Philadelphia in a predominantly Italian area. The Latino presence in Philadelphia remained a very small proportion of the city's total population, only 3 to 5 percent by 1970.[33] But due to residential concentration, the Latino presence in North Philadelphia was much more significant than citywide figures suggest. Moreover, Philadelphia housed the mainland's third-largest settlement of Puerto Ricans, behind only New York and Chicago.

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[33] Juan A. Albino, "Report on the Puerto Ricans in the City of Philadelphia," for American Friends Service Committee, June 1973, 1, Box 4 Folder 1, MSS 116 Hispanic Federation for Social and Economic Development (hereafter HFSED), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (hereafter HSP).

2.3 A TENSE ATMOSPHERE

In the fifties and sixties, the growth of black and Latino communities in North Philadelphia brought them into regular contact. While many of these interactions were relatively peaceful, a number of factors contributed to an atmosphere of racial tension between blacks and Latinos. The shortage of adequate housing, ambiguity about the racial identity of Puerto Ricans, language barriers, and the inability of established organizations to serve newcomers equitably all put stress on black-Latino interactions. In many ways, these tensions represented a prolonged adjustment period during which residents of all kinds reconfigured a racial and social landscape that had previously been just black and white.

In securing housing, black and Latino residents faced the same challenges. As these populations grew, so did Philadelphia's degree of residential segregation. Whites moved further away from Center City, motivated both by racial prejudice and a firm belief that minority neighbors would decrease property values. Those attitudes combined with the profit-seeking practices of some realtors to turn residential blocks from white to black virtually overnight. Federal mortgage insurance policies that favored home purchases in outlying areas also contributed to this trend. Concerned by swift racial transitions in many neighborhoods, the city's Commission on Human Relations ran a Neighborhood Stabilization Program in the early and mid-fifties. They hoped to foster relationships between white and black residents and discourage whites from selling their homes in a panic, but had little success.[34] Black and Latino families who attempted to move into predominantly white areas were often viciously attacked and harassed. Some maintained their resolve; others gave up.

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[34] Countryman, *Up South*, 71.

In 1953, tension exploded between white and Puerto Rican residents in the transitioning neighborhood of Spring Garden. An incident at a bar at Mount Vernon and Sixteenth Streets sparked street fighting. A white man was allegedly stabbed by a Puerto Rican. Whites then invaded two Puerto Rican homes, seeking revenge. Over the next two hours, a "general melee" erupted which spanned two blocks and may have involved up to one thousand people.[35] The Spring Garden incident only increased existing concerns about the growing settlement of Puerto Ricans. Many established white residents saw the migrants as a threat, while the city government and neighborhood institutions were hamstrung in their efforts by their lack of knowledge about the newcomers. The Commission on Human Relations and other groups sponsored studies to assess the population; the first comprehensive report was issued in 1954.[36]

Residential segregation funneled black and Latino residents into some of the same North Philadelphia neighborhoods. From the fifties into the sixties, there were significant settlements of both black and Latino residents in the areas of Spring Garden and Ludlow. From the late sixties into the seventies and eighties, there were also growing Latino and black populations in portions of Fairmount, Kensington, and Hunting Park (see Figures 2, 3, and 4).

In concentrated areas of black and Latino settlement, landlords subdivided existing housing stock in order to accommodate more families. Many of those landlords lived elsewhere and were hard to reach, code enforcement was lacking, and conditions overall were poor. It was common in some sections for large families to occupy only one room while sharing a bathroom with several other families. Even given the conditions, housing prices in these poor, minority

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[35] Arthur Siegel, Harold Orlans, and Loyal Greer, "Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia: A Study of Their Demographic Characteristics, Problems and Attitudes," Apr 1954, 8 (quote), Box A-620, 148.4 Commission on Human Relations, City Archives, Philadelphia (hereafter CA); Whalen, *From Puerto Rico*, 183.

[36] Siegel, Orlans, and Greer, "Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia," 8. The initial study was later joined by Commission on Human Relations, "Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia," Apr 1959, Box A-620, 148.4 Commission on Human Relations, CA and Pennsylvania Economy League, "Special Assimilation Problems of Underprivileged In-Migrants to Philadelphia," Jul 1962, HSP.

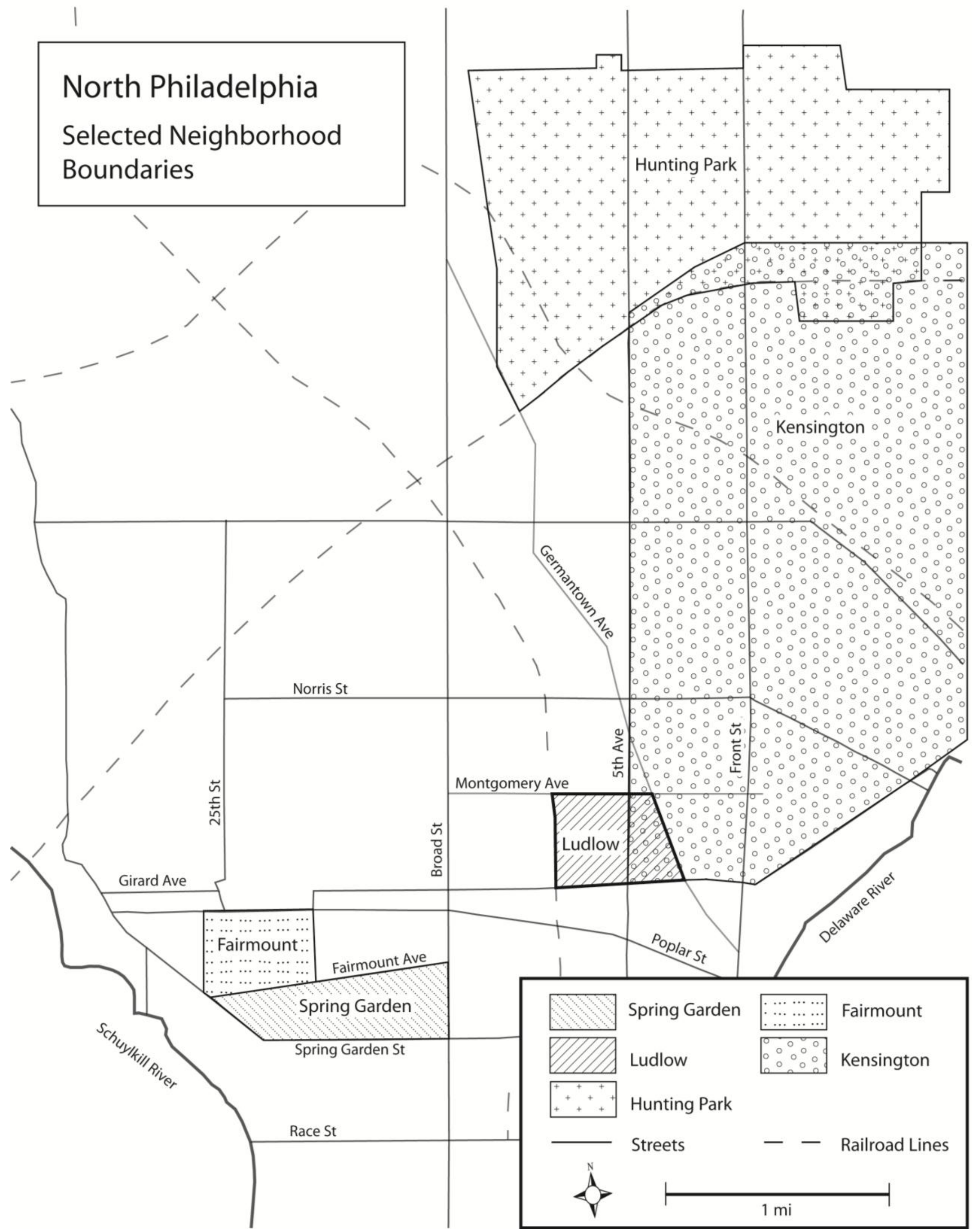

Figure 2. North Philadelphia: Selected Neighborhood Boundaries

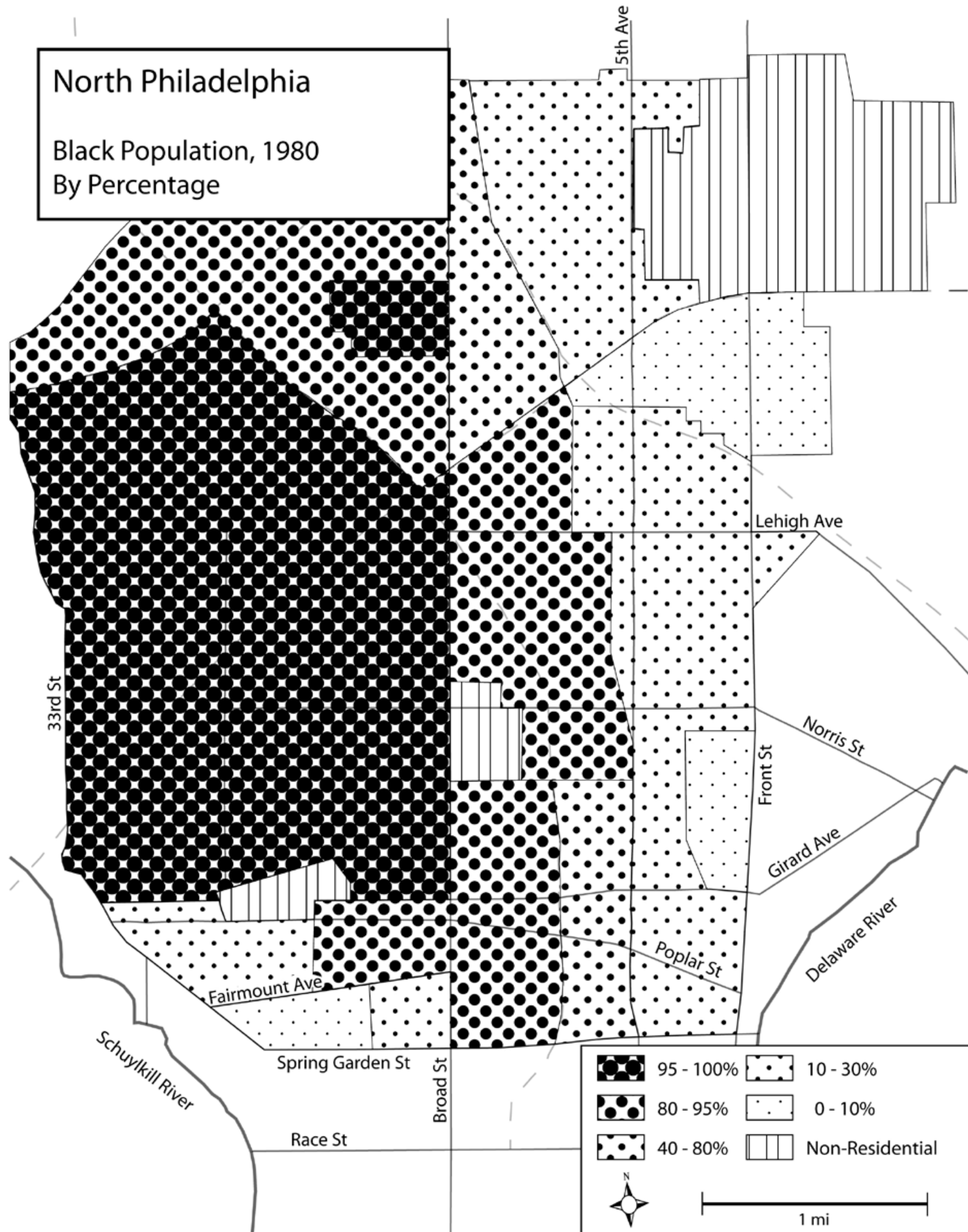

Figure 3. North Philadelphia Black Population in 1980

Adapted from Philadelphia City Planning Commission, *North Philadelphia Plan: Draft*, [1986], p.20, available from Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text and Image, University of Pennsylvania Libraries, http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017.4/4782.

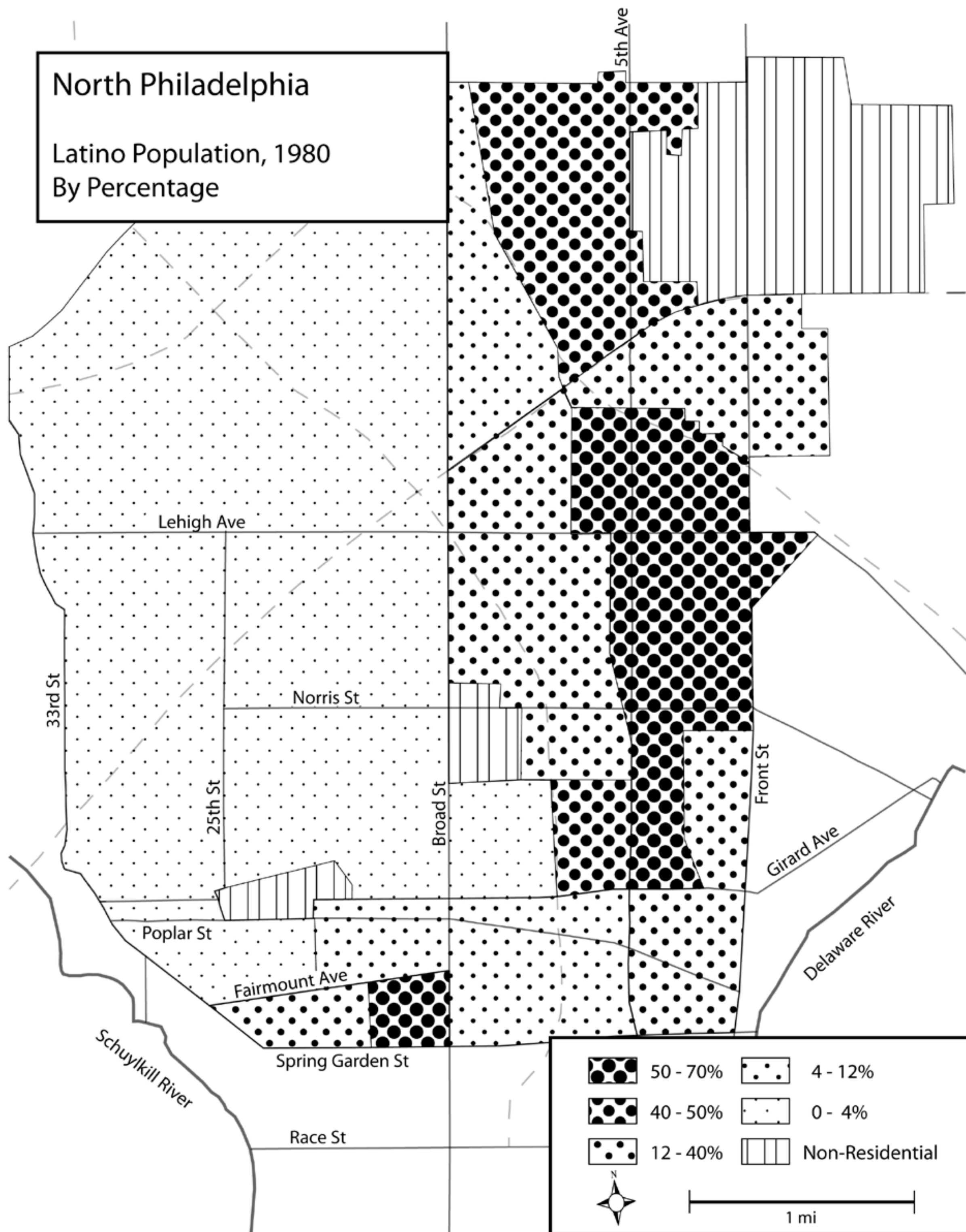

Figure 4. North Philadelphia Latino Population in 1980

Adapted from Philadelphia City Planning Commission, *North Philadelphia Plan: Draft*, [1986], p.22, available from Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text and Image, University of Pennsylvania Libraries, http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017.4/4782.

areas were disproportionately high. And as time went on, some owners chose to abandon their properties entirely rather than deal with the upkeep; vacant housing units proliferated. Public housing established by the city provided additional units but did not relieve underlying issues of segregation and deterioration. Housing choices for blacks and Latinos were therefore limited by racial boundaries and the shortage of well-maintained, affordable units in areas of black and Latino settlement.

These limited housing choices became more contentious as residents of all types struggled to figure out how recently-arrived Puerto Ricans fit into the existing racial scheme that drew sharp lines between black and white. Language barriers further hampered the accommodation process. Spring Garden Apartments, a public housing complex, hosted two hundred black families, thirty white, and twenty-five Puerto Rican in 1956. Tasked with monitoring the racial integration of such projects, a public housing official found "obvious tension" between "Negro and Puerto Rican families." He explained:

> The Negro and Puerto Rican people are at daggers points. The Puerto Ricans do not consider themselves Negro, whereas the Negroes say, 'You're as black as I am.' The Puerto Ricans feel a confidence and solidarity from the surrounding neighborhood, which is partly Puerto Rican. So some of them say, 'This should be our project.' According to the project manager, the Negroes hear the Puerto Ricans 'jabbering away in Spanish' and get angry. They don't know what is being said and they assume the people may be talking disparagingly about Negroes. The manager added Negroes find someone they think lower than themselves, and that Negro behavior toward Puerto Ricans is very much like white behavior toward Negroes.[37]

The sentiments described at Spring Garden Apartments are echoed in a 1954 Commission on Human Relations survey undertaken after the Spring Garden incident the previous year. Interviewers found that "Negro neighbors of Puerto Ricans appear to be ambivalent in their

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[37] Robert B. Johnson, "Review of the Integration Program of the Philadelphia Housing Authority," 1956, 31-32, Box 180 Folders 1925-31, URB 3 Housing Association of the Delaware Valley (hereafter HADV), TUA.

attitudes. Because some Puerto Ricans are perceived as 'colored,' there seems to be some identification with them and, consequently, more favorable attitudes toward them. At the same time, because of observable differences in dress and language, Puerto Ricans are looked upon as 'foreigners' who are not willing to identify themselves with the Negroes, and so there is some feeling of having been rejected by the Puerto Ricans."[38]

Arriving in a starker racial landscape than that of their home island, Puerto Ricans migrants also wrestled with their identity. As scholars like historian Sonia Lee point out, Puerto Ricans initially emphasized their Hispanic identity, hoping to lay claim to elements of white privilege and in the process distance themselves from the stigma attached to black Americans.[39] In Philadelphia as in other cities, early community organizations and clubs generally bore the name "Spanish" or "Hispanic" and thus emphasized European ancestry. In her work with the community in the late sixties, social worker Virginia Montero Seplowin noted that Puerto Ricans were more likely to self-identify as white or Puerto Rican, even if an observer might classify them as black.[40] As journalist Michael Kimmel reflected, until the late sixties, "the average Puerto Rican would tell you we *was* white and wanted very much to be *assimilated* into the white community."[41]

Competition over housing and the slippery nature of Puerto Rican racial identity contributed to strained black and Latino relations well into the sixties. Tensions disrupted Sunday school at First Baptist Spanish Church in 1965. One Puerto Rican parishioner

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[38] Siegel, Orlans, and Greer, "Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia," 54.
[39] Lee, *"Proud to Be Maladjusted."* For more on how Puerto Ricans struggled with their racial identity, see Lorrin Thomas, *Puerto Rican Citizen: History and Political Identity in Twentieth Century New York City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 59-75, 83-91.
[40] Virginia Montero Seplowin, "Analisis de la identificaion racial de los puertorriqueños en Filadelfia," *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* [Puerto Rico] 15, no. 1 (1971): 143-48.
[41] Emphasis in original. Michael Kimmel, "¡You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!," *Philadelphia Magazine*, Oct 1971, 92.

remembered that "blacks used to watch us go by the church and then they would [wait] until everyone was . . . [with] the congregation and steal our coats."[42] In 1966, representatives of Friends Neighborhood Guild, a local community center and service agency, noted tension in Hartranft, an area that straddled black and Puerto Rican areas of settlement near Temple University. They described a "deep-grained split between Puerto Ricans and Negroes" marked by "mutual distrust."[43] That same year, a demonstration triplex for a housing rehabilitation program in Spring Garden was slated for two Puerto Rican families and one black family. But among housing officials, there was "great conflict" about housing the families together, since some cited "great tension between these two groups in the community."[44] After finding the right families, though, observers felt "very confident that they will get along happily."[45] Still, many blacks felt the rehabilitated homes were intended "primarily for Puerto Ricans."[46]

Against the context of increased competition for housing and uncertainty about how Puerto Ricans fit in, local agencies and organizations struggled to adapt to serving this new constituency. Their inability to do so equitably sometimes aggravated black-Latino tension. In 1962, school administrators were concerned about overcrowding at Waring Elementary, but they also wanted to concentrate Puerto Rican students in one school. They decided to transfer 350 Puerto Rican students to Hancock Elementary in order to keep them together. The transfer of Puerto Rican students, however, necessitated the transfer of black students from Hancock to

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[42] Anonymous oral history interview, typewritten transcript, c.1976, 1-2, Box 7 Transcription 1966-A, Oral History Projects, Eugenio Maria de Hostos Archives Center, Taller Puertorriqueño, Philadelphia.
[43] Hartranft is described in one source as being bounded by Cecil Moore Avenue on the south, York Avenue on the north, Tenth Street on the west, and Front Street on the east. Mary R. Chapple, "Report to the Ad Hoc Committee Which Was Appointed by Friends Council on Education to Examine Possible Areas of Involvement in the Mainstream of American Education," 4 Oct 1966, 2-3, Box 1 Folder 9, URB 32 Friends Neighborhood Guild, TUA.
[44] [Emily Achtenberg], Achtenberg Log, 1-5 Dec 1966, 5, Box 285 Folder 5010, URB 3 HADV, TUA.
[45] Achtenberg Log, 1-5 Dec 1966, 6.
[46] Turner Log, 10 May 1967, Box 285 Folder 5010, URB 3 HADV, TUA.

other schools, which angered many parents.[47] In another instance, after a 1968 fight between black and Puerto Rican youths, "seven Negroes were arrested, while the Puerto Ricans were released." To make matters worse, police allegedly beat several of the black kids. The incident sparked a protest demonstration by nearly one hundred residents.[48] Some felt that the city's unequal treatment of racial groups was an intentional strategy designed to limit citizen unity. Referring to the uneven implementation of a housing rehabilitation program, neighborhood activist Tony Sheed charged the city with "'playing checkers' with Negroes, Puerto Ricans and whites."[49]

Carmen Garcia wrote a dissertation on the involvement of Puerto Ricans in local social service agencies in 1968. She found that the Puerto Ricans she interviewed "lacked involvement in community life. They felt rejected by Negroes, judged and criticized by Puerto Ricans and Latin Americans, and ignored by white Americans. Problems were usually solved within the family group. They sought agency services only when this resource failed and their problems reached crisis capacity."[50] For their part, most social service agencies had only "superficial and partialized knowledge" of the Puerto Rican population.[51]

Iris South headed a local organization called Helping Hand Corporation which operated a church, provided community services, and sought to foster black unity from a location on North Sixth Street. Her group was also "interested in helping the Puerto Ricans," but they were "somewhat timid or shy in trying to reach out to this section of the community because they have

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[47] "125 Attend Protest Meeting at School," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 13 Jan 1962. Unless otherwise noted, all *Philadelphia Tribune* articles are from the Proquest Historical Newspapers – Black Newspapers database, accessed through Temple University Libraries.
[48] "100 Demand Cops Firing," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 17 Sep 1968.
[49] "200 Citizens Hear Proposals to End Kensington, N. Phila. Gang Problem," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 18 Jul 1968, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Misc 1966-70, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[50] Carmen Sylvia Garcia, "Study of the Initial Involvement in the Social Services by the Puerto Rican Migrants in Philadelphia" (DSW diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1968), third page of abstract.
[51] Garcia, "Study of the Initial Involvement," second page of abstract.

heard a lot about the Puerto Ricans' attitudes toward them." Helping Hand did not have a Spanish speaking member; language barriers thus represented another obstacle for the group's black organizers. Yet South hoped that if they could manage to bring black and Puerto Rican children together, it would help ameliorate "discrimination and hatred of the two groups."[52]

South was right to be concerned about youth relations. Competing territorial claims in overlapping residential areas sometimes led to friction between black and Latino youth. By 1965, some Puerto Rican youth gangs existed "as a defense against the Negro gangs."[53] Marvin Louis of the Ludlow Civic Association noted in 1967 that "Ninth Street is a boundary line, it's a gang boundary line I guess. R.W. Brown Boys Club is just over that line, at Ninth and Columbia. But no Spanish boys will go there. If he does, he knows how he's coming back."[54] In 1968, a janitor at Ludlow School also noted "many problems between the Negroes and the Puerto Ricans" which he attributed mainly to the "disrespectful" and "negative attitude" displayed by the Puerto Rican boys.[55]

In some confrontations, it is difficult to tell whether race was a motivating factor, or if these were personal disputes about other issues. In one "melee" at a restaurant in 1962, Puerto Rican proprietor Jose LaCourt attacked two black youths with a butcher knife, killing Harvey Harvin and injuring his friend Benjamin Thomas. LaCourt and another Puerto Rican present claimed that the black teens had slapped a delivery boy and then pulled knives of their own. Thomas, on the other hand, said they had been kicked out of LaCourt's amusement place on a

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[52] C. Garcia, "Field Report Interview with Miss Iris Smith," 12 Mar 1968, Box 13 Folder 1, Acc 625 NSC, TUA. Note: this document refers to Iris "Smith" in the title, but then refers to Iris "South" in the remainder.
[53] Lary Groth, quoted in Thomas Werner, "Patrons Seek Improved Conditions for Puerto Ricans," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 11 Jun 1964, Puerto Ricans in Phila. 1964 and prior, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[54] WFIL-TV, *Assignment: 1747 Randolph Street*, documentary film, 1966, Public Affairs Programming, WPVI-TV, Channel 6, TUA.
[55] C. Garcia, "General Observations of My Visit to the Ludlow School," 6 Feb 1968, Box 13 Folder 1, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.

previous occasion, and LaCourt simply became enraged when they returned.[56] In another case in 1963, twenty-year-old newlywed James Harris and his brothers were accused of fatally shooting Diego Morales Ortiz. But when Harris's mother was interviewed, she said "her sons had never had any trouble with the Puerto Ricans in the neighborhood. In fact, she stated, 'they always seemed to get along well together.'"[57]

In overlapping areas of black and Latino settlement, competition over housing, the ambiguous racial identity of Puerto Ricans, and slow adaptation by local institutions all contributed to racial tensions and social segregation in the fifties and sixties. But at the same time, similar experiences in these shared spaces were also sowing the seeds for improvement in black and Latino relations over time. Some residents and social service workers would consciously work to improve relations in the following years; political and economic trends boosted their efforts.

[56] C. Lester Fuller, "Boy Slain, 2nd Hurt in N. Phila. Melee," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 20 Mar 1962.
[57] Art Peters, "Bridegroom of One Week Faces Rap for Murder," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 22 Jan 1962.

3.0 IN THE TARGET AREA: CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN FEDERAL PROGRAMS, 1960S-70S

> *We were black, Puerto Rican, and white organizations. We were conservatives and militants. We were from both sides of Broad Street, which had always been an organizational dividing line in the community. It was beautiful!*[1]

Beginning in the mid-sixties, the federal government's interest in improving life in America's inner cities would come to influence the trajectory of black-Latino relations in Philadelphia. Two federal programs in particular, the War on Poverty and Model Cities, provided new opportunities for cooperation between blacks and Latinos at the local level. These opportunities were the result of more stringent citizen participation requirements than federal programs of the past, such as urban renewal, had contained. While citizen participation in Philadelphia's antipoverty programs was in some ways problematic, it also provided a formal framework for building working relationships among various local constituencies. This cooperation is evident in the personnel that fulfilled participation requirements for these programs, along with the local initiatives that were funded. Some programs were themselves short-lived, but the organizing experience that Philadelphia residents gained and the relationships they fostered persisted for years afterward. Philadelphia's experience contrasts with those in other cities, where parallel programs staged by black and Latino groups led to racial tension and competition for resources.

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[1] As told to Sherry Arnstein, "Maximum Feasible Manipulation," Reprint from *City*, Oct-Nov 1970, 3, Box 47 Folder 34, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.

3.1 WAR ON PHILADELPHIA POVERTY

The War on Poverty encompassed a broad range of programs aimed at providing disadvantaged Americans better opportunities. Major program initiatives included the Job Corps, Legal Aid, Head Start, Community Action, and funding for Medicare and Medicaid. The federal government's overall goal was never to address directly income inequality, but rather to give the poor the tools they needed to aspire to a more secure station in life.[2]

Community Action was by far the most controversial piece of the War on Poverty; it sought to empower the poor by giving them control over programs and encouraged organizing against the status quo.[3] The legislation establishing Community Action required "maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served."[4] While the War on Poverty has often been perceived as serving only poor blacks, many local programs

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[2] For background on the genesis of the War on Poverty and its moderate bent, see Annelise Orleck, "Introduction: The War on Poverty from the Grass Roots Up," in *The War on Poverty: A New Grassroots History, 1964-1980*, ed. Annelise Orleck and Lisa Gayle Hazirjian (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 1-28; Roger Biles, *The Fate of Cities: Urban America and the Federal Government, 1945-2000* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2011), 112-34, 145-49; Allen J. Matusow, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 217-42; Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 145-58, 164-70; Gareth Davies, *From Opportunity to Entitlement: The Transformation and Decline of Great Society Liberalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996), 30-53.

[3] The principles behind the Community Action concept had evolved from several sources in the preceding years, including efforts to combat juvenile delinquency and the Ford Foundation's Gray Areas programs. The language of Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act was fairly broad, and left itself open to several interpretations. These interpretations ranged from simply ensuring that minorities received their fair share of funding and services all the way up to encouraging organized political opposition to existing institutions and administrations. Observers then offered varying assessments of the Community Action programs that emerged. Many characterized Community Action as harboring militants and radicals who sought to overthrow the existing order. Others saw little militancy in the program nationally and pointed out that local governments and social service agencies still maintained control over most programs and funding. Assessments, of course, varied greatly depending upon which cities were highlighted, as local experiences diverged. See Matusow, *Unraveling of America*, 243-71; Kenneth B. Clark and Jeannette Hopkins, *A Relevant War against Poverty: A Study of Community Action Programs and Observable Social Change* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969); Daniel P. Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty* (New York: The Free Press, 1969).

[4] Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Title II, Section 202(a)(3). Excerpted in Clark and Hopkins, *Relevant War against Poverty*, 7.

actually involved poor whites, Latinos, Asians, and American Indians as well.[5] Much of the local history of Community Action remains to be uncovered; out of one thousand program locations across the country, only a small portion have been studied with depth or longevity. In addition, experiences in various communities were mediated not only by local politics and demographics, but also by differing implementation at regional Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) offices.[6] It is therefore difficult to judge the typicality of the Philadelphia experience within the War on Poverty as a whole, but some comparisons with well-documented programs in other large cities can be made.

In Philadelphia, the local agency empowered to coordinate and fund War on Poverty programs was the Philadelphia Antipoverty Action Committee, or PAAC.[7] The Committee emerged in 1965 after a series of unsuccessful attempts to create an antipoverty organization that would pass the muster of both local agencies and OEO.[8] PAAC's board consisted of mayoral

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[5] The War on Poverty actually came about primarily as a reaction to white poverty, provoked in part by pieces like Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), since reprinted numerous times. One treatment of Asian involvement in Community Action that compares black and Chinese communities is Dana Yasu Takagi, "Community Action in San Francisco: Class Structure and Ethnic Politics" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1986). For works on Indian involvement in Community Action programs, see Daniel M. Cobb, "'Us Indians Understand the Basics': Oklahoma Indians and the Politics of Community Action, 1964-1970," *Western Historical Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (2002): 41-66; Daniel M. Cobb, "The Last Indian War: Indian Community Action in the Johnson Administration's War on Poverty, 1964-1969" (MA thesis, University of Wyoming, 1998); Tamrala Greer Swafford, "Community Action on the Cherokee Reservation in North Carolina," *Indigenous Nations Studies Journal* 5, no. 1 (2004): 15-26.

[6] A recent contribution to this gap in the literature is Annelise Orleck and Lisa Gayle Hazirjian, eds., *The War on Poverty: A New Grassroots History, 1964-1980* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011). See also Matusow, *Unraveling of America*, 255; William Clayson, "'The Barrios and the Ghettos Have Organized!': Community Action, Political Acrimony, and the War on Poverty in San Antonio," *Journal of Urban Histoy* 28, no. 2 (2002): 158; Takagi, "Community Action in San Francisco," 2; Mark Edward Braun, *Social Change and the Empowerment of the Poor: Poverty Representation in Milwaukee's Community Action Programs, 1964-1972* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001), 6.

[7] PAAC's name was later changed to the Philadelphia Antipoverty Action Commission and after that to the Philadelphia Allied Action Commission in 1977, amid concerns clients were put off by the word "poverty." Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Commission, "Five Year Progress Report," 1971, 3, Box A-190 Folder APAC 5 Yr Report 1967-1971, 60-12-2-2.1 Anti-Poverty Action Committee, CA; "City Community Action Agency Changes Name," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 24 Dec 1977.

[8] The biggest problem with the earlier attempts was the lack of any participation by the poor. Several structures were attempted, including one dominated by the mayoral administration and one headed by the Ford Foundation-backed Philadelphia Council on Community Advancement. The best account of the progression of antipoverty structures is

appointees, members from prominent local agencies and civil rights organizations, and representatives of the poor. Nevertheless, complaints arose almost immediately about PAAC's failure to represent the poor and its resemblance to a black Democratic patronage machine. Most historical treatments have emphasized how politicians manipulated the program.[9] Without a doubt, the administrative structure of PAAC was clouded by larger political concerns which muffled the voice of Philadelphia's poor. To simply write off all of the program's initiatives, however, would miss the significant contributions that the War on Poverty made to improving life for some Philadelphians and to creating an organizational structure that promoted interracial cooperation.

At the top level of PAAC, the mayor appointed black leaders such as Executive Director Charles Bowser, Vice Chairman of the Board Samuel Evans, and Deputy Director Barbara Weems. They were joined on the board by Pascual Martinez, a Puerto Rican businessman.[10] In addition, PAAC's upper organizational tier included a liaison to the Spanish-speaking community.[11] Both black and Latino leaders in the upper echelons of PAAC were criticized for their close relationships with the city administration and charges of political motivations and

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S. H. Kristal, "The Great Poverty Snafu," *Greater Philadelphia Magazine*, Sep 1965, 56. See also Harry A. Bailey, Jr., "Poverty, Politics, and Administration: The Philadelphia Experience," in *Black Politics in Philadelphia*, ed. Miriam Ershkowitz and Joseph Zikmund II (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973), 168-69; Matthew J. Countryman, "Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia, 1940-1971" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1998), 541-43.

[9] Matusow, *Unraveling of America*, 256-57; Matthew J. Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 297-300; Guian A. McKee, *The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 95-115.

[10] Charles Bowser was a young black attorney who had worked with the NAACP and Police Advisory Board and would later head the Urban Coalition and eventually run for mayor. Samuel Evans was a concert promoter and prominent in the Democratic machine. Evans occasionally butted heads with outspoken NAACP head Cecil Moore. Barbara Weems was a University of Pennsylvania PhD candidate allied with Bowser and Evans who worked her way up within the PAAC administration. The Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations had requested Puerto Rican representation on PAAC as early as February 1965. Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee, "Progress Report," 1965-1966, 6, Box A-190, 60-12-2-2.2 Anti-Poverty Action Committee, CA; "Area Puerto Ricans Seek Representation on Anti-Poverty Council," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 20 Feb 1965.

[11] Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee, "Progress Report," 47.

mismanagement abounded.[12] The local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was particularly angered by the questionable firing of PAAC staff, and the *Tribune* called for salary caps for top PAAC officials.[13] Meanwhile, German Quiles of the Puerto Rican Citizens for Community Affairs criticized Martinez's appointment, telling the mayor that he "personally works for you and is not representative of all our people."[14]

PAAC administrators were also faulted for a lack of sensitivity. When PAAC social worker Maria Mendoza told the *Inquirer* she had seen Puerto Rican families eating dog food, the Puerto Rican Fraternity picketed in response. Fraternity leader Maria Bonet claimed, "If we had the money – 37 or 38 cents – for a can of dog food, we would by a pound of rice." Bonet felt Mendoza was "misrepresenting the Puerto Rican community" and demanded Mendoza's termination because "she's offended us and has thrown our dignity to the floor."[15] Similarly, when Barbara Weems remarked during an open board meeting that problems with a summer camp were not due to inadequate facilities, but rather showed that "the campers and counselors came from poverty areas and brought their dirty habits with them," she created an uproar. Parents in attendance rushed the board and the meeting was adjourned.[16]

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[12] Particularly vocal were Mattie Humphrey and the Germantown-based Citizen's Committee on Poverty, which sought to act as a watchdog group. James Magee, "Refuse to Open PAAC Files, Citizens Comm. on Poverty Try Gets Rebuffed," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 29 Mar 1966, 1. Humphrey later described Bowser and Evans as part of a closed, cold leadership cadre within the black community that tried to limit its dealings with those not sharing its views. Mattie Humphrey, "Sam Evans and Joe Coleman," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 27 Apr 1979.

[13] James Magee, "CORE Joins in Protests over PAAC Firing," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 28 Dec 1965; "Rich Getting Richer, Poor Getting Poorer," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 3 Jan 1967.

[14] Stephen J. Sansweet, "Bickering of Leaders Hurts Effort to Raise Status of Community," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 6 Jun 1968, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Inquirer Series 1968, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[15] "Puerto Ricans Picket Inquirer, City Hall," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 2 Jul 1968, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Inquirer Series 1968, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[16] Criticism of PAAC had peaked once again over the situation at a summer camp in Delaware. PAAC had arranged with the Philadelphia Athletic Association to run Camp George, but children complained about "poor food and facilities as well as physical and sexual abuse." Parents complained publicly and political opponents became involved. Ken Schlossberg and Jose Toro to Edgar May, memo re: Philadelphia Antipoverty Action Commission (PAAC), Camp George, Harley, Delaware, 27 Aug 1968, 12, Box 13 Folder PAAC Philadelphia Anti-Poverty

Troubled by the image of PAAC's upper tiers, OEO tried to eliminate PAAC General Council Isaiah Crippins and Deputy Director Barbara Weems and increase participation by the poor. But the office met staunch resistance from Bowser and charges of racism, forcing it to back down.[17] By March of 1967, a spate of staff members quit PAAC due to disillusionment with the program.[18] Evans almost resigned, but ultimately kept his post after a petition urging him to stay gained forty thousand signatures.[19] Concerns about the structure and administrative personnel of PAAC persisted, and it was eventually reorganized after an investigation.[20]

3.2 IN THE TRENCHES: THE COMMUNITY ACTION COUNCILS

In the neighborhoods, there was huge initial enthusiasm for the antipoverty initiative, with 8,100 residents turning out for well-publicized town meetings on the program.[21] The attendees reflected the diversity of the target areas, though not in the same ratios as the general poor population. University of Pennsylvania sociologist Arthur Shostak observed, "Poor whites, a

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Action Commission, Community Services Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of Civil Rights, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD (hereafter NARA).

[17] Isaiah Crippins's post as general counsel had originally been created as a political compromise to pacify Cecil B. Moore and the NAACP when their favored candidate was not appointed as executive director of PAAC. See Bailey, "Poverty, Politics, and Administration," 183; "Charles Bowser Puts Anti-Poverty Job on Line to Protect Assistants," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 3 Dec 1966; "Race Issue Seen in Attack on Anti-Poverty Aide Here," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 13 Dec 1966.

[18] "'White Press' Blamed in Resignation of PAAC Aide," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 28 Mar 1967.

[19] Joe Hunter, "40,000 Petitioners Want Evans to Retain Anti-Poverty Position," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 17 Oct 1967. OEO officials still actively hoped to convince the mayor to get rid of Evans, Weems, and Crippins in 1968. See Ken Schlossberg to Edgar May, re: Philadelphia Antipoverty Action Commission (PAAC), Philadelphia, Penna., 27 Aug 1968, 2, Box 13 Folder PAAC Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Commission, Community Services Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of Civil Rights, NARA.

[20] Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Commission, "Five Year Progress Report," 3. The Philadelphia Citizens' Charter Committee had long questioned PAAC's legality under the Home Rule Charter, since it was acting as much more than an advisory board, and other groups argued that it should be reconstituted as a nonprofit. See Bailey, "Poverty, Politics, and Administration," 180-81.

[21] Lawrence M. O'Rourke, "8,100 Turn Out at 12 Rallies in Poverty War," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 29 Apr 1965, Bowser, Charles W. - Poverty & Poverty Commission 1965, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

scattered group older than the Negro poor, did not attend in proportion to their representation among the city's poor (PAAC claimed 30 percent white attendance; it should have been 55 percent). Nor did Puerto Ricans attend in proportion to their 5 percent representation among the city's poor. Women, especially Negro women, made up the vast majority of the audiences." It is significant, though, that both whites and Latinos attended early meetings on a program later conceived of as all-black. Shostak found that residents' behavior at these meetings was most likely to be influenced by their age and overall political orientation rather than racial identity. These residents quickly engaged with PAAC officials, offering cogent, valid criticisms of emerging program details.[22]

To facilitate formal involvement of the poor and conform to "maximum feasible participation" requirements, PAAC undertook the first antipoverty elections in the nation. It held neighborhood elections for representatives to twelve Community Action Councils (CACs), one for each of the poverty zones designated alphabetically as Areas A through L (see Figure 5). Candidates for the positions were subject to income caps and had to collect fifty signatures to be placed on the ballot. Election procedures banned "clergy and active members of political organizations" from running.[23] Residents in each area would select twelve individuals; in turn, the elected CAC for each area would choose a representative to sit on the larger PAAC board. The turnout for the initial elections was low, at less than three percent of eligible voters, but similar elections in other cities did no better.[24] Thousands more residents voted in the elections

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[22] Arthur B. Shostak, "Promoting Participation of the Poor: Philadelphia's Antipoverty Program," *Social Work* 11, no. 1 (1966): 66-67.
[23] Bailey, "Poverty, Politics, and Administration," 175.
[24] Lawrence M. O'Rourke, "War-on-Poverty Vote Hailed Here as Success," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 27 May 1965, Bowser, Charles W. - Poverty & Poverty Commission 1965, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Nicholas W. Stroh, "Year of War on Poverty Ends on a Note of Discord," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 29 May 1966, Bowser, Charles W. - Poverty & Poverty Commission 1966, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

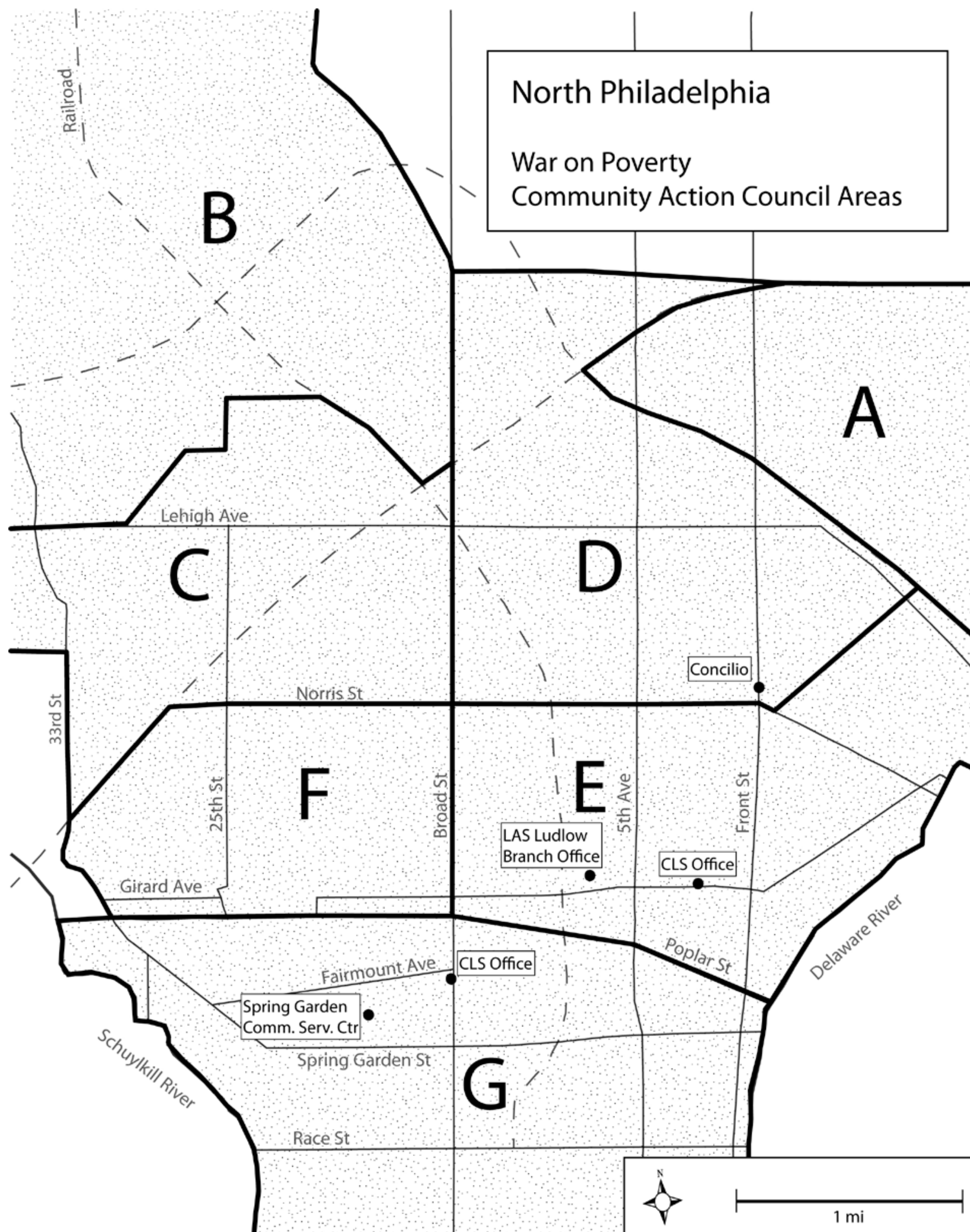

Figure 5. War on Poverty Community Action Council Areas

Adapted from Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Commission, "PAAC 10 Years: 1965-1975," 1975, p.22, Box A-190 Folder APAC Progress Report 1965-75, 60-12-2-2.2 Anti-Poverty Action Committee, City Archives, Philadelphia.

than had attended the town hall meetings, and a disproportionate amount of the voting took place in North Central Philadelphia, which had the highest concentration of poverty.[25] OEO was discouraged by the election's expense and turnout, but Philadelphia insisted on keeping the process.[26] Subsequent elections brought a higher turnout in 1966, but numbers had declined again by 1969.[27]

Black domination of the program sometimes eclipsed involvement by others. *Tribune* columnist Peyton Gray noted, "The Anti-Poverty Program is the strongest assertion of Negro strength that this city has ever seen!"[28] There were even some suggestions that OEO was uncomfortable with the extent of black participation in Philadelphia's program.[29] However, in integrated residential areas, PAAC involvement reflected the various groups present, including both Latinos and ethnic whites in the areas where they lived. Before the elections, Alvin E. Echols of North City Congress had told a diverse collection of block clubs and neighborhood organizations to collaborate on forming slates of candidates, directing residents to "Unite . . . There's nothing wrong with it. If you don't, some cliques will come in and – boom, they'll have their slates and you people won't have a word to say about the programs."[30] Over a year later, Charles Bowser reiterated the absolute necessity of cooperation, noting that it was hard to help a "divided and disorganized neighborhood" and adding, "The impoverished of every color and

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[25] Voter turnout reached 20 percent in parts North Philadelphia. Countryman, "Civil Rights and Black Power," 546; O'Rourke, "War-on-Poverty Vote Hailed Here as Success"; Shostak, "Promoting Participation of the Poor," 68.
[26] Nicholas W. Stroh, "26,000 Poor Vote in PAAC Election Here," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 23 Jul 1966, Bowser, Charles W. - Poverty & Poverty Commission 1966, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Bailey, "Poverty, Politics, and Administration," 176.
[27] Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee, "Progress Report," 28, 30; Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee, "Community Organization and Social Service Annual Report for the Year of January 1 Thru December 31, 1969," March 1970, 2, Box A-190 Folder APAC Annual Report 1969, 60-12-2-2.1 Anti-Poverty Action Committee, CA.
[28] Peyton Gray, Jr., "Peyton's Place," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 31 Dec 1966.
[29] "Race Issue Seen in Attack on Anti-Poverty Aide Here."
[30] Lawrence M. O'Rourke, "Local Leaders Plan to Keep Control of Poverty War," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 27 Apr 1965, Echols, Alvin E., Jr. - North City Congress 1960 to 1966, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

creed need to learn the importance of unity . . . All other needs can be met – housing, jobs, education, but without unity the [i]mpoverished will remain impoverished for poverty is not merely the absence of wealth, it is also the absence of power."[31] Shostak noted ambivalence about integrated efforts among some black members of PAAC, but this was most likely regarding the role of whites in the program rather than Latinos.[32]

A study of the 1965 elections found that "Over three-quarters of the sample [of CAC candidates] were nonwhite; yet there was still a visible white minority of 23 percent. Interestingly, of this minority, fully 95 percent were winners."[33] The "white minority" in the study sample likely included both Latino and white candidates. The *New York Times* reported, "Pointing out that a number of whites and Puerto Ricans had been elected in Area D – a predominantly Negro section of the city – [Bowser] told newsmen that 'there was no bloc voting by race because poverty was the common denominator.'"[34] In Spring Garden, even the polling places for the 1966 CAC elections revealed the involvement of both black and Latino residents. Voting occurred not only at Spring Garden Community Services Center, but also at the homes of Mrs. Edna Pope, Mrs. Rose Dias [sic], Mrs. Alta May Rogers, and Mrs. Rosalina Rivera.[35] Over the course of the late 1960s and into the 1970s, a number of Latinos were elected to local CACs, particularly in Areas D, E, and G. They were also active as participating residents who staffed positions like community organization aide, information and referral worker, or typist at the local

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[31] "Bowser Scores 'Disunity' in Poverty War," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 27 Feb 1966, Bowser, Charles W. - Poverty & Poverty Commission 1966, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[32] Shostak, "Promoting Participation of the Poor," 71.
[33] Elliott White, "Articulateness, Political Mobility, and Conservatism: An Analysis of the Philadelphia Antipoverty Election," in *Black Politics in Philadelphia*, ed. Miriam Ershkowitz and Joseph Zikmund II (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973), 191.
[34] Ben A. Franklin, "Poor Elect Poor in Philadelphia," *New York Times*, 27 May 1965.
[35] Spring Garden Community Services Center had integrated black and Puerto Rican leadership and involvement. "Anti-Poverty Elections Here Backed by LBJ," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 23 Jul 1966.

offices.[36] The level of Latino participation led social worker Maria Mendoza to comment, "PAAC is doing a fantastic job in the Puerto Rican community . . . There are now Puerto Ricans on area councils employed by PAAC and other agencies."[37] In time, some Latino representatives rose within the structure of PAAC. By 1975, Maria Rosario chaired Area E while Carmen Aponte served as vice chair of Area D.[38] Latino CAC representatives joined cohorts that were mostly black and overwhelmingly female.[39] The multiracial group of CAC workers that sociologist Nancy A. Naples interviewed "did not separate their issues from their neighbors'."[40]

There is some question as to how autonomous and effective the CACs were. Historian Allen Matusow notes that in Philadelphia "politicians . . . killed community action."[41] Journalist S.H. Kristal at the time decried PAAC as the "Negro politicians' pork barrel."[42] Historian Matthew Countryman elaborates by observing that "While the organizational structure of [PAAC] created the appearance of significant participation by representatives of the city's poor neighborhoods, Mayor Tate and the Democratic machine in fact controlled every aspect of the PAAC and its programs. Or to be more specific, Samuel Evans . . . ran the antipoverty agency as the black patronage wing of the machine from his position as vice-chairman of the PAAC board. In the words of one observer, the PAAC's primary mission under Evans' leadership was 'the maximum feasible participation of Sam Evans.'" Countryman argues that Evans successfully

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[36] Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee, "Progress Report," 21-24; Stroh, "26,000 Poor Vote in PAAC Election Here"; Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Commission, "Five Year Progress Report," 17-18, 48.
[37] Stephen J. Sansweet, "Majority Seeks to Solve Own Problems, but Lacks Leadership," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 Jun 1968, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Inquirer Series 1968, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[38] Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Commission, "PAAC 10 Years: 1965-1975," 1975, 12-13, Box A-190 Folder APAC Progress Report 1965-75, 60-12-2-2.2 Anti-Poverty Action Committee, CA.
[39] In the first year's elections, there were ninety-one females and fifty-three males chosen. Lawrence M. O'Rourke, "Who Represents the Poor of Phila.? PAAC Reports on Makeup of Council," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 28 Sep 1965, Bowser, Charles W. - Poverty & Poverty Commission 1965, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee, "Progress Report," 6-8.
[40] Nancy A. Naples, "'Just What Needed to Be Done': The Political Practice of Women Community Workers in Low Income Neighborhoods," *Gender and Society* 5, no. 4 (1991): 491.
[41] Matusow, *Unraveling of America*, 256.
[42] Kristal, "Great Poverty Snafu," 86.

coopted CAC representatives through patronage and coercion and points out that most PAAC funding found its way to existing agencies.[43]

I contend that the power dynamics at play and the effects on community residents are much more complex. Evans and his associates certainly waged a formidable assault for control over PAAC operations, but CAC representatives and staff did not all simply roll over and follow the lead of Evans and the agencies. On the one hand, PAAC administrators wielded significant power over organization members. As one letter to the editor described, "Due to the fact that the program hires people who need the jobs badly, those who control it have them at their mercy. By there being no meaningful control, anyone connected with the program, not to mention the poor the program is supposed to serve, has to shut up, peddle petitions for Sam Evans, etc. Your readers can have no idea as to some of the shameful things that go on."[44] Eulalia Horan from Area G claimed they were simply "stooges" and all real decisions were made at City Hall.[45] She was not alone, as some CAC members were "unhappy over the role they play in the decision-making process. They do not feel that their views count."[46] PAAC had ruled that the representatives elected by CACs could not be bound by the wishes of the populations they represented; rather, they were to come to the higher-level meetings as "free agents." Meanwhile, even informal meetings within the communities were to be cleared through the central office.[47] The PAAC administration attempted to get rid of one area chairperson because she coordinated unsanctioned meetings of representatives from the various CACs.[48]

A central issue in the servility or independence of CAC representatives was jobs.

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[43] Countryman, *Up South*, 297, 299.
[44] Denton Fowler, "Anti-Poverty Bosses Have Staff at Their Mercy," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 17 Feb 1968.
[45] "Sam Evans Blamed for Politics in Anti-Poverty Setup," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 19 Jul 1966.
[46] Bailey, "Poverty, Politics, and Administration," 185.
[47] Ray McCann, "Member of Anti-Poverty Council Unhappy with Unit's Approach," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 22 Jun 1965.
[48] James Magee, "PAAC Demands Ouster of Area 'K' Chairman," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 12 Apr 1966.

Initially, OEO had refused to provide any stipend for those serving. Even at early town meetings, many residents were critical of the lack of stipends for CAC members, predicting it was "a fault likely to insure that certain spokesmen for the poor would accept graft from interested parties."[49] But it became increasingly apparent that CAC representatives needed some type of compensation in order to carry out their duties. One white woman who worked on a Philadelphia CAC remembers struggling to attend meetings without the money for carfare.[50] As the program progressed, PAAC administrators began to open up jobs for CAC representatives despite OEO objections.[51] By the end of 1966, the vast majority of CAC members were gainfully employed, and many of their family members took positions as well.[52] When OEO began to investigate, Evans unabashedly told an inspector, "You're damned right there is patronage."[53] Unamused, OEO became so frustrated with nepotism in the program that it temporarily suspended five hundred workers after ruling they could not be related to anyone sitting on a CAC.[54] OEO backed down on the suspensions, but it remained concerned about the effect of patronage on CAC representatives. By 1969 officials had decided, "The inescapable conclusion . . . is that . . . these practices are used to control the vote of the representatives of the poor."[55] Others felt it was only natural for representatives of the poor to look out for their own personal interests, and much controversy could have been avoided if OEO had provided a stipend for representatives from the beginning.[56]

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[49] Shostak, "Promoting Participation of the Poor," 66.
[50] Naples, "'Just What Needed to Be Done,'" 484.
[51] Kristal, "Great Poverty Snafu," 86.
[52] Many of these workers performed duties like explaining Medicare to the elderly. White, "Articulateness, Political Mobility, and Conservatism," 199.
[53] Schlossberg to May, 1.
[54] Most of the workers in question were "community aides, teacher aides for Head Start programs and summer recreation assistants." "500 PAAC Workers Fired, Hired Back," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 9 Jul 1966.
[55] Schlossberg to May, 1.
[56] White, "Articulateness, Political Mobility, and Conservatism," 199-200.

Linked to the issue of jobs are various characterizations of Sam Evans's political motives and agenda. On the one hand, Evans is portrayed in many accounts as personally ambitious and power-hungry, anxious to rule over the domain of PAAC and simultaneously assure his prestige with both the mayoral administration and the black electorate. On the other hand, Evans could be viewed as attempting to unite CAC representatives to ensure their strength against other players in PAAC, while at the same time furthering neighborhood political organization to push for future improvements. Though recent work on Philadelphia's War on Poverty leans toward the former interpretation, there is some evidence for the latter. Alvin Echols of North City Congress described Evans as openly taking "the position that there will never be enough money in this program to make much difference in the ghetto, and that the best you can do is develop an organized political force."[57] Meanwhile, OEO officials worried that Evans's "preoccupation with grass-roots power" had actually cost PAAC broader support in the city.[58] Regardless of Evans's exact motives in assembling a political force, it is important to note that he included Latinos in doing so.

And to some extent, the CACs resisted centralized control and made their own contributions to the neighborhoods. One PAAC official felt, "The real purpose of this program is to teach the poor how to wheel and deal effectively in an increasingly wheeling and dealing society."[59] Many of the representatives took up this challenge. At first, the role of CACs was restricted to "nickel and dime projects" like tree planting.[60] Shostak soon found that the twelve CAC representatives sitting on the PAAC board were able to make a significant impact during

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[57] "New Philadelphia Story: Hard Times Befall a 'Model' Antipoverty Program," *New York Times*, 26 Jun 1967; Countryman, "Civil Rights and Black Power," 552.
[58] "New Philadelphia Story."
[59] Stroh, "Year of War on Poverty Ends on a Note of Discord."
[60] Wallace Turner, "Poor Lack Power in Philadelphia," *New York Times*, 6 Nov 1965.

the program's first year. To start with, they often voted as a bloc, many times with support from CORE and church representatives as well, which gave them control over half of the votes on any given issue. With that voting strength, they were able to secure a greater role for CACs, demand reforms to existing proposals, and exert pressure for timely action.[61]

In addition to their limited role in policymaking, the CAC area offices themselves made contributions to the community by serving as sites for basic information. A Resident Participation grant funded eighteen indigenous staff at each location to assist their neighbors in various capacities.[62] There was much less turnover among CAC staff than in the higher administrative positions of PAAC, giving workers on the ground cumulative experience and lasting personal networks. It was not unusual for community workers to be employed continuously by PAAC for well over a decade, and many of those that left took similar positions at other neighborhood organizations.[63] As the *New York Herald Tribune* observed, CAC personnel were "like political precinct committeemen in that the poor in their bailiwicks come to them for aid, advice, and referrals." It is perhaps in this capacity that the CACs reached the largest number of residents. One young mother felt "more at ease" talking to Mrs. Mendoza at the Area G office than going to the comparatively "cold" agencies.[64] Statistics show that CAC staff made tens of thousands of contacts in the areas of employment, youth, community contacts,

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[61] Shostak, "Promoting Participation of the Poor," 68-69. Shostak, a University of Pennsylvania sociologist, later became disillusioned by Evans's cooptation of some CAC representatives and helped put together slates of reform candidates as part of his Maximum Participation Movement. Joseph A. Loftus, "Voice of Poor Silenced in Philadelphia Poverty Drive, G.O.P. Inquiry Told," *New York Times*, 17 Jul 1966.
[62] CACs performed all preliminary selection of workers, but the PAAC Executive Director had final say over a short list of candidates for each spot. "Evaluation Items under Consideration in This Section," 1969, 35, Box 4 Folder Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Committee, Community Services Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of Operations, Field Coordination Division, NARA.
[63] Nancy A. Naples, "Contradictions in the Gender Subtext of the War on Poverty: The Community Work and Resistance of Women from Low Income Communities," *Social Problems* 38, no. 3 (1991): 324; Nancy A. Naples, *Grassroots Warriors: Activist Mothering, Community Work, and the War on Poverty* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 44-45.
[64]*New York Herald Tribune*, 5 Dec 1965, excerpted in Clark and Hopkins, *Relevant War against Poverty*, 117.

and housing over the first three years. Job developers staffing the CACs had successfully placed twenty thousand residents in jobs over the same time period.[65] The CACs were even involved to some extent in programs administered by existing agencies. In the case of the School District's Get Set program, the CACs were responsible for selecting all nonprofessional staff.[66]

The neighborhood-based structure of the CACs allowed a measure of decentralization by default. A PAAC administrator noted that from early on, "there were always some complaints about how difficult it was to get the area staff to follow directions and to implement."[67] Pascual Martinez dismissed the notion of patronage restraints on CAC representatives; at board meetings elected representatives were known to "raise hell and call names."[68] At one point, PAAC decided to shuffle community workers around from their neighborhoods of residence. One CAC worker believed part of PAAC's motive was to blunt the existing influence and effectiveness of CACs. She thought PAAC was afraid that "people were responding too much to their [CAC] rather than from the direction of the central office."[69] Shostak noted only a "very few" CAC representatives had snubbed their areas in favor of "downtown" perspectives.[70] Meanwhile, Andrew G. Freeman of the Urban League saw the activation of CACs as a model to be built upon: "The 144 elected representatives of the poor have taken their proper places setting policy, planning poverty programs, and, in some cases, helping to administer programs. They are strong leaders and they

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[65] The numbers of contacts PAAC provided are: Employment: 97,059; Youth: 86,430; Community Contacts: 145,630; and Housing: 75,130. "Exhibit III," 1969, 1-2, Box 4 Folder Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Committee, Community Services Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of Operations, Field Coordination Division, NARA.
[66] "Exhibit IA: Special Projects Conducted by Community Organization Section, 1965," 1969, 2, Box 4 Folder Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Committee, Community Services Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of Operations, Field Coordination Division, NARA.
[67] Martha Franks (pseudonym), quoted in Naples, "Contradictions in the Gender Subtext of the War on Poverty," 325.
[68] Schlossberg and Toro to May, 9.
[69] Barbara Rivers (pseudonym), quoted in Naples, "Contradictions in the Gender Subtext of the War on Poverty," 325.
[70] Shostak, "Promoting Participation of the Poor," 69.

are doing a good job, although in the past most of them were unknown outside their neighborhoods."[71]

Of course, relations at the CACs themselves were not always smooth, either. In 1965, attorney Samuel T. Swansen "sensed a feeling of racial conflict between the representatives of the Ludlow Civic Association . . . and the PAAC group in Area E." The tension resulted from hotly contested CAC elections in which the winning slate, headed by Connie Valiczynski and dominated by ethnic whites, had beaten black and Puerto Rican candidates backed by the Ludlow Civic Association.[72] A caseworker from Friends Neighborhood Guild thought the groups had little disagreement over policy and were willing to cooperate, but meetings took place amid "considerable tension in the air and a suggestion of take-it-or-leave-it on Mrs. Valiczynski's part." Indeed, when faced with the prospect of adding a lawyer to Area E's office, Valiczynski seemed to view it as "just one more stake with which to nail down [her] blanket of control." Swansen recommended that a lawyer split his time between Area E offices and the Temple Community Center, in an effort to get LCA and those in control of Area E to cooperate.[73] A better working relationship was not easy to come by, though, as the Council of Black Youths and LCA later picketed PAAC's offices. They claimed that Valiczynski was giving better services to residents on the east side of Fifth Street, which was a predominantly white area compared to the

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[71] Andrew G. Freeman, "Community Goals: The Ludlow Civic Association," 24 May 1966, 4, Box 17 Folder 174, URB 16 Urban League, TUA.
[72] Ludlow Civic Association (later called Ludlow Community Association) had requested a Legal Aid office in the area. The competition between Ludlow Civic Association and Connie Valiczynski's supporters made Area E more active in elections than other zones. A few sources refer to "Valiczynski" as "Galiczynski." Samuel T. Swansen to Robert D. Abrahams, memo re: Location of Law Office of Community Legal Services, Inc., in Anti-Poverty Program Area E, 26 May 1966, Box 3 Folder Ludlow Branch Correspondence 1966-1967, 1970, Acc 253/259 Legal Aid Society (hereafter LAS), TUA; Nicholas W. Stroh, "Few File Petitions Here for Poverty Elections," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 25 Jun 1966, Bowser, Charles W. - Poverty & Poverty Commission 1966, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[73] Swansen to Abrahams, 26 May 1966, 3-5.

other section of Area E.[74]

PAAC's tendencies toward centralized control detracted from idealized notions of the empowerment of poor communities to manage War on Poverty initiatives. Given the political constraints of the time, though, it is not surprising that the CACs often succumbed to hierarchy. But that hierarchy did not prevent the formation of an integrated, neighborhood-based framework that allowed emerging leaders and activists to gain political experience and build relationships. Moreover, as Countryman has noted, the agenda of Evans's political force may have differed from the goals of many in the community, but its dominance over PAAC made it clear that minority strength in electoral politics, in addition to grassroots efforts, was necessary to achieve substantive change.[75]

3.3 FUNDING AND PROGRAMS

In addition to establishing the framework of CACs, the War on Poverty funded initiatives that benefited both black and Latino residents. PAAC funding was spread among a large number of programs, most of which were administrated by existing agencies and community organizations. Some scholars have concluded that the routing of funds to existing institutions meant the money had little impact at street level. But on the other hand, PAAC funding allowed established agencies and community groups to expand, implement new programs, and hire more indigenous

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[74] "Pickets Demand Removal of Poverty Program Official," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 13 Aug 1968, Ludlow Community Activities Center, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[75] Countryman makes this observation in the context of Black Power supporters turning from a protest-based strategy toward formal politics. Though his focus is solely on the black community, his argument about the political side-effects of PAAC works just as well when Latino cooperation in both the PAAC structure and later political campaigns is taken into account. Countryman, "Civil Rights and Black Power," 632-33.

staff within the target area. Harry Bailey noted that despite political controversy, "The component programs of PAAC . . . have been relatively successful and have been well received by the community. In most cases of disillusionment and unhappiness in the community it has been a question of too little of what programs there are and a demand for additional types of antipoverty programs."[76] Funding was never available at a magnitude that would achieve dramatic results in raising the socioeconomic status of the average inner-city resident. The resources did, however, make concrete differences in the everyday lives of black and Latino residents and organizations who took advantage of expanded legal, education, employment, and health services. A more detailed look at a few program areas shows their reach.

The advent of Community Legal Services (CLS), backed by OEO funding, significantly impacted Philadelphia's black and Puerto Rican communities. Philadelphia already had some free and low-cost legal services provided by the Legal Aid Society and the Defenders' Association, but these organizations had limited resources and could not fully meet the needs of Spanish speakers. Under the new scheme of organization, legal services would be operated by CLS and overseen by the Bar Association, the Legal Aid Society, and the Defenders' Association.[77] CLS faced opposition by some local attorneys who feared they would lose business. As a compromise, CLS and their counterparts at Legal Aid Society were generally prohibited from handling common types of fee-generating cases like personal injury or divorce suits.[78] They would focus instead on areas such as housing, consumer issues, and public

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[76] Bailey, "Poverty, Politics, and Administration," 185.

[77] Nicholas W. Stroh, "Bowser Hails U.S. Legal-Aid Grant, Sees End to Victimization of Poor," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 26 Apr 1966, Bowser, Charles W. - Poverty & Poverty Commission 1966, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[78] Harmon Y. Gordon, "Bar Alters Legal-Aid Plan as Deadline for Funds Nears," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 23 Jun 1966, Bowser, Charles W. - Poverty & Poverty Commission 1966, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

welfare.[79] As a new organization, CLS was well aware of its partnership with the residents it served. New attorneys were warned they would be met with suspicion and told, "If you cannot get along in the neighborhood to which you are assigned, we'll have to move you, and if you fail again you'll have to leave the program."[80]

Legal Aid Society (LAS) was already planning to enter the Ludlow area prior to the launch of CLS, having developed the idea through work with Friends Neighborhood Guild. With the anticipation of federal funding, an arrangement arose whereby LAS volunteers staffed a Ludlow branch to test demand for future CLS services; they found "ample need."[81] LAS attempted to serve an integrated black, white, and Puerto Rican clientele in Ludlow.[82] They obtained the services of Mr. Gonzalez, a bilingual investigator employed by CLS, for help with Puerto Rican clients on a case-by-case basis and sometimes used translators from Nationalities Services Center.[83] Nonetheless, a full-time bilingual attorney was better able to serve the Ludlow area. CLS opened an Area E branch office at the edge of Ludlow under attorney Manuel Gomez in September 1966 and quickly drew clients away. With a much lighter case load, LAS was able to shift its efforts to a pilot program at Ludlow Community School.[84] Gomez remained the only

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[79] "CLS Office Opens on N. Broad St.," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 21 Oct 1969.

[80] Robert D. Abra[ha]ms, executive director of CLS, quoted in "Poverty Plan Lawyers Get a Briefing," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 2 Aug 1966, Bowser, Charles W. - Poverty & Poverty Commission 1966, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[81] Samuel T. Swansen to Robert Abrahams, memo re: Ludlow Branch: Legal Aid Society, 29 Sep 1966, 1, Box 3 Folder Ludlow Branch Correspondence 1966-1967, 1970, Acc 253/259 LAS, TUA.

[82] Samuel T. Swansen, "Legal Aid Society Ludlow Branch Closed-Out Cases," 28 Sep 1967, Box 3 Folder Ludlow Branch Correspondence 1966-1967, 1970, Acc 253/259 LAS, TUA.

[83] Translators from NSC were only available for shared clients, and only provided at no cost in cases of extreme need. Robert D. Abrahams to Legal Staff, memo, 15 Aug 1966, Box 3 Folder Inter-Office Memos 1966, Acc 253/259 LAS, TUA; BML to Legal Staff, memo, 15 Mar 1967, Box 3 Folder Inter-Office Memos 1967, Acc 253/259 LAS, TUA.

[84] The CLS office was located at 207 West Girard Avenue. Thomas B. Ridgely, Jr. et. al., Notice to Clients of Ludlow Branch of LAS, 10 Jan 1967, Box 3 Folder Ludlow Branch Correspondence 1966-1967, 1970, Acc 253/259 LAS, TUA; Samuel T. Swansen to Legal Aid Staff, Ludlow Branch, memo re: Current Developments, 28 Sep 1966, Box 3 Folder Ludlow Branch Correspondence 1966-1967, 1970, Acc 253/259 LAS, TUA; Swansen to Abrahams, 29 Sep 1966, 1.

bilingual attorney in the city for the next two years.[85] By 1969, CLS opened up an office on North Broad Street that was "completely bilingual for the convenience of the large Spanish-speaking community in the area."[86] This new office was part of a "concerted effort" to improve coverage of eligible residents, along with translations of literature on welfare and housing issues.[87] The effort paid off; by 1971 Puerto Ricans represented nearly half the clients at the two nearby branches.[88] When CLS later planned to reorganize its offices in 1974, community leaders protested any loss of accessibility. They feared that Puerto Ricans would not travel to the heart of Kensington due to racial incidents with white residents and many could not afford transportation to visit more distant offices.[89]

CLS coexisted with LAS for a time, and the two organizations complemented each other by focusing on different types of cases. Despite a much larger organization, CLS served about the same number of people as LAS because CLS emphasized investigation-intensive police brutality and consumer cases.[90] High demand for services continued; at times clients had to be turned away by swamped attorneys.[91] Over time, though, the federal government was less willing to fund parallel programs. In the course of just four years, OEO funding for LAS went from thirty thousand to twenty thousand to five thousand dollars annually, threatening the

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[85] Stephen J. Sansweet, "Crowded Rooms Expensive but 'Barrio' Offers Security," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 3 Jun 1968, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Inquirer Series 1968, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[86] "CLS Office Opens on N. Broad St."
[87] "Communiy Legal Services, Capsule Summary B-17," revised Mar 1969, Box 4 Folder Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Committee, Community Services Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of Operations, Field Coordination Division, NARA.
[88] Michael Kimmel, "¡You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!," *Philadelphia Magazine*, Oct 1971, 93.
[89] Joe Davidson, "Puerto Ricans Protest Move by Legal Service," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 25 Sep 1974, Rivera, Bolivar "Bobby" - Puerto Rican Department of Community Affairs, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[90] Memo re: Future of Legal Aid Society, c.1969, Box 13 Folder Community Legal Services, Correspondence, etc. 1969, Acc 253/259 LAS, TUA.
[91] Robert D. Abrahams to Theodore Voorhees, 21 Aug 1970, Box 13 Folder Community Legal Services, Correspondence, etc. 1970, Acc 253/259 LAS, TUA.

survival of its services and its symbiotic relationship with CLS.[92]

Legal services outreach to black and Latino communities had larger significance as well. Of course, most counsel was dispensed on an individual basis and thus not an overtly integrated activity. But by conscientiously including services for Spanish speakers in addition to blacks, CLS employees could better identify trends, systemic problems, and potential class action lawsuits in North Philadelphia neighborhoods. They could also serve to monitor attitudes and tension between the groups through the grievances they heard on a daily basis. CLS attorney Angel Ortiz noted "a lack of communication between the Black and Puerto Rican people in Philadelphia . . . You hear that 'the Blacks are getting everything' a lot."[93] Ortiz's insight reveals both racial tension over the distribution of resources and the potential for agencies to serve as a point of mediation between the communities. PAAC acknowledged this in telling OEO that CLS had "partly bridged the gap" between Spanish speakers and other residents.[94]

In addition to helping individuals, CLS gave legal advice to a host of neighborhood organizations and coalition efforts, some of which comprised a mix of black and Latino residents. This representation led to class action lawsuits and concrete changes in policy.[95] In the broader scheme of things, some scholars see expanded legal services as the greatest legacy of the

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[92] Robert D. Abrahams to Theodore Voorhees, 1 Jun 1970, Box 13 Folder Community Legal Services, Correspondence, etc. 1970, Acc 253/259 LAS, TUA.

[93] Marc Kaufman, "Puerto Ricans Will Fight for Phila. 'Barrio,'" *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 15 Oct 1978, Ortiz, Angel L. - Community Legal Services, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[94] "Accomplishments and Changes Effected by the Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Commission in the Community 1967-1969," 1969, 7, Box 4 Folder Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Committee, Community Services Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of Operations, Field Coordination Division, NARA.

[95] CLS represented many community groups on a range of issues. Examples include pushing for a better food stamp program, representing the Philadelphia Task Force for Cooperative Housing, serving as a middleman in a dispute between Centro Pedro Claver and the Hispanic Federation for Social and Economic Development, advising a coalition effort to provide utility assistance payments for the needy, and various efforts for the Welfare Rights Organization. Jonathan M. Stein to Carmen Bolden, re: Betham v. Beal, 3 Aug 1976, Box 9 Folder 22, MSS 120 El Concilio, HSP; "Philadelphia Task Force for Cooperative Housing," n.d., 1, Box 7 Folder 2, MSS 116 HFSED, HSP; Julio Barreto, Jr. to Edgar Guerra, Oct 1981, Box 7 Folder 2, MSS 116 HFSED, HSP; "Minutes, LIEAP Outreach Planning Group," 30 Nov 1981, 2, Box 7 Folder 23, MSS 116 HFSED, HSP.

War on Poverty, as lawyers helped residents in successfully challenging portions of the preexisting establishment.[96]

One program that emerged from an established organization was Project Welcome, the brainchild of the Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, or Concilio. The organization, in existence since 1962, had been hard pressed for sufficient funding to meet the comprehensive needs of Puerto Rican newcomers to Philadelphia. PAAC worked with Concilio to support Project Welcome, which would "meet educational, social and cultural needs" of Spanish speakers, thereby "strengthening the individual's sense of pride and group awareness."[97] The project sought to tackle community organizing, consumer education, job training, and leadership development.[98] Project Welcome's creators conceived of the Latino migrant's needs in overcoming disadvantages as "unique" and "specialized." Their goal was to "retain the values of the migrant's culture and thus maintain his pride so as to reduce finally his dependence on the Project Welcome Center and facilitate his movement into the mainstream of community life."[99] In addition to Concilio's facilities, Project Welcome initially opened outreach centers in the Spring Garden and Lehigh Avenue areas, but had to close these by December 1968 due to lack of funds. Shuttering these centers meant a severe cutback in the program's reach; it was particularly difficult for the Spring Garden population to travel to Concilio.[100]

Project Welcome staff struggled at times to compete for resources and working relationships with other established programs and agencies. In the case of summer employment

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[96] John H. Ehrenreich, *The Altruistic Imagination: A History of Social Work and Social Policy in the United States* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 174; Peter Marris and Martin Rein, *Dilemmas of Social Reform: Poverty and Community Action in the United States*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1973), 267.
[97] Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Commission, "Five Year Progress Report," 40.
[98] Sansweet, "Majority Seeks to Solve Own Problems."
[99] Ramon A. Velazquez and Carmen A. Bolden, "Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, Inc. 'Project Welcome' Progress Report," 30 Apr 1972, 1, Box 59 Folder 5, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.
[100] Velazquez and Bolden, "'Project Welcome' Progress Report," 5.

programs, Director Carmen Bolden explained, "Year after year we have been left out of the planning stages and when distribution of funds or actual job openings were made no quota was allocated for the Spanish speaking community. None of the Federal, state or local agencies called on us requesting our assistance in recruiting Spanish youngsters for their specified programs." Project Welcome organizers felt that in many ways they had missed out on the gains of the civil rights movement. In discussing the need for more Spanish-speaking employees at established agencies, they noted: "We recognize that we are in the same position that the Blacks were before the Black movement for justice and equality, that all that comes our way is what's left-over after the crumbs have been distributed, but we are prepared to go to any exten[t] to assure our people of their equal rights." As a result, Project Welcome staff became more proactive, complaining directly to various agencies, and greatly increasing their number of slots in programs like the Neighborhood Youth Corps.[101]

The steady involvement of Puerto Rican youth in day camps was another issue. Initially, day camps sponsored by the CACs had used rotating sites that helped ensure diverse enrollment. But in the second year, Area E representative Kathleen Hackett explained, "Our day camps were in a white neighborhood and in a Negro neighborhood. In both Puerto Ricans who live here found it uncomfortable to participate. So they didn't. They stayed on the street-corners . . . It could have been avoided if we had rotating sites like last year."[102] Concerned about the lack of bilingual recreation staff and proper facilities, Project Welcome started its own summer program in 1971 with funding from the city's recreation department and Model Cities. It was deemed

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[101] Velazquez and Bolden, "'Project Welcome' Progress Report," 10-11, 21.
[102] Nicholas W. Stroh, "Poverty Program for Youths Bigger, but Not Necessarily Better Than 1965," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 22 Aug 1966, Bowser, Charles W. - Poverty & Poverty Commission 1966, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

"one of the most successful programs in the city," with twelve hundred kids participating.[103]

Overall, PAAC was pleased with Project Welcome's accomplishments. The program had established "close rapport with all Spanish Speaking groups," placed four thousand in jobs, and "maintained a close working relationship with the [CAC]." PAAC saw these accomplishments as contributing directly to more harmonious neighborhood relations. It reported to OEO that "by constantly exposing the Spanish Speaking people to community life, Project Welcome has disrupted the isolation process, thus permitting the migrants to integrate themselves more smoothly into society."[104]

In addition to Project Welcome itself, Concilio benefited in other ways from its relationship with PAAC. Concilio effectively gained employees without having to support their salaries. For example, Tonita Fontanez worked in Concilio's space but was paid by PAAC as job developer. Three other PAAC-funded workers joined her there.[105] PAAC had also been sympathetic when Concilio encountered delays in obtaining federal funds and gave the organization three positions in its program planning division as a result.[106]

Funding for family planning services proved controversial and revealed tensions between black and Latino leaders. A Planned Parenthood proposal to distribute information on family planning in North Philadelphia drew heavy fire at a PAAC meeting. Cecil B. Moore of the NAACP called it a design "to help Negroes commit racial suicide." After a heated exchange with others at the meeting, "Pascual Martinez, PAAC representative from the Puerto Rican community, shouted across the table to Moore. The civil rights leader admonished Martinez to

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[103] Velazquez and Bolden, "'Project Welcome' Progress Report," 15.
[104] "Accomplishments and Changes Effected," 1-2.
[105] Stephen J. Sansweet, "Language Is Big Barrier to Latin Newcomer," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4 Jun 1968, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Inquirer Series 1968, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Sansweet, "Majority Seeks to Solve Own Problems."
[106] The positions were diverted to Concilio in October 1967. "Evaluation Items under Consideration in This Section," 32.

keep quiet, adding ‘We outnumber you.’ ‘Don’t you go around threatening me,’ Martinez retorted.”[107] At the CAC level, though, PAAC members were more realistic about the needs of their communities. An education-only Planned Parenthood program “was referred back for revision after spokesmen for the poor insisted that services had to be offered if the program was to be successful.”[108]

Early childhood education funding represented a large proportion of PAAC’s budget, receiving over half the agency’s first year funds.[109] The money went to several separate but similar programs, greatly expanding existing efforts. Get Set centers found an overwhelming demand for their services and the initial twenty centers quickly ballooned into a projected one hundred. These centers were dispersed geographically and depended on CACs and churches for recruitment, likely obtaining an integrated enrollment in integrated neighborhoods. Get Set also actively involved parents on organized councils. By 1969, Get Set was serving five thousand children a year.[110] Get Set grew so popular that when its funding was threatened in 1968, thousands of parents organized themselves into Citizens to Save Get Set to lobby for the program’s continuation.[111]

Head Start programs in Philadelphia specifically included bilingual services for Spanish-speaking children.[112] PAAC also funded Little Neighborhood Schools (LNS), a locally developed preschool program based at neighborhood churches that emphasized music and art.

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[107] “Birth Control Program Blasted at Heated Meet,” *Philadelphia Tribune*, 9 Oct 1965. Another account appears in Lawrence M. O’Rourke, “Birth Control Program Put Off in PAAC Clash,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 29 Sep 1965, Birth Control - Philadelphia, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[108] Shostak, “Promoting Participation of the Poor,” 69.
[109] Another account puts the proportion of funding going to early education at about one-third. Stroh, “Year of War on Poverty Ends on a Note of Discord”; Kristal, “Great Poverty Snafu,” 85.
[110] “20 More Project ‘Get Set’ Centers Opened Monday,” *Philadelphia Tribune*, 12 Oct 1965; “Accomplishments and Changes Effected,” 3-4.
[111] Jerry Russo, “Get Set Screwed,” *Temple Free Press*, 11 Nov 1968, Temple University Libraries, Templana Special Collections, Philadelphia (hereafter TSC).
[112] “PAAC Develops Program for Children, 3, 4, with Special Learning Needs,” *Philadelphia Tribune*, 22 Jan 1977.

Like Get Set, LNS had strong parental involvement, so much so that frustration over PAAC's failure to extend the program led to a demonstration by mothers.[113] LNS eventually became Little Neighborhood Centers, and operated a bilingual location in Olivet Covenant Presbyterian Church at Twenty-Second Street and Mount Vernon Street.[114]

Other CAC program efforts took place on a smaller scale, but helped promote neighborhood unity and assure the involvement of Latino residents. Area G, for example, held a Street Talent Show with diverse youngsters participating just a few blocks from the Spring Garden Community Services Center.[115] In another instance, a Civil Defense Week event conscientiously included Latinos. PAAC workers noted with satisfaction that "2,000 Spanish speaking citizens attended the closing ceremonies at a local school."[116] PAAC also participated regularly in the annual Puerto Rican Day Parade "so that the Spanish speaking Community can become more knowledgeable of our programs."[117]

PAAC's programmatic efforts had their shortcomings. Philadelphia antipoverty initiatives, like those elsewhere, were always underfunded. CORE representative David Fineman claimed, "PAAC has become a penniless, unwanted stepchild of City Hall . . . and must beg contributions from its more affluent sister City agencies."[118] Feelings among the Latino community were mixed. Those involved directly with PAAC defended the program. On the outside, though, Rev. Angel Luis Jaime felt PAAC had done "nothing, or very little, for the

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[113] "Little Neighborhood Schools Offer N. Phila. Youngsters Professional Training," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 7 Sep 1965; Lawrence White, "Blame Confusion on Anti-Poverty Gov't Red Tape," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 3 Sep 1966.
[114] Marcia Hartline, "Work with Community Legal Services," 5 Mar, Box 48 Folder 27, Acc 625 NSC, TUA; "Little Neighborhood Centers: A Venture that Succeeded," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 10 Aug 1974.
[115] "PAAC Area 'G' Talent Show Wows 'Em in 1600 Block Brown Street," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 20 Aug 1966.
[116] "Exhibit IC: Special Projects Conducted by Community Organization Section, 1967," 1969, 2, Box 4 Folder Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Committee, Community Services Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of Operations, Field Coordination Division, NARA.
[117] "Exhibit IC: Special Projects Conducted by Community Organization Section, 1967," 2.
[118] James Magee, "Charges Government Hamstrung PAAC," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 26 Mar 1966.

community" and had a "completely negative approach."[119] Moreover, the integrated participation of blacks and Latinos in PAAC had not always lent itself to harmonious cooperation. Angel Ortiz of CLS saw "things get pretty vicious in the antipoverty game."[120]

But Philadelphia's War on Poverty still had some lasting influences. Regulations that originated with PAAC in the mid-1960s continued to affect organizations looking for funding from Community Services Block Grants through PAAC in the early 1980s. These regulations mandated that board membership be split three ways among representatives of the poor, elected officials, and representatives of other community institutions.[121] PAAC also continued to influence funding proposals, as when it pressed the Neighborhood Improvement Association to ensure collaboration with PAAC services and nixed a weatherization program that would duplicate PAAC's own efforts.[122] Leaders active in PAAC at all levels went on to impact their communities in other ways. To give just two examples, Charles Bowser, PAAC's original Executive Director, ran for mayor in the late 1970s, attempting to unite a grassroots base under the independent Philadelphia Party.[123] Carmen Aponte, who served on the Area D CAC, went on to pursue housing development for the elderly.[124] More generally, as Naples has observed, the

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[119] Sansweet, "Bickering of Leaders Hurts Effort."
[120] Kaufman, "Puerto Ricans Will Fight for Phila. 'Barrio.'"
[121] By this time, PAAC had changed its name to the Philadelphia Allied Action Commission. Carmen A. Bolden to Board of Directors, memo, 1982, Box 6 Folder 9, MSS 116 HFSED, HSP.
[122] The Neighborhood Improvement Association was based out of Saint Bonaventure Parish, located in Area D. It boasted a Board that was a "cross section" of the community and attempted to serve a population that was approximately 60 percent Hispanic and 40 percent black. Jeffrey A. Cruse to Cecily Banks, 10 Dec 1981, Box 6 Folder 6, MSS 116 HFSED, HSP; Nitza Santiago to Joyce Hamm, 23 Dec 1981, Box 6 Folder 6, MSS 116 HFSED, HSP; Wilfredo Santiago, "Letter of Intent: Neighborhood Improvement Association," 8 Dec 1981, 1, 12, Box 6 Folder 6, MSS 116 HFSED, HSP.
[123] Bowser's path is consistent with a larger trend whereby Community Action programs provided important training for the incipient political careers of many involved, a factor that helped increase the number of black elected officials. Jill Quadagno, *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty* (New Yok: Oxford University Press, 1994), 57-58.
[124] Julio Barreto, "Meeting with Carmen Aponte - May 12, 1981, York Street Senior Citizen Center," 19 May 1981, 1, Box 7 Folder 14 MSS 116 HFSED, HSP.

CACs provided space and legitimacy for emerging leaders and organizing efforts.[125]

The mostly cooperative relationship that Philadelphia blacks and Latinos maintained in War on Poverty programs stands as a counterpoint to experiences in some other cities, where Community Action became a vehicle for racial division, competition, and tension. Rodolfo Acuña has commented on how the program "encouraged competition between Blacks, Mexican Americans, and white bureaucrats, each wanting control of their portion of the windfall funds that suddenly came to the communities."[126] In Los Angeles, for example, black and Chicano communities, both dissatisfied with the city's official antipoverty agency, constructed their own separate community union structures that provided services and organized the neighborhoods. The black and Chicano organizations competed for funding and hesitated to cooperate due to the ethnic and cultural empowerment aspects of their respective programs.[127] It was also difficult for San Francisco residents to overcome racial and ethnic divisions and unite along class lines to go forward with Community Action programs.[128] In cities across Texas, Mexican American groups derided the War on Poverty's focus on black needs, black organizations argued the opposite, and administrators found themselves caught in the middle.[129] In New York City, "battles raged" between black and Puerto Rican groups. The tension was due to limited funding and a winner-takes-all election system for control of community corporations, though both black and Puerto

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[125] Naples, *Grassroots Warriors*, 56.
[126] Rodolfo F. Acuna, *A Community under Siege: A Chronicle of Chicanos East of the Los Angeles River*, Chicano Studies Research Center Publications (Los Angeles: University of California Los Angeles, 1984), 124.
[127] Robert Bauman, "The Black Power and Chicano Movements in the Poverty Wars in Los Angeles," *Journal of Urban Histoy* 33, no. 2 (2007): 277-95; Robert Bauman, "The Neighborhood Adult Participation Project: Black-Brown Strife in the War on Poverty in Los Angeles," in *The Struggle in Black and Brown: African American and Mexican American Relations During the Civil Rights Era*, ed. Brian D. Behnken (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 104-24.
[128] Leila Meier Rice, "In the Trenches of the War on Poverty: The Local Implementation of the Community Action Program, 1964-1969" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1997), 244.
[129] William Clayson, "'Mexican Versus Negro Approaches' to the War on Poverty: Black-Brown Competition and the Office of Economic Opportunity in Texas," in *The Struggle in Black and Brown: African American and Mexican American Relations During the Civil Rights Era*, ed. Brian D. Behnken (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 125-47.

Rican elected officials worked to ameliorate the situation.[130]

In other cities, black and Latino communities were involved in separate Community Action programs on the ground, but there was little tension between the groups. Moreover, black and Latino communities managed to cooperate on higher levels of program administration. In Milwaukee, black and Mexican-American communities lived in geographically separate target areas and mostly participated in different branches of Community Action programs. Yet communities did elect representatives to a larger Community Action Residents Council, which was 20 percent white, 20 percent Hispanic, and 40 percent black. This multiracial resident council (with some help from OEO) exerted significant control over the direction of Milwaukee's programs.[131] Chicano activists in San Antonio had assistance from leaders of a smaller black community in trying to capitalize on "the War on Poverty as an opportunity to advance the ideal of self-determination;" Chicano and black leaders then established separate programs to serve their bases.[132]

Scholars have noted the effect that the War on Poverty had in encouraging black self-empowerment by providing a new institutional base.[133] Similarly, participation in and interaction with the spate of organizations that arose helped nurture "self-consciousness and ethnic awareness" among Puerto Ricans.[134] In other cities, parallel ethnic empowerment sometimes fostered a segregation of efforts or outright conflict. In Philadelphia, occasional tensions surfaced, but the effects of ethnic empowerment did not prohibit a generally cooperative

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[130] John Kifner, "End to Ethnic Split in Antipoverty Program Sought," *New York Times*, 8 Oct 1967.
[131] Braun, *Social Change and the Empowerment of the Poor*, 22-24, 84.
[132] Clayson, "The Barrios and the Ghettos Have Organized," 159 (quote), 175.
[133] Rice, "In the Trenches of the War on Poverty," 253-55; J. Kenneth Benson, "Militant Ideologies and Organizational Contexts: The War on Poverty and the Ideology of 'Black Power,'" *The Sociological Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (1971): 328.
[134] Lloyd H. Rogler and Rosemary Santana Cooney, *Puerto Rican Families in New York City: Intergenerational Processes* (Maplewood, NJ: Waterfront Press, 1984), 51.

ethos between blacks and Latinos in a program that attempted to spread what resources it had throughout the community.

3.4 MODEL CITIES COMES TO PHILADELPHIA

Just a couple of short years after the advent of PAAC, black and Latino residents in North Philadelphia had another opportunity to construct a representative citizens organization, this time for Model Cities programs. While the North City Area Wide Council at first enjoyed a level of influence and participation rarely seen at the time, within two years the Council had been shunted aside, and was unable to exert lasting influence on the program. The limited success of the Area Wide Council was a casualty of earlier ventures in citizen participation, shifting political priorities at the federal level, and an always ambivalent partnership with the city government. While the Area Wide Council could not sustain its direct influence, its impact and some of its ideals persisted through the dispersed efforts of its personnel and constituency.

Legislators took opposition to Community Action-type programs into account when drafting the guidelines for Model Cities. They intended to have a resident role in the planning process, but only described this as "widespread citizen participation" as opposed to the stronger language Community Action had contained. The overall intent for the Model Cities program was to combine physical and social renewal of inner city areas. In some ways, the legislation encouraged innovation by requiring cooperation among governmental bodies for a multi-pronged attack on urban ills. In other ways, though, the legislation had been watered down sufficiently to blunt effective reform. The final bill, for instance, contained a provision guarding against the

busing of school children.[135]

Legislative quirks aside, Philadelphia quickly jumped into the Model Cities game, hoping to secure a large block of federal funding. It is unclear how seriously the city initially took citizen participation. The early stages of preparing the application in late 1966 went on without the community's knowledge of the program.[136] In the initial rollout, it seemed "residents . . . were to have no role at all except as the passive dumping ground for the program."[137] Community Renewal Program head William L. Rafsky specifically referenced experiences of PAAC in supporting a limited resident role. He thought the antipoverty program had gone too far in assigning responsibility to residents, and argued that "New programs must use the talents of professionals while also giving target-area populations a genuine voice in decision making."[138]

The Philadelphia proposals were ambitious in several ways. They sought much larger blocks of funding than the city would ever actually receive, and planned significant changes in housing, recreation, employment, health, education, and transportation.[139] But perhaps the most ambitious aspect of the program was the prominence that resident participation gained. In early 1967, the local newspaper was optimistic about Model Cities involvement surpassing that of previous programs. A recent study by the city's Community Renewal Program had concluded, "It is essential . . . that the people affected by deprivation have a strong voice in planning

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[135] See Sec. 103(a)(2) and Sec. 103(d), Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, Title I, reprinted in Charles M. Haar, *Between the Idea and the Reality: A Study in the Origin, Fate and Legacy of the Model Cities Program* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1975), 316-317. For a brief overview of the development of Model Cities, see Biles, *Fate of Cities*, 134-41. For an overview of changing scholarly interest in Model Cities, see Bret A. Weber and Amanda Wallace, "Revealing the Empowerment Revolution: A Literature Review of the Model Cities Program," *Journal of Urban History* 38, no. 1 (2012): 173-92.
[136] Arnstein, "Maximum Feasible Manipulation," 2; "The View from City Hall," *Public Administration Review* 32, Special Issue: Citizens Action in Model Cities and CAP Programs, Case Studies and Evaluation (1972): 391.
[137] Arnstein, "Maximum Feasible Manipulation," 2.
[138] "Poor Must Be Given 'Real Power' in Programs for Betterment, Philadelphia Studies Assert," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 21 May 1967, Mounted Clipping Box 113, Ludlow Area Features, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[139] Peter H. Binzen and Orrin Evans, "In a Part of Our Town That Needs Help: Massive Renewal Drive Contemplated under U.S. 'Model Cities' Program," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 21 May 1967, Mounted Clipping Box 113, Ludlow Area Features, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

renewal programs which will involve them, and an equally strong voice in carrying out renewal programs."[140] The newspaper admitted that maximum feasible participation in PAAC programs had not been very successful, but explained, "The chances of the local Model Cities program steering around that pothole seem good at the moment. The principal reason seems to be that the city negotiated the machinery of community participation with the North City Congress." The Congress (NCC) had a wide constituency of organizations and had run a police-community relations program in recent years. In a prediction that would find some truth, the reporter noted, "If the participation part doesn't work this time the blame will be on [NCC] and the neighborhoods."[141]

3.5 FORMATION OF THE AREA WIDE COUNCIL

It was through the infrastructure of NCC that the North City Area Wide Council (AWC) emerged and forced the city to take citizen participation more seriously. NCC chose the AWC format out of several proposals. Director Alvin Echols imagined it would start at "town hall meetings at the hub level and go on up without 'big daddy' control," a reference to allegations that Sam Evans had personally controlled PAAC.[142] The AWC aimed "to prevent North Philadelphia from being ripped off by politicians" and "to unite and educate the community."[143]

The one hundred organizations and four hundred individuals involved in AWC's early

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[140] Quoted in "Poor Must Be Given 'Real Power.'"
[141] Harry G. Toland, "North City Goal: Making Ghetto Articulate," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 20 Feb 1967, North City Congress - 1966 to, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[142] Toland, "North City Goal."
[143] Quotation by unidentified ally of AWC, Donald L. Horowitz, *The Courts and Social Policy* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1977), 78; North City Area-Wide Council Incorporated, letter to Friends, n.d., Box 47 Folder 34, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.

formation stressed that they wanted to be truly representative of the community.[144] Its neighborhood hubs would be geographically dispersed but without firm service boundaries, and "first consideration must be given to areas identified by the presence of functioning neighborhood organizations or a strong sense of local community."[145] Moreover, AWC founders decided to use the office space, staff, and infrastructure of existing organizations where possible (see Figure 6).

From the beginning, AWC had black and Puerto Rican involvement. One organizer recalled, "More than 140 representatives from community groups helped work out the details of that proposal. It was the first time that so many groups with such diverse and competing interests had gotten together. We were black, Puerto Rican, and white organizations. We were conservatives and militants. We were from both sides of Broad Street, which had always been an organizational dividing line in the community. It was beautiful!"[146] A Mr. Gonzales proposed Concilio as a Hub at a meeting held a week before AWC was officially established.[147] There was some friction between proponents of Concilio and Lighthouse, a nearby settlement house that was transitioning to serve an increasingly black and Puerto Rican clientele.[148] In addition to Concilio, other hub locations like the Ludlow Community Association, Friends Neighborhood Guild, and the Opportunities Industrialization Center at 1707 Mt Vernon Street would have mustered considerable involvement by Puerto Ricans living nearby.[149]

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[144] "Citizens of North Philadelphia!" flyer, n.d., Box 47 Folder 33, Acc 625 NSC, TUA; Patrick H. McLaughlin to Citizen, n.d., Box 47 Folder 33, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[145] Alvin E. Echols, "Report and Recommendations to the Area-Wide Council by the Temporary Committee on Hub Structure," Apr 1967, Box 47 Folder 33, Acc 625 Nationalities Service Center (hereafter NSC), TUA.
[146] Arnstein, "Maximum Feasible Manipulation," 3.
[147] Handwritten notes from meeting, 13 Apr 1967, Box 47 Folder 33, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[148] Handwritten notes from meeting. Original reads "Se elige Concilio y el q'se opone es Lighthouse."
[149] "Proposed AWC Hub Locations," n.d., Box 47 Folder 33, Acc 625 NSC, TUA; Echols, "Report and Recommendations to the Area-Wide Council."

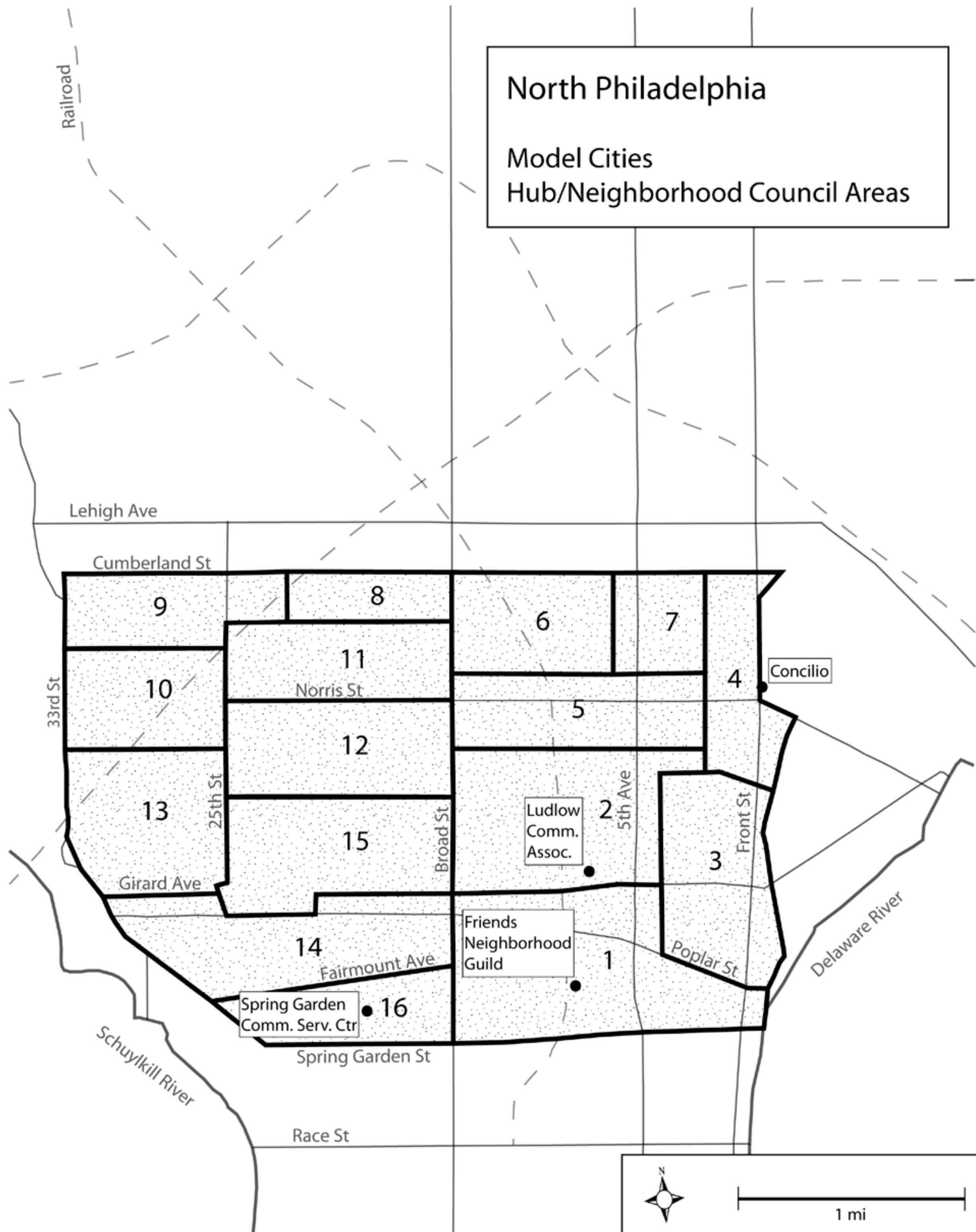

Figure 6. Model Cities Hub/Neighborhood Council Areas

Adapted from James H. J. Tate, "Application to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for a Grant to Implement a Comprehensive City Demonstration Program, Volume II," 31 Dec 1968, Appendix D, No. PA 2, *Model Cities Reports*, Microforms Department, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.

This involvement, though, was not enough to convince the Nationalities Services Center (NSC), which helped immigrant groups adjust to life in Philadelphia. NSC wanted a part in AWC, even though it was outside of the target area, due to its work with the Puerto Rican population. Even with Concilio as a Hub, they believed “the local Puerto Rican community needs a great deal of help to become active enough to be able to speak and participate more fully in the early stages of this project . . . we believe in order to have this segment of our population really represented, our agency must involve in a more active way.”[150] In part, NSC’s concern reflects class stratification within the Puerto Rican community; Concilio personnel were sometimes perceived as out of touch with the day to day concerns of working people.

Efforts to publicize and expand Latino involvement followed. Brochures and notices about the program were printed in both English and Spanish.[151] While it was already “common knowledge” that Concilio was a Hub, additional Spanish language literature circulated to bring residents through its doors. It emphasized the unprecedented opportunity to influence planning and deemed maximum participation by area residents “imperative,” noting, “now it only remains for us, the citizens, to make ourselves heard.”[152] Residents attending meetings would have an active role in attaining “Better Education, More Jobs, Better Housing, Social Services.”[153] Early Latino involvement in Model Cities initiatives did not stop there. A notice imploring residents to

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[150] Melba C. Hyde to Alvin E. Echols, 28 Jun 1967, Box 47 Folder 33, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[151] For the Spanish version of one general brochure, see “Programa Ciudad Modelo de Filadelfia: El plan es usted!,” n.d., SPC 333 Model Cities, HSP. For the English version, see “Philadelphia Model Cities Program: The Plan Is You!,” n.d., Box 52 Folder RAGS Clippings - Model Cities, Acc 107/124/141/161/162/285 HADV, TUA. For a bilingual Neighborhood Council election notice, see Model Cities Neighborhood Council No. 3, flyer for Community Elections, Aug 1970, Box 53 Folder RAGS-Model Cities, Acc 107/124/141/161/162/285 HADV, TUA.
[152] Isabel Carrasquillo, meeting announcement, 13 Jun 1968, Box 61 Folder 29, Acc 625 NSC, TUA. Original text reads: “Como es de concocimiento general el Concilio de Organizaciones Hispanas fue aceptado como uno de los centros (HUB) para la participacion de la comunidad en la Ciudad Modeo (MODEL CITIES).” The announcement continues, “Por primera vez sera la comunidad la que planeara los programas en educacion, empleo, viviendas y servicios socials. Es esta la razon por la cual es imperativa la maxima particpacion de todo residente [sic] del area…Ahora resta en nosotros los ciudadanos hecernos escuchar.”
[153] Flyer for “Ciudad Modelo” meeting, Box 47 Folder 33, Acc 625 NSC, TUA. Original in Spanish reads “Mejor Educacion, Mas Empleos, Mejores Viviendas, Servicios Sociales…Hablara a la comunidad Hispana.”

join the "School Rebellion" in shaping a Model School District shows representatives of Concilio and the Puerto Rican Community among members of an integrated task force.[154] Meanwhile, Hub 16 of the AWC sponsored a "community fiesta" including an African dance performance to raise funds for restoring a swimming pool at the Spring Garden Community Services Center.[155]

Integrated black and Latino involvement in Model Cities programs was not necessarily the case elsewhere. In a letter to local affiliates, Robert Goldfarb of the American Council for Nationalities Services described HUD officials as "urgently seeking the cooperation of non-Negro minority groups in the Model Cities program. A significant number of whites in urban areas have indicated some dissatisfaction and unwillingness to participate in various government programs, feeling that they are 'for Negroes only.' This feeling is especially strong among Spanish-speaking peoples who believe they have not received their fair share of Government support. The success of the Model Cities program in your community depends largely upon the ways in which people of all races and nationalities work together for their own mutual benefit."[156] In Los Angeles, the city managed programs in two separate model neighborhoods, one each for the black and Chicano populations.[157] In Denver, balancing the interests of the black and Mexican-American populations during the Model Cities process required "months of debate, cajolery, persuasion, and threat."[158]

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[154] *Model School District News*, Jul 1967, 3, Box 47 Folder 33, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[155] "Neighbors Plan Fiesta for Pool Fund," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 28 Sep 1968, Spring Garden Community Services Center, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[156] Emphasis in original. Robert W. Goldfarb to Executive Directors of ACNS Member Agencies, memo re: Model Cities Program in Your City, 27 Dec 1967, 1, Box 47 Folder 33, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[157] Daniel H. Straub, "Citizen Participation and the Multiorganizational Aspects of Political/Administrative Systems: The Los Angeles Model Cities Experience" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1974).
[158] Horowitz, *Courts and Social Policy*, 102.

3.6 THE CHANGING ROLE OF AWC

Early documents produced by both the budding AWC and city administrators refer to it as an equal partner with city government.[159] Throughout the first two years, though, maintaining this partnership took almost constant effort from both sides and seemed a "lesson in frustration."[160] Recurring negotiations over levels of funding and AWC's exact role often brought the program to a standstill, and AWC members saw these standoffs as one of several tools of harassment.[161] The volatility of the partnership came through in the introduction to Philadelphia's first year action proposal:

> This joint planning relationship between the city and the community, as could have been anticipated, has not been without its share of conflict... There is every indication that with time, Philadelphia will become a model for the country of what form joint planning with citizens should assume. It must be understood, however, that this relationship will never be static or conflict-free. Rather, the basic realities of life in America today ensure that some conflict will be inevitable. It is the opinion here, however, that this residual conflict may provide the kind of dynamism that is necessary to make government truly responsive to the needs of its citizens.[162]

Disputes about the role of AWC revolved around two central issues: 1) AWC's level of involvement in Model Cities planning and programs and 2) AWC's involvement in other community activities. From the city's perspective, AWC might be a partner in the planning process, but the city had more experience in dealing with HUD and deserved final authority.

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[159] "Citizens of North Philadelphia!" flyer; McLaughlin to Citizen, n.d.; James H. J. Tate and Patrick H. McLaughlin, "Application to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for a Grant to Plan a Comprehensive City Demonstration Program," 3 Mar 1967, Part III, Section N, 3-4, Microfiche Card No. PA 1, *Model Cities Reports*, Microforms Department, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ (hereafter Rutgers).

[160] Judson B. Brown, "Model Cities Plan Stalled over Issue of Citizen Participation," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 30 Sep 1969, North City Area Wide Council, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[161] North City Area-Wide Council Incorporated, letter to Friends; Alfred Klimcke, "Phila. To Get Plea for Funds," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 10 Dec 1967, Box 47 Folder 33, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.

[162] Arnstein, "Maximum Feasible Manipulation," 6.

From AWC's perspective, the city's attitude violated the premise of a truly equal partnership and potentially limited resident involvement as in past programs.

In terms of AWC's involvement in other activities, the organization had recognized early on that it had to respond to immediate concerns in order to gain community trust, whether this meant reacting to expansion by Temple University or helping a mother deal with her child's rat bite. The city, on the other hand, viewed AWC's role as restricted to official Model Cities business. These differing perspectives came to a head surrounding a large student walkout and demonstration at the Board of Education, which resulted in violence and arrests in November 1967. Among the students' demands were the inclusion of black history and culture in the curriculum, and public opinion on whether the students or the police bore responsibility for the violence was highly racialized. An AWC community organizer was arrested at the scene, and it was soon revealed that flyers for the event had been printed using a mimeograph machine at AWC headquarters. While AWC saw the request to use the equipment as a "legitimate request from a community group," local officials saw a misuse of government funds.[163]

Even after the school demonstration incident, AWC refused to restrict its role in the community. AWC leadership located the origin of most of North Philadelphia's problems firmly outside of the neighborhood in the forces of racial and class stratification and resented further meddling from external forces.[164] Accordingly, they drafted a statement that declared, "In light of ferment and unrest that presently prevails in North Phila. . . . no patent prescription for community involvement should be recommended or adhered to . . . The self-interest of our community residents and the determination of the residents to protect that self-interest, are

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[163] Arnstein, "Maximum Feasible Manipulation," 3-4. The incident is also described in Countryman, *Up South*, 303.
[164] "Proposed Statement of Policy for Area Wide Council Participation in the Planning Process," n.d., 1, Box 47 Folder 33, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.

sufficient restraints in themselves."[165]

3.7 A FRACTURED RELATIONSHIP

Accounts vary in apportioning responsibility for the fractured partnership between AWC and the city. Some portray the relationship as working fitfully until the point that Nixon administrators signaled a change in their interpretation of citizen participation, sending word to Philadelphia to scale it back. Others place more blame upon the city administration because it seemed more than happy to regain full control over the program. The city placed a good portion of the blame on AWC for its intransigence.[166] AWC itself divided the blame between federal and local government and decried being caught in the middle.[167] Whatever the determining factor was, the fragile balance between AWC and the city was lost by the middle of 1969.

Back toward the beginning of Model Cities, a HUD guide had required full citizen involvement in "planning and carrying out the program."[168] By mid-1969, though, HUD had firmly shifted course, fearing that "participation" had turned into "control."[169] The particular issue at hand concerned resident representation on proposed corporations that would operate programs in the target area. HUD rejected a proposal that would have given majority control to AWC appointees, claiming it would create a conflict of interest with AWC's evaluation

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[165] "Proposed Statement of Policy," 2.
[166] "View from City Hall."
[167] North City Area Wide Council, letter to Neighbors, 21 Jul 1969, Box 47 Folder 34, Acc 625 NSC, TUA; William R. Meek, "The Right to Decide," Position Statement, Area-Wide Council, n.d., Box 47 Folder 34, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[168] U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *Program Guide: Model Neighborhoods in Demonstration Cities, Title I of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966*, Vol. HUD PG-47 (Washington, DC: GPO, Dec 1967), 20.
[169] As quoted in Countryman, "Civil Rights and Black Power," 589.

capacities. The city capitulated to HUD's demands and revised the application without input from AWC. Soon after, the contract between AWC and the city expired for the final time.

AWC decided to sue on the basis that HUD and the city had violated citizen participation requirements. Though they were eventually victorious, the appeals process stretched over the next few years.[170] It was by then far too late for AWC to reap any benefits, but the few remaining members hoped to set an important precedent for citizens groups elsewhere.[171] During the lengthy litigation process, AWC fell apart and the city's Model Cities administrator, Goldie Watson, started a new citizen participation structure with neighborhood councils based on virtually the same hub structure. The new organization even included sixteen former AWC board members.[172] As one scholar put it, "The Area-Wide Council, twice vindicated in the federal courts, was beaten on the streets of North Philadelphia."[173]

But even after the AWC had lost influence, Latino participation in the program endured. Latinos occupied high positions in Neighborhood Councils 4, 5, 7, and 16 in particular.[174] Spring Garden Community Services Center, which continued to represent and serve both black and Puerto Rican residents, received Model Cities money for numerous local projects. These projects included rehabilitation of Victorian row houses into cooperative apartments for low to moderate income families, a program of free health services, and a contract which spurred the hiring of

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[170] The relevant court cases are *North City Area-Wide Council, Inc. v. George W. Romney*, 428 F.2d 754 (3rd Cir 1970); *North City Area-Wide Council, Inc. v. George W. Romney*, 329 F. Supp. 1124 (E.D. Penn. 1971); *North City Area-Wide Council, Inc. v. George W. Romney*, 456 F.2d 811 (3d Cir. 1972); *North City Area-Wide Council, Inc. v. George W. Romney*, 469 F.2d 1326 (3d Cir. 1972).
[171] Horowitz, *Courts and Social Policy*, 83.
[172] "View from City Hall," 400.
[173] Horowitz, *Courts and Social Policy*, 96.
[174] "Model Cities Neighborhood Councils," n.d., 2, 3, 7, Box 53 Folder RAGS-Model Cities, Acc 107/124/141/161 /162/285 HADV, TUA.

minority employees at Hahnemann Hospital.[175] Model Cities funded exclusively Latino efforts as well, such as the Puerto Rican Mini Theater operated by the Puerto Rican Fraternity.[176] Symbolic cooperative efforts among black and Latino leaders also appeared. For instance, Goldie Watson won a prize from Concilio for her float in the Puerto Rican Week Parade.[177] And recognizing that heart disease affected minorities disproportionately, black and Latino Hub officers joined Watson in a door-to-door campaign to raise money for the American Heart Association.[178]

A host of Model Cities programs conscientiously tried to serve Latinos alongside the black community. A program to improve police-community relations in North Central Philadelphia reached out to Spanish speakers.[179] The Model Cities North Philadelphia Tenant Union put out a Spanish version of its tenants' rights handbook.[180] A college preparation program included not only standard topics like Math and SAT prep, but also several bilingual classes and English as a second language.[181] A college placement program at first struggled to serve Spanish speakers, but soon adjusted by translating brochures and application forms.[182] And the Community Information Center, which sought to coordinate referrals and service provision

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[175] "Model Cities Here to Get $5.7 Million," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 24 Mar 1970, Spring Garden Community Services Center, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Harry G. Toland, "Spring Garden Co-Op Supporters Poach on Critics' Time at Hearing," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 9 Jan 1972, Spring Garden Community Services Center, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Nelson Diaz, "Ahora!," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 18 Mar 1973, Spring Garden Community Services Center, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[176] The program was designed to "recruit and train a minimum of fifty Puerto Rican youths as performing artists and to relate the Spanish culture and heritage to the Puerto Rican Community." Office of the City Controller, "Model Cities Puerto Rican Mini Theater," 9 Jan 1973, 1, SPC 759 Model Cities, HSP.

[177] "Concilio de Org. Hispanas," *La Actualidad*, 9 Nov 1973, bound volume, TUA.

[178] "Model Cities Aides Ring Doorbells for Heart Fund," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 23 Feb 1974.

[179] "Ciudad Modelo informa," *La Actualidad*, 12 Feb 1974, bound volume, TUA.

[180] "Manual de inquilinos viviendas privadas," n.d., SPC 333 Model Cities, HSP.

[181] Gwendolyn Remsen to Sir, 17 Feb 1971, Box 47 Folder 34, Acc 625 NSC, TUA; "College Placement and Supportive Services, Model Cities of Philadelphia," 1 Jul 1971, Box 47 Folder 34, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.

[182] Sam Harris Associates, Ltd., "A Final Report on Education in the Model Cities Programs Of . . . ," Aug 1970, 47, Microfiche Card No. AA 25, *Model Cities Reports*, Rutgers.

across the neighborhood, employed a Spanish speaker among its full time workers.[183]

Model Cities programs offered employment opportunities for blacks and Latinos alike. The Model Cities Training Institute, which prepared applicants for program positions, offered "Basic English for non-English speakers" as part of their routine training.[184] Community wide programs like the Reading Skills Center and the Model Cities Urban Education Institute looked to hire both English-speaking only and bilingual teachers and classroom aides.[185] A bilingual Job Bank on Girard Avenue helped residents find other potential employers.[186]

Though the partnership between AWC and the City of Philadelphia did not last, its story is in some ways encouraging. AWC was able to build a representative, interracial coalition, exert considerable influence over the beginnings of Model Cities programs, and set an important legal precedent. But perhaps even more importantly, interracial cooperation and the community's willingness to try and work with local government endured. The AWC debacle served as an important learning experience for North Philadelphia residents who went on to push for change in other ways.[187]

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[183] "Model Cities Community Information Center," n.d., 2, Box 47 Folder 34, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.

[184] James H. J. Tate, "Application to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for a Grant to Implement a Comprehensive City Demonstration Program, Volume II," 31 Dec 1968, Part IV, Appendix B, 10B, Microfiche Card No. PA 2, *Model Cities Reports*, Rutgers.

[185] "Model Cities Urban Education Institute," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 17 Oct 1970; "Model Cities Reading Skills Center," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 15 Jul 1972; "Aides . . . Model Cities Reading Skills Centers," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 21 Mar 1972.

[186] "Bilingual Job Bank Opens at 509 Girard," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 20 Mar 1971.

[187] This observation builds upon and extends ideas expressed in Erasmus Kloman, "Citizen Participation in the Philadelphia Model Cities Program: Retrospect and Prospect," *Public Administration Review* 32, Special Issue: Citizens Action in Model Cities and CAP Programs, Case Studies and Evaluation (1972): 402-09.

3.8 THE IMPACT OF PHILADELPHIA'S ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAMS

In view of Philadelphia's experiences with the War on Poverty and Model Cities, it is evident that the program's neighborhood-based citizen participation structures encouraged representation of both black and Latino residents. Their level of participation in major program decisions was limited by local politics and changing federal priorities, but their involvement in the process is still significant. Black and Latino residents were able to gain valuable experience in government bureaucracy while building relationships with each other and surrounding community organizations. Moreover, residents who were not directly active in the programs still benefited from expanded services that more conscientiously reached out to both black and Latino neighbors. Perhaps because the Latino community was relatively small compared to the black population, little overt conflict over control of program resources emerged. The overall effect of these federal programs was to help build a cooperative ethos between black and Latino communities in North Philadelphia.

4.0 START YOUNG: BLACK AND LATINO YOUTH INTERACTIONS

It was in agreement that we needed the recreation on both sides, both Puerto Ricans and blacks . . . Because the only place that they had to go was to the streets, and it wasn't working out well.[1]

The previous chapter detailed how the increased availability of federal funds in the sixties and seventies helped build connections between black and Latino residents hoping to improve North Philadelphia. As mentioned earlier, some of that funding supported early childhood education programs that benefited black and Latino preschoolers. This chapter takes a more detailed look at other arenas of black and Latino youth interaction.

Historians, generally concerned with adult experiences, have paid much less attention to urban youth.[2] Yet children and teenagers had a high level of exposure to urban institutions and public spaces, ensuring that they both affected and were affected by changes in services and the built environment. At the same time, improving opportunities for youth was a strong motivation

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[1] Marvin Louis, interview by author, transcript, 6 Nov 2009, 2.

[2] Some recent exceptions include Andrew J. Diamond, *Mean Streets: Chicago Youths and the Everyday Struggle for Empowerment in the Multiracial City, 1908-1969* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof, *A Tale of Two Cities: Santo Domingo and New York after 1950* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 132-62; Robert W. Snyder, "A Useless and Terrible Death: The Michael Farmer Case, 'Hidden Violence,' and New York City in the Fifties," *Journal of Urban History* 36, no. 2 (2010): 226-50; Victoria W. Wolcott, "Recreation and Race in the Postwar City: Buffalo's 1956 Crystal Beach Riot," *Journal of American History* 93, no. 1 (2006): 63-90; Luis Alvarez, *The Power of the Zoot: Youth Culture and Resistance During World War II* (Berkeley: Universiy of California Press, 2008); Joe Austin and Michael Nevin Willard, eds., *Generations of Youth: Youth Cultures and History in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1998). Works dealing with black youth and civil rights include Jill Ogline Titus, "Living on the Frontlines: Black Teenagers on the Move to Freedom," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 2, no. 3 (2009): 428-50; Rebecca de Schweinitz, *If We Could Change the World: Young People and America's Long Struggle for Racial Equality* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

for adults. Youth interactions are particularly important in this study because Philadelphia's black and Latino populations were comparatively young. In 1973, for example, the median ages of Philadelphia's Puerto Rican, black, and white populations were sixteen, twenty-five, and thirty-two, respectively.[3]

Between the 1950s and 1980s, formal sites of youth interaction quickly multiplied for several reasons. Women, both married and unmarried, were increasingly likely to work outside the home and thus sought care for young children. At the same time, the importance of early childhood education gained increasing attention. In response, day care programs, summer day camps, and preschool programs proliferated. The public was also concerned about juvenile delinquency and afraid of racial violence. Informal youth gathering sites like street corners and sidewalks posed a threat in the eyes of many adults, who supported the creation of more structured spaces where young people could congregate. Recreation programs arose as a way to divert youth from street gangs, drug use, and destructive behavior that might lead to riots. Similarly, anxieties about youth trapped in a perceived urban crisis fed a multitude of enrichment programs designed to augment traditional schooling and produce better outcomes for inner-city children. In these decades, youth in North Philadelphia were likely to mix not only in school and on the street corner, but also potentially in day care, during tutoring, or on the basketball court.

Interactions among youth in these many sites left lasting impressions at a formative stage in their lives. At the same time, the shared experiences of their children led adults in Philadelphia to join forces. In this way, children served as "brokers of intimacy" between groups.[4] As historian Andrew J. Diamond has noted in a recent study on Chicago, "Youth subcultures

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[3] Juan A. Albino, "Report on the Puerto Ricans in the City of Philadelphia," for American Friends Service Committee, June 1973, 2, Box 4 Folder 1, MSS 116 HFSED, HSP.
[4] Judith Goode and Jo Anne Schneider, *Reshaping Ethnic and Racial Relations in Philadelphia: Immigrants in a Divided City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 146.

stretching between schools, street corners, and, perhaps most important, public and commercial recreation spaces were central settings within which urban residents constructed, negotiated, defended, and reified racial and ethnic identities."[5] In North Philadelphia, black and Latino youth drew from their experiences in shared spaces to forge bonds across racial lines. To be sure, occasional conflicts between black and Puerto Rican youth arose; sometimes these started as personal or territorial disputes that took on a racial dimension. On the whole, though, black and Latino youth either related amicably to one another or coexisted peacefully while maintaining somewhat separate social circles.

4.1 SHARED RESIDENTIAL SPACES AND CHILD CARE

Black and Latino residential areas overlapped in parts of North Philadelphia. This residential proximity meant that many children socialized in mixed areas from an early age. Juan Ramos remembers being "fortunate" enough to "mingle" with black and Jewish families on his block of Marshall Street in the 1950s. His early relationships with black children taught him that they were "essentially in the same boat."[6] Maria Quiñones-Sánchez spent the very early years of her life in public housing in Spring Garden and then near Seventh and Master Streets. She recalled these areas as "very integrated" in the late sixties and early seventies.[7] Another Puerto Rican resident explained the changing racial demographics of their block: "I live in a predominantly Puerto Rican neighborhood. When we first came, it was white people here. They moved out and Puerto Ricans moved in, two or three white families are still on the block. After the Puerto

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[5] Diamond, *Mean Streets*, 5.
[6] Juan Ramos, interview by author, transcript, 12 Jan 2010, 1.
[7] Maria Quiñones-Sánchez, interview by author, 4 Jan 2010.

Ricans came, four or five black families moved in, so it is mixed, but mostly Puerto Ricans. They are young, there is a lot of children on the block, it is clean and friendly."[8]

Residential proximity also propelled black and Puerto Rican participation in the same day cares and summer camps. This integration is not surprising given that demand for these types of services was greatly outpacing the supply. Day care had gained legitimacy in the postwar period as families sought services to allow both parents to work, and child care became more closely related to educational programs.[9] By the early seventies, Philadelphia's day care programs were already "saturated." This saturation led to parallel efforts to decentralize child care by utilizing residential spaces while also opening new programs in neighborhood centers.[10] The relative scarcity of childcare meant that black and Latino parents were drawn to any program with availability regardless of its traditional or intended clientele.

Shifting neighborhood demographics in North Philadelphia, especially the influx of Puerto Rican migration beginning in the 1950s, precipitated adjustments to existing child services. In 1958, a well-baby clinic sponsored by a black church unexpectedly attracted Puerto Ricans as well. After hearing about the resource, Puerto Rican mothers took advantage of the convenient location even though the clinic originally had no Spanish-speaking staff. In response to demand, Bright Hope Baptist Church soon housed a parallel Spanish-speaking clinic two days a week.[11] Similarly, the YWCA Kensington branch saw such an increase in Latino use of their

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[8] Anonymous interview 994, quoted in Taller Puertorriqueño, "Batiendo La Olla ('Stirring the Pot'): A Cross-Generational Comparison and Self-Study by Second Generation Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia; a Final Narrative Report to 'Youthgrants in the Humanities,' National Endowment for the Humanities," 31 Mar 1979, 46, Record Number ED337553, ERIC database.
[9] Elizabeth Rose, *A Mother's Job: The History of Day Care, 1890-1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 181-210.
[10] One effort at decentralization trained women in public housing who then provided facilities in their apartments. Carol Innerst, "How You Can Be a Day-Care Mother," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, c.1972, Box 8 Folder 11, Acc 520/531/552 Young Women's Christian Association - Kensington Branch (hereafter YWCA Kensington), TUA.
[11] Theodore Graham, "Bright Hope Baby Clinic Used by 10,000 Annually," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 4 Jan 1958.

child care program that a staff member learned Spanish.[12]

While the number of Puerto Rican children in North Philadelphia continued to increase, many white families relocated and black residential areas expanded. As a result, youth programs in the area were increasingly likely to serve a mixture of black and Latino children, particularly by the late sixties and early seventies. The Organization of People Engaged in the Neighborhood, based in a black and Puerto Rican area, arranged summer camp activities for thousands of local children in 1967 and 1968.[13] Casa del Carmen, an outreach organization sponsored by the Catholic Church, staged a four-week summer day camp in 1970 with "109 black and Puerto Rican children enrolled." Attendees participated in an informal religious procession honoring Our Lady of Mount Carmel, during which they sang "We Shall Overcome," a mainstay of civil rights gatherings.[14] The next summer, Casa del Carmen's day camp concluded with "a street exhibition of the accomplishments of about 150 black and Puerto Rican children."[15] A few years later, a vacation Bible school at Manna Bible Institute included "some 60 Puerto Rican and Black children."[16] And the Kensington Council on Black Affairs served neighborhood "Blacks, Whites, and Puerto Ricans" with "a summer day camp, a day care center, and a counseling/referral service. Future plans include[d] a second day care center for a multiracial

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[12] Eldora Castor and Norman Castor, "Action Audit of Staff," c.1971, 1, Box 5 Folder 18, Acc 520/531/552 YWCA Kensington, TUA.

[13] Description of Organization of People Engaged in the Neighborhood, n.d., Organization of People Engaged in the Neighborhood - OPEN, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; "St. Joseph's Donates Home to Ghetto Group," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 5 Sep 1968, Organization of People Engaged in the Neighborhood - OPEN, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[14] John M. Fuchs, "N. Phila. Procession Honors Our Lady of Mount Carmel," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 17 Jul 1970, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Inquirer Series 1968, Bulletin Clippings, TUA. On the history of Casa del Carmen, see Raymond H. Schmandt, "The Origins of Casa Del Carmen, Philadelphia's Catholic Hispanic Center," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* 97, no. 1-4 (1986): 29-41.

[15] "Ludlow Day Camp Ends with Franklin St. Fair," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 6 Aug 1971, Ludlow Day Camp, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[16] Maurice F. White, "Georgia Youths Teach VBS at Manna Bible Institute as Mission Project," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 10 Aug 1974.

group of children."[17]

Even the Lighthouse Settlement, which in the late sixties and early seventies had been a conspicuous site of racial, class, and ideological tensions among adult community members, displayed cooperation among diverse groups in its youth programs.[18] When the Lighthouse began a day care program for one hundred children in 1972, director Lewis Hamburger reflected, "I had about a dozen women interview applicants and hire people for the 70 jobs in the program. Whites, blacks and Puerto Ricans put in about 30 hours of their time. They were fantastic."[19] The Lighthouse also provided a reading day camp intended to help students catch up; it drew an integrated group of children from the surrounding area.[20]

Meanwhile, sports programs provided another arena for youth integration. Lighthouse Boys Club teams that had traditionally served Kensington's white children underwent a demographic shift from the late sixties into the early seventies. By the winter of 1970, "about half of the 75 boys [in a teen basketball league] were either black or Puerto Rican."[21] In 1971, a baseball program of six hundred boys included only forty-eight Puerto Ricans and just six blacks.[22] But two years later, fully half the youth participating in all Lighthouse sports programs

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[17] Philadelphia Urban Coalition, "Action '76, Report for Period June 1, 1975 to May 31, 1976," 1976, 29, Box 17 Folder 4, MSS 114 Spanish Merchants Association, HSP.
[18] Tensions at the Lighthouse accompanied shifting demographics in the surrounding neighborhood, as black and Latino families replaced ethnic whites. As a result, the Lighthouse sought to offer more social services in addition to traditional recreation programs, but longtime residents balked. Not long after, controversies erupted over the Black Panthers and Young Lords using the center's space, the possible sale of Lighthouse sports field, and the use of the field for rock concerts. Lighthouse leadership was embattled by these divisive issues from the late sixties into the early seventies. Some of these tensions, and how the Lighthouse responded as an institution, are explored on pages 196-204 of this dissertation.
[19] Jack Smyth, "Lighthouse Director Views His First Year," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 8 Mar 1973, Lighthouse Settlement - Officials 1972-73, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[20] John Nelson, "Slow Readers Getting Help at 11 Day Camps in City," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 25 Jul 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[21] Harry Charlton, quoted in "Bias Is Denied by Lighthouse Boys Club," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 4 Jun 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - 1970, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[22] Jack Smyth, "Puerto Ricans to Demand Full Voice at Lighthouse," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 20 Jun 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

were nonwhite.[23] This trend toward more diverse sports teams built upon experiments with integrated teams over a decade beforehand and began to compete with ethnically homogenous teams and leagues, arousing some critics.[24] *La Actualidad* columnist Carlos Morales advocated all-Hispanic leagues for baseball, softball, and dominoes. He thought that playing with a "homegrown" group would offer Puerto Ricans more opportunities for development and a greater sense of pride.[25] Yet Morales's plea for participation in all-Hispanic leagues reveals that a significant number of Puerto Ricans were playing on multiracial sports teams.

Several integrated youth programs drew on longstanding beliefs in the healing power of pastoral surroundings. They sought to battle the threats of an urban environment and enlighten youth by physically removing them from the city. For example, in 1964 North City Congress sent three hundred children to day camp at a rural location.[26] And Fellowship House ran a program called Woodrock that sought to bring together young men who were "Black, White and Puerto Rican, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish" and hoped to improve their surroundings. The boys attended a summer camp at the Fellowship House Farm located thirty-five miles outside of the city. In addition, they met on weekends during the school year and learned to find commonalities

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[23] Smyth, "Lighthouse Director Views His First Year."

[24] For the most part, in 1959 blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Ukranians still had their own teams, but played against each other. There were some trial integrated teams around at the time. On the other hand, Maria Quiñones-Sánchez recalls the persistence of exclusively Puerto Rican softball leagues. Henry R. Darling, "Language Worst Bar, Sports Biggest Help in Assimilating Puerto Ricans Here," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 22 Mar 1959, Puerto Ricans in Phila. 1964 and prior, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Quiñones-Sánchez, interview by author.

[25] Carlos J. Morales, "Ridiculeces," *La Actualidad*, 26 Oct - 2 Nov 1975, Box 52 Folder 19, Acc 625 NSC, TUA. Original in Spanish reads: "Mas me gustaría abogar por algunos cambios que según mi criterio, darían más importancia y sentido de orgullo personal a todos los nuestros. El primero de estos cambios es que las ligas locales sean totalmente de Hispanos, no es que estemos prejuiciados, si no que nos gustaría ver algo netamente criollo, brindandole más oportunidad a los nuestros para su desarrollo. Creo que esta idea es digna de concideración por el liderato deportivo. Me gustaría oir de ustedes si comparten o no comparten esta idea." My English translation is as follows: "But I would like to advocate for some changes that in my judgment, would give greater importance and a sense of personal pride to all of us. The first of these changes is that the local leagues should be totally Hispanic, not that we are prejudiced, but it would please us to see a truly homegrown group, offering more opportunity for the development of our own. I believe that this idea is worthy of consideration by the sports leadership. It would please me to hear if you share in this belief or not."

[26] "313 Children from North Central Philadelphia Enjoyed Camp Life," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 22 Sep 1964.

and differences in their experiences.[27]

Integration among black and Latino youth was not seamless, nor all-encompassing. Geographer Roman Cybriwsky observed relations in Fairmount in the early seventies, focusing on how white residents responded to perceived pressures from adjacent black and Puerto Rican settlements. He found a high degree of segregation: "Black and Puerto Rican youths are socially isolated from white youths and from each other, facts which can be attributed to residential location, class considerations, and cultural differences with associated prejudices."[28]

In this context, some youth programs made explicit efforts to increase youth exposure to other cultures and improve group relations. When the Kensington Council on Black Affairs sponsored a 1969 day camp that served "80 black, white and Puerto Rican children," they invited "Haitian, Indian, Polish, Scottish, Latvian, and Ukrainian groups" to come teach a variety of arts and crafts.[29] Organizers of a Concilio day camp in 1971 hoped to "break the language barrier between English and Spanish speaking children through well-planned recreational programs." The Concilio day camp, which primarily enrolled Puerto Rican children, thus went on "side by side at the church with a Model Cities sponsored camp consisting of primarily Negro and white children."[30] And a Kensington recreation program in summer 1974 aimed "to develop more cooperation between people in the various areas, share resources, and improve ties between blacks, whites and Puerto Ricans." This would be accomplished by integrating a variety of

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[27] "All About Woodrock," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 20 Jul 1971.
[28] Roman Adrian Cybriwsky, "Social Relations and the Spatial Order in the Urban Environment: A Study of Life in a Neighborhood in Central Philadelphia" (PhD diss., Pennyslvania State University, 1972), 289.
[29] "Cultural Classes Planned at Day Camp," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 13 Jul 1969, Kensington Community Self-Help Center, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[30] "Spanish-Speaking Children Attend Special Day Camp," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 13 Jul 1971, Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

activities and having groups of children make presentations to each other.[31]

The R.W. Brown Boys Club had varying effects in reaching black and Latino youth. In 1964 the *Tribune* reported, "because many boys in the community are of Puerto Rican origin, two bilingual community workers are there to assist both boys and their parents."[32] In 1967, though, Ludlow leader Marvin Louis noted that Puerto Rican boys would not venture to the club because its location across a gang boundary line made the journey unsafe.[33] It seems that boundaries shifted again over the next few years, or at least became more permeable. By 1971, the club was offering more services for Spanish speakers along with English classes.[34]

With the advent of the educational television program *Sesame Street* in 1969, black and Latino children could share another early experience. From its beginning, *Sesame Street* consciously "modeled racial harmony."[35] It was set on a "working class, urban city block" with a "multiethnic and multilingual cast . . . that commingled and solved problems together in their neighborhood setting."[36] The show's first major human characters were a married black couple. By 1971, Children's Television Workshop had added a Spanish-speaking character, Maria, to the show and was making concerted efforts to popularize Sesame Street among bilingual children. In Philadelphia, they asked for help from teenagers involved with Aspira, an education-oriented Puerto Rican youth organization.[37] The Aspirantes happily helped distribute magazines and

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[31] Peter Cogan, quoted in Jack Smyth, "Youth Events for 1,000 Aims at Racial Ties," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 9 Jul 1974, Lighthouse Settlement - 1973-74, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[32] "Teachers Aid at Two Clubs," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 17 Mar 1964.
[33] WFIL-TV, *Assignment: 1747 Randolph Street*, documentary film, 1966, Public Affairs Programming, WPVI-TV, Channel 6, TUA.
[34] Beth Spearman to Ludlow Concerted Services Council, notice re: Organizational Descriptions for the Model Cities Community Information Center, 15 Mar 1971, 7, Box 4 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.
[35] Valeria Lovelace et al., "Making a Neighbourhood the *Sesame Street* Way: Developing a Methodology to Evaluate Children's Understanding of Race," *Journal of Educational Television* 20, no. 2 (1994): 69.
[36] Jennifer Mandel, "The Production of a Beloved Community: *Sesame Street*'s Answer to America's Inequalities," *The Journal of American Culture* 29, no. 1 (2006): 3.
[37] Sarah Connolly to Rafael Villafane, 9 Feb 1971, Box 4 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.

flyers to promote awareness of Sesame Street.[38] Producers of the show thought if "every pre-schooler from a bi-lingual home" watched regularly, "he may have a better chance in learning when he enters school."[39] Soon, a Spanish-speaking viewing center for the show joined two others in North Philadelphia.[40] The popularization of *Sesame Street* provided an additional shared reference point for young black and Latino children. In addition, the harmonious race relations displayed on the show were unusual for television at that time. As historian Jennifer Mandel notes, "For urban children raised in a climate of social and political instability, the program demonstrated the means to more friendly relations."[41]

Taken together, the integrated child care arrangements described above represent an important arena in which young black and Latino children interacted outside of home and school environments. Whether the children were improving their reading skills, playing games, singing songs, or exploring the countryside, they were also building shared experiences early in life.

4.2 YOUTH BATTLES

Public anxieties about juvenile delinquency, exacerbated by racial troubles, had become a national concern by the 1950s.[42] The frequency of violent confrontations among adolescents, a

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[38] Sarah J. Connolly to Mr. Villafane, 28 Apr 1971, Box 4 Folder 11, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.
[39] Sarah J. Connolly to Mr. Villafane, 16 Apr 1971, Box 4 Folder 11, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.
[40] The Spanish-speaking viewing center was located at Christ Church, 1520 Green Street. "Primer Trabajo," *Scope*, Feb 1972, Box 5 Folder 11, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.
[41] Mandel, "Production of a Beloved Community," 8.
[42] Factors feeding these anxieties included increased juvenile crime rates and the glorification of young rebels in popular cinema. At the same time, economic restructuring meant that youth were faced with different employment prospects than previous generations. Compounding these fears was the fact that many relative newcomers to urban areas were black and Latino youth. See Jason Barnosky, "The Violent Years: Responses to Juvenile Crime in the 1950s," *Polity* 38, no. 3 (2006): 314-44; David A. Canton, *Raymond Pace Alexander: A New Negro Lawyer Fights for Civil Rights in Philadelphia* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2010), 141-42.

constant feature of the Philadelphia streetscape from the fifties through the eighties, worried residents and officials.[43] Most youth conflicts in Philadelphia boiled down to territorial disputes, whether they involved fairly organized street gangs, looser corner groups, or children on their way home from school. Many of the confrontations also divided youth along racial lines, generally pitting whites against blacks, whites against Puerto Ricans, or whites against blacks and Puerto Ricans. Violence between blacks and Puerto Ricans was far less common.[44] I am concerned here primarily with conflicts that were racially motivated, as opposed to the many confrontations that took place within racial groups or concerned drug activity. Guns were rarely involved in these conflicts, but youth improvised with their hands and other found weapons.[45] Historian Andrew J. Diamond has argued that youth conflicts could serve a pivotal role in forming, consolidating, and maintaining group and racial identities.[46] In Philadelphia, black and Latino youth occasionally fought each other. But they also increasingly forged bonds as they battled against the common provocateur of white youth.

From the late sixties into the seventies, minority – both black and Latino – and white

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[43] Beginning in the late 1950s, Philadelphia agencies constructed reporting and analysis systems that they hoped would allow them to control neighborhood tensions. Much of the data for these tension control systems consisted of police incident reports involving youth conflicts. Records differentiated between interracial and intraracial occurrences. George Schermer to Thomas J. Gibbons et al., Reports of Incidents and Rumors of Tensions 1954-55, Need for Broadened Basis of Reporting, 1 Feb 1956, Box 56 Folder 2, Acc 626 Fellowship Commission, TUA.

[44] A series of incident reports compiled by the City of Philadelphia's Commission on Human Relations and the Fellowship Commission's Committee on Community Tensions in the mid- to late 1950s reveals mostly intraracial or white/black youth conflicts, with Puerto Ricans rarely appearing. This could be due to the relatively small number of Puerto Ricans in the city at that time, bias in reporting, or their inclusion into larger categories of "white" or "Negro." The reports are housed in Box 56, Folders 2-4 and 6, Acc 626 Fellowship Commission, TUA.

[45] Leon Alexander, quoted in Jack Smyth, "Help Sought for Youth on Kensington Corners," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 3 Jul 1969, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Misc 1966-70, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[46] Elsewhere, Robert Snyder argues that officials and observers in New York City downplayed the significant racial tensions at work in a high profile youth conflict that resulted in murder. Eric Schneider notes that increasingly visible interracial youth conflict was a contributing factor in heightening public awareness of the gang problem in the postwar years. He also describes how as ethnic succession took place, gangs often incorporated newcomers while still employing the rhetoric of preexisting ethnic conflicts. Diamond, *Mean Streets*; Snyder, "Useless and Terrible Death," 228-29; Eric C. Schneider, *Vampires, Dragons, and Egyptian Kings: Youth Gangs in Postwar New York* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 51-105.

youths consistently fought over turf in Kensington.[47] These battles often crystallized over particular resources, such as housing, schools, and recreation sites. During this time, Kensington whites stiffly resisted residential integration.[48] This resistance was actively maintained not just by adults, but also by the very young. When an Albert Street rental property owned by Puerto Rican and black attorneys was vandalized, for example, those arrested included six men and four juveniles, one of which was an eleven-year-old girl.[49] In another case, a white woman named Laura Vega tried to move into a home with her children, whose father was Puerto Rican. They were met outside the newly renovated home in Kensington by an "angry mob" of whites and persistently harassed.[50] Vega decided to move her family back to their old neighborhood, in part because of the effect on her children. Her thirteen-year-old son, Ivan, had been the only one home when bricks crashed through the windows.[51] Vega further explained, "It's pretty bad when your 11-year-old daughter goes down to the corner store and the 16- and 17-year-olds call her a whore and a bitch."[52]

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[47] Examples of these confrontations can be found in "Police Laxity Charged by Kensington Groups in Interracial Fights," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 27 Feb 1969, Kensington Council on Black Affairs, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth, "Racial Unrest Causing Fights in Kensington, Capt. Kachigian Reports," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 9 Nov 1969, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Racial Demonstration, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; "Busload of Police Calms Kensington," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 30 Apr 1970, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Misc 1966-70, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth, "Youths See No End to Racism," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 17 Apr 1973, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Racial Demonstration, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; David Guo, "A Racial Battlefield: Blame Is Exchanged," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 27 Jul 1974, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Racial Demonstration, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[48] For descriptions of white community attitudes in Kensington, see Peter Binzen, *Whitetown, U.S.A.* (New York: Random House, 1970).

[49] Neighbors had reported seeing "12 to 15 kids" involved in the destruction. ". . . Accused . . . [Ke]nsington: 11-Year-Old Girl Is among Suspects," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 24 Apr 1974, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Racial Demonstration, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Harry Amana, "Kensington Bigots Say 'Any Non-White Is Resented' after Learning Puerto Rican Family, Not Blacks, Were Moving into Neighborhood," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 23 Apr 1974.

[50] Clarence Farmer, "Vega Family's Ordeal Hit by CHR Chairman," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 29 Dec 1970.

[51] "Anger Erupts as Politicans Profit from Racial Conflict," *Kensington Peoples Press*, Dec 1970, Flat File, Coll 1970 Lighthouse, HSP.

[52] Al Hass, "Will Move to Kensington Become a Dream Deferred?," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, n.d., Box 8 Folder 11, Acc 520/531/552 YWCA Kensington, TUA.

In a similar manner, youth were often on the front lines in the struggle to desegregate schools. While class periods might pass relatively uneventfully, safe passage through surrounding neighborhoods was another matter. Black and Puerto Rican students were frequently attacked on their way home from Penn Treaty Junior High, Jones Junior High, and Conwell Middle Magnet School, which were located in predominantly white areas of Kensington and neighboring Port Richmond.[53] These attacks were so common in the case of Penn Treaty that the community and school instituted a "safety corridor" which transported black and Puerto Rican pupils to and from the school on buses.[54] When the bus service was suspended in 1973, fourteen-year-old Julio Osorio drowned on the way home from school, possibly as a result of harassment by some white kids. Amid community furor, Mayor Frank Rizzo reinstated the buses.[55]

In this climate, existing recreation centers also became contested spaces. Other scholars have noted how places like amusement parks and public pools served as fertile ground for racial conflict among youth.[56] This was true as well for playgrounds, basketball courts, and similar sites. Reginald Peterson, a black student at Edison High School, reported how "he and his friends face hostility from white youths if they try to use either the school yard at Jones Junior High School or Cohocksink Recreation Center."[57] Officials hoped a fragile truce would hold and racial

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[53] Jack Smyth, "Blacks, Whites, Puerto Ricans Propose Community Council," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 26 May 1971, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Racial Demonstration, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth, "Safe Corridors Urged in Kensington Race Strife," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 12 Apr 1973, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Racial Demonstration, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[54] Louis, interview, 6 Nov 2009, 8.
[55] Charles F. Thomson and Alfonso D. Brown, Jr., "15 Ask O'Neill to Press Probe of Boy's Drowning," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 22 Jun 1973, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Bulletin Series 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Charles F. Thomson, "Rizzo Pledges Bus Service for Penn Treaty Pupils," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 23 Jun 1973, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Bulletin Series 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[56] Victoria W. Wolcott, *Race, Riots, and Roller Coasters: The Struggle over Segregated Recreation in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Jeff Wiltse, *Contested Waters: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Snyder, "Useless and Terrible Death," 228, 230-31.
[57] Jack Smyth, "Kensington Citizens to March for Racial Peace," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 1 Apr 1973, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Racial Demonstration, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

tensions would not force them to shut down the Cohocksink facilities.[58]

Battles among youth were often framed as a consequence of inadequate recreation spaces. At the same time, youths created their own stand-in recreation sites in a way that exacerbated concerns over deteriorating housing and neighborhood infrastructure. Ludlow Community Association (LCA) had been working to have the city tear down an abandoned industrial building at Marshall and Oxford Streets. Before this could happen, a young girl on her way home from school went into the building to play and drowned in a baling pit filled with rainwater.[59] Residents were also worried about "abandoned houses that teenagers break into and in which they hold glue-sniffing and drinking parties."[60] A candlelight procession of one hundred Puerto Rican and black residents in 1971 symbolically paused in front of vacant properties where teenagers went to get drunk and high.[61]

In response to these concerns, a number of new youth recreation spaces were constructed. For example, the North City Congress Police-Community Relations Program coordinated the creation of teen and tot lots in the one thousand block of Mount Vernon Street, an area with integrated black and Puerto Rican populations.[62] The Fishtown Community Action Center installed a boxing ring, ping pong tables, and pin ball machines. It advertised that "All black, Spanish, and white youths are encouraged to use our facilities."[63] Altogether, the city had created

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[58] Jack Smyth, "Shaky Race Pact Reached at Cohocksink," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 19 Apr 1973, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Racial Demonstration, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[59] Louis, interview, 6 Nov 2009, 7.
[60] Jack Smyth, "L. Kensington to Study Teen-Agers' Problems," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 23 May 1968, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Misc 1966-70, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[61] Charles Thomson, "100 Puerto Ricans and Blacks Join in Candlelight March with Crosses," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 10 Apr 1971, Puerto Ricans in Phila. 1964 and prior, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[62] "Split-Level Tot-Lot and Teen Play Area Opened in N. Phila.," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 19 Sep 1967.
[63] "Fishtown Community Action Center," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 26 Jan 1970, TSC.

nearly two hundred new recreation sites between 1952 and 1971.[64]

In Ludlow, residents struggled for years to obtain a recreation center. LCA leader Marvin Louis reflected, "It was in agreement that we needed the recreation on both sides, both Puerto Ricans and blacks . . . Because the only place that they had to go was to the streets, and it wasn't working out well."[65] In describing the need for a facility that would serve the needs of both young and old, Louis noted "our population represents many racial and religious groups, and we strongly feel that a community facility will not only enhance our inter-group relationships on Ludlow, but will also draw from the surrounding areas, enhancing economic integration as well."[66] Once the center was built, LCA ran a youth program there called Ludlow Crusaders that involved children in sports, dance, and other activities to counter the appeal of gang activities.[67]

North Philadelphia youth confronted each other over issues ranging from petty jealousies to larger concerns about integration. In many cases, black and Latino youth found themselves on the same side, battling against white youth. The recreation centers created to divert youth from these conflicts built upon that unity by providing additional sites for social interaction.

4.3 SCHOOLS

Increasingly, black and Latino children attended the same schools in North Philadelphia.[68] This

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[64] "The Community Marches On: Playground Is Inaugrated [sic]," *Spring Garden News/Noticiero Spring Garden*, May 1971, Box 52 RAGS Clippings - North Philadelphia, Acc 107/124/141/161/162/285 HADV, TUA.
[65] Louis, interview, 6 Nov 2009, 2.
[66] Marvin Louis to Tina Weintraub, 27 Dec 1966, 1, Box 17 Folder 174, URB 16 Urban League, TUA.
[67] Marvin Louis, interview by author, transcript, 9 Nov 2009, 15-16.
[68] Philadelphia had a sizable parochial school system that in earlier years enrolled as many as half of the area's Puerto Rican children. Some of these parochial schools also enrolled a sizeable minority of black students along with whites. Many students attended a combination of parochial and public schools during their careers. On the division of Puerto Rican students between public and private schools, see Pennsylvania Economy League, "Special

was particularly the case in public school districts three, five, and seven, all located east of Broad Street.[69] By 1974, for example, Stetson Junior High School had a student body that was 44 percent white, 31 percent black, and 25 percent Puerto Rican.[70] The departure of white families left some schools with entirely black and Latino enrollment. In many cases, these mixed student bodies served a socializing function, allowing black and Latino youth to intermingle and form better relationships.

Most literature on desegregated schools has focused on academic effects. Studies of social relations predominantly consider black and white students, but indicate that many factors in addition to pure demographics can influence the way racial dynamics play out in the classroom.[71] Psychologists have applied the contact hypothesis to integrated school environments, finding that intimate contact among groups of school children emphasizing equal status and cooperation can lead to more positive intergroup relations.[72] Anthropologists

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Assimilation Problems of Underprivileged In-Migrants to Philadelphia," III-7. For black enrollment in parochial schools in the mid-1960s, see Nelson Diaz, "Ahora!," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 17 Jun 1973, Mora, Serafin - Spanish Speaking Org., Bulletin Clippings, TUA. For an idea of Latino parochial school enrollment in the mid-1970s, see "Archdiocese of Philadelphia: City Schools," c.1976, Box 18 Folder 2, MSS 117 The Latino Project, HSP.

[69] Statistics on enrollment during the 1971-72 school year can be found in Office of Research and Evaluation, School District of Philadelphia, "Enrollment: Negro and Spanish Speaking in the Philadelphia Public Schools 1971-1972," Box 18 Folder 15, Acc 469 Floyd Logan, TUA. Statistics on Spanish-surname enrollment in fall 1975 can be found in Helen Oakes, "Philadelphia Public Schools," Apr 1976, Box 44 Folder 6, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.

[70] Stetson was located at B Street and Allegheny Avenue. Lou Antosh, "Rumors of Rapes, Beatings at Stetson Hashed Out," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 5 Dec 1974, Rouse, Mary Mrs. - Civic Leader, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[71] Studies of social relations in schools have been undertaken predominantly in the social sciences, utilizing observation, questionnaires, and interviews with contemporary groups of students and administrators. Amy Stuart Wells, "Reexamining Social Science Research on School Desegregation: Long- Versus Short-Term Effects," *Teachers College Record* 96, no. 4 (1995): 691-706; Maureen T. Hallinan and Ruy A. Teixeira, "Students' Interracial Friendships: Individual Characteristics, Structural Effects, and Racial Differences," *American Journal of Education* 95, no. 4 (1987): 563-83; Meyer Weinberg, *The Search for Quality Integrated Education: Policy and Research on Minority Students in School and College* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983); Martin Patchen, *Black-White Contact in Schools: Its Social and Academic Effects* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1982).

[72] Janet W. Schofield and Rebecca Eurich-Fulcer, "When and How School Desegregation Improves Intergroup Relations," in *Applied Social Psychology*, ed. Marilynn B. Brewer and Miles Hewstone (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 189.

observing mixed classes of North Philadelphia schoolchildren in the late eighties found that depending on neighborhood and structural factors, schools could "help create, reinforce, or transcend boundaries" of social difference.[73] Young children usually displayed few preconceptions and routinely formed relationships across racial boundaries. Interrelations became somewhat more complicated by high school as students faced increasingly complex social situations.[74]

Personal recollections help show the socializing influence of schools. Nancy Cepeda, who grew up in Philadelphia in the late sixties and early seventies, was scared at first to go to John Welsh Elementary with "los morenos," saying she "really didn't like it." She moved on to attend fourth through seventh grades at Holy Child, which had a white, Puerto Rican, and black student body. By that time, she "got along with the people there pretty good."[75] In the mid-sixties, Dobbins Vocational High School was still two-thirds white, but the rest of its student body was black and Puerto Rican. Juan Ramos and several of his Puerto Rican friends convinced their parents to send them to Dobbins instead of Roman Catholic High School. At Dobbins, Ramos built "a very strong friendship and appreciation with the black community," dated a black girl, and helped start the Latin Soul Society. He does not recall racial animosity at the school, only good-natured teasing.[76] Maria Quiñones-Sánchez attended McClure Elementary School and Roberto Clemente Middle School which both had mixed student populations at the time. She recalled little sense of racial tension or isolation there. When Quiñones-Sánchez entered Girls

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[73] Judith G. Goode, Jo Anne Schneider, and Suzanne Blanc, "Transcending Boundaries and Closing Ranks: How Schools Shape Interrelations," in *Structuring Diversity: Ethnographic Perspectives on the New Immigration*, ed. Louise Lamphere (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 209.
[74] Goode and Schneider, *Reshaping Ethnic and Racial Relations*, 163; Goode, Schneider, and Blanc, "Transcending Boundaries," 193.
[75] John Welsh Elementary was located at Fourth and York Streets; Holy Child was at Broad Street and Duncannon Avenue. Nacy Cepeda, interview by William Santiago, typewritten transcript, 27 Aug 1976, 5-6, Box 6 Interview 301, Oral History Projects, Eugenio Maria de Hostos Archives Center, Taller Puertorriqueño, Philadelphia.
[76] Ramos, interview by author, transcript, 4.

High as one of only six Latina students, though, she felt both racial and class discrimination from some black cohorts and ended up attending Mastbaum High School instead. At Mastbaum, she again found social relations mixed among black, Latino, and white students and helped broker a political coalition among the groups to elect the first Latina student body president. She felt that her experience in the public schools helped her break out of the relatively isolated Puerto Rican social circles her parents had formed.[77] Anthropologists observing Philadelphia schoolchildren in the late eighties help confirm these types of recollections. They noted, for instance, that black-Latino unity at one Kensington junior high school could be traced to the fact that "African Americans and Latinos had developed ties in their mixed elementary schools."[78]

Of course, relations between black and Puerto Rican students were not always smooth. Nationalities Service Center staffer Jane Ginsberg was disappointed when her Puerto Rican Teen Group did not want to include black girls. The Puerto Rican girls said that black girls at Kensington High School often picked on them and that they were "all tough and smoked cigarettes." At the same time, the girls claimed that overall they had "nothing against Negroes."[79] It is unclear how much of this sentiment boiled down to racial prejudice, as Ginsberg thought, and how much of it was a typical situation of intimidation or bullying between student cliques. At Edison High School, enrichment and motivation programs weren't effectively reaching Puerto Ricans in the mid-seventies "because of the problems encountered in language

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[77] She would have attended the public schools from the early seventies into the eighties. Quiñones-Sánchez, interview by author.
[78] They made this observation in the context of an oppositional system at the school, where white youth gangs stacked up against black and Latino groups. The researchers noted that most white students had gone to all white elementary schools. Goode and Schneider, *Reshaping Ethnic and Racial Relations*, 164.
[79] Jane Ginsberg, Report on Puerto Rican Teen Age Group, 4 Nov, 1, Box 62 Folder 20, Acc 625 NSC, TUA; Jane Ginsberg, Report on Puerto Rican Junior High Teen Group, 31 Mar, 5, Box 62 Folder 20, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.

and rapport with the other students."[80] In two other schools during the late eighties, Latino students seemed to act as a "swing group," shifting alliances between black and white groups depending on the circumstances at hand.[81]

These glimpses into Philadelphia schools demonstrate that intergroup relations within schools were highly situational and influenced by structural factors like group size and social class standing. Conflicts and tensions invariably arose within schools as elsewhere, but racial motivations were not usually a visible factor. On the whole, it seems that schools with mixed black and Latino populations promoted relatively peaceful coexistence between the groups.

4.4 LANGUAGE BARRIERS

The integration of black and Latino children in schools was complicated somewhat by language barriers. As the numbers of Puerto Rican school children in Philadelphia increased, the public school system struggled to meet their particular needs. There were already fifteen hundred Spanish-speaking students in the public schools by 1959.[82] Some feared that resistance to learning English among many first-generation migrants was creating "a wall between the Puerto Ricans and their neighbors."[83] Many saw more hope in the second generation, though. Initially, school administrators tried to concentrate Puerto Rican children in a limited number of schools. The School Board angered parents in 1962 when it attempted to relieve overcrowding at Waring

[80] Rosita Saez, "Thomas A. Edison High School, Don Pedro Albizu Campos Aspira Club, July 1974-June 1975," 1975, 3, Box 6 Folder 10, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.
[81] Goode and Schneider, *Reshaping Ethnic and Racial Relations*, 167.
[82] "Language Barrier Hinders Puerto Rican Pupils Here," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 6 Aug 1959, Puerto Ricans in Phila. 1969-1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[83] "They'll Have to Face It," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 22 Feb 1960, Puerto Ricans in Phila. 1964 and prior, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Frederick Pillsbury, "Language Is Major Problem Here, Puerto Ricans Say," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 20 Feb 1960, Puerto Ricans in Phila. 1964 and prior, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

Elementary by transferring 350 Puerto Rican students as a group to Hancock Elementary, and in the process transferring all of the black students from Hancock to other schools.[84] But the sheer numbers of Latino migrants made this concentration effort untenable over time, and administrators turned to implementing new educational strategies.

At first, efforts to deal with the Spanish-dominant children included small-scale efforts utilizing high school students or exchange teachers from Puerto Rico, and focused on Special English instruction.[85] But increased availability of federal funding through Titles I and VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and subsequent legislation boosted systematic efforts.[86] Dr. Eleanor Sandstrom, director of the Office of Foreign Languages for Philadelphia Public Schools, took advantage of new funding and coordinated more comprehensive approaches to educating Spanish-speaking children.[87] By the late 1960s, the public schools had both bilingual and English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programs going simultaneously, and there were seven different types of programs in operation by 1974.[88] At the same time,

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[84] "125 Attend Protest Meeting at School," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 13 Jan 1962.

[85] James Smart, "High School Girls Teaching Puerto Rican Pupils English," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 2 Feb, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Inquirer Series 1968, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; J. William Jones, "Two Exchange Teachers Help to Break Language Barrier for Puerto Ricans," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 1 Mar 1964, Puerto Ricans in Phila. 1964 and prior, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[86] Title I was part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 and provided funding for compensatory education for low-income children. Title VII, also known as the Bilingual Education Act, dealt specifically with bilingual education and was appended to the original ESEA in 1968 and amended in 1974. Supporters of bilingual education also drew support from nondiscrimination clauses in the Civil Rights Act of 1965, and won a major victory when the Supreme Court upheld the rights of limited English proficiency students to instruction that they could understand in *Lau v. Nichols* in 1974. Puerto Rican leaders in Philadelphia had also watched closely the effort by Aspira and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund to obtain a Consent Decree with the New York City Board of Education. In the end, the Aspira Consent Decree provided for bilingual education, but in a narrow program that focused on transitioning students away from the Spanish language; the limitations of the Consent Decree later frustrated many activists. Sandra Del Valle, "Bilingual Education for Puerto Ricans in New York City: From Hope to Compromise," *Harvard Educational Review* 68, no. 2 (1998): 199-202.

[87] Sandstrom was director of the Office of Foreign Languages for Philadelphia Public Schools. For a description of her role, see Melisa Cahnmann, "Over Thirty Years of Language-in-Education Policy and Planning: Potter Thomas Bilingual School in Philadelphia," *Bilingual Research Journal* 22, no. 1 (1998): 70.

[88] Some earlier documents refer to English as a Second Language (ESL) instead of English for Speakers of Other Languages, but I have used the later designation here for purposes of consistency. Stephen J. Sansweet, "Language Is Big Barrier to Latin Newcomer," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4 Jun 1968, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Inquirer Series 1968,

several parochial schools with heavy Latino enrollment drew on federal funds to implement their own programs.[89]Spring Garden's Waring Elementary School vividly illustrates these new priorities. In the mid-sixties, the only school employee that spoke Spanish was a substitute clerk-typist. Due to concentrated efforts by the principal and others, half of Waring's staff was bilingual by 1971.[90]

Many critics of bilingual education have assailed it for promoting student segregation. But this was not the intention, nor the result, of some programs carried out in the Philadelphia school. By 1964, a limited arrangement at Ludlow and Ferguson elementary schools helped Puerto Rican students learn English with guidance in Spanish, while English-dominant students were gradually taught Spanish. School officials felt "Integration of languages . . . ha[d] helped with racial relations."[91] Similarly, a "model" program implemented in 1969 at the new Potter Thomas Elementary used an additive approach to bilingualism. All students were taught subjects in their primary language and then studied either English or Spanish as a second language.[92] The program was such a draw, particularly for Puerto Rican families, that the school was initially filled beyond capacity.[93] A visiting journalist saw kindergartners at recess "chatter together,

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Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Richard J. Hiller to Epifanio de Jesus, Jr., 2 Oct 1974, 4, Box 19 Folder 6, MSS 117 The Latino Project, HSP.

[89] "Spanish-Speaking Pupils Taught English under Federal Program at St. Edward's," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 12 May 1968, St. Edward's Parochial School, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[90] Charles M. Day, "Editorial," *Spring Garden News/Noticiero Spring Garden*, Feb 1971, Box 52 RAGS Clippings - North Phila, Acc 107/124/141/161/162/285 HADV, TUA.

[91] Jones, "Two Exchange Teachers."

[92] School District of Philadelphia, "Pie Catalog," Fall 1970, 8, Box 6 Folder 8, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP; Hiller to de Jesus, 5. When Potter Thomas opened in 1969, its student body was 42 percent Latino, 31 percent black, and 27 percent white. But over the next few years, white enrollment decreased precipitously while Latino enrollment increased. In 1972, the student body was 55 percent Latino, 33 percent black, and 12 percent white. Cahnmann, "Over Thirty Years," 68; Office of Research and Evaluation, "Enrollment: Negro and Spanish Speaking," 20.

[93] John T. Gillespie, "City's New Spanish-Speaking School Faces Severe Overcrowding," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 11 Sep 1969, Box 16 Folder 21, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.

mixing both languages in their excitement."[94] When asked their thoughts on the program, a group of black mothers in Ludlow said they were pleased their children were learning Spanish, noting that they could now better relate to the Puerto Rican kids on the block.[95] The program at Potter Thomas proved successful enough that it continued for decades, and in the early eighties the school district hoped it would serve as a magnet to attract white students and aid in desegregation efforts.[96] In 1988 administrators still hoped that "Latinos and Anglos will carry over the mutual understanding they have developed in school to greater harmony outside of the school."[97] When Thomas Meyer observed a classroom that was half Puerto Rican and half black in the early nineties, he was impressed by the students' attentiveness and bilingual skills.[98] While Potter Thomas's program was successful in some respects, high turnover in its student body limited its effectiveness.[99]

Another program, Arriba, operated at a few other schools. Starting in the fourth grade, it allowed Spanish-dominant students to take a few classes in Spanish while learning English as a

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[94] Marianne Gabel, "Biling[ual] . . . Gets Mixed Results," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 16 Jun 1971, Lebron, Jose, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[95] Marianne Gabel, "El programa de educacion bilingue," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 16 Jun 1971, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Bulletin Series 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA. The original quote from one of the mothers is: "Ahora los muchachos negros pueden relacionarse con los muchachos puertorriqueños de la manzana."

[96] Robert M. Offenberg, Carlos Rodriguez-Acosta, and Bob Epstein, "Evaluation of the Potter-Thomas Bilingual-Bicultural Magnet Elementary School Project, 1981-1982, Report #8330," Mar 1983, 5, ERIC database, http://www.eric.ed.gov/PDFS/ED234628.pdf. For a description of volunteers' experiences at the school in the 1990s, see Olga G. Rubio, "'Yo Soy Voluntaria': Volunteering in a Dual-Language School," *Urban Education* 29, no. 4 (1995): 396-409.

[97] Here, the term "Anglo" denotes an English-dominant child. Potter Thomas had an exclusively Puerto Rican and black student population by the late 1980s. As paraphrased from interview with Felicita Meléndez in Cheryl L. Micheau, "Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Maintenance in the Puerto Rican Community of Philadelphia" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1990), 520.

[98] Thomas Meyer, "Language, Thought, and Culture: Combining Bilingual/Multicultural Education," *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* 8, no. 1 (1992): 51-52, ERIC database, http://www.eric.ed.gov/PDFS/ED354719.pdf.

[99] Nancy H. Hornberger, "Extending Enrichment Bilingual Education: Revisiting Typologies and Redirecting Policy," in *Bilingual Education: Essays in Honor of Joshua A. Fishman*, ed. Ofelia García (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991), 228.

second language.[100] Parent Aida Gonzalez related her son's experience to the Committee for the Education of Puerto Rican Children. She explained:

> When her son arrived from Puerto Rico he was given a test and placed in the 12th grade. He attended Southern where he was able to understand no one and no one was able to understand him. He received poor grades and stopped attending school. Mrs. Gonzalez sought help and received recommendations for two schools where he might find help. One school was for retarded children; the other was Edison. He went to Edison where he is doing well and receiving good grades. Teachers speak Spanish there and he has made friends with Spanish-speaking students and English-speaking students. Mrs. Gonzalez feels that the Arriba Program has been of great help.[101]

These examples reveal that in some cases bilingual programs helped Spanish-dominant students overcome language barriers and led to better relations with English-dominant students.

In other cases, programs intended to overcome such barriers actually contributed to segregation among the student body. Supporters of the bilingual program emphasized the goal was "not to segregate" students and advocated for the full inclusion of limited English-ability students in regular arts classes, physical education, and extracurricular activities.[102] ESOL classes, in contrast to the approach at Potter-Thomas, isolated students from their peers, and Puerto Rican pupils were comparatively slow to move out of those courses.[103] At the same time, those in programs like Arriba sometimes had trouble making the transition between courses taught in different languages and lost interest.[104]

Overall, both bilingual and ESOL programs were plagued by inadequate resources and

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[100] Gabel, "Biling[ual] . . . Gets Mixed Results."
[101] Committee for the Education of Puerto Rican Children, Meeting Minutes, 10 Feb 1971, 2, Box 4 Folder 11, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.
[102] "General Synopsis: Bilingual Education Law," c.1976, Box 44 Folder 6, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[103] Goode, Schneider, and Blanc, "Transcending Boundaries," 203; Goode and Schneider, *Reshaping Ethnic and Racial Relations*, 165; Sansweet, "Language Is Big Barrier."
[104] Gabel, "Biling[ual] . . . Gets Mixed Results."

ambivalence both among school administrators and the Latino community.[105] Existing programs did not alleviate the complex challenges faced by many students and teachers in the classroom and certainly did not reach all schools with Latino enrollment. When Anne Phillips, a fifth grade teacher at Waring Elementary, was asked about the bilingual approach, her response was, "Nothing. Ten of the 35 pupils in my home room barely speak English. I don't speak Spanish. These three classes are taught by seven people, the team I'm on. I'm not sure how many of the kids understand what we're saying. Five of us speak English only, one is bilingual, and one speaks very very little English."[106] With the exception of isolated programs like that at Potter Thomas, then, most efforts focused on what seemed to many a practical goal: transitioning Spanish-dominant students into mainstream courses. While activists at Aspira filed suit hoping to bring about "a true bilingual program . . . where everything is taught in both languages," other Latino parents were cautious, even "fearful." Some worried bilingual courses would be "a hindrance, a handicap for progressing if instruction is given in Spanish."[107] By the eighties, these concerns had grown irrelevant, as bilingual programs began to disappear from the schools. ESOL classes were maintained at some level and increasingly served Asians in addition to Latinos.[108]

Compounding the limited reach of school programs, Latino students were a

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[105] In 1971, the number of bilingual teachers was already woefully inadequate at the high school level. The system employed 4 bilingual teachers for 200 Puerto Rican boys at Edison, 3 bilingual teachers for 275 Puerto Rican girls at Kensington, and no bilingual teachers at either Dobbins or Mastbaum, which both had sizeable Puerto Rican enrollment. Two other bilingual teachers had to be shared between William Penn and Ben Franklin. Michael Kimmel, "¡You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!," *Philadelphia Magazine*, Oct 1971, 166. According to Aspira observers, the program at Edison suffered from the "lack of qualified teachers, the lack of reaching out to All Latino students, and it stresses Spanish more than English." Saez, "Thomas A. Edison High School," 2. Even a bilingual magnet middle school opened in the old Edison High building in the late 1980s initially had sparse bilingual offerings. Micheau, "Ethnic Identity," 525-26.

[106] Kimmel, "¡You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!," 166.

[107] Susan Jenks, "Spanish-Speaking Parents Sue Phila. School Board," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 7 Jan 1975, Puerto Ricans in Phila. 1969-1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Advisory Committee of Spanish Component, Franklin Learning Center, Minutes of Meeting, 11 Dec 1975, 2, Box 6 Folder 17 [2], MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.

[108] Manuel Berríos, interview by author, 7 Jan 2010. The decreasing support for bilingual programs followed a national trend begun under the Reagan administration. Cahnmann, "Over Thirty Years," 65.

heterogeneous and mobile group. The language proficiencies of Puerto Rican youth spanned a broad spectrum of abilities in both English and Spanish. At one Aspira club meeting, for example, "The meeting began in Spanish but the Aspirantes were afraid of speaking it."[109] An Aspira staff member later noted, "One problem I encountered which I do not yet know how to deal with [is] the language problem. Some students do not understand Spanish others do not understand English and I have been forced to repeat myself in both languages which is very time consuming."[110] Many Puerto Rican families migrated cyclically between Philadelphia and the island, spending a few years at a time in each place. This pattern further confounded stable student relationships and consistent educational efforts.

The variability of language abilities among Latino students, combined with uneven educational offerings, makes it difficult to generalize about their school experiences as a broad group. To be sure, those Latino students who only developed very limited English abilities would also have had limited communication and interaction with their black cohorts. But for a sizable proportion, perhaps even the majority, of Latino students, language would not have posed an insurmountable barrier in relations with black students.

4.5 STUDENTS SPEAK OUT

Even though some students were separated by language barriers, in many cases black and Latino schoolchildren succeeded in pushing for change together. School policy was not only the

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[109] Ivonne Figueroa to Andy Perez, memo re: Report on Center Club Meeting, 7 Oct 1971, Box 6 Folder 5, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.
[110] Notes from Edison High School General Membership Meeting, 25 Feb 1977, 2, Box 6 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.

prerogative of parents, adults, and administrators. Rather, students made their own claims on the system, recognizing that policies directly affected them, their siblings, and the students that would walk school halls long after they were gone.

Philadelphia students made themselves heard on countless occasions. One of the most infamous is the November 1967 rally at the Board of Education, which proceeded peacefully until thousands of black students were set upon by Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo and a band of newly-minted police.[111] Smaller incidents occurred frequently. Juan Ramos recalls joining a group of seventh graders in a walkout when a nun at their parochial school made disparaging remarks about Puerto Ricans.[112] In December 1970, three hundred students at Edison High School took over the principal's office because he refused to show a film from North Vietnam, while at the same time four hundred students at Dobbins Vocational School held a rally demanding a teacher be dismissed.[113]

Integrated student activism is especially apparent in the struggle to obtain a new Edison High School. The building that Edison occupied had formerly been known as Northeast High School. But in 1957, due to a combination of the building's deteriorating condition and shifting demographics, the Board of Education built a new Northeast High School in a different part of the city, and moved the school's mascot, trophies, and identity there. Instead of closing the old building, the school system reopened it as the newly-christened Edison High School, which

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[111] For descriptions of the November 1967 Board of Education rally, see Jon S. Birger, "Race, Reaction, and Reform: The Three Rs of Philadelphia School Politics, 1965-1971," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 120 (1996): 163-68; Matthew J. Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 223-28.
[112] This would have occurred in the early 1960s. Ramos, interview by author, transcript, 3.
[113] "Peoples War at Edison," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 21 Dec 1970, Philadelphia Free Press issues: 1969-1974, Contemporary Culture Collection Periodicals, TSC.

served a male student body increasingly composed of poorer minorities.[114] Despite novel efforts by a "multi-racial committee – black, white, and Puerto Rican" to stem the tide of racial transition, most of its suggestions were rejected by the Board of Education and the changeover was largely complete by 1970.[115] "Mass truancy" by white students assigned to the school contributed further to this trend.[116] By the early seventies, Edison was about 80 percent black, 15 percent Puerto Rican, and 5 percent white.[117] Over the next decade and a half, these numbers continued to shift and by the late 1980s Edison's student body was 60 percent Puerto Rican.[118]

As the building continued to deteriorate physically, the community waged a decades-long campaign to secure a new site. Students were directly involved. In 1974, nearly three hundred students marched from the school to City Hall, standing in the cold while the mayor refused to meet with them.[119] As a superintendent pointed out at the time, their efforts could realistically only benefit those that came after them.[120] Aspira students dramatized their plight by holding a mock auction where the school building sold in exchange for a dead leaf. Its courtyard was then set aside as a cemetery "so that the students' bodies could be buried when the school falls on them."[121] Students also participated in a series of rallies in 1979 and 1980.[122]

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[114] Female students attended a different high school at the time. Albert I. Glassman, Edison High School Information Sheet, Sep 1974, 1, Box 6 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP; Saez, "Thomas A. Edison High School," 1.
[115] Charles Wilson, "Edison Hi Called Classic Example of Ghetto School," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 10 Nov 1970.
[116] Jack Smyth, "Hundreds Become Truants in Fishtown," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 13 Oct 1970, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Misc 1966-70, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[117] Office of Research and Evaluation, "Enrollment: Negro and Spanish Speaking," 11. Similar figures appear in Saez, "Thomas A. Edison High School," 1.
[118] Micheau, "Ethnic Identity," 528.
[119] Paul Taylor, "Chants of Pupils Ignored by Rizzo," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 27 Nov [1974], Box 6 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP; Gunter David, "Students Want 'New Edison,'" *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 27 Nov [1974], Box 6 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP; "Estudiantes Protestan Construccion Escuela Edison," *La Actualidad*, 15 Dec 1974, Box 6 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.
[120] David, "Students Want 'New Edison.'"
[121] Carole Rich, "Edison Students Sell School for 1 Leaf at Mock Auction," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 19 Feb 1975, Box 6 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.
[122] Kensington Joint Action Council, "Students and Parents Rally/Estudiantes y Padres Reunion," bilingual flyer, Oct 1979, Box 6 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP; "Press Release: Rally in Demand of the Construction for a New

Edison students connected their activism to larger political issues in the city. At one point, Aspira members told a mayoral aide that "any further delays on the proposed 2d and Luzerne Street location could spell political trouble for Mayor Rizzo this fall."[123] Political awareness was even more apparent when a diverse group of Edison students testified to the Board of Education in 1975. One student noted, "We come before this board each month, new faces to play the same game," adding, "a new Edison is dead because you are afraid of the white vote."[124] Another student described their difficulty in getting information about a pending court case, asking "Are we a political football being kicked around between the mayor and some of the school board members until election time?"[125] Lastly, a Puerto Rican student declared, "My father does not have the pull downtown to get a New Edison High School. His English isn't good enough for him to express how much he thinks we need one. But people like him are the backbone of this Country and my neighborhood. Parent[s] work hard for their children's education and they deserve the best. Will you help them to get it?"[126]

By 1980, the Edison Student Information Booklet explicitly encouraged harmony among the multiracial student body. It told students, "If you work hard to improve yourself and to help your black, White and Spanish brothers and sisters who also attend here, Edison will continue to have the finest students anywhere."[127] Eventually, students were part of the long fought victory in securing school board and mayoral approval for construction of a new Edison; ground was

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Edison High School," 1980, Box 6 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP; Coalition for a New High School, "Break Ground in '80 Rally," bilingual flyer, Feb 1980, Box 6 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.

[123] "Rizzo Aide Is Warned on Edison Site Delay," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 24 Jan 1975, Box 6 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.

[124] Joel Morales, testimony before Board of Education, 27 Jan 1975, Box 6 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.

[125] Ralph Whitaker, testimony before Board of Education, 27 Jan 1975, Box 6 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.

[126] Raymond Mojica, Jr., testimony before Board of Education, 27 Jan 1975, Box 6 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.

[127] "Thomas A. Edison High School: Student Information Booklet," 1980, 7, Box 6 Folder 12, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.

finally broken in 1985 and the new school opened in 1988. The *Tribune* explained, "It has been the people's power . . . Students, parents, teachers, community residents, Black, white, Puerto Rican, have united in their demands and in the process have grown in their understanding and appreciation of each other."[128]

4.6 ENRICHMENT PROGRAMS

Several programs also appeared outside of the formal school system with the goal of enriching standard education and developing young leaders. Along with more traditional extracurricular activities, these programs provided additional opportunities for black and Latino youth to build relationships.

In the Spring Garden area, pharmaceutical company Smith Kline & French had opened an Information Services Center in the late sixties in its effort to become a better corporate citizen for the surrounding community. The Center soon started a program called Potentials focused on outreach to youth between the ages of eleven and eighteen.[129] Potentials combined supplementary education in topics like black and Puerto Rican history, counseling, and active work in the community. The program enrolled "over 90 black and Puerto Rican neighborhood boys and girls" who displayed "great harmony" in their relationships. Before long, students were

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[128] Quotation from Carrie Lees, Jesus Ruiz, and Teressa Joyner, "Building a New Edison High," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 4 Apr 1980; Lori Cornish, "Edison Finally Sees Light for New School," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 4 Jun 1985. When the new Edison opened, its name was amended to Edison-Fareira High School after its late principal, John C. Fareira. Micheau, "Ethnic Identity," 527.

[129] "39 Youths Leave States for Four-Day Educational Stint in Puerto Rico as 'Potentials,'" *Philadelphia Tribune*, 31 Jul 1973.

so enthused that they had largely taken over running the program.[130] Some Potentials students worked their way to broader opportunities. In 1971, a small group including "two black boys, a black girl and two Puerto Rican boys" was sent to New Hampshire to participate in a special college preparatory program.[131] By 1973, thirty-nine youth from the Potentials program took an educational trip to Puerto Rico. It was hoped that "The Puerto Rican teenagers will get a better understanding of their ancestry and historical background. For non-Puerto Ricans, this trip will be a lesson in another people's history and life style."[132]

Aspira was an organization founded to improve the educational experience and opportunities of Puerto Rican youth.[133] It functioned mostly through student clubs at high schools, but also undertook individual counseling, college visits and career exploration, and research on financial aid. Aspira primarily served Puerto Ricans, but the clubs were also involved in more integrated activities. At Edison High School in particular, the Aspira club forged a relationship with the Black Students League. The two clubs planned to share an office, played basketball together, and joined forces to clean up the school grounds.[134] At William Penn High School, some black students even joined the Aspira club.[135] It was also not uncommon for black youth to turn to Aspira for counseling assistance with college admissions or funding.[136]

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[130] "Drug Firm's Community Program Helps Dropouts to Help Selves," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 25 Aug 1970.
[131] "Blacks, Puerto Ricans Off to New Hampshire to Participate in 'A Better Chance,'" *Philadelphia Tribune*, 7 Sep 1971.
[132] "39 Youths Leave States."
[133] On the founding of Aspira, see Louis Nuñez, "Reflections on Puerto Rican History: Aspira in the Sixties and the Coming of Age of the Stateside Puerto Rican Community," *Centro* 21, no. 2 (2009): 33-47.
[134] Ivonne Figueroa to Epi de Jesus, memo re: Report on all the Aspira clubs, 13 Mar 1972, Box 6 Folder 4, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP; Ivonne Figueroa to Epi de Jesus, memo re: April Monthly Report, 2 May 1972, 1, Box 5 Folder 5, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.
[135] Ivonne Figueroa to Andres Perez, memo re: Weekly Report - Dec. 4-10, 1971, 14 Dec 1971, Box 6 Folder 5, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.
[136] Over one three-month period in 1975, Aspira counseled eighty-five Puerto Ricans, two other Spanish Speaking, and four Black students. "Aspira Individual Counseling Student Data," 1 Jun to 31 Aug 1975, Box 7 Folder 3, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP. A few examples of correspondence from black students requesting assistance include Robert W.

4.7 BLACK PANTHERS AND YOUNG LORDS

The Black Panthers and Young Lords are often considered alongside other New Left and radical groups emerging in the late 1960s. But they were also essentially examples of youth activism. Not only were the members of these organizations generally the age of high school students, but they directed programs at even younger children, and captured the imaginations of youth around them. The efforts of these organizations therefore offer another view of interactions among black and Latino youth.

Chapters of the Black Panthers and Young Lords were established in Philadelphia in 1969 and 1970, respectively, following trends of expansion for the parent organizations.[137] The Panthers and Lords shared a political vision that saw blacks and Latinos as Third World peoples oppressed by racism, capitalism, and colonialism. Their ideology of shared oppression paved the way for collaboration and cooperation.[138] At the local level, members were driven by their

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Simpson to Aspira of Pennsylvania, Inc., 6 Aug 1971, Box 4 Folder 11, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP; Rochelle R. Wilson to Aspira of Pennsylvania, 6 Jul 1972, Box 5 Folder 8, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP.

[137] The Black Panther Party had arisen in Oakland, borrowing a mascot representing self defense from the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Alabama. The Panthers took up the call for Black Power and sought community control to protect black residents from police brutality and economic exploitation. The Party soon opened chapters in many other cities, including Philadelphia. The Young Lords Organization originally started as a street gang in Chicago that became politicized with some influence from the Black Panthers. The Organization spread to New York, changed its name to the Young Lords Party, and opened a chapter in Philadelphia in 1970. The Party increasingly embraced revolutionary nationalism, pushing for the liberation of Puerto Ricans from colonialism on the island and racial and class oppression in the continental United States. For background on the Black Panthers nationally, see among others Jama Lazero and Yohuru Williams, eds., *In Search of the Black Panther Party: New Perspectives on a Revolutionary Movement* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Paul Alkebulan, *Survival Pending Revolution: The History of the Black Panther Party* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007); Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). On the founding and development of the Young Lords, see Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar, "Puerto Rico en Mi Corazón: The Young Lords, Black Power and Puerto Rican Nationalism in the U.S., 1966-1972," *Centro* 18, no. 1 (2006): 154-58; Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar, "Rainbow Radicalism: The Rise of the Radical Ethnic Nationalism," in *The Black Power Movement: Rethinking the Civil Rights-Black Power Era*, ed. Peniel E. Joseph (New York: Routledge, 2006), 215-16; Johanna Fernandez, "Radicals in the Late 1960s: A History of the Young Lords Party in New York City" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2004).

[138] In New York, for instance, despite tensions between black and Latino communities over schools and control of the antipoverty program, "at the level of radical activism, ties between African American and Puerto Rican youth

personal experiences with discrimination and injustice while growing up in Philadelphia.[139] They were also extremely young; most Panthers and Lords were still in their teens.[140] The Panthers and Lords are most remembered for their militant stance and radical politics, but they also ran a number of survival programs in urban areas that impacted local residents in fundamental ways.

One of the earliest and most prominent community efforts that these groups undertook was a free breakfast program. Nationally, by 1970 the Black Panthers served breakfast to an estimated ten to fifteen thousand children a day, garnered cooperation from countless outside organizations and individuals, and felt it was one of their "most effective programs."[141] In Philadelphia, the Panthers had begun a breakfast program by summer 1969, with the Lords joining in about a year later.[142] At some locations, the Panthers and Lords each ran their own breakfast, and at others the two groups co-sponsored. The breakfast programs relied on food donations from local residents and merchants and sought to provide nutritious meals that many disadvantaged school children usually went without.[143]

Just getting the program going, though, was not always easy. In their first summer, the Panthers had started by feeding about fifty children and then ramped up to three hundred a day. But then, one Panther related, "the pressure came on, and we were denied places to set up. We

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were stronger than they had ever been by 1970." Lorrin Thomas, *Puerto Rican Citizen: History and Political Identity in Twentieth Century New York City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 352-53.

[139] Matthew J. Countryman, "Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia, 1940-1971" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1998), 621-24; Carmen Teresa Whalen, "Bridging Homeland and Barrio Politics: The Young Lords in Philadelphia," in *The Puerto Rican Movement: Voices from the Diaspora*, ed. Andrés Torres and José E. Velázquez (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 108-12.

[140] Ramos, interview by author, transcript, 6; Kimmel, "¡You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!," 88-91.

[141] "Revolution for Breakfast," 14 Aug 1970, broadcast on KPFA Radio, UC Berkeley Library Social Activism Sound Recording Project: The Black Panther Party, Pacifica Radio Archives.

[142] Don Demaio, "Local Panthers Organize," *Distant Drummer*, 17 Jul 1969, Newspapers and Microfilm Center (hereafter NMC), Free Library of Philadelphia (hereafter FLP); "Panther Free Breakfast," *Distant Drummer*, 1-8 Nov 1969, NMC, FLP; Alan Oslick, "Panther Offices Raided," *Distant Drummer*, 3-10 Oct 1969, NMC, FLP.

[143] Most of the donations were secured peacefully, but there were reports of some "picketing and arm twisting" at Acme Supermarket. "Black Panthers Announce for 1st District," *Distant Drummer*, 18 Sep 1969, NMC, FLP.

really need locations, like churches, badly."[144] The next year, the Lords and Panthers had to overcome resistance to fears of their radical politics by agreeing not to display posters or other propaganda at their sixth location, the Lighthouse Settlement.[145] When the Lighthouse finally approved the program, the United Fund temporarily suspended its funds in protest.[146] Next, vandals broke into the Lighthouse kitchen trashed the food supply. Afterward, "the Panthers and Lords . . . spent five hours sifting cocoa and cereal to make sure nothing had been put in the stuff that was left that might hurt the kids."[147]

Despite these initial troubles, by late 1971 the Lords and the Panthers were feeding about 180 children a day between St. Edwards Parochial School and the Lighthouse Settlement.[148] The Panthers ran breakfasts at several additional locations: the Black Community Information Center in West Philadelphia, the Richard Allen Homes, the Spring Garden Community Services Center, the Mark Clark Free Medical Center in North Philadelphia, and an address in Germantown.[149] Even without paper propaganda, a reporter noted, each serving of food was "spiced with a lesson

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[144] Oslick, "Panther Offices Raided." Milwaukee's Black Panthers also had trouble finding suitable locations for their breakfast program after one church backed out due to ideological concerns. Andrew Witt, *The Black Panthers in the Midwest: The Community Programs and Services of the Black Panther Party in Milwaukee, 1966-1977* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 73.

[145] The dispute over the breakfast program at the Lighthouse took place within the larger context of battles over orienting the Settlement's programs toward social services vs. recreation as the demographics of the surrounding neighborhood shifted from predominantly ethnic white to increasingly black and Puerto Rican. Objections to "violent" images and text in the posters were used as additional ammunition by the Committee of Eleven, a group seeking to return the Lighthouse to its traditional role as provider of sports and recreation opportunities for Kensington youth. Jack Smyth, "Black Panther, Young Lords' Posters Figure in Dispute over Breakfasts," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 6 Dec 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - 1970, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth, "Lighthouse Votes Limit on Films, Not Breakfast," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 13 Dec 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - 1970, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth and Fletcher Clarke, "Free Breakfasts Started at Lighthouse Settlement," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 28 Jan 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Don King, "Breakfast Courtesy Panthers and Young Lords," *Thursday's Drummer*, 7 Jan 1971, NMC, FLP.

[146] Peter H. Binzen and Jack Smyth, "United Fund Dilemma: How to Remain Relevant," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 23 Nov 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - United Fund, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[147] "Panther Breakfast," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 18 Jan 1971, Box 1968-1970, TSC.

[148] St. Edwards was located at Seventh and York Streets; the Lighthouse was in the Kensington area at Front and Lehigh. Kimmel, "¡You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!," 91.

[149] "Free Breakfast Program," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 26 Oct 1970, Box 1968-1970, TSC.

about why the kids' parents can't afford the food boys and girls need in order to do well in school."[150]

The stated goal of the breakfast program was "to feed and educate local needy children of all races, religions, and cultural groups."[151] Indeed, it was not only black and Puerto Rican children that benefitted from the program. At the Lighthouse, "white parents began sending their kids for a healthy meal, and [one] Friday two white mothers helped out in the kitchen."[152] Meanwhile, the program at Spring Garden Community Services Center served "hungry black, white, and Spanish-speaking kids."[153] During the summer of 1970, the Young Lords provided lunch for one thousand children each day with food obtained from government sources.[154] Initial efforts by the Panthers and Lords motivated other institutions to address the needs of hungry children. By 1971, Waring Elementary School had partnered with Spring Garden Community Services Center to serve free breakfasts and was also managing to provide hot lunches even though it lacked a cafeteria.[155]

Alongside the breakfast program, the Panthers opened a free clothing store for "all who are oppressed, regardless of color," directed particularly at schoolchildren. The Lords ran a clothing drive as well.[156] Basic programs like these allowed the Lords and Panthers to build rapport in the neighborhoods and gained them public support in encounters with the police.[157]

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[150] Kimmel, "¡You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!," 91.
[151] "Proposal for a Breakfast Program," 1970, Box 19 Folder 14, Coll 1970 The Lighthouse, HSP.
[152] "Panther Breakfast."
[153] Michelle Osborn, "Center Thrives on Green St. with Help of Panthers et al," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 24 Feb 1970, Spring Garden Community Services Center, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[154] Don Hamilton, "Breakfast Program," background sheet, 1970, 3, Box 19 Folder 14, Coll 1970 The Lighthouse, HSP.
[155] Day, "Editorial." Similarly, the Milwaukee chapter of the Black Panthers helped pressure the city's public school system to administer its own free breakfast program. Witt, *Black Panthers in the Midwest*, 76, 78.
[156] Panther officer Ode, quoted in "Free Clothing Store Opens," *Distant Drummer*, 23-30 Oct 1969, NMC, FLP; Whalen, "Bridging Homeland and Barrio Politics," 114.
[157] Mary Rouse referenced this theme while defending the Young Lords when they were accused of inciting a firebombing at Pete's Bar in 1970. Mary S. Rouse and Floyd Patton, "Bum Rap," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 29 Aug

The Panthers and Lords also provided youth with political inspiration and a model of discipline. The Young Lords distributed their newspaper, *Palante*, primarily among other youth. At one point, they were moving "1300 [papers] a week, relying mainly on high school salesmen and women in Edison, Franklin, William Penn, Kensington and Dobbins [High Schools]."[158] The Lords and Panthers also joined with other community organizations to sue the city over police brutality.[159] Police misconduct was of particular importance to youth, who were among the most likely to fall victim to mistreatment. When the Panthers hosted the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention at Temple in 1970, they discouraged an "excited young group" from marching on City Hall, leading one journalist to note they had "saved skulls and probably lives."[160]

In addition, the groups played a role in reducing conflict among youth groups. Before the Young Lords even existed in the city, the Panthers held an "orientation" for gang members in the Spring Garden area with the goal of reducing violence and promoting unity. Acknowledging the large Puerto Rican population nearby, the Panthers said they expected "those brothers" to come since they were "caught up in the same bag."[161] In the summer of 1970, both the Young Lords and Black Panthers intervened to cool a potential battle over gang violence. As Don Hamilton of the Lighthouse described, "When the Zu[l]u Nation, an active gang south of us, was involved in the killing of a Puerto Rican man, the Lords and the Panthers decided that the open warfare

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1970; Len Lear, "COPPAR Denies Young Lords Involved in Burning of North Philadelphia Taproom," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 25 Aug 1970.

[158] Kimmel, "¡You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!," 91.

[159] Robert Rafsky, "Court Asked to Name 'Special Master' to Hear Complaints against Police," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 9 Mar 1971, Young Lords, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[160] The Convention took place amid a tense atmosphere, with police ready to seize upon any hint of disorderly conduct. Nora Sayre, *Sixties Going on Seventies* (New York: Arbor House, 1973), 66.

[161] Unnamed spokesman for Panthers, quoted in "Black Panthers Seeking to End Gang Killings," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 8 Nov 1969; "10 Youth Gangs Ok Truce, Black Panthers Report," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 10 Nov 1969, Police - Phila. Community Relations 1969, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

between their respective ethnic groups would not be in the best interest of their community. Both agreed to 'cool' their people, which they did successfully, avoiding a major disruption with all the needless problems it would have created. This not only gained them respect but it also attests to some of the power they have with the local people."[162] Other such attempts were less successful. Wilfredo Rojas described the Lords' approach to local gangs: "Our whole thing was political – we're brothers, we're Puerto Ricans, we're blacks – we shouldn't be fighting each other. The enemy is the system. We have to beat the system. These young guys weren't trying to hear that. They were about turf."[163]

Through their breakfast programs and many other efforts, the Young Lords and Black Panthers influenced other youth in Philadelphia. They brought black and Latino children together to eat and espoused a philosophy of unity in their publications, campaigns against police brutality, and efforts to reduce gang violence. Their high visibility and daring attitudes ensured that their actions and beliefs were well known in the community.

4.8 SHARED SPACES AND EXPERIENCES

From the mid-1960s to the 1980s, black and Latino youth in North Philadelphia increasingly shared the same spaces. Most obviously, they attended the same schools. But in addition to classrooms, black and Latino youth were likely to meet in a multiplicity of nonacademic locations ranging from day care to street corners to recreation centers. On rare occasions, black and Latino youth clashed over personal or territorial issues. But overall, these integrated sites

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[162] Hamilton, "Breakfast Program," 2-3.
[163] Wilfredo Rojas, interview quoted in Whalen, "Bridging Homeland and Barrio Politics," 114.

forged common experiences among black and Latino children. In some cases, those common experiences helped build toward a larger, shared group identity that transcended boundaries of race and ethnicity. At the least, those commonalities served as a countervailing force against what otherwise might have remained completely separate black and Latino social spheres.

5.0 AT HOME: BLACK AND LATINO STRUGGLES FOR BASIC RESOURCES

> *My clients are middle-class black people who are working hard to preserve their houses and their neighborhood. They resent something created solely for the Hispanic community.*[1]

Black and Latino Philadelphians faced many of the same barriers in their struggles to obtain and maintain basic resources in the postwar city. This chapter considers their efforts to improve their lives in the areas of welfare rights, food access, and housing. From the late sixties into the eighties, black and Latino communities mostly worked separately on specific initiatives that would benefit one group or the other. They were increasingly likely, though, to join forces when pushing for change on broad policy matters that would clearly benefit both groups. They did so by forming myriad community organizations and involving those organizations in broader coalitions.

5.1 WELFARE RIGHTS

The range of programs that came to be known as welfare arose out of the Social Security Act of 1935 and was originally intended to provide temporary assistance for white widows and young

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[1] Bruce Boyle, "Poor Pledge to Build 'Tent City' If Public Housing Goes Unbuilt," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 8 Jun 1978, Spring Garden Civic Assoc., Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

children. Welfare administration was delegated first to the states and then to the county level, creating large variations in services offered and clientele served.[2] In Philadelphia, tens of thousands of families received services from the Department of Public Assistance (DPA) and far more were eligible.[3] Those families were geographically concentrated in a few areas of the city, including North Philadelphia.

By the fifties, the demographics of Philadelphia welfare recipients were shifting as black women increasingly received services. In part, this resulted from black migration from the South, which changed the city's racial balance overall. Black women were also overrepresented on the welfare rolls because of their greater likelihood of having children out of wedlock and the exclusion of domestic workers from unemployment insurance.[4] Activism by black females played a significant role as well.

Puerto Ricans had a much smaller presence on the welfare rolls.[5] Language and a lack of information presented barriers for would-be welfare recipients, who could easily spend hours waiting for help only to find they were not in the right place to apply.[6] Community Legal

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[2] For Philadelphia residents, the local agency was the Philadelphia Department of Public Assistance (DPA). Welfare was overseen at the county level by the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, which had very limited power. State administrators, housed in the Pennsylvania Department of Public Assistance (which was later merged into a larger Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare) held the most sway over the program. The term welfare primarily referred to direct financial assistance from the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) program, named as such at both the state and federal levels. The federal government later changed its program name to Aid to Families with Dependent Children or AFDC. In practice, welfare also encompassed benefits from other programs including housing subsidies, food stamps and nutritional assistance, and health care.

[3] In 1967, forty to fifty thousand Philadelphia families were receiving benefits. There was considerable turnover in the program, so over the years it reached a larger proportion of the population than any one year's statistics would indicate. "Petition Demands 'Rights and Respect' for Persons Getting Public Assistance," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 30 Jun 1967, Welfare Rights Organization - Phila. 1967, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[4] Lisa Levenstein, *A Movement without Marches: African American Women and the Politics of Poverty in Postwar Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 36.

[5] Even in 1968, the city's Public Welfare Department claimed to have little contact with Puerto Ricans. Carmen Sylvia Garcia, "Study of the Initial Involvement in the Social Services by the Puerto Rican Migrants in Philadelphia" (DSW diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1968), 42.

[6] In one such case, a Puerto Rican man who wanted to apply for welfare sat in Traffic Court for an hour before being set straight by a bilingual speeder. Michael Kimmel, "¡You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!," *Philadelphia Magazine*, Oct 1971, 94.

Services began translating welfare literature into Spanish in order to address these problems.[7] Aside from language barriers, Puerto Ricans generally utilized social service agencies less than their black counterparts. Many found the agencies impersonal, confusing, or even outright hostile.[8] But those Puerto Ricans that did receive welfare depended on it. Jose and Rose Campos lived in North Philadelphia with six children. Due to the couple's poor health and inadequate wage income, "life center[ed] around the check from DPA" and food often ran out before the next check arrived.[9]

Minority women consistently fought the government over welfare issues. As historian Lisa Levenstein has documented, by the late fifties and early sixties they faced increasing hostility from politicians and the general public. Critics of welfare felt tax dollars were being wasted on undeserving women who were lazy or promiscuous. In response, program administrators tried to eliminate fraud and cut costs, in the process making life on welfare less attractive to potential recipients. Welfare beneficiaries, on the other hand, viewed assistance as a legal right and pushed for more resources to make their lives easier.[10] These clashing perspectives drove recurring political battles alongside everyday friction in service provision. Relationships between clients and case workers were often fraught, in part due to heavy caseloads and high employee turnover. The Campos family worked with five different case workers in five years, and only two of those workers spoke Spanish. This inspired "more fear

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[7] "Communiy Legal Services, Capsule Summary B-17," revised Mar 1969, Box 4 Folder Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Committee, Community Services Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of Operations, Field Coordination Division, NARA.
[8] Puerto Ricans faced many of the same difficulties as their black counterparts in applying for welfare. These included difficulty with transportation to agency offices, finding childcare, and confusion over the paperwork involved. Puerto Ricans also faced an additional language barrier. Gabriel Coll, "The Puerto Rican and the Agencies," paper presented at Puerto Rican seminar at NSC, 31 Mar 1967, Box 62 Folder 1, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[9] "A Puerto Rican Family in Transition," 21 Apr 1969, 3, Box 61 Folder 4, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[10] Levenstein, *Movement without Marches*, 32-33.

than trust."[11] Recurring strikes by welfare workers only exacerbated the situation, and payments were sometimes suspended due to state budget impasses.[12]

During the fifties, women assisted each other through informal personal networks, sharing information on what to expect during the application process.[13] By the mid-sixties, women began to organize formally, founding the Philadelphia Welfare Rights Organization (PWRO) in May 1967 to bring together a number of neighborhood welfare rights groups. PWRO in turn stood as one city chapter of an emerging national movement.[14] One newspaper dubbed the group a "new-style women's organization" that had 330 dues-paying members in just five months.[15] Within a few years, membership increased ten-fold.[16] Through its activism, PWRO distinguished itself as "the most dynamic local group in the country," and was tapped to lead organizing workshops at a national convention on welfare rights.[17]

PWRO, though primarily black, made efforts to reach out to Latino welfare recipients. Roxanne Jones, the group's first chair, had a firm belief that in order to be successful, the "poor,

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[11] "Puerto Rican Family," 4.

[12] Strikes occurred in 1973 and 1975 and a state budget impasse temporarily halted payments in 1977. "Welfare Staffs Strike," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 10 Jul 1973, Welfare Rights Organization - Philadelphia 1971 to 1974, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Sam W. Pressley, "Poor Are Having 'a Tough Time' During Pa. Strike," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 9 Jul 1975, Welfare Rights Organization - Philadelphia 1971 to 1974, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jim Smith, "Welfare Recipients File Suit," *Philadelphia Daily News*, 18 Aug 1977, Welfare Rights Organization - Philadelphia 1977-1979, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[13] Levenstein, *Movement without Marches*, 43-44.

[14] "Drive on to Organize Reliefers into Political Force; Welfare Rights Movement Has 10 Chapters in City," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 8 Apr 1967; "Organize Selves to Gain More Relief, Poor Told," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 22 Apr 1967, Welfare Rights Organization - Phila. 1967, Bulletin Clippings, TUA. On the welfare rights movement elsewhere, see Felicia Kornbluh, *The Battle for Welfare Rights: Politics and Poverty in Modern America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Premilla Nadasen, *Welfare Warriors: The Welfare Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Annelise Orleck, *Storming Caesars Palace: How Black Mothers Fought Their Own War on Poverty* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2005).

[15] Nancy Burden, "Women on Relief Would Like a Raise," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 22 Oct 1967, Welfare Rights Organization Phila. 1967, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[16] "WRO Head Outlines Goals," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 29 Jul 1972, Welfare Rights Organization Philadelphia 1971 to 1974, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[17] Kitsi Burkhart, "11 Phila. Delegates to Join in WRO Conference," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 21 Jul 1971, Welfare Rights Organization - Philadelphia 1971 to 1974, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

rich, black, brown, and white" had to "work together and have faith in each other."[18] Louise Brookins, who chaired the group after Jones, explained, "Most people think that WRO is a Black organization, but I look upon it as a peoples' organization. We are concerned with issues that involve all people." Brookins specifically wanted to "see more whites and Puerto Ricans in WRO."[19]

In August 1967, just three months after it was founded, the group reached out to Nationalities Service Center to have its newsletter, *Straight Talk*, translated into Spanish. PWRO hoped this would be a "beginning step in interesting the Spanish-speaking people in Welfare Rights."[20] In a welcome message, PWRO explained that it hoped to gather a Spanish-speaking group soon and asked those interested to contact Marie Mendoza at Concilio.[21] In its Welfare Rights Handbook, PWRO also reminded recipients that if an applicant did "not speak English well," they were entitled to assistance.[22] Efforts to reach out to the Latino population found some success. By 1969, PWRO chair Roxanne Jones recognized the efforts of "Ada Nazario of Spanish No. '1' Chapter," who had "turned the Girard District of DPA upside down." Nazario had also won an election for corresponding secretary of the organization.[23]

One of PWRO's earliest victories was convincing downtown department stores to offer credit to welfare recipients.[24] The organization proceeded to stage dramatic demonstrations in the

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[18] Roxanne Jones, "Report of the Chairman," *Straight Talk*, 4 Mar 1969, Box 6 Welfare Rights Organization - Haddington and Phila 1969, Acc 321 Haddington Leadership Organization, TUA.
[19] "WRO Head Outlines Goals."
[20] Susan Hiatt to Mrs. Jaipol, 21 Aug 1967, Box 54 Folder 41, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[21] Philadelphia Welfare Rights Organization, "For Spanish Edition: Welcome to Spanish-Speaking Recipients," c.1967, Box 54 Folder 41, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[22] Philadelphia Welfare Rights Organization, "Phila. Welfare Rights Handbook," revised Feb 1969, Box 7 Folder 36, Acc 520/531/552 YWCA Kensington, TUA.
[23] Jones, "Report of the Chairman." PWRO also appeared in a guide for Puerto Rican residents. See "Resource Guide for Puerto Ricans," n.d., Box 15 Folder 12, MSS 114 Spanish Merchants Association, HSP.
[24] This local success led to a national boycott of Sears stores by the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) in 1969. NWRO's pickets and "shop-ins" did not convince Sears, but fear of similar tactics led competitor

following years to press for additional resources. One group of mothers tried to sell their blood to raise funds for winter shoes for their children, but most were turned away due to iron deficiency.[25] In November 1968, five hundred women and children, "black and white," sat in at the State Department of Welfare office to demand a winter clothing grant of fifty dollars per person.[26] PWRO repeatedly took the fight to the state capitol in Harrisburg, sending busloads of members to demonstrate and demand meetings with legislators.[27] On one occasion, capitol employees were so alarmed by PWRO's visit that they closed the cafeteria and newsstand, afraid the welfare recipients would steal food.[28] PWRO also pressed to have members present in county welfare offices in order to act as advisors and advocates for recipients; the state eventually agreed. Employees of the County Board of Assistance resented their presence, saying they were disruptive and compromised client privacy.[29]

PWRO won notable successes. By early 1969 their pressure had increased the dollar amount of welfare grants. At the time, Pennsylvania correlated levels of assistance with the standard of living index from 1957. PWRO activists understandably argued that the state should use a more current index to reflect price inflation in consumer goods, particularly food. Lawmakers compromised by raising levels of assistance from 70 percent to 90 percent of the 1957 standard of living index. Meanwhile, by raising consciousness about welfare among low-

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Montgomery Ward to extend credit to NWRO members. Madeleine Adamson and Seth Borgos, *This Mighty Dream: Social Protest Movements in the United States* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 115.

[25] Alfred Klimcke, "[. . .] Blood," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 9 Nov 1967, Welfare Rights Organization - Phila. 1967, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[26] Ron Whitehorn, "Welfare Mothers Sit-In," *Temple Free Press*, 25 Nov 1968, TSC; Paul M. Washington and David McI. Gracie, *"Other Sheep I Have": The Autobiography of Father Paul M. Washington* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 83 (quote).

[27] Descriptions of PWRO demonstrations in Harrisburg appear in Duke Kaminski, "400 on Relief Sit in at Capitol for Yule Bonus," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 19 Nov 1968, Welfare Rights Organization - 1968 Phila., Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[28] David Konkel, "Blacks Fail to Gain Access Given Whites," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 18 Nov 1973, Welfare Rights Organization Philadelphia 1971 to 1974, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[29] "500 Ask WRO Ouster from Welfare Offices," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 15 Jul 1969, Welfare Rights Organization - Phila. Office Space, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

income residents, the group grew recipient rolls from 110,000 to 180,000 in just one year. They also removed procedural barriers for prospective welfare recipients by eliminating residency requirements and making utility services available without an initial deposit.[30]

In addition to activism connected directly to welfare grants, PWRO served as a watchdog organization on related issues of employment, housing, food access, and education, often employing a close relationship with attorneys at Community Legal Services to file lawsuits for relief.[31] The organization objected to the state's recurring attempts to force welfare recipients into employment or training programs. PWRO supported improved employment prospects for women on welfare. But it resisted coercive state requirements and training programs that taught few valuable skills and had insufficient space.[32]

In the realm of housing, a big concern for welfare recipients was the Philadelphia Housing Authority's refusal to admit unwed mothers; PWRO helped overturn this provision.[33] PWRO also objected when shelter allowances increased, but were slated to be paid directly to the Philadelphia Housing Authority. The group wanted women to have the option of using the money for food, clothing, or other needs and argued that welfare recipients paid higher rents than non-recipients.[34] In addition, PWRO joined forces with Tenant Action Group and the Resident Advisory Board to challenge rent increases at properties with persistent housing and fire code

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[30] "People's Fund Profile [WRO]," *Thursday's Drummer*, 14 Jan 1971, NMC, FLP.
[31] On the general role of lawyers in the welfare rights struggle, see Martha F. Davis, *Brutal Need: Lawyers and the Welfare Rights Movement, 1960-1973* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).
[32] Fletcher J. Clarke, "Welfare Reform Assailed by 3 Phila. Rights Groups," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 18 Dec 1971, Welfare Rights Organization - Philadelphia 1971 to 1974, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; "'We Want to Work' Pickets Chant," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 1 Aug 1972, Welfare Rights Organization - Philadelphia 1971 to 1974, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[33] "People's Fund Profile [WRO]."
[34] Eugene L. Meyer, "WRO to Fight Limitation on Rise in Relief Grants," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 18 Feb 1970, Box 8 Folder 11, Acc 520/531/552 YWCA Kensington, TUA.

violations.[35]

PWRO remained concerned about food access. The group pointed out that the cost-of-living standards used to determine welfare allotments were still pegged at 1957 levels even though food prices had risen 65 percent in the intervening years. To dramatize the issue, they sent requests for food aid to representatives of Japan, China, and the Soviet Union in 1973.[36] They also joined in lawsuits to maintain and increase food stamp allotments.[37] PWRO chair Louise Brookins promised continued pressure in Harrisburg and said that if nothing else worked, welfare recipients would simply enter grocery stores, sit down, and eat.[38]

PWRO also pushed for education reform, but aroused controversy and critics in the process. The organization felt that Title I funds allotted by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for low-income children were being so dispersed by the school district that they made little difference. Beginning in 1973 the group joined with parents to sue the state and have the funds redistributed. As a result of court decisions and the school board's intransigence, tens of millions of dollars of funding were temporarily withheld from Philadelphia schools while a new distribution scheme was developed. The funding delay and the later removal of Title I funding from some schools left many parents dissatisfied.[39] For example, at Cramp Elementary in Kensington, the school's loss of Title I funding meant that bilingual teachers were much more

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[35] Harmon Y. Gordon, "Project Tenants Sue over Conditions," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 7 Jan 1976, Welfare Rights Organization - Philadelphia 1975-1976, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[36] Harry Kendall, "3 Countries Shun Food Plea, Welfare Rights Unit Says," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 20 Oct 1973, Welfare Rights Organization Philadelphia 1971 to 1974, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[37] Laura Murray, "Woman Lawyer Suing to Revise Rules for Issuance of Food Stamps," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 5 Jan 1972, Welfare Rights Organization - Philadelphia 1971 to 1974, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Bill Collins, "Suit Filed to Stop Slash in Food Stamp Program," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 22 Jan 1975, Welfare Rights Organization - Philadelphia 1975-1976, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[38] Kendall, "3 Countries Shun."
[39] Gertrude S. Goldberg, "Class Action, Community Organization, and School Reform," *IRCD Bulletin* 11, no. 2 (1976): 3, 5-6, ERIC database, http://www.eric.ed.gov/PDFS/ED129939.pdf; Margaret Halsey, "Challenge of Title I Funding May Hurt Many Phila. Pupils, Schoolman Says," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 26 Apr 1973, Welfare Rights Organization Philadelphia 1971 to 1974, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

difficult to obtain.[40]

During PWRO's heyday, it drew strength from a base membership comprised primarily of black females, but also included Puerto Rican women. The successes that PWRO won, such as department store credit accounts and increased assistance grants, benefited all Philadelphia residents on welfare.

5.2 FOOD ACCESS AND CONSUMER RIGHTS

Black and Latino Philadelphians also pursued similar strategies to improve their access to food and their relationships with merchants. Their actions built upon a local history of consumer boycotts. In 1960, Reverend Leon Sullivan collaborated with other black clergy to form the Four Hundred Ministers, a group that sought to expand employment opportunities by harnessing black consumer power. The Ministers chose private employers with a poor track record in equitable hiring and little inclination to negotiate. They then used their congregations as a dissemination network, asking members to withhold their business from that firm until it changed its hiring policies. Thus, a campaign of "selective patronage" was born, recycling a slogan from earlier northern boycotts in the thirties: "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work." During the early sixties, the campaign targeted firms in multiple industries: baking companies, soda bottlers, petroleum retailers, ice cream producers, newspapers, and supermarkets. It succeeded in changing hiring policies both at targeted companies and those hoping to avoid a boycott.[41]

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[40] Jack Smyth, "Board Helps Kensington School," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 18 Oct 1973, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Miscellaneous 1971-74, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[41] Guian A. McKee, *The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 115-23; Matthew J. Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in*

Due to geographic constraints, black and Latino residents of North Philadelphia did not have the wide array of grocery shopping options open to suburbanites. Community members thus fought a battle on many fronts to secure higher quality food at lower prices from responsible retailers. Supermarkets operated in North Philadelphia, but they were fewer, smaller, and more stripped-down than their suburban counterparts.[42] The Acme and Pantry Pride chains had the largest presence, and both repeatedly drew criticism from residents over a number of issues: prices, service, cleanliness, suppliers, and employment practices.[43] One Pantry Pride market, located at Third Street and Lehigh Avenue where it served black, Latino, and white customers, proved particularly problematic. In 1970, it was temporarily closed due to a rat infestation.[44] It was also accused of overcharging for Goya canned goods in a neighborhood with a considerable Puerto Rican population.[45] In 1972, the People's Food Action Committee picketed the store for over three weeks, turning hundreds of customers away in the process. The protesters demanded lower prices, better store conditions, and changes in employment practices. They drew support from a broad base of neighborhood residents and community organizations, including the Young Lords and the Black Economic Development Conference, a group that sought to redistribute

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Philadelphia (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 102-09; Leon H. Sullivan, *Build Brother Build* (Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Company, 1969), 161-79. Robert Weems notes that larger businesses were likely motivated by economic pragmatism, rather than a real commitment to greater racial equality, in conceding to the demands of such campaigns. See Robert E. Weems, Jr., *Desegregating the Dollar: African American Consumerism in the Twentieth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 70-79. For more on boycott campaigns in Philadelphia and other cities, see Stacy Kinlock Sewell, "The 'Not-Buying Power' of the Black Community: Urban Boycotts and Equal Employment Opportunity, 1960-1964," *Journal of African American History* 89, no. 2 (2004): 135-51.

[42] David McAllister, "Between the Suburbs and the Ghetto: Racial and Economic Change in Working-Class Philadelphia, 1933-1985" (PhD diss., Temple University, 2006), 274.

[43] "Acme Sells 'Scab' Lettuce, Local Farm Workers Charge," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 28 Nov 1970; "Consumers Are 'Fed up' with Supermarket Prices, Service," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 17 Aug 1974. Acme, Food Fair, and A&P were all targets of the "selective patronage" campaign in early sixties. McKee, *Problem of Jobs*, 121.

[44] "Rat Wastes Found in Food at North Phila. Pantry Pride," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 22 Sep 1970.

[45] Goya was a popular brand name of Hispanic foods. "'We Save You More!,'" *Kensington Peoples Press*, Nov 1970, 3, Flat file, Coll 1970 Lighthouse, HSP.

wealth to the black community.[46]

In addition to urban supermarkets, North Philadelphians shopped at corner stores, many of which survived the competition of larger stores through convenient locations and close relationships with their customers. Still, between 1967 and 1977, almost two thousand of the city's small corner stores closed.[47] Race and ethnicity shaped retail patterns to some extent. An early study found that three-fourths of Puerto Ricans surveyed shopped for food in a store where some Spanish was spoken. Bodegas, small shops that were usually family-owned and carried Hispanic foods, also offered familiar products and easy credit. As their knowledge of English improved, though, Puerto Ricans were more likely to patronize other establishments.[48] It was not uncommon for blacks to shop in Puerto Rican bodegas or Puerto Ricans to venture into black-owned shops; both blacks and Puerto Ricans would have sometimes shopped at stores owned by whites.[49]

In the late sixties, an alternative to supermarkets and corner stores appeared in the form of food co-ops and buying clubs. Soon these clubs could take advantage of streamlined, bulk procurement through larger associations like the Philadelphia Federation of Consumer Societies and the Food Co-op Project of Opportunities Industrialization Center. By 1976, there were at least ten local food co-ops or buying clubs in Philadelphia; these served both black and Latino

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[46] "Boycott of Lehigh Ave. Pantry Pride a Success," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 4 Apr 1972; "North Phila.-Kensington Supermaket Boycott Now in Its Fourth Week," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 25 Apr 1972. For background on the Black Economic Development Conference, see Matthew J. Countryman, "Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia, 1940-1971" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1998), 606-13.
[47] McAllister, "Between the Suburbs," 225-26, 274.
[48] Arthur Siegel, Harold Orlans, and Loyal Greer, "Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia: A Study of Their Demographic Characteristics, Problems and Attitudes," Apr 1954, 41, Box A-620, 148.4 Commission on Human Relations, CA; Stephen J. Sansweet, "Crowded Rooms Expensive but 'Barrio' Offers Security," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 3 Jun 1968, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Inquirer Series 1968, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[49] Roman Adrian Cybriwsky, "Social Relations and the Spatial Order in the Urban Environment: A Study of Life in a Neighborhood in Central Philadelphia" (PhD diss., Pennyslvania State University, 1972), 249-50.

residents.[50] Other solutions appeared as well. One Spring Garden program provided free food to those who were temporarily laid off and in need. It served an integrated area and was in need of Puerto Rican volunteers.[51]

Issues of food access fed into a larger trend of interest in consumer issues among black and Latino residents. During the sixties and seventies, they increasingly made use of consumer protection groups and ombudsmen programs. These included programs administered through Model Cities, the Consumers Education and Protective Association (CEPA), and efforts by Concilio.[52] CEPA rallied to the cause of black and Puerto Rican individuals, demonstrating against a television store on behalf of Martha Potter and picketing a bank in the case of Isabel Rodriguez.[53] Residents also took their complaints straight to the District Attorney's office; in 1974 "more than 40 Black and Puerto Rican couples" had filed grievances against a mattress store in North Philadelphia.[54] In improving their access to food and working against exploitation by merchants, black and Latino Philadelphians fought the same fight.

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[50] Ian M. Harris, "How to Beat the Supermarket Game," *Thursday's Drummer*, 18 Mar 1971, NMC, FLP; "Food Co-Op," *Kensington Peoples Press*, Nov 1970, Flat File, Coll 1970 Lighthouse, HSP; Nutritional Development Services, Archdiocese of Philadelphia, "Fact Sheet on Food Programs in Philadelphia," Oct 1976, Box 4 Series III: Archdiocese of Philadelphia, 1976: Nutrition, Acc 284/309/405 Philadelphia Council of Neighborhood Organizations, TUA.

[51] "The Community Marches On: Community Food Referral Service," *Spring Garden News/Noticiero Spring Garden*, Vol. 2 No. 3, Mar 1971, Box 52 RAGS Clippings - North Phila., Acc 107/124/141/161/162/285 HADV, TUA.

[52] Gwen Winfree to Neighbor, 23 Jan 1973, Box 49 NDP Correspondence, Acc 107/124/141/161/162/285 HADV, TUA; "2nd Annual Spanish Consumer Fair Held at Potter-Thomas School," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 24 May 1975; Joe Davidson, "Consumer Aid Now Carries Bigger Stick," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 5 Jan 1975, Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Victor Livingston, "3 Phila. Agencies Answer Consumers Cries for Help," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 2 Sep 1975, Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[53] Hara Lipman, "CEPA Pickets Muntz TV," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 9 Feb 1970, TSC; Roger Lathe, "Up against the Bank, Mother," *Thursday's Drummer*, 4 Mar 1971, NMC, FLP. For more on CEPA, see Len Lear, "CEPA Fights Consumer Fraud," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 16 Jun 1969, TSC.

[54] J. Brantley Wilder, "40 Couples File Complaints against 'The Bedroom,'" *Philadelphia Tribune*, 13 Jul 1974.

5.3 HOUSING

In securing decent, affordable housing, black and Latino residents faced similar struggles against racial discrimination, poor physical conditions, unresponsive landlords, and a laconic city government. In broader efforts such as pushing for policy changes and rent strikes, black and Latino residents were likely to cooperate. Black and Latino groups tended to work separately, however, to create or rehabilitate discrete housing units. These tendencies reflect a tension between two major influences. The recognition of their shared interests in changing housing policy and conditions encouraged some black-Latino cooperation. Yet the desire of each group to ensure the availability of quality, affordable housing for itself exerted a countervailing force.

Black and Puerto Rican residents faced barriers of discrimination in their search for housing, both overt and subtle.[55] When attempting to rent or buy dwellings, blacks and Puerto Ricans were often outright refused or implored to leave when neighbors objected to their presence.[56] "Large and hostile" demonstrations by neighbors occasionally occurred; the Commission on Human Relations recorded four such cases during 1960 alone.[57] For whites in Fairmount in 1972, the most pressing concern was a shared fear of the encroachment of blacks and Puerto Ricans from adjacent areas.[58] Neighborhood sentiments combined with the real estate

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[55] Commission on Human Relations, "Intergroup Problems in Housing: 1958-1960," Aug 1961, 1, Box A-621, 148.4 Commission on Human Relations, CA; David McAllister, "Realtors and Racism in Working-Class Philadelphia, 1945-1970," in *African American Urban History since World War II*, ed. Kenneth L. Kusmer and Joe W. Trotter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 123-41.
[56] Summaries of a number of individual cases appear in Commission on Human Relations, "Intergroup Problems," 9-19. For descriptions of discrimination against Puerto Ricans in Spring Garden, see Carmen Teresa Whalen, *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia: Puerto Rican Workers and Postwar Economies* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 190-91. For an indication of how real estate was transferred in Fairmount, see Cybriwsky, "Social Relations," 373-85.
[57] Commission on Human Relations, "Intergroup Problems," 5.
[58] Cybriwsky, "Social Relations," 29.

industry and loan practices to closely channel the residential migration of minorities.[59] Even when they could buy a house in an outlying area, minorities expected to pay a premium. Dolores Rosario, a police officer, explained, “The same house you buy for $15,000 in the Northeast, I have to pay $25,000 for, that is, if the owner hasn’t already taken the For Sale sign out of the window when he saw me coming.”[60] As a result of their general exclusion from outlying areas and the scarcity of affordable housing, black and Puerto Rican residential areas overlapped.[61]

In these shared spaces, black and Puerto Rican neighbors coexisted relatively peacefully, if not always harmoniously. In 1966, a plan to house Puerto Rican and black families together in a demonstration triplex for the Used House program foundered temporarily amid concerns over black-Latino tension. Public housing officials pushed ahead with their plan for an integrated unit, but carefully selected the resident families in order to minimize any potential racial conflict.[62] The greater concern about racial tension was reserved for the more “explosive” prospect of “a real racial incident in Spring Garden – Negroes and Puerto Ricans picketing (and fighting)

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[59] The Puerto Rican population tended to move northward from the Spring Garden or Lehigh areas with greater prosperity. Ramon A. Velazquez and Carmen A. Bolden, “Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, Inc. ‘Project Welcome’ Progress Report,” 30 Apr 1972, 5, Box 59 Folder 5, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP; Maria Quiñones-Sánchez, interview by author, 4 Jan 2010; Sansweet, “Crowded Rooms Expensive.”
[60] Quoted in Charles F. Thomson, “Puerto Ricans Feel New Wave of Pride,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 13 Jun 1971, Puerto Ricans in Phila. 1969-1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[61] Some specific examples of references to mixed black and Latino areas: The area from Front St. to Hancock and Dauphin to Lehigh Ave was described as “made up of blacks and Puerto Ricans” in Jack Smyth, “Agency Plans Attack on Kensington’s Woes,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 19 Aug 1973, Lighthouse Settlement - 1973-74, Bulletin Clippings, TUA. The area around St. Barnabas Episcopal Church at Third and Dauphin streets was “predominantly black with a scattering of Puerto Rican families and some older whites” according to Peter H. Binzen, “N. Phila. Vicar Blames Rape of Girl on City’s Failure to Clean up Slums,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 24 Apr 1969, St. Barnabas Episcopal Church - 3rd and Dauphin, Bulletin Clippings, TUA. St. Edward Elementary school was described as “in the middle of the ghetto, where Puerto Ricans and Black low-income families live” in Nereida Rodriguez to Alicia de Diego, 17 Sep 1970, Box 61 Folder 5, Acc 625 NSC, TUA. A geographer’s study in 1972 described how Corinthian Avenue, a street on the edge of the Fairmount neighborhood, was mostly black and Puerto Rican, and that half the Puerto Ricans in the study area lived there, “in close proximity to the black residents.” Cybriwsky, “Social Relations,” 109, 164 (quote). In 1988, a study of the Fairhill neighborhood noted that blacks and Puerto Ricans had respective areas of concentration, but no clear boundary between them. The Resource Center for Human Services, “Help from Within: A Case Study of Human Service Delivery in a North Philadelphia Neighborhood,” Mar 1988, 98-99, Box 2, MS91-107 Episcopal Community Services, HSP.
[62] [Emily Achtenberg], Achtenberg Log, 1-5 Dec 1966, 5.

whites."[63]

Notes from a Nationalities Services caseworker document how fluid neighborly dynamics were. Individual relationships between blacks and Latinos sometimes existed in tension with general feelings about the other group. One Puerto Rican woman, Mrs. Navarro, moved into a rehabilitated house in 1968 and had some trouble fitting into her new, predominantly black neighborhood. She was friendly with the black woman next door, Mrs. Bertha Harns, who used to be the block captain and spoke some Spanish to her. They had similar goals of keeping the street clean and removing abandoned cars.[64] At the same time, though, Navarro did not feel at home in the area because of "the degree of poverty, the thefts, and unfriendly neighbors." She wanted to live around more Puerto Ricans, and her case worker attributed this feeling to a combination of cultural identification and "a series of upsetting experiences with Negroes that led to her negative attitudes about them." Navarro eventually decided against further involvement with the block organization and stopped attending community meetings at Edison High School.[65]

These groups also mixed in public housing developments, where blacks predominated, but the small Puerto Rican presence increased over time.[66] Some Puerto Ricans were hesitant to move into public housing, feeling the units offered limited choices and the projects being "predominantly Negro," they were "not considered places for 'Spanish' people." For others,

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[63] Turner Log, 10 May 1967, 2.
[64] "Individual Conference with Mrs. Carmen Navarro," 25 Apr 1968, Box 28 Folder 32A, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[65] "Street Cleaning," 20 Jun 1968, Box 28 Folder 32A, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[66] In the mid-fifties, the PHA's policy on assigning Puerto Ricans to public housing units equated to "confusion" in trying to judge the skin color of the head of each applicant family and then assign them appropriately. Robert B. Johnson, "Review of the Integration Program of the Philadelphia Housing Authority," 1956, 83, Box 180 Folders 1925-31, URB 3 HADV, TUA. By the late sixties, Puerto Ricans seem to be generally considered "nonwhite" in discussions of public housing demographics. One table describes the projects at Harrison, Cambridge, Norris, and Spring Garden, which certainly would have housed some Puerto Ricans, as being 96.7 percent nonwhite. "Occupancy of Public Housing Projects by Race, 1968 and 1966," c.1968, Box 285 Folder 5016, URB 3 HADV, TUA.

available public housing was outside of their geographic comfort zone, or they worried about language barriers leaving them socially isolated. In addition, many Puerto Rican families were simply too large for public housing units.[67] The Spring Garden Apartments on Green Street was one project where a sizeable number of Puerto Ricans did reside. PHA hoped to make the complex more integrated by holding open vacancies there, but "white and Negro families kept turning them down."[68]

In earlier years, tension existed between black and Puerto Rican public housing tenants. At the Spring Garden homes in the mid-fifties, the groups seemed to be at "daggers points" due to several factors. First, many Puerto Ricans residents did not want to be considered black, which many blacks in turn interpreted as condescension. Second, language barriers contributed to paranoia between the groups. Third, a sense of territoriality affected relations as the surrounding neighborhood absorbed increasing numbers of Puerto Rican migrants. Lastly, some blacks had a tendency to pass the disparaging treatment they received from whites on to the Puerto Ricans.[69] At least one project manager made efforts to overcome this state of affairs; he set about learning Spanish and encouraged one Puerto Rican mother to teach Spanish to several of her black neighbors.[70]

Black and Latino residents shared an uphill struggle in improving their neighborhoods. Much of the housing stock open to black and Latino residents was in poor physical condition. Many private dwellings in North Philadelphia were subdivided to house multiple families, ensuring greater profit for property owners. Landlords further maximized their profit by

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[67] Joan Dee Koss, "Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia: Migration and Accommodation" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1965), 85; Sansweet, "Crowded Rooms Expensive."
[68] Sansweet, "Crowded Rooms Expensive."
[69] Johnson, "Review of the Integration Program," 31-32.
[70] Johnson, "Review of the Integration Program," 67.

neglecting basic maintenance and repairs, leaving their tenants to suffer the consequences or find a new address. Eventually, some owners simply abandoned their properties rather than deal with upkeep and tax obligations, and the number of vacant houses in North Philadelphia steadily increased from the fifties through the eighties. Scattered site public housing was particularly vulnerable to vandalism, and it was not unusual, for instance, to find that electrical wiring had been ripped out.[71] In one survey, the Department of Licenses & Inspections found that 93 percent of Ludlow dwellings violated the housing code.[72]

The city lacked the financial and personnel resources to deal with the large number of deteriorating and abandoned houses.[73] Mrs. Celeste Rodriquez, a five-year resident of West Kensington, explained, "For four years, I've been trying to do something. They say they'll send a man over. I'll hear from them four months later."[74] Even as the city surveyed problems in Ludlow, it had fifteen vacant positions on the sanitation staff, five rodent control crews had to serve ten health districts, and existing staff was left "overtaxed."[75] City officials were also quick to point out that instead of simply blaming the government, community groups should criticize their neighbors for acts of vandalism.[76] City neglect was so routine that when officials made

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[71] The proportion of vacant units reached as high as 25 percent in some areas of North Philadelphia. See figures given in McAllister, "Between the Suburbs," 268. On vandalism, see "Public Housing in Ludlow Hit by Vandals," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 29 Mar 1971, Mounted Clipping Box 113, Ludlow - Phila. Section, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[72] Eugene L. Meyer, "93% of Ludlow Houses Found Violating City Codes," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 4 Jun 1967, Ludlow Community Association, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[73] "First Warnings Sent on Blighted Buildings," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 30 Apr 1967, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Renewal, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[74] Joe Davidson, "Did City Forget W. Kensington?" *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 12 Jan 1975, Rouse, Mary Mrs. - Civic Leader, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[75] Meyer, "93% of Ludlow Houses."
[76] David Valentine, deputy commissioner at L&I, explained, "I personally recognize that no one from Chestnut Hill is coming into Ludlow to vandalize a building or to rip it down or to rip out the plumbing. I feel the community association would do itself and its community a great justice if it took hold of the people it represents and impressed the fact upon them that they too have an obligation to care for their community." Quoted in Sam W. Pressley, "Owners Start Razing Vacant Building Where North Phila. Girl, 7, Died," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 26 Apr 1973, Ludlow Community Association, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

efforts to exterminate rats and clean up, residents worried the sudden attention was a prelude to redevelopment that would push them out of the neighborhood.[77]

Absent a forceful city response, diverse groups of residents took matters into their own hands, employing a combination of strategies to improve North Philadelphia's housing landscape. Many of these groups combined the concerns and efforts of black and Latino residents. The Area Improvement Committee, a neighborhood group formed with help of a Friends Neighborhood Guild community worker to address deteriorating conditions around 1970, included the "young and old; homeowners and renters; Blacks, Whites and Spanish."[78] Ludlow Community Association represented both black and Puerto Rican residents. Public housing tenants faced off against the Philadelphia Housing Authority through the Resident Advisory Board, which found it necessary to hire a Spanish-speaking staff member by 1971.[79] In Spring Garden, El Comite del Pueblo formed around 1975 "in reaction to what Puerto Rican and black residents saw as an attempt by [middle-class professionals] to drive them out of the neighborhood."[80] In the eighties, Spring Garden United Neighbors still had a membership of both blacks and Puerto Ricans.[81]

Wielding financial leverage was foremost among the strategies used by community groups. Beginning in 1967, Ludlow Community Association (LCA) led a large rent strike in

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[77] Migration Division, "Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia," c.1962, 2, Pamphlet 668-8, General Pamphlet Collection, TUA.
[78] Area Improvement Committee, "A Proposal: A.I.C. Survey No. 2 - Social Economic Survey," 13 Feb 1970, 2, Box 53 Folder RAGS-Model Cities, Acc 107/124/141/161/162/285 HADV, TUA.
[79] "Agency: Resident Advisory Board," *Spring Garden News/Noticiero Spring Garden*, Vol. 2 No. 4, Apr 1971, Box 52 Folder RAGS Clippings, Acc 107/124/141/161/162/285 HADV, TUA.
[80] Jack Smyth, "Garage Project Widens Spring Garden Split," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 12 Jun 1978, El Comite del P.U.E.B.L.O., Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[81] Jeremy Nowak, "Social Space, Political Process, and Community Identity in a Multi-Racial Philadelphia Neighborhood" (PhD diss., New School for Social Research, 1987), 233.

North Philadelphia, feeling that it was the only way to deal with absentee landlords.[82] Because landlords often owned many properties, sometimes under different names, the group employed computer assistance in correlating ownership records.[83] LCA eventually filed suit against thirteen slumlords.[84] Tenant groups in Kensington also hoped to use a rent strike against owners of unfit properties. When they encountered difficulty getting documents from the Department of Licenses and Inspections (L&I), they staged an occupation. The group of fifty demonstrators included "white, black, and spanish people" and "everyone felt good that they were sitting-in together."[85]

Individual tenants also utilized Pennsylvania's rent withholding law to gain influence over landlords who did not perform needed repairs and maintenance.[86] But in order for tenants to qualify, their dwelling had to be declared unfit for habitation by L&I. Jesus Sierra, an inspector who also served as president of Concilio, explained that political pressure had changed inspection criteria, requiring more violations for a house to be declared unfit than in the past.[87] Moreover, city fines were so low, at twenty-five dollars in the late sixties, that landlords had little incentive to comply.[88] Persistence by community groups occasionally paid off. In one instance, El Comite del Pueblo got one Spring Garden landlord fined a grand total of $4,800 for

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[82] "Ludlow Area Tenants Start Computer-Aided Rent Strike," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 8 Oct 1967, Ludlow Community Association, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[83] "Ludlow Area Tenants."
[84] John E. Cooney, "Strike Director Fired in Midst of Drive by Ludlow Association," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 26 Feb 1968, Ludlow Community Association, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[85] Groups represented included the East of Front Street Tenant's Union and the North Tenant's Association, based at the Lighthouse. Some of the demonstrators took part in another action later that month. "Kensington Tenants Sieze L & I," *Kensington Peoples Press*, Apr 1971, TSC.
[86] Some community organizations themselves held rent funds in escrow, at least for a time until that role was taken over by banks. "Hartranft Community Corporation: Ground Breaking Ceremony," 17 Oct 1971, 5-6, Box 9 Folder 12, Acc 469 Floyd Logan, TUA.
[87] Nelson Diaz, "Ahora!," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 29 Apr 1973, Sierra, Jesus M. - Spanish Speaking Unit, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[88] "Ludlow Area Tenants"; "11 Property-Owners Fined for Heating Violations," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 28 Mar 1967, Ludlow - Phila Section, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

housing code violations. That case was the rare exception.[89] By 1977, Marvin Louis of Ludlow Community Association was fed up with the process. Getting L&I approval was simply too slow, so the Association decided to begin holding rent in escrow itself, even if it skirted legal procedures. He explained, "anyone who tries to evict people whose escrow is being held will have to fight us. We'll fight them legally first and then physically."[90]

Residents also organized in tenant unions to gain strength in numbers against financially-advantaged landlords. Legal advice helped groups like these understand their rights in regard to property maintenance and eviction.[91] In 1970 and 1971, a number of community organizations united to form the Coalition Against Slum Housing (CASH), which used legal action to push for the interruption of federal funding until L&I began performing more effectively for tenants. They had some small successes, such as L&I's agreement to print cards in both English and Spanish explaining that it was illegal to increase rent on properties in violation of the housing code.[92] A few years later, the remnants of CASH spawned a new organization, Tenant Action Group (TAG), which focused more on everyday tenant issues through political, rather than legal strategies. As it pressed the city for rent control and a more responsive L&I, TAG succeeded in drawing together concerns of "African American, white, and Latino communities across the city."[93] TAG ran a regular housing clinic in cooperation with Padres Unidos and CLS and also

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[89] "Congratulations to El Comite," *TAG Report*, Aug 1977, Box 4 Folder 24, Acc 580 Tenant Action Group, TUA.

[90] Alfonso D. Brown, Jr., "Tenants Vow Fight on Repairs," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 2 Oct 1977, Ludlow Community Association, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[91] "Tenants Organize to Fight Harassment," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 24 Jan 1971, Spring Garden Community Services Center, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[92] "Calling Cards Tell Tenants Their Rights," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 5 Apr 1971, City Wide Tenants Council, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[93] "A History of the Tenant Action Group," Mar 1975, 1-2, Box 55 Folder 27, Acc 625 NSC, TUA; Andrew Feffer, "The Land Belongs to the People: Reframing Urban Protest in Post-Sixties Philadelphia," in *The World the 60s Made: Politics and Culture in Recent America*, ed. Van Gosse and Richard Moser (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 74 (quote). For more on TAG's approach, see Eva Gladstein, "The Philadelphia Story: Building the Tenant Action Group," *Shelterforce*, October/November 1988, 8-11; Eva Gladstein, "Belinda Mayo: Profile of a Tenant Organizer," *Shelterforce*, July/August 1987, 10-11.

held joint meetings and training sessions with El Comite del Pueblo in Spring Garden.[94] TAG employed direct action tactics as well, picketing L&I in the summer of 1977. They succeeded in wresting some basic reforms, including the consolidation of multiple inspections of a property into one case file, the consolidation of cases against a landlord that owned multiple properties with violations, and the translation of tenant information materials into Spanish.[95] Largely due to TAG's persistence, Philadelphia passed a Tenant Bill of Rights by the late seventies.[96]

In addition, residents pressed the city to address the dangers of vacant houses. Abandoned, decaying structures became havens for drug users and safety hazards for children. In one high-profile case, an elderly woman was raped and murdered after her assailants accessed her apartment through a vacant home.[97] When boarding up the structures seemed insufficient, community groups pushed for demolition.[98] Razing was complicated, however, by the fact that most dwellings were row houses. Even when neighbors succeeded in having L&I tear down a house, if its adjoining wall was not promptly patched, the adjacent house was exposed to weather and also deteriorated.[99]

Community groups also dealt with abandoned housing in their neighborhoods through squatting. In this process, low-income people physically occupied vacant housing units without permission from the owner. They would then attempt to establish residency there. Squatting

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[94] Bilingual flyer for meeting of Tenant Action Group and Padres Unidos, n.d., Box 22 Folder 14, Acc 580 Tenant Action Group, TUA; *TAG Report*, Aug 1977, Box 4 Folder 24, Acc 580 Tenant Action Group, TUA; "Calendar," *TAG Report*, Jun 1977, Box 4 Folder 24, Acc 580 Tenant Action Group, TUA.
[95] "L&I Promises Some Small Changes ," *TAG Report*, Jul 1977, Box 4 Folder 24, Acc 580 Tenant Action Group, TUA.
[96] Feffer, "Land Belongs to the People," 74-75.
[97] "Ludlow Fears Vacant Houses," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 30 Jun 1967, Ludlow - Phila Section, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[98] Fletcher J. Clarke, "Ludlow to Give City a List of 100 'Hazardous' Houses," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 2 Sep 1971, Ludlow Community Association, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[99] Rose DeWolf, "Making the City Notice," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 27 May 1974, Ludlow Community Association, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

served a number of simultaneous purposes. First, it placed roofs over the heads of the poor in an atmosphere of scarce housing. Second, it called dramatic attention to the juxtaposition of vacant housing and residents in need of shelter whose legal access to those properties was limited. Squatters movements took hold in multiple areas of North Philadelphia, involving parallel efforts by black and Latino residents. Milton Street's North Philadelphia Block Development Corporation, a majority black group, started inconspicuously placing tenants in abandoned houses as early as 1976. By the next year, crowds were cutting padlocks off of federally-owned houses. The movement caught on, prompting the actions of other squatters and gaining unlikely supporters in city government and local institutions. Kensington Joint Action Committee managed another group of squatters that included both blacks and Latinos.[100] In Spring Garden, gentrification had nullified the possibility of squatting in most privately-owned homes, but Puerto Ricans practiced it in empty units owned by the PHA.[101]

Community organizations hoping to revive their neighborhoods turned toward housing creation as well, pursuing both rehabilitation and new construction. Changes in federal policy intended to stimulate housing investment in inner city areas helped fuel a number of parallel programs.[102] Philadelphia had begun a Used House program in the early sixties that rehabilitated older homes for use as public housing units. A decade later, it was joined by an Urban

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[100] Feffer, "Land Belongs to the People," 83-85.
[101] Nowak, "Social Space," 203-06.
[102] In the Housing Act of 1968, Section 235 provided government-backed mortgages for inner-city areas that financiers had previously avoided. Section 235 properties proved vulnerable to fraud, as some buyers performed shoddy, cosmetic renovations on older homes and then sold them at a large profit to lower-income families who sometimes had to abandon the "rehabilitated house" because it had so many problems. In some areas, the program may actually have accelerated racial turnover and abandonment rather than countering those trends. See McAllister, "Between the Suburbs," 272-73; R. Allen Hays, *The Federal Government and Urban Housing: Ideology and Change in Public Policy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), 113-15; Kevin Fox Gotham, "Separate and Unequal: The Housing Act of 1968 and the Section 235 Program," *Sociological Forum* 15, no. 1 (2000): 26-29. Section 236 provided grants to nonprofits to build low-income apartments. Many Section 236 projects suffered their own difficulties, in part due to the inexperience of local sponsor groups and cost overruns in construction. Hays, *Federal Government*, 123-28.

Homesteading program that transferred vacant housing to residents for free, provided they spent the time and money to rehabilitate the property.[103] Despite their shortcomings, these programs offered community groups new opportunities to change the housing landscape in their neighborhood.

Several cooperative undertakings sought to rehabilitate deteriorating housing in North Philadelphia and then sell or rent it to low-income families. These efforts involved grassroots community organizations, the Philadelphia Housing Authority (PHA), local corporations, and even the assistance of suburban groups.[104] In Spring Garden, the used house program raised class and racial tensions. The predominantly white Fairmount Parents, Businessmen, and Neighbors Association strongly opposed the project, which they feared would cause overcrowding and depress property values. When members of the Association picketed the Housing Authority, they were met by "an even larger group of Negro, Puerto Rican, and white residents" who supported the program.[105] Low income residents had an ally in Smith Kline French, a local pharmaceutical company that subsidized funding for the project.[106] In the Ludlow area, a major project undertaken by LCA, North City Corporation, and PHA sought to renovate four hundred homes and eventually provide affordable housing for nine hundred families.[107] A separate undertaking

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[103] The program also provided for construction loans at below-market interest rates. Housing Association of the Delaware Valley, "Homesteading: An Urban Alternative," Jun 1975, 1, 12-16, Box 4 Series III: Housing Association of the Delaware Valley - Publications, Acc 284/309/405 Philadelphia Council of Neighborhood Organizations, TUA.

[104] On some of these efforts, see Joseph Adcock, "How Can a Poor Man Buy a Decent Home?" *Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin Magazine*, 23 Jun 1968.

[105] Emily Achtenberg to Public Housing Committee, memo re: Issues in the Spring Garden Area, 18 May 1967, 2, Box 285 Folder 5010, URB 3 HADV, TUA. The counterdemonstration is described further in Turner Log, 11 May 1967, Box 285 Folder 5010, URB 3 HADV, TUA.

[106] Philadelphia Committee on City Policy, meeting minutes, 10 Oct 1967, 2, Box 285 Folder 5012, URB 3 HADV, TUA.

[107] "Rebuilding Starts on Old Houses in Ludlow Area," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 20 Aug 1967, Ludlow Community Association, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

by LCA drew assistance from a white church group in suburban Wayne.[108]

Rehabilitation results fell short in several ways. One set of houses had locks installed that all used the same key, presenting a grave security risk to occupants.[109] The Urban Homesteading program, run directly from City Councilman Harry Jannotti's office, drew criticism for political favoritism. Ludlow residents were upset that PHA placed so many families from outside the area in the rehabilitated units, claiming they did not mix well with the existing community.[110] In many of the rehabilitation efforts, a combination of overcrowding, shoddy workmanship, and vandalism gave the properties a short lifespan.[111]

Various groups also engaged in new housing construction. Some of these efforts, notably those by LCA and an attempt to establish cooperative housing by the Spring Garden Community Services Center, retained the support of both blacks and Puerto Ricans.[112] In other cases, though, housing construction reflected divisions between black and Latino communities. One project in Francisville, just north of Spring Garden, revealed both the possibilities and pitfalls of joint black and Latino efforts. In the late seventies the PHA, with federal backing, constructed a development of eighty-seven houses intended for low-income families. The citizen participation

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[108] After a television documentary publicized poor living conditions in Ludlow, members of the Central Baptist Church in suburban Wayne initiated a partnership to help renovate old homes in the area, transforming them into apartments. "Main Line Church Seeks to Aid Ludlow Housing," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 1 Dec 1966, Ludlow Housing Improvement Association, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[109] John E. Cooney, "Same Key Fits All Rebuilt Ludlow Homes," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 19 Mar 1968, Ludlow - Phila Section, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[110] Peter H. Binzen, "Ex-Boxer Trying to Hammer Together a Liveable Ludlow," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 19 Oct 1969, Mounted Clipping Box 113, Ludlow Area Misc, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[111] Douglas Bedell, "Outlook Is Dim in Ludlow Area," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 22 Feb 1972, Mounted Clipping Box 113, Ludlow Area Misc, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; "Ludlow Unit Claims PHA Creates Slum," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 16 Apr 1970, Ludlow - Phila Section, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Walter F. Naedele, "Klenk Sees 'Homesteading' Abuses," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 23 Jun 1978, Urban Homesteading - Phila. 1978 to, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Ronald Goldwyn, "Phila '78 Smells Cronyism in Jannotti Homestead Plan," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 27 Apr 1978, Urban Homesteading - Phila. 1978 to Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[112] Fletcher J. Clarke, "Ludlow Group Charges Delay in Housing," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 6 Dec 1971, Mounted Clipping Box 113, Ludlow - Phila. Section, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Toland, "Spring Garden Co-Op Supporters Poach on Critics' Time at Hearing."

committee, containing representatives from several community groups, was charged with deciding who would get to live in the units. Conflict emerged along both racial and class lines. Black members favored more moderate income applicants, while Puerto Rican members wanted the units to go to the neediest families. Nevertheless, the committee attempted to represent itself as unified when facing PHA officials. In the end, a majority of the units were allotted to local residents from Spring Garden and Francisville.[113]

Concern over limited housing availability and the lack of black ownership pushed some groups to develop housing that was both under black control and intended for black residents. The most significant example of this trend was Reverend Leon Sullivan's investment group's construction of Zion Gardens, which opened in 1966.[114] Other black nonprofit housing corporations, arising in part out of a housing workshop at the Third National Black Power Conference, soon began to pursue their own projects.[115]

Likewise, two successive housing development projects, named Spanish Village and Spanish Village II, sought specifically to provide more housing for the Latino population. The original Spanish Village project, located in the two thousand block of Green Street, was spearheaded by Father Gabriel del Real and developed privately with some federal aid. Del Real's motivation was to provide a model of middle-income housing that would convince more Puerto Ricans to remain in the neighborhood rather than relocating as their class status rose.[116] Ramon Velazquez, appointed to the city's Fair Housing Commission in 1972, thought it was only natural for Latinos to want to live together and that they should get their own housing set

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[113] Nowak, "Social Space," 215-219.
[114] Prior to the construction the project, the group had purchased an existing apartment building after its landlord refused to rent an apartment to members of Sullivan's congregation. Sullivan, *Build Brother Build*, 169-70; McKee, *Problem of Jobs*, 187.
[115] Countryman, "Civil Rights and Black Power," 604-05.
[116] Katrina Dyke, "Spanish Village of 20 Homes Sought for Green St. by Priest with a Vision," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 2 May 1970, del Real, Gabriel, Rev., Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

aside.[117]

By the time Spanish Village II rolled around, it faced more opposition, primarily on "racial and economic grounds." The project was approved in 1974 and slated to be constructed in a predominantly black area of North Philadelphia. Four years later, the ground remained unbroken. Henry Reddy, leader of the Francisville Neighbors Association, vowed to stop it. He and others were incensed by early reports that Latino tenants would be given first preference, and bristled at a rumor that the Young Lords might be called down from New York to defend the development. Attorney Donald Weinberg explained, "My clients are middle-class black people who are working hard to preserve their houses and their neighborhood. They resent something created solely for the Hispanic community."[118] Black city councilwoman Ethel Allen claimed the project had little community support and accused Mayor Rizzo of supporting its construction in a blatant attempt to gain Latino votes.[119] Nelson Diaz responded to black opposition to the project by pointing out that it was hypocritical for blacks to bemoan their lack of influence over the project, since "Many programs . . . have been developed and designated in Philadelphia for minorities. To all minority was synonymous to black. Puerto Ricans were never consulted and still ignored as a group."[120] As the project developed it appeared that most Puerto Ricans would not be able to afford the homes anyway, since they would be priced around thirty thousand dollars.[121]

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[117] Berl Schwartz, "Housing Appointees Stress Complexity of Job," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 5 Mar 1972, Velazquez, Ramon - Restaurant, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[118] Boyle, "Poor Pledge to Build."
[119] Joseph Davidson, "Spanish-Speaking Ad Hoc Group Supports Farimount Housing Plan," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 24 Aug 1974, Rivera, Bolivar "Bobby" - Puerto Rican Department of Community Affairs, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Charles F. Thomson, "Mayor Is Cheered on Pledge to Build Spanish Village II," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 27 Aug 1974, del Real, Gabriel, Rev., Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[120] Nelson Diaz, "Ahora!: That Controversy over Plans for Spanish Village II," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 1 Sep 1974, del Real, Gabriel, Rev., Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[121] Diaz, "Ahora!: That Controversy."

Overall, efforts to provide significant amounts of new or quality rehabilitated housing proved incremental and frustrating.[122] After the Used House program was phased out, the main alternative for low-income housing assistance was the Section 8 program, under which poor families paid only a quarter of their income for housing; the federal government paid the rest of their rent. But the housing constructed and managed by private contractors often went for very high rents compared to existing stock in the area. For example, townhouses built in Kensington were slated to fetch a minimum of $558 a month, while nice houses in the area rented for only $150.[123]

Some saw a more sinister motive to the city's neglect. Marvin Louis, echoing the thoughts of many low-income residents, felt the city was "deliberately allowing certain neighborhoods to die and forcing area residents to flee so middle-class suburbanites can move in." This type of neighborhood "recycling" had already taken place in parts of Spring Garden, and it seemed like Ludlow might be next on the list. City officials recognized the existence of a "general paranoid feeling in the community" about recycling.[124] These concerns led groups including TAG and the Housing Association of the Delaware Valley to form a coalition called the Ad Hoc Committee on Housing and Neighborhood Revitalization. In the mid and late seventies, the Ad Hoc Committee strongly opposed the city's plans for Community Block Development Grants, often packing city council meetings with hundreds of protestors. The demonstrators decried a lack of citizen participation and the sparse amount of funds being devoted to low-income housing. Indeed the biggest impact these funds had in poor minority

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[122] Alfonso D. Brown, Jr., "City Lets Ludlow Die, Activist Says," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 21 Jan 1979, Mounted Clipping Box 113, Ludlow Area Misc, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[123] Lou Antosh, "Kensington Housing Plan Too Rich for the Blood of Some," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 8 Jul 1981, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Miscellaneous 1975-, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[124] Brown, "City Lets Ludlow."

areas was to finance the demolition of vacant structures.[125] Residents bristled at the prospect of wanton demolition in North Philadelphia, and exerted enough pressure on the Rizzo administration that it cut its demolition funding in half.[126]

In 1979, opposition to the city's plans for downtown redevelopment had reached a boiling point among North Central Philadelphia residents, who staged dramatic protests at City Hall. These residents felt resources were being concentrated on Center City, much for the benefit of commuters and tourists, at the expense of the neighborhoods and city residents. Particularly controversial were a new shopping mall along Market Street East called The Gallery and a commuter rail tunnel running underneath Center City. A study by the Department of Housing and Urban Development confirmed suspicions that the city had apportioned community development funds in a discriminatory manner throughout the late seventies.[127]

While black and Latino residents often pushed for the same housing reforms and greater attention for neighborhoods, they were more likely to split their efforts when it came to the construction of specific new housing developments. This combination of shared and parallel efforts reflects the multiple allegiances and goals that black and Latino residents maintained; on the one hand they desired better conditions for all, yet on the other hand they wanted to ensure quality accommodations for their group.

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[125] Milton Street, a street vendor and later state legislator, played a central role in the Ad Hoc Committee. Feffer, "Land Belongs to the People," 76, 80-85.
[126] John T. Gillespie, "Renewal Plan Defended," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 3 Mar 1975, North Central Philadelphia - Section, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[127] Feffer, "Land Belongs to the People," 67, 88.

5.4 SITUATIONAL ALLIANCES

Examining struggles surrounding welfare rights, consumer issues, and housing reveals that black and Latino residents often drew upon their shared circumstances to work together in pushing for broad reforms. They were particularly likely to cooperate in campaigns to change general policies, ranging from public assistance grant levels to housing code enforcement. This cooperative ethos existed alongside a racial pride that sometimes motivated residents to prioritize the welfare of their group. This tendency to look out for one's own in turn generated conflict over priorities and drove parallel efforts, for example, to construct new housing. These conflicts were generally not serious enough to undermine grassroots efforts for reform, particularly compared to the structural and economic barriers these groups faced.

6.0 AT WORK: BLACK AND LATINO EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES

My first concern . . . was for my black brothers and sisters and for Puerto Ricans. OIC was initially created for them.[1]

Many of Philadelphia's black and Latino settlers were essentially labor migrants who relocated to find better employment opportunities.[2] As a result, black and Latino Philadelphians often found themselves working for the same employers. This shared circumstance was a symptom of a larger regional labor market segmented by class, race, and gender. Blacks and Latinos both had a heavy presence in areas such as textile production, domestic service, and basic unskilled labor. Economic transitions during the late twentieth century put increased pressure on these occupational sectors, making employment increasingly marginal and uncertain for both black and Latino residents. Though local deindustrialization and the attendant shift to a service economy had earlier roots, their effects and implications were much more obvious by the mid and late sixties, adding to the urgency of the situation for both job seekers and officials seeking to preserve the city's economic viability. In response to these changes and the persistence of employment discrimination, government agencies and community organizations offered a variety of training programs that sought to improve the employability of both blacks and Latinos.

[1] Leon H. Sullivan, *Build Brother Build* (Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Company, 1969), 93.
[2] This point is emphasized by Carmen Whalen. See Carmen Teresa Whalen, "Citizens and Workers: African Americans and Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia's Regional Economy since World War II," in *African American Urban History since World War II*, ed. Kenneth L. Kusmer and Joe W. Trotter (Chicago: Universiy of Chicago Press, 2009), 98-119; Carmen Teresa Whalen, *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia: Puerto Rican Workers and Postwar Economies* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

Overall, some friction between the groups emerged as blacks and Latinos both vied for the increasingly scarce number of good jobs. But at the same time, the shared experiences of blacks and Latinos in training programs and on the job led them to join forces in pressing employers for better working conditions and pay.

6.1 THE OCCUPATIONAL LANDSCAPE

During World War II, black and Latino labor migrants were recruited for food processing jobs at companies like Campbell Soup, based across the Delaware River in Camden. After the war, the return of local labor from military service pushed some black and Latino workers into agricultural jobs in the fields of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Three decades later, there were still six to eight thousand farm workers living in Philadelphia; half were black and half Puerto Rican.[3] Most migrant workers, though, joined established black and Latino communities in choosing urban employment with somewhat better working conditions.[4]

Once in the city, blacks and Puerto Ricans were concentrated in similar jobs, namely those in service and manufacturing.[5] Within those sectors, minorities were generally confined to lower level positions, perhaps washing dishes or doing janitorial work at hotels and restaurants.[6] They also worked on nonunion construction crews and at a range of factories, among them

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[3] Len Lear, "Area Farm Laborers Can Find Help at New Center," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 26 Jun 1976; Kendall Wilson, "Day-Haul Farmworkers Remain at the Mercy of Unscrupulous Farmers," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 30 Mar 1979.

[4] Whalen, "Citizens and Workers," 99-103.

[5] Blacks had a greater presence in service occupations. Puerto Rican women were particularly likely to be manufacturing operatives. More specific statistics appear in Whalen, "Citizens and Workers," 105, table 5.1.

[6] Charles Thomson, "Job Picture Is Bleak for Puerto Ricans Here," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 18 Jun 1971, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Bulletin Series 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

Bayuk Cigars, Stetson Hats, and Good and Plenty.[7] In addition to domestic service, black and Latina women found a niche in the city's garment trades. Workers commonly circulated among a number of employers rather than staying in the same job for many years. High employee turnover at many workplaces reflected both the low-skilled nature of the work available and workers' desires to find better situations.

By the sixties and seventies, the labor market shifted as Philadelphia factories closed, often relocating to the suburbs, the South, or beyond. By one estimate, Philadelphia lost 75 percent of its manufacturing jobs between 1955 and 1975.[8] At the same time, residential migration to the suburbs continued, lessening demand for personal services in the city. Many of the new jobs created in the city were white collar, professional service positions and thus unavailable to the majority of black and Latino job seekers who lacked the requisite education and experience.

This shift in the labor market had several effects. First, it further destabilized employment by creating more competition for remaining jobs. Second, it reduced the hours of many residents that continued to work, leaving them underemployed and unable to make ends meet. Third, it increased the number of unemployed residents. When they could not find adequate traditional employment, many black and Latino residents turned to survival through welfare or the informal economy.[9] Particularly hard hit by these economic shifts were the large cohorts of black and Latino youth that left school only to find severely limited employment opportunities.

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[7] Michael Kimmel, "¡You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!," *Philadelphia Magazine*, Oct 1971, 92.
[8] Judith Goode, "Polishing the Rustbelt: Immigrants Enter a Restructuring Philadelphia," in *Newcomers in the Workplace: Immigrants and the Restructuring of the U.S. Economy*, ed. Louise Lamphere, Alex Stepick, and Guillermo Grenier (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 206.
[9] I employ "informal economy" as a broad category here, much as it is used in Maria Mulero's study of low-income Puerto Rican women to describe work ranging from "home subsistence economic activities, self-employed, subcontracting, off the books jobs, and household and community help strategies." Maria D. Mulero, "Strategies for Survival in a Changing Economic Structure: Puerto Rican Women in the Informal Economy" (PhD diss., Temple University, 2000), 14.

Government officials and community groups enacted a number of strategies to counter these trends. Local government worked to address employment discrimination and retain factories and other large employers within the city limits. Funding flowed into employment training programs intended to improve the job prospects of teenagers, welfare recipients, and the unemployed. Residents that retained their jobs, meanwhile, turned to labor unions to increase their leverage with employers.

6.2 THE ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Philadelphia had passed one of the nation's earliest fair employment ordinances in 1948. Enforcement, however, was left to the toothless Commission on Human Relations, and therefore completely inadequate. That did not stop many individual job seekers from trying to claim their legal rights anyway. Black residents were particularly apt to do so, but it seems Puerto Ricans were less likely to seek legal redress for employment discrimination, in part due to their marginal position in the labor market. Journalist Michael Kimmel explained in 1970, "Puerto Ricans are in such terrible shape in this town that no one even bothers to discriminate against them when they look for jobs. Incredible as it may seem, the Human Relations Commission filed only fourteen formal complaints involving Puerto Ricans during 1970. Whereas blacks apply for better jobs, get turned down, and file complaints, Puerto Ricans, forced into channels that deposit them in menial muck, have yet to rise to where they would get smacked down."[10]

The ineffectual nature of fair employment laws pushed both federal and local officials to

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[10] Kimmel, "¡You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!," 92.

experiment with affirmative action policies in the highly segregated building trades. The federal government's original Philadelphia Plan, announced in 1967, required construction contractors with federally-funded projects to meet predetermined targets of minority employment. The plan made some small inroads against union discrimination and served as a model for other federal affirmative action programs, but suffered repeated legal challenges and implementation problems.[11]

In the meantime, the city orchestrated a local version of the Philadelphia Plan. Administered by the Commission on Human Relations (CHR), the plan used the financial leverage of contracts to bring employers to the negotiating table, where they would hammer out acceptable levels of minority employment with CHR representatives.[12] The city plan recognized the similar conditions affronting black and Latino residents, noting the existence of "a virtual economic depression for a disproportionate number of black and Puerto Rican citizens."[13] In addition to establishing targets for minority employment, the city plan also set a threshold for hiring a specified proportion of hardcore unemployed persons.[14]

Black and Latino workers had difficulty gaining entry to trade unions. Several factors contributed to this situation. Traditional union recruiting patterns relied heavily upon acquaintances and relatives of existing members, severely limiting their reach across racial and ethnic divides. Many white union members were also hostile toward prospective black and

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[11] The original federal Philadelphia Plan, administered by the regional Federal Executive Board, functioned for only a short time before it was declared illegal by the U.S. Comptroller General. When the Nixon administration took office, the Philadelphia Plan was resurrected. Guian A. McKee, *The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 217-22, 233; Terry H. Anderson, *The Pursuit of Fairness: A History of Affirmative Action* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 105-09, 115-25.

[12] McKee, *Problem of Jobs*, 224-28.

[13] Commission on Human Relations, "City Administration's Philadelphia Plan," 1, quoted in McKee, *Problem of Jobs*, 225.

[14] "Hardcore unemployed" generally referred to those residents who had never worked full time, lacked education and/or basic job skills, and were the most difficult to bring into the labor force. McKee, *Problem of Jobs*, 225.

Latino members, both out of general prejudice and a desire to protect their own access to employment. When special efforts to recruit minorities were suggested, some unionists were put off by the idea of "splinter groups" becoming part of the organization.[15] In addition to discriminatory barriers, some blacks and Puerto Ricans may not have been able to afford hefty entrance fees. Unions may also have charged Puerto Ricans higher dues because of the need for translation.[16] As a result, although many black and Puerto Rican males worked in construction, they usually worked for small, nonunion contractors.[17]

Still, as the CHR tried to negotiate the inclusion of minorities in trade unions, they initially focused only on black workers. Pascual Martinez, a Puerto Rican businessman with close ties to the mayoral administration, hoped the Commission would recognize that Puerto Ricans were also "abused, exploited, and discriminated against" by trade unions.[18] In response, the CHR began looking for Puerto Ricans to work as journeymen and apprentices in the steamfitting, plumbing, roofing, sheet metal, and electrical trades, but it had trouble finding takers.[19]

Progress was slow. Contractors complied with minority employment targets by "motorcycling" men from site to site, greatly reducing any real inroads into workforce diversification. By the early seventies, less than one percent of Philadelphia's trade union

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[15] Migration Division, "Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia," c.1962, 31, Pamphlet 668-8, General Pamphlet Collection, TUA.

[16] In 1959, some union entrance fees were reported to be one hundred dollars. Commission on Human Relations, "Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia," Apr 1959, 13, Box A-620, 148.4 Commission on Human Relations, CA; Stephen J. Sansweet, "Language Is Big Barrier to Latin Newcomer," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4 Jun 1968, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Inquirer Series 1968, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[17] Commission on Human Relations, "Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia," 13; Thomson, "Job Picture."

[18] "Puerto Rican Plea," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 21 Jun 1963, Puerto Ricans in Phila. 1964 and prior, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[19] "Puerto Ricans Sought to Work as Journeymen," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 23 Jun 1963, Puerto Ricans in Phila. 1964 and prior, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

members were Puerto Rican, and blacks were still severely underrepresented.[20] Even those minorities that found their way into trade unions could still face discrimination. In 1979, a dozen black members of Local 542 of the International Union of Operating Engineers had paid their dues for a decade, but received virtually no work.[21]

Alongside efforts to address employment discrimination, local officials also attempted to fight deindustrialization by trying to convince large employers to remain inside city limits. Historian Guian McKee has shown how approaches to job training and industrial redevelopment largely played out on separate racial tracks, reflecting the minority status of many unemployed residents and the concentration of business ownership and political power in white hands. But in a few cases, these tracks converged.[22] In the Somerset Knitting Mills and Garment Center projects, the city's redevelopment strategies used minority employment as an asset in qualifying for federal Model Cities funding.

Somerset Knitting Mills, which produced men's sweaters, remained in the city with assistance from the public-private Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC). Somerset had been located in a nine-story structure on Broad Street since the early sixties. By the early seventies, the larger corporation that had acquired Somerset planned to consolidate its production in New Jersey or build a new plant in the South. Somerset president Donald Cutler fought for an alternative approach, arguing that it was prudent to maintain the existing Philadelphia workforce rather than replacing it.[23] New facilities for the company were eligible

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[20] Thomson, "Job Picture."
[21] Timothy Dougherty, "No Job in Nine Years for Union Member Who Submitted $968 in Dues," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 27 Nov 1979.
[22] Puerto Rican workers, too few in numbers to always be acknowledged specifically by planners, would generally have been perceived as an addendum to the black population. McKee, *Problem of Jobs*, 14-16.
[23] Guian A. McKee, "'I've Never Dealt with a Government Agency Before': Philadelphia's Somerset Knitting Mills Project, the Local State, and the Missed Opportunities of Urban Renewal," *Journal of Urban History* 35, no. 3 (2009): 397-98.

for subsidies from PIDC because "eighty to eighty-five percent of the company's 400 employees were African American or Puerto Rican residents of the Model Cities area (many of them women)."[24] The company struck a deal with PIDC on the condition that it would continue to employ blacks and Latinos from the surrounding neighborhoods. In this case, Somerset's minority employee base served as an asset in allowing the company to upgrade its facilities while remaining in the area with help from government subsidies. The new Somerset Mills opened in 1975 on Spring Garden Street and expanded within two years, remaining there until 1992 and employing hundreds of local residents.[25]

PIDC followed the Somerset project by again cooperating with Model Cities to construct the Garment Center, envisioned as a focal point for the local apparel industry that would compensate for outdated production facilities and the loss of industrial space to redevelopment. Like Somerset, the Garment Center was seen as an important employment and training base for minority residents of Lower North Philadelphia.[26] A day care opened onsite as an attempt to attract younger women to jobs in the garment trades; children attending included "mostly Black, with several whites, Chinese and Puerto Ricans and they come from all sections of the city."[27]

6.3 TRAINING PROGRAMS

Alongside city efforts to curb employment discrimination and stem the tide of industrial flight, a host of vocational training programs sought to prepare youth and adults for gainful employment.

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[24] McKee, *Problem of Jobs*, 273.
[25] McKee, "'I've Never Dealt,'" 388, 399.
[26] McKee, "'I've Never Dealt,'" 401.
[27] Lorraine Branham, "Children's Village: An Innovative Center Where Kids of Garment Workers Are Cared For," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 21 Dec 1976.

All the programs faced similar challenges: the lack of basic education among enrollees, uncertain funding, and a shortage of suitable jobs for trainees that successfully completed their courses. Still, blacks and Latinos benefitted from some of the same programs, gaining new skills and, with luck, even finding steady employment.

Berean Institute, a private school in North Philadelphia, was originally founded in 1899 to help prepare black students for work in city industries. The Institute opened a program geared toward Puerto Rican migrants in 1959, which stemmed from the joint efforts of Braulio Lopez and William H. Gray, pastor of the predominantly black Bright Hope Baptist Church.[28] Several officials involved noted the similar, shared struggles of blacks and Puerto Ricans.[29] The program, which quickly attracted 150 students, offered instruction in secretarial skills and the garment trades, along with business, homemaking, and English.[30] Puerto Rican Center students mixed with the Institute's black students in social activities.[31] Berean's Puerto Rican Center also reached out to the broader community by offering Spanish classes taught by native speakers.[32] A decade later, in cooperation with the city's Commission on Human Relations, Berean added a Spanish High School for Adults which served Puerto Ricans alongside migrants from other Latin American nations.[33]

Within the public schools, black and Latino students also mixed in vocational education tracks. Dobbins and Mastbaum Technical High Schools had a significant enrollment of both

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[28] "Berean's New Center Beehive of Activity," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 10 Oct 1959.
[29] Joseph Rainey, "Berean School Offers Courses to Aid Puerto Ricans," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 20 Oct 1959; "Berean Raises Hopes of Puerto Ricans as Sec'y of Labor Speaks," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 20 Oct 1959.
[30] Rainey, "Berean School Offers"; "School Opens for Puerto Ricans," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 18 Oct 1959, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Inquirer Series 1968, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[31] "A Gay Christmas at Berean Inst.," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 5 Jan 1960.
[32] "Coming Events," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 15 Mar 1960.
[33] "Berean School Spanish Adult Grads Honored," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 20 Jun 1972.

black and Puerto Rican students.[34] Juan Ramos, a founding member of the Young Lords in Philadelphia, remembered forging formative friendships with his black classmates at Dobbins.[35] Williet Maddox Jr., who ran an internship program for high school seniors in the Model Cities area, was specifically looking for more Puerto Rican students by 1974.[36]

The Negro Trade Union Leadership Council (NTULC) also made special efforts to reach out to the Latino population. The organization chose to publicize its internship program in the local Spanish-language weekly, *La Actualidad*.[37] Its decision did not reflect a lack of applicants; the program was so competitive that NTULC rejected twenty for each applicant it accepted.[38] In 1975, NTULC provided Concilio with 160 slots in its Neighborhood Youth Corps summer program, prompting Carmen Bolden to ask for the same appropriation the next year and thank them for "considering the Spanish speaking youths."[39]

The best known employment training program in Philadelphia was the Opportunities Industrialization Center, known as OIC. It was started by North Philadelphia's Reverend Leon Sullivan, pastor of Zion Baptist Church, in 1964. Working in partnership with corporations, OIC provided intensive training in fields like electronics assembly and restaurant skills. OIC secured commitments from partner corporations to hire trainees that successfully completed the program.

OIC has long been perceived as a black-run program that served only black residents. In reality, Sullivan had a broader constituency in mind when he founded the organization. In his

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[34] Kimmel, "¡You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!"; Office of Research and Evaluation, School District of Philadelphia, "Enrollment: Negro and Spanish Speaking in the Philadelphia Public Schools 1971-1972," 11, Box 18 Folder 15, Acc 469 Floyd Logan, TUA; Office of Research and Evaluation, School District of Philadelphia, "Philadelphia Public Schools Enrollment 1978-79," 1979, 6, Box 19 Folder 8, MSS 117 The Latino Project, HSP.
[35] Juan Ramos, interview by author, transcript, 12 Jan 2010, 3-4.
[36] Nelson Diaz, "Ahora!," *La Actualidad*, 28 Jan 1974, bound volume, TUA.
[37] "Ciudad Modelo informa," *La Actualidad*, 16 Apr 1974, bound volume, TUA.
[38] Mary Walton and Acel Moore, "Training Is Vital - If the Trainee Finds a Job," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, c.1977, Box 1 Folder 11, MSS 117 The Latino Project, HSP.
[39] Carmen A. Bolden to Willie H. Maddox Jr., 6 Feb 1976, Box 10 Folder 30, MSS 120 Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, HSP.

autobiography, he describes the program he envisioned "for our people in the black community, and others who wanted help, particularly our Puerto Rican and other Latin-speaking brothers and sisters."[40] He reiterates a few pages later, "My first concern . . . was for my black brothers and sisters and for Puerto Ricans. OIC was initially created for them."[41] Sullivan placed Reverend Angel Luis Jaime, pastor of Christ Church in the Spring Garden neighborhood, on OIC's Board of Directors.[42]

As the federal government launched initiatives to combat poverty and unemployment in the mid and late sixties, funding from federal agencies such as the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Labor flowed into the program. Federal support of the program was so strong that officials intervened when Philadelphia's Community Action program tried to cut the proportion of antipoverty funds going to OIC.[43]

Realizing that many hardcore unemployed residents in Philadelphia lacked the basic education and skills to succeed in the training programs, OIC instituted a Feeder Program that would precede employment training with basic instruction. The Feeder Program necessarily covered basic literacy and math. But it combined those with training in a number of life skills that would raise the self-esteem of trainees, help them through the process of finding a job, and encourage them to act as informed consumers. The Philadelphia Feeder Program also taught English as a second language, a provision primarily for the "trainees from virtually every Latin-American country, including very large numbers from Puerto Rico."[44]

OIC's desire to assist Philadelphia's Puerto Rican population was strong enough that it

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[40] Sullivan, *Build Brother Build*, 87.
[41] Sullivan, *Build Brother Build*, 93.
[42] "Phila. Pastor's Son Cited for Bravery in Viet Nam," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 14 Apr 1966, Jaime, Angel, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[43] Kos Semonski, "U.S. Threatens to Halt Poverty Funds over Cut in Sullivan Program," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 26 Sep 1968, Opportunities Industrialization Center - Funds & Grants, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[44] Sullivan, *Build Brother Build*, 102, 105 (quote).

opened an additional location to serve their needs. In March 1966, it unveiled the Ernesto Ramos Antonini Development Center in front of an audience of two hundred. Smith Kline French, a pharmaceutical company headquartered nearby in Spring Garden, helped fund the facility. At the dedication, Sullivan proclaimed, "The Spanish speaking American community and the black American community will join hands and walk together with programs like this. Our problems are mutual."[45] The Antonini Center offered courses in English, sewing, and typing, and could train up to forty students at a time.[46]

OIC officials remained concerned about retaining adequate staff at the Antonini Center in particular, since many of its trainees faced the additional barrier of language. At one point, a lone counselor was tasked with all Antonini trainees; administrators explained it could not be "stressed [too] frequently or urgently the need for proper staffing" there.[47] By 1974, *La Actualidad* expected that most of its readers would be well familiar with OIC and the Antonini Center since thousands of Latinos had already benefited from the services.[48] OIC statistics show a small but steady stream of Latino trainees throughout the seventies.[49] OIC was finally forced to

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[45] The center was located at 1707 Mount Vernon Street and named after a Puerto Rican legislator and lawyer known for his work with the poor. "OIC Opens Center in Puerto Rican Area," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 26 Feb 1966; "Development Center to Be Dedicated," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 23 Feb 1966, Antonini Development Center, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; "200 at OIC Center Dedication," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 7 Mar 1966, (quote), Antonini Development Center, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[46] "Young Lords Call Bombing a 'Reprisal,'" *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 9 Nov 1970, Young Lords, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[47] Research and Evaluation Department, "Management Information System: Third Quarter 1968," 1968, 14-15, Box 30 Folder 3, Acc 688 Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, TUA.

[48] Original in Spanish reads: "Muchas lectores estarán seguramentes familiarizados con este centro que lleva ocho años funcionando en el area de Spring Garden. . . . Miles de hispanos ha pasado hasta la fecha de sus clases y de una forma otra se han beneficiando de los servicios ofrecidos allí." "Conozcamos a los nuestros," *La Actualidad*, 3 Jun 1974, bound volume, TUA.

[49] See local statistic sheets in Box 28 Folders 18-23, and Box 30 Folders 5-12, 17, and 22, Acc 688 Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, TUA. Another report shows that OIC trained forty-eight Spanish Americans during fiscal year 1976. "Draft Report on CETA-Funded Services to Philadelphia's Hispanic Population," 13 Sep 1976, 11, Box 15 Folder 6, MSS 117 The Latino Project, HSP.

close the Antonini Center in 1981 due to a lack of federal funding.[50]

Though many employment training programs in North Philadelphia served some Puerto Ricans, some Latino leaders continued to exert pressure for more comprehensive or specialized services. SER – Jobs for Progress, a Latino organization headquartered in Los Angeles, pressed program administrators to ensure that Philadelphia's Spanish-speaking population participated fully in courses receiving federal funding from the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). A Philadelphia official responded that not only had the Pennsylvania division of SER been contracted to provide employment training, but the city's Area Manpower Planning Council operated training programs in the city's Latino neighborhoods.[51]

By 1976, CETA-funded programs were serving a clientele that ranged from four to seven percent Latino.[52] These percentages may have been on par with Latino representation in the city population as a whole, but they were low considering the much higher percentage of Latinos in the low-income, heavily unemployed population that CETA targeted.[53] For example, the Kensington branch of the YWCA ran a CETA-funded program called "Typing Your Way to Work," which provided bilingual typing classes, remedial English and math, and basic career skills training. Participants received childcare and a stipend. It only sought to train 20 Hispanics out of a total of 220 women, again a proportion higher than that of the general population, but low considering the surrounding neighborhood demographics.[54] Meanwhile, Puerto Rican leaders at Concilio, while acknowledging that several training and placement agencies theoretically included Latinos, thought the actual services were "virtually nonexistent," due to

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[50] Donald Hunt, "Community Group Battles OIC for Vacant North Phila. Building," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 16 Nov 1984.
[51] Hugh F. Ferguson to Ricardo Zazueta, 10 Feb 1976, Box 15 Folder 2, MSS 117 The Latino Project, HSP.
[52] Ferguson to Zazueta.
[53] "Draft Report on CETA-Funded Services."
[54] Kensington Branch Young Women's Christian Association of Philadelphia, "Description of CETA Funded Program," 11 Jun 1979, Box 1 Folder 4, MSS 117 The Latino Project, HSP.

persistent language barriers.[55] It is unclear why such comments from Concilio personnel make no mention of programs at OIC's Antonini Center. Regardless, these criticisms were not stated in a way that would immediately compete with opportunities for the city's black residents, but instead sought the creation of additional programs tailored to the Spanish-speaking.

In the changing economic landscape of postwar Philadelphia, though, employment training programs of any kind were no guarantee. Many minorities who completed the programs could not find a job afterward; others grew disillusioned before finishing their courses. By 1976, just three out of five OIC trainees had a job waiting for them upon graduation. Only half of Negro Trade Union Leadership Council graduates quickly found employment. In part, this situation was due to a mismatch in the type of skills that trainees had and the type of positions available. Still, training courses could not keep up with demand in Philadelphia; all programs had full enrollment and most had waiting lists to boot.[56] By the eighties, beneficiaries of CETA-funded programs expressed grave concern over drastic spending cuts proposed by the Reagan administration.[57]

6.4 ON THE JOB

In addition to mixing in employment training programs, black and Latino workers often worked for the same employers. On the job, they faced shared grievances of discrimination, poor work

[55] Carmen A. Bolden to Epifanio de Jesus, 7 Jul 1972, Box 59 Folder 5, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP; Ramon A. Velazquez and Carmen A. Bolden, "Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, Inc. 'Project Welcome' Progress Report," 30 Apr 1972, 9, Box 59 Folder 5, MSS 148 Aspira, HSP. Similar sentiment appears in a quote from Baltasar Davila, a jobs counselor at Concilio, in Sansweet, "Language Is Big Barrier."
[56] Walton and Moore, "Training Is Vital."
[57] Mark Bowden, "The Rich, The Poor, The Cuts," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1 Mar 1981.

conditions, and the uncertainty of continued employment. In some workplaces, unionization became the answer and black and Latino workers sought to organize. At other employers where unions already existed, the rank and file sometimes viewed them as co-opted by management and out of touch with actual workers' concerns.

Blacks and Latinos were particularly likely to mix in the city's textile industry, which was hard hit by plant closings during the seventies. Typical was the Horace Linton Plant of Burlington Industries, which produced fiberglass tape in a Kensington factory. It employed about one hundred workers, mostly female and over the age of thirty. Decent-paying jobs were scarce enough that workers remained regardless of the hazards of fiberglass inhalation or skin irritation. Management demonized unions and workers knew that anyone found trying to organize would ultimately be fired. Like many others, the Horace Linton plant closed in 1972 as Burlington decided to set up shop in Virginia instead.[58]

Workers at other textile factories took bolder steps, forging relationships with local branches of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA). The ILGWU in particular tried to build a reputation for promoting racial equality within its ranks, having Representative Robert N.C. Nix point out that several Philadelphia locals already had black officers in the early sixties. In Washington and New York, though, controversy arose over the reality of racial equality throughout the union structure.[59] In late 1969, employees at Oliver Brothers Clothing Corporation called a strike in which "seventy workers almost all black or Puerto Rican" making "below-welfare wages"

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[58] "Ever Work at Burlington," *Kensington Peoples Press*, Mar 1972, TSC.

[59] Robert N.C. Nix, "Fair Employment Pushed by Garment Workers Union before FEPC Legislation Was Elected," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 14 Jul 1962; George D. Johnson, "'Putting Oneself Forward' Not Always the Easiest Thing to Do," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 9 Oct 1962; William J. Daniels, "Garment Union Called Biased," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 9 Oct 1962; Robert Laurentz, "Racial/Ethnic Conflict in the New York City Garment Industry, 1933-1980" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Binghamton, 1980), 294-314.

walked out.[60] Workers were dissatisfied with their lack of job security, advancement opportunity, and benefits. Strikers received support from Local 170 of the ACWA as well as the local branch of the United Farm Workers. This brand of labor activism did not always make headlines; the *Tribune* noted that the strike had been completely ignored by television and the daily newspapers.[61]

In August 1980, female Puerto Rican workers at Moritz Embroidery Works went on strike, demanding to bring in the ILGWU as their official bargaining unit. Workers like Margarita Feliciano had long been dissatisfied with low wages, forced overtime, and homework. When Feliciano began organizing, management fired her for stealing pins and forcibly removed her from the floor. The incident, along with the firing of a coworker who tried to help Feliciano, prompted a walkout. The Puerto Rican Alliance backed the two-week strike, working closely with ILGWU organizers who didn't speak Spanish. They emphasized the company's employment discrimination in hopes of gaining support from the *Tribune's* black readership. Aleida Garcia explained: "They just don't hire blacks; the conditions are unfair – out of 80 employees, about 60 are Puerto Rican, but there are no Blacks." Moritz held a number contracts with black organizations and government entities and was located in a predominantly black area of North Philadelphia, making the absence of any black employees particularly egregious. Workers gained support from other trade unionists, and the multiracial Kensington Joint Action Council helped with picketing and child care.[62] In the end, the vote for union representation

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[60] Oliver Brothers was located at 147 North Tenth Street. "Clothing Workers Strike at Oliver Plant," *Distant Drummer*, 13-20 Nov 1969, NMC, FLP.
[61] Len Lear, "$50 Take-Home Pay Cited as 70 Clothing Workers Strike Oliver Brothers," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 15 Nov 1969.
[62] Jerry Silberman, "Workers Strike to Unionize at Moritz," *The Organizer: Newspaper of the Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee* (hereafter *The Organizer*), Oct 1980, available on microfilm from the Wisconsin Historical Society; Stephen M. Williams, "Garment Workers Strike Moritz Embroidery Works," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 12 Aug 1980.

failed to carry. But the Puerto Rican Alliance saw value in the strike: it had helped develop new working class leadership, raised the visibility of Puerto Rican labor struggles, and shown Puerto Ricans' interest in "uniting with black and white workers" in the fight for better conditions.[63]

Black and Latina women also mixed at Bell Telephone Company. Bell steered employees by race, which meant that the vast majority of minority women ended up in lower-level jobs like operator. Only more conservative white workers stood a good chance of promotion into management. One black female worker voiced her solution: "People of color and the more conscious white workers must unite and either abolish this racism within the company or abolish the company."[64] The politics of Bell's female workers also revealed a growing push for women's equality. While on strike in 1971, Bell workers protested the wage gap between males and females. They also pushed for pension funds maintained by female employees to be made available to the worker's family in the event of her death, as was the case with their male counterparts.[65]

Nonprofessional hospital workers had long been dissatisfied with their low pay and working conditions.[66] These workers were predominantly female and black, with poor women filling roles as LPNs, aides, housekeepers, or clerks. Race, class, and gender stratification combined to leave "poor black and brown women" doing the "scut work." Even those minority women who received a nursing certification usually became LPNs, rather than RNs, because they lacked the resources for extended and costly training.[67] State laws prohibited hospital workers from unionizing until 1970, when Act 196 granted public employees, including those at

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[63] Workers' Rights Committee of the Puerto Rican Alliance, "Moritz Strike Coverage," *The Organizer*, Mar 1981.
[64] A Telephone Worker, "Working at Bell Telephone," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 15 Jan 1973, TSC.
[65] "Workers Strike Back at Ma Bell," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 19 Jul 1971, TSC.
[66] Art Peters, "Hospital Workers Favor Union If Conditions Don't Improve," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 1 Aug 1959.
[67] "Women in Hospitals: Working for the Man," *Kensington Peoples Press*, Apr 1972, (quotes), TSC; "1199," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 13 Jul 1970, TSC.

nonprofits, collective bargaining rights.

By the next year, Local 1199c of the National Union of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees was pushing hard to unionize employees at eight local hospitals: Episcopal, Wills Eye, Women's Medical, Lankenau, Metropolitan, Children's, and Temple. Delaying tactics among administrators were countered by "slow-downs, sick-outs, sit-ins, and work stoppages" in the ranks.[68] In one scare tactic, Episcopal Hospital fired all nineteen of its security guards and replaced them with personnel from a security contractor; the former guards claimed their firing was retaliation for joining Local 1199c as well as a security guard union.[69]

As another part of their defense, hospital administrators relied on racial appeals. At Children's Hospital, they told black workers that 1199 was a white union, and told white workers the opposite, hoping to create a wedge between clerical and maintenance workers.[70] Episcopal Hospital employees spent over a year attempting to get unionized while officials labeled the union "greedy" and "racist." Though the hospital portrayed 1199c as a "black union," an employee countered that 97 percent of eligible workers were ready to join, regardless of race. Local 1199c was not only voted in at Episcopal, but workers received significant raises during the campaign, as hospital management tried to dissuade interest in the union.[71]

Once organized, hospital workers continued to press for better conditions throughout the seventies. In June 1975, two thousand hospital workers staged a sickout in the middle of contract negotiations, hoping to secure a raise and improved benefits.[72] And in 1981, hospital workers

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[68] "1199: The Struggle Continues," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 25 Jan 1971, TSC.
[69] "Merry Xmas Guards - You're Fired," *Kensington Peoples Press*, Dec 1971, TSC.
[70] "1199 vs Children's Hospital," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 31 Aug 1970, TSC.
[71] "1199 News," *Kensington Peoples Press*, Feb 1972, TSC.
[72] "Labor Round-Up," *The Organizer*, May-Jul 1975.

threatened a city-wide strike on the way to winning better health coverage and wage increases.[73]

At Hancock and Gross, a plumbing and heating supply company, warehouse workers from Teamsters Local 169 staged a three-month strike. The strikers were "mostly Black and Puerto Rican." At one point, the plant manager tried to discourage workers by trying to hit two employees on the picket line with his car. In addition to crossing racial divides, workers maintained the strike by bridging the generation gap between old and young.[74]

By 1977, Local 404 of the United Steelworkers had significant numbers of black and Latino members. James H. Jones of the Negro Trade Union Leadership Council wrote to Carmen Bolden at Concilio to secure the organization's support for the local. He noted that the union had a Latino staff person and "quite a few Spanish speaking employees."[75] Bolden agreed that Concilio would back the union and try to help convince employees to retain their membership.[76]

However, unions were not a panacea; most workers were not organized and the bureaucratic tendencies of some existing unions put them in conflict with their members. Many workers remained apathetic about conditions, partly because they needed the income from the job, and partly because they felt powerless. High employee turnover in low-skilled jobs also reduced workers' resolve to press issues at a particular employer. One worker at Devon Apparel found the union "useless," since the company still fired workers at will.[77] The situation was similar at G.B. Goldman Paper Company, where union meetings seemed a "farce." Union leaders sought no input from the ranks, even in endorsing Frank Rizzo in the mayoral primary, a

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[73] "1199-C Scores Gains in New Contract," *The Organizer*, Aug 1981.
[74] "Teamsters Strike at Hancock-Gross," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 15 Jan 1973, TSC.
[75] James H. Jones to Carmen A. Bolden, 7 Feb 1977, Box 10 Folder 30, MSS 120 Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, HSP.
[76] Carmen A. Bolden to James H. Jones, 14 Feb 1977, Box 10 Folder 30, MSS 120 Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, HSP.
[77] "Ever Work at Devon Apparel?," *Kensington Peoples Press*, Feb 1972, TSC.

decision most minority workers would have found objectionable.[78]

Many workers that were in unions were openly critical of their leadership. Tensions emerged along racial and class lines in Philadelphia's local ACWA, second largest chapter in the nation. In June 1971, the local shut down sixty clothing factories for ten days in a wildcat strike. The rank and file objected to its lack of input on a "sweetheart" deal that union leaders had signed with manufacturers. Strikers bemoaned the union leadership's inability to relate to the majority of workers who were black and Latino.[79] Later in the decade, local ACWA leadership wanted workers to choose between keeping a previously negotiated pay raise or full medical insurance in order to make up for a deficit in the insurance fund. But the rank and file rejected such a choice, and a demonstration of "250 angry workers – Black, Puerto Rican and white, more than half women," chanting "We Want Both," descended upon a Joint Board meeting. Despite their vocal opposition, workers still lost their wage increase in a national vote.[80]

At Blue Bird Food Products, a South Philadelphia meat processing facility, conflict between the rank and file and union leaders rose to a head in the late seventies. Members of Local 196 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America were unhappy with lax health and safety standards and difficulty obtaining the union benefits to which they were entitled. Shop steward Ron Ardron argued that this amounted to racial discrimination because ninety percent of the plant's workers were black and Puerto Rican. Ardron himself was black and spoke fluent Spanish. Workers demonstrated at union headquarters, with "about 70 picketers representing the 200 Black, Puerto Rican, and white workers employed at Blue Bird."

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[78] "Ever Work at G. B. Goldman Paper Co.?," *Kensington Peoples Press*, Dec 1971, TSC.
[79] A Fed-Up Member of Amalgamated Clothing Workers, "Clothing Workers Demand Strong Contract, Fight Sell-Out Leadership," *Philadelphia Free Press*, May 1974, TSC; "Clothing Workers Rebel against Sweetheart Contract," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 5 Jul 1971, TSC; "Garment Workers Strike; Union Heavily Black," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 4 Jun 1974.
[80] "Stop the Ripoff! Philly Clothing Workers Vote No to Protect Raise," *The Organizer*, May-Jul 1975.

They followed up by filing suit against union officers.[81] In the ensuing months, Blue Bird fired Ardron, ostensibly for his absence from work, but many felt it was employer retaliation for his organizing efforts. Ardron produced documentation to show he had been sick, but company lawyers implied he had really been abroad engaging in 'subversive activities.' Coworkers supported Ardron by staging a work stoppage and demonstrating in severely cold weather, but he still lost his case at arbitration.[82]

At several Philadelphia employers, rank and file groups ran their own slates of candidates in union elections, hoping to unseat existing leadership and in the process align union policy more closely with the average workers' interests. Most of the rank and file slates were consciously representative of workplace diversity, including black, Latino, and female candidates. Existing union leadership resisted these efforts and hung onto power primarily by determining election parameters. Some leaders refused to allow secret ballots; others insisted on mail ballots that many workers thought were susceptible to fraud. Ballots were often printed only in English even when significant numbers of Spanish-speaking employees belonged to the union. Other unions held elections within short hours that prevented some shift workers from voting. In the local ACWA, the Meat Cutters' Local 196, and the United Auto Workers Local 92, rank and file slates found limited success in elections, but continued to push for reform.[83]

Even if they were not on the job together, blacks and Latinos often acted in solidarity with each other. The United Farmworkers of America primarily organized laborers in the Western United States, but it organized secondary boycotts that had national reach. As historian

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[81] "Blue Bird Workers Fight for Their Rights," *The Organizer*, Jan-Mar 1976, (quote); "Local 196 Members Speak Out on Health and Safety," *The Organizer*, Jun-Jul 1976.
[82] "Local 196 R&F Protest Firing of Active Steward," *The Organizer*, Feb-Mar 1977; "Rank & File Steward Loses Arbitration," *The Organizer*, Oct 1977, (quote).
[83] "ACWA Rank & Filers Run for Joint Board," *The Organizer*, Nov-Dec 1975; "Food Workers 196 Election Aftermath . . . 'Down but Not Out,'" *The Organizer*, Dec-Jan 1977; "UAW Local 92 Elections: Rank & File Down but Not Out," *The Organizer*, Nov-Dec 1975.

Laura Araiza has shown, the United Farmworkers (UFW) maintained a cooperative relationship with the Black Panthers, including the Philadelphia chapter.[84] The Philadelphia area UFW organizing committee had brokered agreements with several of the region's grocery chains, but criticized Acme Markets for continuing to sell "scab lettuce." They hoped that the community would help convince Acme to change its supplier.[85] Community pressure succeeded in convincing many local retailers to switch at least a portion of their supply to union lettuce, but progress was slow and incomplete.[86] By 1974, local UFW organizers were entreating Philadelphia's black population to boycott Gallo wines because the company had ceased to recognize UFW representation in favor of the Teamsters.[87] When Cesar Chavez made an appearance in Philadelphia, he drew a crowd of more than one thousand supporters.[88] In 1973 and 1974, an extended strike by Texas garment workers, mostly Mexican-American females, against Farah Manufacturing gained national publicity. Over five hundred Philadelphia clothing workers turned out at a local rally to show their support.[89]

6.5 ALLIANCES IN A CHANGING ECONOMY

Economic transitions in postwar Philadelphia made employment uncertain, particularly for the city's black and Latino residents. But blacks and Latinos still cooperated by instituting mutually beneficial training programs. When on the job together, blacks and Latinos often came together

[84] Lauren Araiza, "'In Common Struggle against a Common Oppression': The United Farm Workers and the Black Panther Party," *Journal of African American History* 94, no. 2 (2009): 200-23.
[85] "Acme Sells 'Scab' Lettuce, Local Farm Workers Charge," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 28 Nov 1970.
[86] "Lettuce Boycott," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 15 Mar 1971, TSC.
[87] Len Lear, "Farmworkers Ask Blacks to Boycott Gallo Wines," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 23 Jul 1974.
[88] "Farmworkers Parade through Phila. Area," *Philadelphia Free Press*, May 1974, TSC.
[89] "Clothing Workers Support Farah Strikers," *Philadelphia Free Press*, 15 Jan 1973, Temple University Libraries, Templana Special Collections.

to improve working conditions by unionizing or by demanding reforms from an existing union. Though good jobs were by no means plentiful, and employment scarcity contributed to some racial friction, there is relatively little evidence of overt competition between blacks and Latinos. This may be true in part because at many remaining industrial jobs, blacks and Puerto Ricans generally held different levels of seniority, limiting their direct confrontation over the same jobs.[90] Rather, both black and Latino workers pushed for more and better employment opportunities across the board. Indeed, the "compulsion of economic necessity" to maintain employment may have helped black and Latino employees to maintain amicable relations.[91]

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[90] This was the case at Summit Lighting, a North Philadelphia factory described in Goode, "Polishing the Rustbelt," 207, 217.

[91] Cynthia Estlund argues that workers are actually "compelled to get along" in the workplace despite racial and ethnic differences, and we can more easily find successful racial integration in places of employment than those of voluntary association. Estlund, "Working Together: Crossing Color Lines at Work," *Labor History* 46, no. 1 (2005): 79.

7.0 IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD: BLACK AND LATINO INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

The harmony that has been achieved by the Black and Spanish-speaking residents would not be present but for the efforts of Marvin Louis and his bilingual staff.[1]

Philadelphia's black and Latino residents participated in civil rights struggles through a myriad of community organizations which were diverse in size, constituency, and goals. In 1962, Puerto Rican Migration Division officials noted the desirability of integrated black and Puerto Rican involvement in these groups. They hoped that existing, predominantly black organizations would incorporate Puerto Ricans as board members and staff in order to encourage their "active participation." In addition, Puerto Rican organizations should send delegates and maintain "permanent channels of communication" with civil rights agencies.[2] The Migration Division envisioned community activism that took place simultaneously through exclusively Puerto Rican and racially integrated organizations.

This type of organizational cooperation did not occur instantaneously, but by the late sixties it was beginning to happen more frequently. Several civil rights agencies opened lines of communications with the growing Latino population, and Puerto Rican organizations established

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[1] "Philadelphia Urban Coalition Service Roles, Six Months Ended November 30, 1979," 1979, 11, Box 17 Folder 4, MSS 114 Spanish Merchants Association, HSP.
[2] Migration Division, "Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia," c.1962, 30, Pamphlet 668-8, General Pamphlet Collection, TUA.

working relationships with predominantly black organizations. In addition, several community organizations in North Philadelphia had a mixed membership of black and Latino residents, with a few drawing white participation from Kensington as well. Meanwhile, changing racial demographics in North Philadelphia pushed established neighborhood institutions to reconsider their personnel and missions in ways that recognized the importance of serving both black and Latino populations. This chapter takes a closer look at selected community organizations and neighborhood institutions to show how cooperation between black and Latino residents succeeded in attaining many of the organizations' goals and shaping the future of social service institutions.

7.1 MULTIRACIAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Black and Latino Philadelphians were particularly likely to meet each other in place-based organizations. These groups defined their membership primarily by geography and centered their mission on improving the immediate neighborhood. In North Philadelphia neighborhoods like Ludlow and Kensington, mixed demographics translated into multiracial community organizations (see Figure 7).[3] Sociologists have pointed out that these types of organizations gain success on the basis of social capital, or trust and shared values, developed through collaboration among their members. In the best circumstances, the accumulation of social capital both fosters

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[3] The boundaries of Ludlow and Kensington are not wholly agreed upon. In most configurations, the two neighborhoods overlap. In addition, Kensington refers to a much larger geographical area that encompasses the smaller areas like Fishtown and Port Richmond.

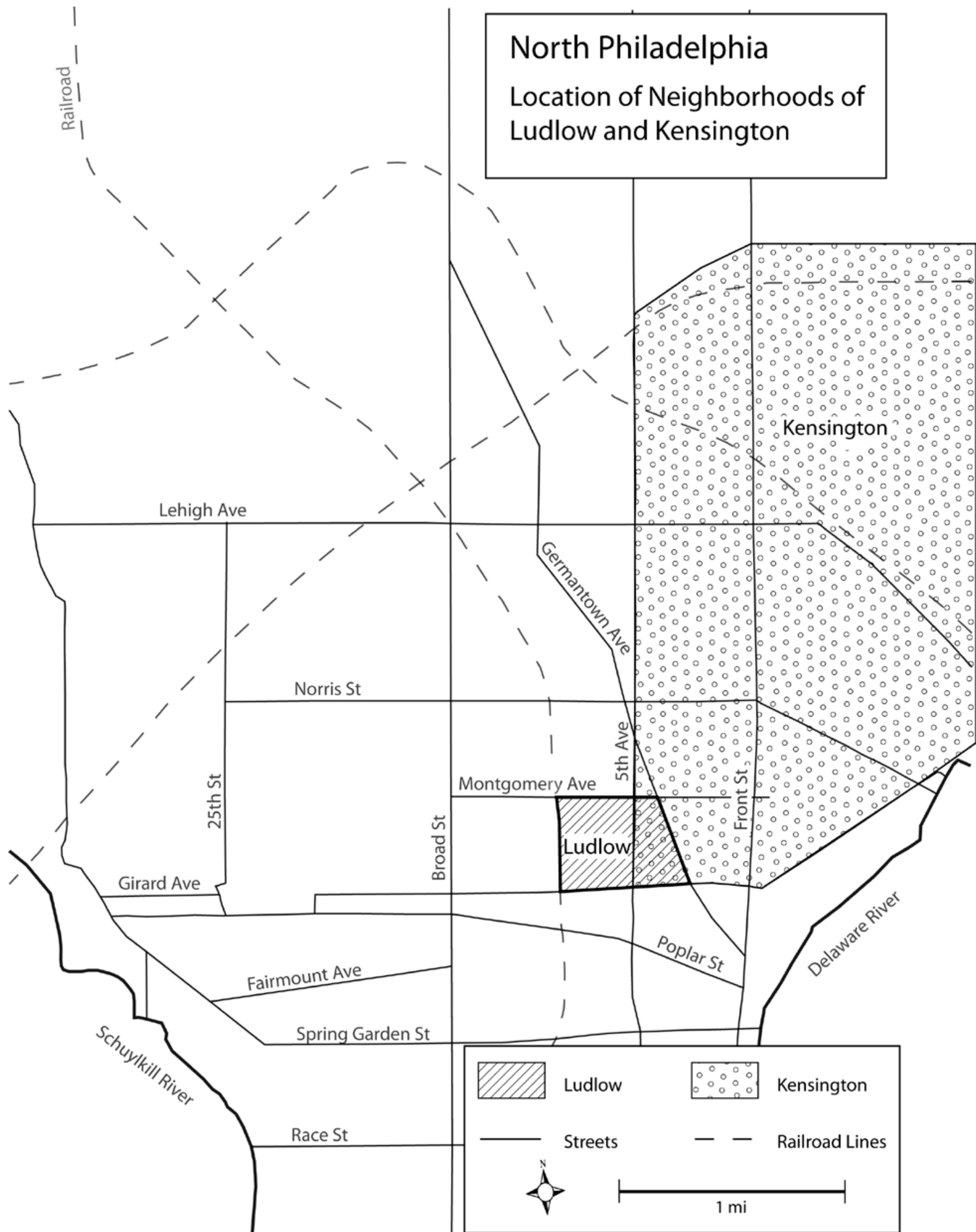

Figure 7. Location of Neighborhoods of Ludlow and Kensington

and benefits from success in creating neighborhood improvements.[4]

Ludlow Civic Association, later renamed Ludlow Community Association (LCA), was founded by a Puerto Rican woman named Narcisa Cruz in 1960.[5] Cruz had relocated to the area from New York and was "anxious to see all of the racially mixed residents of her part of North Philadelphia united in a common cause."[6] Cruz herself had a difficult life. Her husband Ralph, a cabinet maker, faced a long stretch of unemployment while the couple tried to provide for three orphans in addition to their five children. The strain was ultimately too much for Cruz, who took her own life in October 1961.[7]

After Cruz died, LCA member Anne Colbert Louis helped convince her husband Marvin Louis to take over leadership. He was reluctant at first, and then agreed to a six-month stint. A former welterweight boxer, he was determined and fearless and set about "battling the system." The role stuck, and Marvin Louis went on to serve as the organization's public face and driving force for the next four decades. During those years, LCA fostered a cooperative relationship between black and Puerto Rican residents and succeeded in obtaining concrete resources for the neighborhood including a recreation center, better housing, and improved educational facilities.[8]

At its second general meeting in 1961, LCA attracted an audience of three hundred and was commended by Mayor Richardson Dilworth for having a membership representative of

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[4] Rebecca Morales and Manuel Pastor, "Can't We All Just Get Along? Interethnic Organization for Economic Development," in *The Collaborative City: Opportunities and Struggles for Blacks and Latinos in U.S. Cities*, ed. John J. Betancur and Douglas C. Gills (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 160. Ideas about social capital appeared in the work of Jane Jacobs in the early sixties and were brought to prominence in later decades by Robert Putnam.

[5] The Association changed its name in 1966, explaining that it better reflected "what we want to be—an association OF, BY, AND FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE LUDLOW COMMUNITY!!" Ludlow Community Association, "Have You Heard About the Ludlow Community Association?," [c.1966], bilingual flyer, emphasis in original, Box 17 Folder 175, URB 16 Urban League, TUA.

[6] "First Ludlow Folk Festival Held," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 25 Jun 1968.

[7] Nancy Giddens, "Hundreds Mourn the Death of Narcisa Cruz," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 7 Oct 1961.

[8] Linn Washington, Jr., "Marvin Louis and the Dream of a Revitalized Ludlow," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 17 Jun 1997, (quote); Binzen, "Ex-Boxer Trying"; Marvin Louis, interview by author, transcript, 9 Nov 2009, 7.

"residents of the community of all races, religions, nationalities, political and social differences."[9] When the group was considering goals and strategy later in the decade, Andrew Freeman of the Urban League urged LCA to "make sure your membership continues to represent the total Ludlow community. There is room for all your residents. Negroes and Puerto Ricans – white and non-white."[10] Maintaining integrated involvement was not always simple. When LCA's Planning Committee held some meetings at Temple Presbyterian Church, no Puerto Ricans attended. When they moved the next meeting to the back room of a Puerto Rican restaurant, they drew substantial Puerto Rican attendance. A subsequent meeting at the church, though, again took place without any Puerto Ricans present. Committee members had learned they would have to go "more than halfway" to get Puerto Ricans involved, possibly even carrying activities "to their doorsteps."[11]

A documentary aired by local television station WFIL in May 1966 boosted the neighborhood's visibility and LCA's profile. The film, *Assignment: 1747 Randolph Street*, mostly portrayed the neighborhood's ills. It used a brutal attack upon a black female crossing guard in 1965 as a narrative device to detail dilapidated physical conditions and gang influence.[12] But it also illuminated the efforts of Ludlow residents like Marvin Louis who were working to better conditions. The publicity enhanced LCA's position in continuing negotiations with the city over improvements. It also drew outside support, most notably in a partnership with

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[9] "Mayor Speaks at Meeting of Ludlow Group," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 11 Jul 1961.
[10] Andrew G. Freeman, "Community Goals: The Ludlow Civic Association," 24 May 1966, 8, Box 17 Folder 174, URB 16 Urban League, TUA.
[11] "Ludlow: Options for Action," Aug 1966, 15, Box 17 Folder 176, URB 16 Urban League, TUA.
[12] WFIL-TV, *Assignment: 1747 Randolph Street*, documentary film, 1966, Public Affairs Programming, WPVI-TV, Channel 6, TUA.

a predominantly white church in suburban Wayne to rehabilitate neighborhood housing.[13]

LCA accepted external support while also striving to remain true to its grassroots origins. The group secured funding to hire a full time community organizer in 1966. Helen Helfer, a white Bryn Mawr graduate who had worked previously with the Philadelphia Antipoverty Action Commission, filled the position. LCA had high hopes for Helfer's efforts, envisioning her role as working to build relationships with neighborhood people and helping to foster unity. Top priority for her and a Spanish-speaking aide was "time, effort, and thought . . . given to organize Community people around issues that concern them." LCA wanted her to spend the majority of her time in the area "walking, observing, listening, talking to people in streets, homes, stores, barber shops, bars, etc.," with particular attention to residents who "were not normally attracted to 'respectable' social activities." In time, LCA expected Helfer's role to be less prominent as indigenous leadership developed.[14] Helfer, though, had a different conception of her job, once describing herself as "a lobbyist for the community."[15] She attended meetings of numerous organizations in the area, but otherwise did not spend enough time with community members to please LCA; she tended to focus on working through official channels.[16] After two attempts to redirect Helfer's efforts, LCA decided to fire her in August 1967.[17]

The split with Helfer reflected class tensions between her background and education and

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[13] This partnership was embodied in the nonprofit Ludlow Housing Improvement Corporation, which had five board members from LCA and five board members from the Central Baptist Church of Wayne. Marvin Louis to Tina Weintraub, 27 Dec 1966, 1, Box 17 Folder 174, URB 16 Urban League, TUA.

[14] Ludlow Community Association Executive Board, "LCA Staff Responsibilities Beginning May 1, 1967," 27 Apr 1967, Box 17 Folder 175, URB 16 Urban League, TUA. A fuller description of LCA's expectations for the position appears in "A Community Staff Worker for L.C.A.," n.d., Box 17 Folder 175, URB 16 Urban League, TUA.

[15] "Ludlow Group Confirms Ouster of Social Aide," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 31 Aug 1967, Ludlow Community Association, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[16] For an indication of the meetings Helfer attended, see Helen H. Helfer to Ludlow Community Association Executive Board, memo re: List of Mettings [sic] - October 3rd - January 12, 1967, Box 17 Folder 177, URB 16 Urban League, TUA.

[17] Ludlow Executive Board to Members and Friends of the Ludlow Community Association, memo re: Dismissal of Staff Worker Helen Helfer, n.d., Box 17 Folder 175, URB 16 Urban League, TUA.

the life experiences of LCA leadership. While LCA wanted help in improving the neighborhood, it was reluctant to let an outsider exert too much control over those efforts. To further ensure grassroots involvement in the neighborhood's struggle, LCA actively encouraged the organization of block clubs, featuring updates on these efforts in their newsletters. These clubs worked close to home to clean the streets and beautify the area. They also held social events and tried to find safe play areas and activities for youth.[18] The actions of these groups had multiple benefits: residents could gain a sense of accomplishment, build relationships with their neighbors, and even demonstrate to city officials that they were willing to work and were not to blame for poor conditions in the area.

In negotiating with the city for the construction of a comprehensive community center, LCA used its diversity as an asset. Louis explained, "Our neighborhood is unique in that our population represents many racial and religious groups, and we strongly feel that a community facility will not only [enhance] our inter-group relationships [in] Ludlow, but will also draw from the surrounding areas, thus [enhancing] economic integration as well."[19] He emphasized LCA's close cooperation with other groups like Friends Neighborhood Guild and Bright Hope Baptist Church. Among priorities for inclusion in the community center were a language lab intended to help Spanish speakers learn English and space for social services alongside day care and recreation programs.[20] LCA also remained steadfast in its desire for a swimming pool, which would provide a respite from the summer heat and discourage residents from opening fire hydrants.[21]

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[18] "Ludlow News," 9 Apr 1967, Box 17 Folder 178, URB 16 Urban League, TUA; "Ludlow News," 17 Jun 1967, Box 3 Folder 19, Acc 980 Neighborhoods and Urban Renewal, TUA.
[19] Louis to Weintraub, 1.
[20] Louis to Weintraub, 2-3.
[21] "$400,000 Rec Center for Ludlow 'Nothing' Minus Swimming Pool," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 6 Aug 1968.

The struggle to obtain a community and recreation center lasted over a decade. When the city finally committed to building a center, site selection became a thorny issue. The recommended plot at Sixth and Master Streets was home to Perry Equipment Company. Perry employed a number of local residents and had recently expanded during a time when many other local enterprises were relocating or shutting down. LCA was reluctant to lose local jobs in its pursuit of recreation, but felt the site was still the best option available.[22] In the end, Perry moved its operations to Puerto Rico and construction of the recreation center proceeded, funded by a million dollar grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development and matching money from the state. Included in the project were a play area with a baseball field and basketball courts and a small building that would provide space for meetings and services.[23] The center was dedicated in summer 1973 with a crowd of two thousand in attendance. Use of the center was heavy; hundreds of youth might be there on a given summer night. The city followed through on adding the swimming pool a year later.[24]

In addition to pushing for other community resources, Louis and the LCA crusaded for better housing. They attacked the problem at all levels, doing everything from distributing extra blankets in the winter to negotiating rehabilitation and new construction projects.[25] Neighbor Syreeta Broadnax remembered, "If you had a problem with housing, [Louis] could get you

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[22] "Statement by the Ludlow Community Association Regarding the Proposed Recreation Site at 6th and Master Streets," 29 Dec 1966, Box 17 Folder 177, URB 16 Urban League, TUA.
[23] "U.S. Grants $1.1 Million for Ludlow Play Area," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 23 May 1968, Ludlow Community Association, Bulletin Clippings, TUA. For more on LCA's efforts to obtain a recreation center, see page 103 of this dissertation.
[24] Sam W. Pressley, "Ludlow Fulfills Dream for Recreation Center," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 27 Jul 1973, Mounted Clipping Box 113, Ludlow Area Misc, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Rose DeWolf, "Making the City Notice," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 27 May 1974, Ludlow Community Association, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[25] Marvin Louis, interview by author, transcript, 6 Nov 2009, 4-6.

whatever you needed — like that."[26] In November 1967, the organization launched a massive rent strike intended to take landlords to task for neglecting their properties. LCA also took a firm stance with the city on housing regulation and improvements, insisting on more stringent code enforcement by the Department of Licenses and Inspections and rent supplement appropriations for new apartments. LCA strongly opposed the gentrification that had occurred in nearby Spring Garden and wanted to ensure existing Ludlow residents could stay in the area.[27]

LCA's successes were partial. The Philadelphia Housing Authority was not wholly receptive to LCA's advice and proceeded with rehabilitation projects in areas impacted by a raucous bar and the drug trade.[28] Many of the rehabilitated housing units were allocated to people from outside the neighborhood, and much of the remaining housing stock deteriorated further over time. Yet LCA's consistent, vocal efforts to wrest more housing resources from the city, often covered by the local newspapers, called more attention to code enforcement and spurred rehabilitation and construction. In the late nineties, Louis's efforts finally paid off in the first new construction of single family homes in the neighborhood in a century.[29]

LCA also worked for educational improvements. Ludlow Elementary served nine hundred students in kindergarten through sixth grade.[30] In 1966 it became Ludlow Community School, one of four community schools started in the city at that time. These schools were

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[26] As quoted in Cherri Gregg, "Ludlow: A Community Struggles to Find a New Leader," *Philadelphia Neighborhoods*, 27 Jun 2011, Multimedia Urban Reporting Lab, Temple University, http://sct.temple.edu /blogs/murl/2011/06/27/ludlow-a-community-struggles-to-find-a-new-leader.

[27] When planning a development of garden style apartments, LHIC refused to move forward with the project unless it received rent subsidies. "Report to the Urban Renewal Subcommittee," summer 1967, Box 49 Model Cities - Urban Renewal, Acc 107/124/141/161/162/285 HADV, TUA; Alfonso D. Brown, Jr., "City Lets Ludlow Die, Activist Says," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 21 Jan 1979, Mounted Clipping Box 113, Ludlow Area Misc, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[28] Washington, "Marvin Louis." For more on housing efforts by LCA, see pages 143-45 and 148-49 of this dissertation.

[29] Washington, "Marvin Louis."

[30] Francis Bosworth to Guild Board of Directors, 11 Jul 1966, 2, Box 1 Folder 5, URB 32 Friends Neighborhood Guild, TUA.

intended to be agents of neighborhood change, the center of a "constellation" of services and programs for old and young. In Ludlow, the school housed legal services and at times provided meeting space for LCA.[31] When funding for the school's human services program was endangered, LCA appealed to the school board and gained a reprieve.[32] LCA also helped the school obtain a new addition and secured construction of a public library branch.[33]

Alongside promoting physical improvements in the neighborhood, LCA worked for the community's safety and health. Dissatisfied with police protection from teenage violence, much of it gang related, LCA set neighborhood men on nightly patrols, armed with clubs. The scheme quickly drew assignment of additional police to the area.[34] LCA's activism also encouraged others in the neighborhood to step forward. Three community residents pooled funds to donate a used ambulance to the neighborhood in an era before emergency medical services reached poorer, inner city communities. LCA planned to find volunteer drivers and knew the ambulance would beat waiting on police transport.[35] The organization also set up a blood drive with the Red Cross to ensure an adequate blood supply for residents.[36]

Cultural exchange was another goal of the organization. In spring 1968, LCA joined with the Ludlow Home and School Association and the Singing City Choir to sponsor the Ludlow Folk Festival. The event drew attendance of "all kinds and colors of people," playing "folk

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[31] Ludlow Community Association, bilingual flyer for meeting on 4 May 1967, Box 17 Folder 175, URB 16 Urban League, TUA; Thomas B. Ridgely, Jr. et. al., Notice to Clients of Ludlow Branch of Legal Aid Society, 10 Jan 1967, Box 3 Folder Ludlow Branch Correspondence 1966-1967, 1970, Acc 253/259 LAS, TUA.

[32] "Ludlow Gets Reprieve," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 30 Jul 1968, Ludlow Community Association, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[33] DeWolf, "Making the City."

[34] "Neighbors with Clubs Declare War on Hoods," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 2 Apr 1968, Mounted Clipping Box 113, Ludlow Area Misc, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; "More Policemen Promised Residents of Ludlow Area," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 3 Apr 1968, Ludlow Community Activities Center, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[35] "3 Men Donate Ambulance to Serve Ludlow Area," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 11 Apr 1968, Ludlow Community Activities Center, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; "Self-Help at Ludlow," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 13 Apr 1968, Mounted Clipping Box 113, Ludlow Area Misc, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[36] "Ludlow Residents Set up Blood Bank," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 3 Sep 1968, Ludlow Community Activities Center, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

songs, Latin songs, swingin' jazz songs, and spirituals" accompanied by a variety of dances. Emcee Leon Feliciano, who was active in the organization's housing efforts, provided introductions in both English and Spanish. Feliciano noted, "We need to get together like this more often. If we have good times together, we can get along like brothers."[37]

Throughout the sixties and seventies, LCA worked for the interests of both black and Puerto Rican residents. The organization learned to "push on city officials, threaten, wheedle, [and] cajole," in its quest for neighborhood improvement.[38] Though progress was slow and incomplete, LCA obtained an impressive number of physical improvements in the neighborhood including a recreation center, rehabilitated housing, an expanded community school, and an ambulance. Just as significantly, it provided spaces for residents to mix socially.

In 1979 an Urban Coalition report commented on peaceful race relations in Ludlow, noting, "The harmony that has been achieved by the Black and Spanish-speaking residents would not be present but for the efforts of Marvin Louis and his bilingual staff."[39] Another reminder of Ludlow's black and Puerto Rican unity came in 1989, when members of Philadelphia's growing Filipino population attempted to change the name of the Narcisa Cruz Recreation Center, designated so after the founder of LCA, to Manila Park. Puerto Rican leaders like Carmen Bolden and Angel Ortiz strongly objected, and Marvin Louis predicted a "strong outcry from the black and Puerto Rican community" if the park's name were changed.[40] The two sides eventually agreed to rename a different park in honor of the Filipino community.[41]

To the northeast, another multiracial community organization emerged in the late

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[37] Betty L. Medsger, "Ludlow Residents Dance and Sing on a Parking Lot," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 26 May 1968, Ludlow - Phila Section, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[38] DeWolf, "Making the City."
[39] "Philadelphia Urban Coaliltion Service Roles," 11.
[40] Doreen Carvajal, "Many Are Staking Claim to a Tiny City Park," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 10 May 1989.
[41] Doreen Carvajal, "Conflict on Name of N. Phila. Park Ends Peacefully," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 2 Jun 1989.

seventies. The neighborhood of Kensington overlapped slightly with Ludlow but encompassed a much larger geographical area. Unlike Ludlow, which was predominantly black and Puerto Rican, Kensington was also home to a significant white population. Kensington Joint Action Council (KJAC) described its membership base as "neighborhood people, white, Black, and Puerto Rican" along with "churches . . . block organizations . . . and civic groups."[42] Like Ludlow Community Association, its main goal was neighborhood improvement. KJAC often worked in partnership with the local ACORN chapter group and used direct action tactics to gain attention and access to decision makers.[43] Among its consistent tools were interruptions at City Council meetings and street demonstrations.

In the late seventies and early eighties KJAC concentrated on housing battles. It joined ACORN in sharply criticizing City Councilman Harry Jannotti's management of the city's gift property program. In theory the program would give vacant housing to families in need, but it had turned into a form of patronage and was not meeting the grave housing needs of Kensington.[44] Relations with Jannotti grew testy; after KJAC protested at his office, Jannotti supporters appeared outside KJAC offices and allegedly overturned activist Ralph Acosta's car.

As hopes for reforming the gift property program dimmed, KJAC began moving squatters into empty homes.[45] These tactics won a number of concessions from Philadelphia officials. Many squatters gained amnesty for their actions, and some also received title to the property. The organization worked closely with city council to pass a squatters' rights bill

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[42] Bilingual announcement for KJAC annual convention, May 1981, Box 22 Folder 15, Tenant Action Group, TUA.
[43] ACORN, short for Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, was a grassroots group that used direct action and advocacy to push for reforms in housing and other areas. The group had started a Philadelphia chapter in 1977. Seth Borgos, "The ACORN Squatters' Campaign," *Social Policy* 15, no. 1 (1984): 20.
[44] Trace Gibson, "ACORN Demonstrates at Gallery's Office; Wants Jannotti's Files," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 11 May 1979; "Gift Property Program Gets the 'Raspberry,'" *Philadelphia Tribune*, 10 Aug 1979; Trace Gibson, "Bill to Take City's Gift Property Program from Jannotti Gets Support," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 12 Jan 1979.
[45] Norris West, "Squatters Have Tough Line Choice," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 14 Aug 1981.

codifying the process.[46] In the immediate neighborhood, KJAC became a go-to group for residents seeking help. Thomas Greer, for instance, approached KJAC about sealing vacant houses on his street because it was more expedient than working through traditional Democratic Party channels.[47]

Alongside its work on the housing front, KJAC pushed school officials for improvements. It succeeded in convincing the school district to replace asbestos ceiling tiles in two local schools with safer material.[48] KJAC also became a central party in the ongoing campaign for construction of a new Edison High School by mobilizing multiracial groups of both students and parents.[49] The organization supported the proposed building site at Front and Luzerne Streets because it was a racially neutral; black, Latino, and white students would all be able to travel safely to school from their own neighborhoods.[50]

KJAC also worked to change fiscal policies to the neighborhood's advantage. Noting the linkage between home ownership and loan availability, it sought to hold large banks accountable for their refusal to make loans in the neighborhood. KJAC blocked expansion of a Philadelphia National Bank location in center city.[51] The group later joined a federation called the East North Philadelphia Initiative Coalition to oppose a merger between Fidelity and Industrial Valley banks due to discriminatory lending.[52] KJAC also supported a plan to shore up city finances by taxing ARCO for each barrel of oil it refined in the city.[53]

Central figures in KJAC became local leaders; some would later seek political office and

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[46] Borgos, "ACORN Squatters,'" 20-21; William G. Anderson, Jr., "City, Citizens Working Together," *National Civic Review* 72, no. 4 (1983): 234-35.
[47] Russell Cooke, "The New City Politics: Gather Thy Neighbors," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 21 Mar 1982.
[48] Cooke, "New City Politics."
[49] The campaign to secure a new Edison High School is described further on pages 114-17 of this dissertation.
[50] Vernon Loeb, "Seeking New Edison, and Stymied Still," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 14 Apr 1982.
[51] Bilingual announcement for KJAC annual convention.
[52] Tommie St. Hill, "31 Civic Groups Don't Bank on Merger," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 10 Jan 1986.
[53] Mary DeSandes and Cathy McManus, "A Pitch for Oil Refinery Tax," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 10 Apr 1981.

others remained involved in a host of other organizations. One of KJAC's founders, Mike DiBerardinis, had attended St. Joseph's University and been active in the antiwar movement there.[54] DiBerardinis went on to join the staff of the Lighthouse, a Kensington social service and recreation provider, where he served as a community worker.[55] In 1982 he ran for election as state representative for the 180th district, hoping to pull "support that crosse[d] the color line." He had been drafted by a group called the Political Action Committee of Kensington/North Philadelphia, described as "a multiracial group of 40 to 50 people."[56] DiBerardinis's bid for the state house seat was unsuccessful, but in the next election cycle another leading figure from KJAC emerged victorious. Ralph Acosta, a former truck driver, had led the organization for five years. He had served briefly as Democratic committeeman in the late seventies and unsuccessfully challenged Harry Jannotti for his city council seat.[57] By 1984, the black and Puerto Rican vote was strong enough to send Acosta to Harrisburg.[58]

Both LCA and KJAC used diversity as an asset. Each organization projected itself as representing all types of neighborhood residents. This diverse image was helpful both in attracting local members and in dealing with city administrators. Multiracial memberships and pressure tactics won these groups a considerable amount of success in the face of seemingly intractable neighborhood decline.

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[54] Lynette Hazelton, "Battle Lines Pit Old against New in the 180th District," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 30 Apr 1982.
[55] Ursula Obst, "Family Welcomes Tax Bills," *Philadelphia Daily News*, 3 Dec 1982.
[56] Hazelton, "Battle Lines Pit Old against New."
[57] Cooke, "New City Politics"; Jack Smyth, "Big Man Jannotti Wrestling with 2 Foes in Council Race," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 18 Oct 1979, Acosta, Ralph - Legal Problems, TUA.
[58] Tommie St. Hill, "Hispanic Vote Makes Acosta a Winner," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 13 Apr 1984.

7.2 ADAPTING TO CHANGING NEIGHBORHOODS

As racial dynamics shifted in North Philadelphia, established neighborhood institutions came under pressure to reevaluate themselves. On the eastern side of North Philadelphia, the late sixties and early seventies were a time of demographic transition. Until the 1960s, Kensington was primarily home to European immigrants and their descendants, many of whom were employed by local textile mills. After midcentury the neighborhood's population began to change as whites left for other areas and both blacks and Puerto Ricans moved into parts of the neighborhood, some taking advantage of employment at the remaining mills.[59]

Both the YWCA branch in Kensington and the Lighthouse Settlement underwent periods of scrutiny during which they ultimately committed to diversifying their staff and programs (see Figure 8). While much of this change was ultimately implemented by YWCA and Lighthouse staff, it would never have occurred without external pressure. In placing demands on these local institutions, black and Puerto Rican residents did not view each other as competitors trapped in a zero-sum game. Instead, they worked to ensure that organizations like the YWCA and the Lighthouse could effectively reach *both* blacks and Puerto Ricans in the area.

The Kensington branch of the YWCA was established in 1891 to support females working in the nearby textile mills. In the sixties, textile production was beginning to decline and a "sizeable minority of Black and Puerto Rican families" had settled in the area.[60] But by 1966 the increase in the black and Puerto Rican population had been "reflected only slightly in the

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[59] On white community attitudes in Kensington, see Peter Binzen, *Whitetown, U.S.A.* (New York: Random House, 1970).

[60] Maj Borei, "YWCA Audit for Change - The One Imperative Elimination of Racism," n.d. c.1971, 1, Box 5 Folder 18, Acc 520/531/552 YWCA Kensington, TUA.

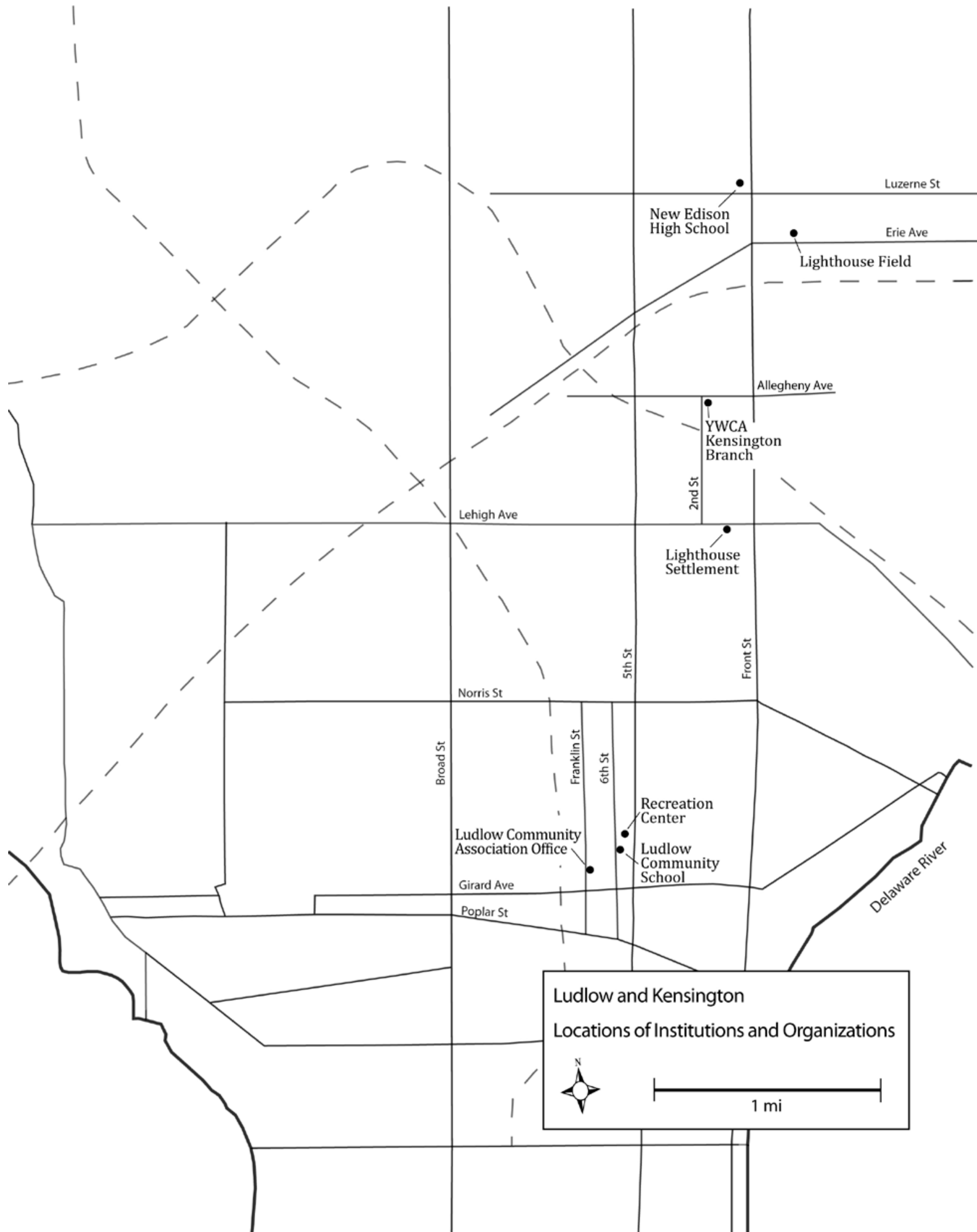

Figure 8. Ludlow and Kensington: Locations of Institutions and Organizations

participants of the Branch."[61] The neighborhood was often hostile toward change or differences; even white Catholics had yet to become fully integrated into the branch.[62]

In April 1970 the national YWCA convention dramatically shifted the organization's mission by adopting a resolution produced from the floor by five hundred black female delegates. The "one imperative" for the YWCA would now be "the elimination of racism wherever it exists and by whatever means necessary."[63] At the local level, this charge translated into branch audits to evaluate progress and identify areas for improvement. Kensington branch staff initially saw little need for significant changes, feeling that its staff diversity and cultural awareness were sufficient. The branch had 600 black members out of a total 6,600 and hoped a "special project" would help the Puerto Rican community. They did admit that hiring priorities might need to be adjusted in the future, recommending, "As the neighborhood changes racially . . . [and] as staff vacancies occur [we] should consider whether the time has arrived for a Spanish Speaking or a Black Staff member."[64] An outside observer found far more reason for concern. At the time, Kensington branch staff included only three black part-time instructors, one black part-time service person, and no Puerto Ricans. Hiring patterns relied heavily upon personal contacts that left little hope for increased minority hiring.[65]

After 1971 the Kensington branch slowly transformed to reflect the neighborhood's

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[61] Mrs. James M. Brittain and Wilma Stringfellow, "Young Women's Christian Association of Philadelphia, Fund-Agency Review, September 1960 to December 1965," May 1966, 16, Box 2 Folder 7, Acc 520/531/552 YWCA Kensington, TUA.
[62] Brittain and Stringfellow, "YWCA Philadelphia, Fund-Agency Review," 20.
[63] Barbara J. Nelson and Alissa Hummer, "Mission Expansion: The Origins of the YWCA's Anti-Racism Campaign," in *Leadership and Diversity: A Case Book* (UCLA, 2004), 55, http://www.hhh.umn.edu/img/assets/29523/YWCA%20case.pdf
[64] Helen Lindsay et al., "Action Audit of Program," 24 Sep 1971, Box 5 Folder 18, Acc 520/531/552 YWCA Kensington, TUA; Eldora Castor and Norman Castor, "Action Audit of Staff," c.1971, 3 (quote), Box 5 Folder 18, Acc 520/531/552 Young Women's Christian Association - Kensington Branch (hereafter YWCA Kensington), TUA.
[65] Borei, "YWCA Audit for Change," 1.

demographics. By the next year the branch's day care was still predominantly white but included two black and one Puerto Rican child.[66] By 1974 branch staff members were researching leads in hopes of establishing a new program to serve Spanish speaking women.[67] After meeting with some representatives of the Puerto Rican community, they held a Spanish American community meeting. They were initially disappointed by a turnout of only seventeen people, but the experience taught branch staff several practical lessons:

1. 7:00pm is a bad time for a meeting because most Spanish Americans are eating at this time. 8:00pm would be a better time.
2. Our low turnout, while discouraging, is normal. We were encouraged by office representatives to continue our efforts. They thought the effort great. No other agency has tried.
3. Transportation is a major problem.
4. Most of the community speak only Spanish and this causes a big communication problem.
5. I feel that we could find a better way to draw these people into the YWCA.[68]

The staff was encouraged when most of the community meeting attendees returned a month later for a broader gathering about safety corridors for school children. They proceeded to hold subsequent weekly meetings that drew "white, black, and Spanish American" attendance. By that point, the demographics of branch staff had also changed dramatically. Whereas in 1970 there had been no Puerto Ricans employed at the branch, by mid-decade they were present at "all levels," including the board.[69] While working to brainstorm other ways to draw Puerto Ricans to the agency, the branch began offering its own English classes.[70] It continued to adjust its teen programs, hoping to offer workshops on "Black and Puerto Rican History" and planning a visit

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[66] Sandra Hirsch, meeting minutes, Young Women's Christian Association of Philadelphia, Committee on Day Care, 2 Mar 1972, Box 5 Folder 25, Acc 520/531/552 YWCA Kensington, TUA.
[67] "Spanish Inquiry," handwritten notes, 8 Nov 1974, Box 5 Folder 26, Acc 520/531/552 YWCA Kensington, TUA.
[68] "Spanish Program," n.d., Box 5 Folder 26, Acc 520/531/552 YWCA Kensington, TUA.
[69] "Spanish Program."
[70] Carolyn J. Edwards to Carmen A. Bolden, 26 Jan 1976, Box 5 Folder 27, Acc 520/531/552 YWCA Kensington, TUA.

to Taller Puertorriqueño, a cultural center in North Philadelphia.[71] In less than a decade, the branch had made significant progress in diversifying its staff, programs, and clientele.

Meanwhile, another service institution in Kensington was struggling with similar issues. The Lighthouse Settlement was founded in the 1890s by Esther W. Kelly, who hoped to combat rampant public drunkenness. She fashioned the outside of the settlement to look as much like local saloons as possible, in an effort to lure men in for meals and activities. In the early twentieth century, the Lighthouse added a Boys Club which provided recreation programs to counter juvenile delinquency.[72] Programs took place at a headquarters building at 152 West Lehigh Avenue and a fourteen-acre sports field at Front Street and Erie Avenue. Two-thirds of the Lighthouse budget was supported by the United Fund, itself reliant upon charitable donations. Many white families that had moved out of the immediate area still brought their children back to participate in sports activities at the Lighthouse Boys Club.

The neighborhood's shifting demographics set up a sharp conflict over the Lighthouse's priorities that pitted recreation against social work. This conflict followed earlier disputes in other cities between settlement houses and groups organized by Saul Alinsky over how to help the local poor.[73] At the Lighthouse, it had strong racial overtones. In 1966 Lighthouse director Don Hamilton drew up a plan for the agency that placed greater priority on social programs and would reach out to black and Puerto Rican residents. He gained support from the board and

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[71] Gladys Rios, "Girls' Coalition Contact Sheet: Penn Ser[?] Youth - Mrs. Marta Ortiz," 31 Oct 1978, Box 4 Folder 13, Acc 520/531/552 YWCA Kensington, TUA; Gladys Rios, "Cultural Day," 16 Nov 1978, Box 4 Folder 13, Acc 520/531/552 YWCA Kensington, TUA.
[72] Marjorie Valbrun, "Faces and Accents Change, but the Lighthouse Plugs On," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 16 Jul 1995.
[73] Judith Ann Trolander, "Social Change: Settlement Houses and Saul Alinsky, 1939-1965," *Social Service Review* 56, no. 3 (1982): 346-65. For a more extended analysis, see Judith Ann Trolander, *Professionalism and Social Change: From the Settlement House Movement to Neighborhood Centers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

much of the staff, and the Lighthouse hired three community organizers in 1967.[74] These developments struck some white Kensington residents as a departure from the organization's previous mission; they worried that the recreation programs enjoyed by their families would not survive intact. Many involved with Lighthouse sports felt that while social workers helped delinquent youth, sports prevented delinquency in the first place.[75] In other ways, though, the existing sports programs served as bastions of racial privilege. Because the teams were first open to existing participants, their families, and their friends, they did not equitably serve black and Puerto Rican youth.[76] Lighthouse directors further embodied their shift in focus by revising the agency's charter in 1968. From that point on, the organization's mission would be to "operate exclusively for charitable and educational purposes."[77]

Neighborhood discontent with the change came to a head when Lighthouse directors decided against renewing the contract of Jerry Stevens, a black cultural worker who conducted workshops in theater, music, and ceramics and helped at summer camps.[78] William Proudman and John Oliver, two Lighthouse board members that had long been affiliated with the sports program, latched on to the issue to start an opposition group called the Committee of Eleven. The group sought to preserve and expand the Lighthouse's role as recreation provider and derided social work that it saw as unnecessary, pressing both Lighthouse and United Fund officials. The

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[74] Jack Smyth, "Hamilton Quits as Director of Lighthouse," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 30 Jul 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - Officials, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[75] Jack Smyth, "Debate Fans Sports Dispute at Lighthouse," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 11 Sep 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - 1970, Bulletin Clippings, TUA. Recreation programs helped maintain strong ties between settlements and residents. Settlement houses in other cities that had abandoned recreation programs had generally not survived long after. Trolander, "Social Change: Settlement Houses," 348.

[76] "Youth Unit Accused of Misusing Funds," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 May 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[77] Joseph Dunphy, "Committee of 11 Outlines Plans for Lighthouse," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 7 Sep 1969, Lighthouse Settlement - 1969, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[78] "Kensington Unit Asks Shakeup of Lighthouse," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 27 Jul 1969, Lighthouse Settlement - 1969, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

Committee not only demanded that Stevens be reinstated, but also wanted the Lighthouse to fire director Don Hamilton and its three community workers.[79] Faced with angry demands from the Committee of Eleven, the Lighthouse board maintained its course and voted unanimously to continue both recreation and social work.[80]

In the spring of 1970, reports about the possible sale of the Lighthouse sports field raised another strong reaction from Committee of Eleven supporters. An emergency meeting attracted "250 irate residents" denouncing the sale. The field seemed one of the few remaining places for youths to play, and its sale, recreation supporters feared, might lead to increased gang activity. Board members who did not even live in the neighborhood were seen as traitors who should resign.[81] In the following days, Committee of Eleven supporters blockaded the settlement's doors, preventing employees from entering and disrupting operations. When served with a court injunction, protestors finally allowed employees to enter, but remained as pickets, also at times appearing outside of director Don Hamilton's home. Ultimately, a judge ruled that the field could not be sold anyway due to deed restrictions.[82]

With the field controversy settled, Lighthouse leadership proceeded with diversifying its social work programs while remaining mindful of its recreation side. In the summer of 1970 it

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[79] Jack Smyth, "Kensington Citizens' Unit Demands Lighthouse Fire Director," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 7 Sep 1969, Lighthouse Settlement - 1969, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[80] Jack Smyth, "Lighthouse to Continue Social Work, Recreation," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 25 Sep 1969, Lighthouse Settlement - 1969, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[81] "Kensington Residents Battle Possible Sale of Lighthouse Field - Seek Board Members Resignation Favoring Move," *Guide*, 23 Apr 1970, Box 8 Folder 11, Acc 520/531/552 YWCA Kensington Branch, TUA.
[82] Jack Smyth, "Residents Begin Protest to Save Lighthouse Field," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 17 Apr 1970, Lighthouse Field, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Joseph Dunphy, "Residents Fight Sale of Field," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 15 Apr 1970, Lighthouse Field, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth, "Lighthouse Field Bid Stirs Citizens," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 15 Apr 1970, Lighthouse Field, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth, "Lighthouse Director to Ask Injunction If He Is Barred Again by Pickets," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 22 Apr 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - United Fund, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth, "Lighthouse Plans Legal Action Unless Residents End Sit-In," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 21 Apr 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - 1970, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth, "Accord Reached to Bar Sale of Lighthouse Field," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 1 May 1970, Lighthouse Field, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

hired black and Puerto Rican social workers Glenn Priott and Jorge Santiago to serve their respective communities. By that time the board had three Puerto Rican and five black members, who had put forth concerns about the lack of staff diversity. Meanwhile, the board also approved hiring a full time worker for girls' club recreation programs.[83]

Committee of Eleven supporters were angered once again when the Black Panthers and Young Lords requested use of Lighthouse space for their free breakfast program later that year. Particularly objectionable was the display of posters that bore "violent" images like machine guns. The Panthers and Lords eventually agreed not to use the posters at the Lighthouse.[84] When the Lighthouse board finally approved the breakfast program, the traditional-minded United Fund suspended its finances in protest.[85] The United Fund had not suspended funding from other organizations hosting the same type of breakfast program, and the *Kensington Peoples Press* thought the suspension was also retaliation for allowing Puerto Rican domino players to drink beer while meeting at the Lighthouse and for allowing the screening of an antiwar film.[86] United Fund officials, facing heavy criticism, quickly restored Lighthouse funding.

In 1971 the Lighthouse attempted to reorganize in hopes of smoothing relations with community factions. It had earlier decided to increase neighborhood representation to sixty

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[83] Jack Smyth, "Settlement Hires Social Workers for Minorities," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 24 May 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; "Girls' Club to Get Aide at Lighthouse," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 25 Jun 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - 1970, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; "Lighthouse Hires Three to Add Programs," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 23 Jul 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - 1970, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[84] Jack Smyth, "Black Panther, Young Lords' Posters Figure in Dispute over Breakfasts," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 6 Dec 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - 1970, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth, "Lighthouse Votes Limit on Films, Not Breakfast," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 13 Dec 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - 1970, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth and Fletcher Clarke, "Free Breakfasts Started at Lighthouse Settlement," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 28 Jan 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Don King, "Breakfast Courtesy Panthers and Young Lords," *Thursday's Drummer*, 7 Jan 1971, NMC, FLP.

[85] Peter H. Binzen and Jack Smyth, "United Fund Dilemma: How to Remain Relevant," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 23 Nov 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - United Fund, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[86] "Light House Flickers," *Kensington Peoples Press*, Dec 1970, Flat File, Coll 1970 Lighthouse, HSP.

percent of board seats.[87] Later plans sought to reduce the size of the board, but selection of members would remain the province of the board itself. Some felt the Lighthouse was not moving quickly enough toward greater community control and worried that a self-perpetuating board would not assure stronger participation by minorities. Glen Priott, a black community organizer, and Rafaela Colon, a Puerto Rican board member, both resigned because they felt the Lighthouse was "not serving the black and Puerto Rican communities."[88]

As the year continued, reorganization plans evolved amid pressure from both residents and the United Fund. The board moved to split the agency into recreation and social service sides which would evenly divide the majority of Lighthouse funding. The two sides would operate semi-autonomously, each with its own controlling board of six members. Those members would join four community residents to form a smaller board of directors of sixteen rather than the previous thirty. Election procedures also changed to allow community residents to choose board members.[89]

At the meeting held to elect directors for the social work side, the majority of attendees supported a candidate slate "drawn up by a coalition of Black, Puerto Rican and White people [who] . . . felt the need for a multi-racial coalition" to serve Kensington's needs. That election set a precedent of seeking "equal representation from the Black, White, and Puerto Rican

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[87] "Four Elected by Lighthouse to Its Board," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 25 Oct 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - Officials, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[88] "Lighthouse Approves Control by New Board," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 16 May 1971, (quote), Lighthouse Settlement - Officials, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; "Two Resign in Lighthouse Policy Dispute," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 6 May 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[89] Jack Smyth, "Lighthouse Acts to Resolve Dispute, Sets up Sports, Social Work Units," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 8 Jun 1972, Lighthouse Settlement - 1972, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth, "Lighthouse Enlarges New Board to 16 to Give Fair Representation," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 13 Jun 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - Officials, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; "Six Residents to Head Unit at Lighthouse," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 6 Jun 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

community" at all levels of operation of social programs.[90] Thus, out of the six directors elected for social work programs, two represented each ethnic group.[91]

The multiracial coalition was less successful in its efforts to diversify the sports division's controlling board. After a very brief nomination period, the meeting elected three blacks and three whites, but no Puerto Ricans.[92] Dissatisfied with the results, the Lighthouse board asked the sports department to add two Puerto Ricans. The department refused on the grounds that they only wanted members who were already "actively involved as volunteers with sports activities."[93] The Puerto Rican community interpreted the rebuff as racially motivated and circulated a petition stating, "There are thousands of Spanish speaking families living in this community. Any agency, or group, or board of directors which claims to be serving this community . . . is practicing discrimination if it fails to include Spanish speaking members."[94]

As a result of the controversy over Puerto Ricans serving on the sports board, the larger Lighthouse board adopted new guidelines intended to ensure service to the entire Kensington community. In the future, each department and the board as a whole would be required to have proportional racial and geographic representation.[95] In addition, Lighthouse officials decided that plans to transition to a smaller board of directors would be shelved in light of the sports

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[90] "Lighthouse: The Beam Gets Stronger," *Kensington Peoples Press*, Jul 1971, TSC.
[91] Elected were Betty Davis and Mamie Hudson, who were black, Leonor Lamboy and Maria Riviera, who were Puerto Rican, and William Miller and John Muldowney, who were white. Jack Smyth, "6 to Represent New Section at Lighthouse " *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 27 Jun 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[92] Jack Smyth, "Settlement Voting Draws 'Racist' Charges," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 8 Jun 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - Officials, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[93] Jack Smyth, "Lighthouse Aides Refuse to Elect Puerto Ricans," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 15 Jun 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - Officials, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth, "Lighthouse Board Tables Action on Reorganizing; to Fill Vacancies," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 1 Aug 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - Officials, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth, "Sports Group Fails in Voting at Lighthouse," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 12 Sep 1971, (quote), Lighthouse Settlement - Officials, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[94] As quoted in Jack Smyth, "Unit Still Bars Puerto Ricans at Lighthouse," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 1 Jul 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - Officials, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[95] Smyth, "Lighthouse Enlarges New Board."

department's intransigence.[96]

The fall of 1971 brought significant changes to Lighthouse administration. In September board elections, members of the recreation department failed to win any of the eight seats on the ballot. Instead, the majority of the new directors were from Lighthouse's social work side and one had been picked by local Puerto Rican leaders. By October, five Lighthouse board members were Puerto Rican.[97] Meanwhile, weary from pressure brought by the Committee of Eleven, director Donald Hamilton and assistant director Charles MacDonough both resigned.[98]

New director Lewis Hamburger took over early in 1972. He hoped to heal community divisions, but at the same time continue the agency's work in both social services and recreation.[99] Division of the Lighthouse into two semi-autonomous departments continued, with more control moving from the larger board down to the department level.[100] The Lighthouse began offering a day care program and a reading day camp that served a cross-section of Kensington youth.[101] Meanwhile, basketball and baseball programs at the Boys Club were also serving a significant number of black and Puerto Rican children.[102]

Still, changes at the Lighthouse did not go far enough for many white Kensington

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[96] "Lighthouse to Elect Nine to Board as Sports-Social Split Is Abandoned," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 9 Sep 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[97] Newly elected to the board in September were Olivia Colon, Ervia Gonzales and Leonor Lamboy, who joined Carmen Aponte. Bolivar Rivera was elected to the board in October. Smyth, "Sports Group Fails in Voting"; "Lighthouse Settlement Elects 2 to Board," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 17 Oct 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - Officials, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[98] Smyth, "Hamilton Quits"; "Macdonough Resigns Post at Lighthouse," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 4 Nov 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - Officials, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[99] Jack Smyth, "New Director of Lighthouse Aims to Heal Community Rift," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 2 Jan 1972, Lighthouse Settlement - Officials 1972-73, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[100] Smyth, "Lighthouse Acts to Resolve Dispute."
[101] Smyth, "Lighthouse Director Views His First Year"; John Nelson, "Slow Readers Getting Help at 11 Day Camps in City," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 25 Jul 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[102] For more details on black and Puerto Rican participation in Lighthouse sports programs, see pages 94-95 of this dissertation. "Bias Is Denied by Lighthouse Boys Club," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 4 Jun 1970, Lighthouse Settlement - 1970, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth, "Puerto Ricans to Demand Full Voice at Lighthouse," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 20 Jun 1971, Lighthouse Settlement - 1971, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Smyth, "Lighthouse Director Views His First Year."

residents, who wanted the entire board of directors replaced. Their criticisms of the institution ranged far beyond its commitment to social work. Many residents were still unhappy with the presence of middle-class, professional leadership that lived outside of the neighborhood. Even more alarming were requests by a local radical group, the October Fourth Organization, to use Lighthouse facilities for a rock concert and screening of an antiwar film. Committee of Eleven supporters thus remained on the offensive. They accused Lighthouse directors of being "undemocratic, un-American, not concerned with the needs of the community, sympathetic to the use of drugs, supportive of subversive activities, against law and order and not appreciative of recreational programs."[103] Those Kensington residents concerned about outsider and radical influence at the Lighthouse found an ally in Mayor Frank Rizzo, who viewed himself as a champion for Philadelphia's white ethnic neighborhoods. Rizzo echoed their derision of radicals and social work and convinced United Fund officials to meet with the Committee of Eleven even though the Fund preferred to stay out of it.[104]

Overall, the Lighthouse underwent an important transition in the late sixties and early seventies. The social work priorities embarked upon by director Don Hamilton persisted and gradually brought Lighthouse services to more black and Puerto Rican residents. At the same time, the Committee of Eleven scored significant victories in the protracted struggle. Sports and recreation remained a priority at the Lighthouse and gained autonomy in the agency's reorganization. In addition, the Lighthouse board became more responsive to the neighborhood through new residency requirements and broader election procedures. Though tensions

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[103] Jack Smyth, "Lighthouse Settlement Board Votes to Oppose Sports Faction Demand," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 16 Apr 1972, Lighthouse Settlement - 1972, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[104] Jack Smyth, "Rizzo to Support Community Unit at Lighthouse," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 30 Mar 1972, Lighthouse Settlement - Officials 1972-73, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Smyth, "Lighthouse Settlement Board Votes to Oppose Sports Faction Demand"; "400 Teens Protest Rock Concert Ban," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 15 May 1972, Lighthouse Settlement - 1972, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

surrounding Lighthouse administration persisted for several years, the compromises and adjustments made demonstrate a process of institutional adaptation to neighborhood changes. Like settlement houses elsewhere, the Lighthouse's emphasis on a cooperative approach allowed it to survive and adapt; it was able to smooth over differences with the Committee of Eleven while also incorporating minorities.[105]

7.3 BLACK AND LATINO COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The case studies in this chapter show that black and Latino cooperation in North Philadelphia neighborhoods produced concrete benefits for the communities. In LCA and KJAC, blacks and Latinos successfully collaborated to wrest assistance from the city administration in the face of neighborhood decline. Meanwhile, at established neighborhood institutions like the YWCA Kensington and the Lighthouse, staff made adjustments in dialogue with black and Latino community representatives. The changes made, particularly at the Lighthouse, generally benefitted both communities without privileging one over the other.

The successes of multiracial community organizations like LCA and KJAC are similar to subsequent efforts in other cities. In Los Angeles in the late eighties and early nineties, the Industrial Areas Foundation bridged concerns of black and Latino members to win a minimum wage increase and develop owner-occupied, low-income housing.[106] In East Palo Alto, through block-by-block organization strategy, much like that used by LCA, the Congress of Community Organizations eventually won the establishment of a new, local police force and a steep

[105] Trolander, "Social Change: Settlement Houses," 362-63.
[106] LCA and KJAC demonstrate this trend at a smaller scale, while Industrial Areas Foundation encompassed a much larger membership and geographic area. Morales and Pastor, "Can't We All," 166-68.

reduction in crime.[107] Together, these cases show that an organizational strategy focusing on shared concerns can successfully unite black and Latino residents. Moreover, the adaptation of neighborhood institutions providing more traditional social services shows that they could provide additional spaces for the building of multiracial unity.

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[107] Morales and Pastor, "Can't We All," 169-71.

8.0 PART OF THE CITY: BLACKS, LATINOS, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

> *The [Puerto Rican] leadership broke down very clearly, the traditional leadership went with the mayor and those of us that were Left, we went to make an alliance with the African American community.*[1]

Black and Latino communities in Philadelphia struggled with local government over numerous issues, particularly in relation to their treatment by city agencies, the schools, and police. As Reverend Donald Gebert described, it seemed like fighting "one giant repressive conspiracy."[2] At times, black and Latino neighbors fought separate battles, but at crucial moments they joined together in attempts to reform the system and better their communities. This chapter explores community efforts to change policy, gain better representation within the system, and battle discrimination. Black and Latino groups generally waged parallel efforts to improve relations with police and change school policy, cooperating at moments when the goal was of clear benefit to both groups. During the seventies, those limited coalition efforts combined with discontent with the Rizzo administration to forge much closer political ties between the groups. By the eighties, most black and Latino residents came to share a similar political outlook and often expressed their opinions through a large and united voting bloc.

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[1] Angel Ortiz, quoted in Carmen Teresa Whalen, *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia: Puerto Rican Workers and Postwar Economies* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 237.
[2] Donald Gebert, testimony quoted in Eddie Lowenstein, "Sins of Forced Omission," *Distant Drummer*, 10 Jul 1969, NMC, FLP.

8.1 POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

A contentious relationship between police and minority residents was a long-standing problem in Philadelphia. The city's reputation became so bad that one civil rights lawyer noted, "Philadelphia became known nationally as much for police brutality as for cheesesteaks."[3] Police viewed many residents as hostile, while residents found police oppressive. As early as 1948, a police publication described "neighborhoods where 'it is almost worth a policeman's life to arrest anyone.' When an arrest was attempted a large group of protesters materialized 'immediately.'"[4] Conversely, in 1969, Reverend Donald Gebert explained "People speak of the possibility of a police state – it is already here. . . . No one can speak his mind in the whole city."[5] Though police also drew criticism for their treatment of some white youths and radical groups, it was black and Puerto Rican communities that raised the most visible complaints of police misconduct.[6] Tense relations sprang from a combination of several factors: the use of excessive force by police, the differing treatment of minorities compared to whites, a lack of police accountability in the face of citizen complaints, racial disparities in police employment, and an attendant mistrust of police within minority communities. By the 1960s, rising dissatisfaction and the increased level of activism in black and Latino communities brought these tensions to a head. There were several programmatic efforts to improve relations; these found

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[3] David Kairys, *Philadelphia Freedom: Memoir of a Civil Rights Lawyer* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 142.

[4] Schuyler Cribb, quoted in Justin E. Walsh, *The Fraternal Order of Police, 1915-1976: A History* (Paducah, KY: Turner Publishing Company, 1977), 253. For more on relations between police and Philadelphia's black community in the forties and fifties, see Karl E. Johnson, "Police-Black Community Relations in Postwar Philadelphia: Race and Criminalization in Urban Social Spaces, 1945-1960," *Journal of African American History* 89, no. 2 (2004): 118-34.

[5] Donald Gebert, testimony quoted in Lowenstein, "Sins of Forced."

[6] Rufus Cornelson, transcript of testimony in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Practices and Civil Rights: Hearing Held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February 6, 1979; April 16-17, 1979*, Vol. I: Testimony (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office), 68, Rankin Memorial Library, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, DC.

little success due in part to the institutional culture of the Philadelphia Police. On the ground level, most black and Latino initiatives remained somewhat separate, but on a broader level the shared foil of the police force helped to shape common goals in the political realm.

On the institutional side, the police force and the city made gestures toward improving community relations that generally fell short. For example, the police started a human relations training program in 1961 and soon began providing some officers with basic Spanish instruction and information on Puerto Rican customs.[7] By 1966, the police had started their own Human Relations Unit to investigate and resolve racial incidents, as the existing Community Relations Division had a solely educational purpose. Police officials criticized the city's Commission on Human Relations for using a "'brush fire' [approach], acting mainly in <u>response</u> to new incidents" instead of focusing on underlying causes and promoting "an atmosphere of tolerance."[8] Police felt responding to racial incidents was their prerogative alone and resisted external meddling, even if it came from another city department.

The city had attempted to smooth relations by installing a Police Advisory Board in October 1958. The administration, however, could not secure city council approval and the Board existed tenuously at the mayor's discretion. The Board's appointees came from the city's professional, religious, academic, and labor sectors. Other than a black executive secretary, they were exclusively white and comparatively wealthy, placing them at a considerable social

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[7] Commission on Human Relations, "Inside Facts," 17 Jul 1961, Box 56 Folder 5, Acc 626 Fellowship Commission, TUA; "Gracias, Senor Brown," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 21 Jan 1962, Police - Philadelphia - Spanish Instructions, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; "Police Spanish Instructor Says 'Hasta Luego' to Staff," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 2 Sep 1963, Police - Philadelphia - Spanish Instructions, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[8] William Eubanks to Commanding Officer, Juvenile Aid Division, memo re: Police Human Relations Unit, 3 Oct 1966, 2, Box A-3388 JAD - To Gang Control - '67, 79.21 Police Department, Juvenile Aid Division, Administrative Files, 1965-67, CA. Emphasis in original.

distance from many complaining residents.[9]

The Board marked a mostly unsuccessful political effort to install external influence over the police department. It was effective in developing alternative resolutions to many situations, often in the form of an apology. Yet even while the Board existed, it relied on internal police investigations of all complaints, which limited the extent of its oversight. Civil rights leaders criticized it for leniency toward police, while a lack of publicity meant that many residents were wholly unaware of its existence. Moreover, the Board was relatively weak, as it did not have subpoena power and only a small minority of cases actually made it to a hearing.[10]

Nonetheless, the local lodge of the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) fiercely opposed the Board from the beginning, placing the city's police in the forefront of the national fight against review boards.[11] A typical objection stated, "You can't have a Police Advisory Board. Damn it, every time you have to bring in some poor, hard working cop for questioning in front of those guys you break down the morale of the whole force."[12] In 1965, the FOP filed suit to ban the Board, arguing that it violated the city charter. A 1967 Court of Common Pleas order halted the Board's functions, but that judge died soon after, leaving the Board's destiny uncertain.[13] It was eventually declared legal in another court ruling in 1969. In earlier years, Mayor Tate had been a supporter, but at this juncture he declined to reactivate the Board and it was soon formally

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[9] Harold Beral and Marcus Sisk, "The Administration of Complaints by Civilians against the Police," *Harvard Law Review* 77, no. 3 (1964): 512-13.
[10] Beral and Sisk, "Administration of Complaints," 513-15.
[11] Walsh, *Fraternal Order of Police*, 255. For more on the controversy over review boards in other cities, see Vincent J. Cannato, *The Ungovernable City: John Lindsay and His Struggle to Save New York* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 155-88; Stephen C. Halpern, "Police Employee Organizations and Accountability Procedures in Three Cities: Some Reflections on Police Policy-Making," *Law & Society Review* 8, no. 4 (1974): 561-82; Sidney Fine, *Violence in the Model City: The Cavanagh Administration, Race Relations, and the Detroit Riot of 1967* (1989; repr., East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2007), 408-10; Robert M. Fogelson, *Big-City Police* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 229-30, 284-87.
[12] City Councilman Paul D'Ortona, quoted in Mitch Gilbert, "Police Brutality: Philly's Time Bomb," *Distant Drummer*, 11-18 Dec 1969, NMC, FLP.
[13] Walsh, *Fraternal Order of Police*, 266.

abolished.[14] Observers speculated that he was bowing to pressure from Police Commissioner Rizzo and the "white backlashers" for political reasons.[15] When the Board was again declared legal on appeal to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1971, Tate reassured the police he would not reinstate it.[16]

As the city's perfunctory attempts to improve relations between citizens and police floundered, other initiatives arose from North Philadelphia neighborhoods. Since the 1940s the local NAACP had been staging legal challenges to police brutality cases.[17] At a 1961 meeting of concerned members of the Puerto Rican community which set the stage for the development of Concilio, "police abuses as a daily occurrence" were a central issue.[18] The slow or nonexistent progress made by these organizations left many on the street frustrated, producing increasingly tense situations in which minority citizens took it upon themselves to defend their communities from what they perceived as a brutal occupying army, often by throwing bottles and other projectiles at police. Tensions peaked in late August 1964 as three days of riots erupted in North Philadelphia after two patrolmen responded to a disabled vehicle call and rumors spread that they had beaten and shot a pregnant woman at the scene.[19] To their credit, the police response was very restrained, and only one shot was fired during the disturbance, in stark contrast to police

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[14] *COPPAR v. Rizzo*, 357 F. Supp. 1289, 1294 (E.D. Penn. 1973); Mercer Tate to James Tate, reprinted in *Distant Drummer*, 13-19 Sep 1969, NMC, FLP; Daniel Dreyfus, "State Court Says Yes to Police Advisory Board; Tate Says No," *Distant Drummer*, 18-24 Jul 1969, NMC, FLP.

[15] "Police Board Backed, Tate Hit as 'Sellout,'" *Philadelphia Tribune*, 16 Sep 1969. According to Frank J. Donner, pressure on Tate came particularly from Rizzo and FOP head John Harrington. Frank J. Donner, *Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Police Repression in Urban America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 225-26.

[16] Walsh, *Fraternal Order of Police*, 266.

[17] Matthew J. Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 35.

[18] Translation of open letter to Concilio that appeared in *El Diario-La Prensa* on 15 Dec 1969, Box 16 Folder 21, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.

[19] These rumors were false, originating a block away from the scene. They arose out of a situation where one officer tried to remove a pregnant, probably intoxicated woman from the disabled vehicle. She resisted, and a bystander attacked the officer; soon the crowd was throwing bottles and such at the police. Leonora E. Berson, *Case Study of a Riot: The Philadelphia Story* (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1966), 15.

behavior elsewhere.[20]

One early effort to improve relations between the community and police was undertaken by North City Congress (NCC) between June 1966 and December 1968. NCC had been formed in 1963 as an attempt to unite fragmented and proliferating community organizations.[21] The police-community relations program concentrated on portions of six police districts in North Philadelphia and sought to explore and mold perceptions among both residents and police.[22] Residents met in small discussion groups, while police officers attended educational sessions. Organizers also took the program into local high schools.[23] By revealing stereotypes and assumptions held by both groups, organizers hoped that participants would start to relate to each other as individuals.

NCC recognized the need to involve both black and Puerto Rican residents and expanded the program's staff to include at least three Spanish speakers.[24] They hoped to have integrated meetings, but did not succeed. Their training manual reported: "Because much of North Philadelphia is segregated along ethnic lines, workshops were generally of two kinds: those entirely or very predominantly black, and those composed almost entirely of Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican citizens. A few were all white. In [s]ome areas where there was integration of residents (blacks, Puerto Ricans, whites), the mutual distrust of the ethnic groups, over and above

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[20] Berson, *Case Study*, 53. Philadelphia's administration was later criticized elsewhere for allowing too much looting to occur. During riots in 1967, Detroit and Newark suffered thirty and twenty-six civilian deaths at the hands of law enforcement, respectively. Fine, *Violence in the Model City*, 129, 299-301; Kevin Mumford, *Newark: A History of Race, Rights, and Riots in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 125-48.
[21] Original funding came from the Philadelphia Council for Community Advancement, itself a venture of the Ford Foundation. "North City Congress Police-Community Relations Program Training Manual," 31 Mar 1969, 5, Pamphlet 635-9, General Pamphlet Collection, TUA.
[22] Districts involved were all of the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third and parts of the Sixth, Ninth, Twenty-Sixth, and Thirty-Ninth. "NCC Police-Community Relations Training Manual," 3, 11.
[23] "Wm. Penn School News," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 25 Nov 1967.
[24] "NCC Police-Community Relations Training Manual," 18, 21; Lawrence Geller, "Class, Not Race, Important to Puerto Rican Majority," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 12 Dec 1967; Stephen J. Sansweet, "Majority Seeks to Solve Own Problems, but Lacks Leadership," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 Jun 1968, Puerto Ricans in Phila. Inquirer Series 1968, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

a language barrier, prevented staff from bringing them together at one meeting. Separate meetings for each group had to be held."[25] The experience of NCC program organizers shows that even though black and Latino citizens shared a dubious relationship with the police, that shared experience was not enough to overcome distrust between the groups. Moreover, participants in the NCC program and other meetings between residents and police often came away frustrated and disappointed by the lack of any meaningful dialogue.[26] In addition, NCC head Alvin Echols charged that Police Commissioner Rizzo's actions and words had jeopardized any headway the program could have made and inadvertently created more followers of black militant groups.[27]

In November 1967, the high-profile confrontation between police and black high school students protesting peacefully in front of the Board of Education building sent anxiety over police-community relations to a new high. The atmosphere of crisis spawned new groups that emerged that year to tackle the problem. One was Philadelphians for Equal Justice (PEJ), composed primarily of white, middle class liberals committed to providing technical assistance to victims of police misconduct.[28] By the beginning of 1969, PEJ was in full operation, providing volunteer attorneys, raising bail and defense funds, and acting as an advocacy group.[29]

Meanwhile, a coalition effort encountered less black-Latino tension than North City Congress had, perhaps because it involved residents who were already active in various organizations, rather than attempting to form resident focus groups. Twenty-two groups interested in fighting police brutality joined in 1967 to form the Council of Organizations on

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[25] "NCC Police-Community Relations Training Manual," 24.

[26] People for Human Rights, "Human Rights Day Honors Police Repression," *Distant Drummer*, 8 Jan 1970, NMC, FLP; Len Lear, "Parents, Police Get Nowhere," *Distant Drummer*, 21 Aug 1969, NMC, FLP.

[27] Len Lear, "North City Congress Says Rizzo Severs Police-Community Ties," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 23 Dec 1967.

[28] "Police Brutality Conference," *Distant Drummer*, 21-27 Nov 1969, NMC, FLP.

[29] The Board of Education incident is described on pages 25-26 of this dissertation. "People's Fund Profile," *Thursday's Drummer*, 21 Jan 1971, NMC, FLP; "Police Brutality Conference."

Philadelphia Police Accountability and Responsibility, or COPPAR. Its motivating force was Mary Rouse, a black female activist from the Kensington Council on Black Affairs (KCBA). Rouse's own son had been beaten by police in 1966.[30] The coalition brought together black, white, and Latino groups, including KCBA, the Black Panthers, PEJ, Spring Garden Community Services Center, and the Puerto Rican Fraternity.[31] COPPAR operated with the belief that "police abuses arise from the majority's support of repression of discontent among the 'under-class,' that is, the poor, the black, the Spanish-speaking and the young." It strove to coordinate the efforts of member organizations on a citywide scale, amass a bail fund, and help with legal matters. [32]

Other efforts to combat police brutality involved citizen surveillance of police. KCBA had started limited surveillance efforts in the Twenty-Sixth Police District during the summer of 1969. By the next spring, a group of volunteers in Germantown had started a similar program called Operation Alert. Participants would listen to calls on a police radio, and then appear at the scene of any incidents, hoping at the very least to provide witnesses in the case of police

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[30] Countryman, *Up South*, 290-91.
[31] KCBA was a primarily black group but often worked in close alliance with Latino neighbors in Kensington and supported the efforts of the Young Lords. Spring Garden Community Services Center represented both blacks and Puerto Ricans in the neighborhood. A full listing of the twenty-two member groups includes, in alphabetical order: Black Panther Party, Community Involvement Council of the University of Pennsylvania, East Mt. Airy Neighbors, Germantown Community Council for Control of Police, Greater Philadelphia Project, Mental Health Association, Kensington Council for Black Affairs, Medical Committee for Human Rights, National Association of Social Workers (Philadelphia chapter), Ogontz Area Neighbors Association, Philadelphia Crisis Committee, Philadelphia Resist, Philadelphians for Equal Justice, Public Action Committee of the Philadelphia Ethical Society, Puerto Rican Fraternity, Residents Advisory Board of Philadelphia, South Philadelphia Community Concerned Committee, Southwest Germantown Association, Spring Garden Community Services Center, West Side Community Council of Germantown, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Women Strike for Peace. List based primarily on Lawrence Geller, "22 Community Groups Seek Order to Restrain Police," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 10 Nov 1970. COPPAR was later described as having 32 member organizations, in *COPPAR v. Rizzo*, 357 F. Supp., at 1301.
[32] "People's Fund Profile [COPPAR]," *Thursday's Drummer*, 7 Jan 1971, NMC, FLP.

misconduct. Temple University's COPPAR chapter also carried out surveillance activities.[33]

Additional groups worked in parallel. In the Twenty-Sixth District, citizens formed "a multiracial panel of community residents, lawyers, teachers and clergymen" to handle problems with police. The group wanted a grand jury investigation into police racism and the practice of dropping juveniles in hostile gang territory.[34] The Puerto Rican Fraternity undertook independent efforts to improve relations, aside from its work with COPPAR. But by 1972, Fraternity leader Maria Lina Bonet felt that their police- community relations programs had "failed" and things were only getting worse.[35] United Neighbors for Progress, another organization concerned about high crime rates and inadequate police protection, sought recruits for citizen patrols. Pairs of volunteers supported police activity in the predominantly Puerto Rican area surrounding Fifth Street and Lehigh Avenue.[36]

Community activism on police issues coincided with the height of a broader civil rights movement. Anxiety about swift social changes and constant community demands for change may have made police more brutal; it certainly made many police more intransigent. Some police displayed little patience for community relations programs, arguing that they were a "waste of time."[37] Community partnerships might detract from their mission and lend credibility to militants. Police sometimes argued that an attitude adjustment was necessary in the community, rather than on the force. For example, when two officers were killed in 1971, Police

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[33] Roger Lathe, "Have Police Radio, Will Follow," *Thursday's Drummer*, 18 Feb 1971, NMC, FLP; Countryman, *Up South*, 291.
[34] Dreyfus, "State Court Says."
[35] Pennsylvania State Committee, "Police-Community Relations in Philadelphia," Report to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Jun 1972, 50, Rankin Memorial Library, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, DC.
[36] "Mejor seguridad," *La Actualidad*, 26 Feb 1974, bound volume, TUA. Patrol areas stretched from Lehigh Avenue to Clearfield Street and from Fifth Street to American Street.
[37] John Harrington, head of Philadelphia's Fraternal Order of Police, made this comment on a nationally-televised show. "FOP Chief Raps Police-Community Projects," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 18 Dec 1967, Police – Phila. Community Relations 1966 to 1967, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

Commissioner Joseph O'Neill placed some of the blame on "leadership of the black community for promoting an aura of violence and revenge."[38] This general attitude among police leadership greatly overshadowed any gestures the force made toward trying to improve relations with residents. In 1974, for example, police provided recruits for increased patrols in high crime spots within the Model Cities target area.[39] But it is likely by that time many citizens received them ambivalently at best.

Rizzo, FOP President John Harrington, and their associates took their disapproval of citizen organizing much further than public pronouncements. The department had a long track record of watching, harassing, and provoking citizens groups that it regarded as suspect. In earlier years, police had conducted dramatic raids of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee searching for dynamite, and Rizzo himself barged into late-night coffeehouses in Center City, harassing youthful patrons.[40] Mayor Joseph Tate, hoping to secure a portion of the white vote in his bid for reelection against District Attorney Arlen Specter, generally supported Rizzo and his tactics. Also helpful to Rizzo was his close relationship with Walter H. Annenberg, who owned two Philadelphia newspapers, the *Inquirer* and the *Daily News*, until 1969. Annenberg had ensured Rizzo received only good press from those outlets.[41]

By the late sixties, Rizzo and his allies had raised their sights, attacking the support structure for groups they felt were anti-police. At one point, three policemen posed as brutality victims seeking help at Legal Aid Society (LAS). LAS allegedly referred them to other

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[38] Bruce Buschel, "Toward a White Police Force," *Thursday's Drummer*, 25 Feb 1971, NMC, FLP.
[39] "Ciudad Modelo informa," *La Actualidad*, 12 Feb 1974, bound volume, TUA.
[40] "ACLU Statement Protests Police Attack on Panthers," *Distant Drummer*, 19-26 Mar 1970, NMC, FLP. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) raids described in Countryman, *Up South*, 215-20. Coffeehouse raids described in Joseph R. Daughen and Peter Binzen, *The Cop Who Would Be King: Mayor Frank Rizzo* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977), 86-90.
[41] Daughen and Binzen, *Cop Who Would*, 11, 92-93, 101-04. More background on Rizzo appears in Fred Hamilton, *Rizzo* (New York: Viking Press, 1973); S. A. Paolantonio, *Frank Rizzo: The Last Big Man in Big City America* (Philadelphia: Camino Books, 1993).

organizations such as Community Legal Services (CLS), the ACLU, and PEJ. But that didn't stop Harrington from accusing LAS of "trying to tear the Police Department apart" and then going after its major financial supporter, the United Fund.[42] For his part, Rizzo was displeased that COPPAR was holding meetings at Spring Garden Community Services Center, which had also provided space for the Black Panther Free Breakfast Program. In retaliation, Rizzo interfered with the Spring Garden Center's support from the United Fund and had COPPAR co-chair Floyd Patton removed from duties at his job with the city water department. Mary Rouse, meanwhile, found herself and her associates under police surveillance, her phones tapped, and her mail censored.[43] The police also regularly harassed Bill Biggin and other employees of the weekly, radical *Philadelphia Free Press*.[44] These machinations had the widespread effect of putting black, Latino, and white activists throughout the city on notice. Angel Ortiz of CLS noted, "The one overriding fear in every demonstration or exhibition of first amendment rights is, 'What type of action is the police going to take?'"[45] Even CLS attorneys were not immune from police pressure, as the police department consistently worked to undermine organizations providing legal assistance to the poor.[46]

The general pattern of police abuse and harassment combined in 1970 with a high-profile incident involving the Black Panthers to spark a federal class action lawsuit against the force. The incident with the Panthers had arisen after the shooting of three officers led police to suspect Panther involvement. Tension had also been simmering between the Panthers and the police over the impending Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, which would draw activists

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[42] Michael Himowitz, "Police May Have Bit Hand Which Fed Police," *Distant Drummer*, 14 Aug 1969, (quote), NMC, FLP; Donner, *Protectors of Privilege*, 226.
[43] Donner, *Protectors of Privilege*, 226-27.
[44] Kairys, *Philadelphia Freedom*, 152.
[45] Angel Ortiz, transcript of testimony in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Practices and Civil Rights*, 52.
[46] Ortiz, testimony in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Practices and Civil Rights*, 51; Dreyfus, "State Court Says"; Donner, *Protectors of Privilege*, 227.

from across the country to North Philadelphia. Feeling besieged, police launched highly-publicized simultaneous raids on three Panthers offices. At one location, several Panthers were forced to strip and then photographed by the media.[47] The lawsuit against the force was subsequently brought by a multiracial collection of community groups, including COPPAR, the Young Lords, and the Black Panthers and hoped to prove a "pattern of unconstitutional behavior on the part of the police."[48] The case included complaints by numerous black, white, and Latino plaintiffs. One pair of the individual plaintiffs, Mark Soto and Jerry Serrano, was arrested at the same incident. Soto was described as black and Serrano as Puerto Rican; they were both beaten by police and called a "black nigger" and a "spic" respectively.[49] The Black Panthers and Young Lords organizations were eventually dismissed as plaintiffs in the suit due to the defense's concerns about their "refusal to submit to discovery."[50] Reluctance on the part of the Panthers and Lords to open their files and offices to law enforcement scrutiny was due to their tense relationship with police.

At the same time, Gerald Goode, a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, a number of other black residents, and a white teenager filed a similar class action lawsuit against

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[47] Grace Alpern, transcript of testimony in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Practices and Civil Rights*, 34; Daughen and Binzen, *Cop Who Would*, 149-51, 154; Omari L. Dyson, "The Life and Work of the Philadelphia Black Panthers: The Curricular and Pedagogical Implications of Their Social Transformation Efforts" (PhD diss., Purdue University, 2008), 137-46.

[48] Krist Boardman, "The Police Department Takes the Witness Stand," *Thursday's Drummer*, 14 Jan 1971, NMC, FLP; *COPPAR v. Rizzo*, 357 F. Supp., at 1290. Another incident involving the Panthers is described in Alan Oslick, "Panther Offices Raided," *Distant Drummer*, 3-10 Oct 1969, NMC, FLP.

[49] *COPPAR v. Rizzo*, 357 F. Supp., at 1312-13. Other individual plaintiffs included Wilfredo Rojas, a member of the Young Lords; Thomas Lodico and Joseph Sterling, whites involved with the *Plain Dealer* newspaper; Albert Boccuto and Anthony Dignetti, white teenagers; Raymond Ragland, a black pharmacologist apprehended while walking in his own neighborhood; Kenneth Lassiter, Fernando White, John Stanley Johnson, and Herbert Simon, black teenagers; and Mary Blackwell, Jean Thomas, and Helen Peurifoy, black females who witnessed disturbing incidents and were often arrested when they intervened. Their circumstances and those of others are summarized in *COPPAR v. Rizzo*, 357 F. Supp., at 1301-16.

[50] *COPPAR v. Rizzo*, 357 F. Supp., at 1319.

the city.[51] The two parallel cases were ultimately considered together and won a judgment from the U.S. District Court acknowledging an unacceptably high incidence of police misconduct and ordering the police department to amend its internal review and disciplinary procedures.

The Pennsylvania State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was prompted to investigate police-community relations and issue recommendations for improvement in 1972. After holding open meetings and examining pertinent files, "the Committee concluded that many black and Puerto Rican citizens and some poor whites do not enjoy equal or adequate protection of the laws, and that blacks in particular suffer to an inordinate degree."[52] In addition, "the role of the police, with some exceptions, in the minority community appeared to be one of containment and control, rather than protection and service."[53] Though the Committee made pointed recommendations about improving the accountability of police officers, these were largely ignored.

High-profile incidents continued to occur throughout the 1970s. In 1977, policeman Gerald Salerno shot and killed Jose Reyes. Reyes had exhibited strange behavior and allegedly attacked a police vehicle. A rally of 150 Latinos convened at City Hall demanding Salerno's suspension. The crowd was so incensed they proceeded despite Puerto Rican attorney Nelson Diaz's attempts to postpone the march due to rain.[54] A meeting with Rizzo failed to secure Salerno's suspension.[55] The cumulative effect of these incidents was to induce "a pervasive fear

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[51] *COPPAR v. Rizzo*, 357 F. Supp., at 1294-1300.
[52] Pennsylvania State Committee, "Police-Community Relations," 7.
[53] Alpern, testimony in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Practices and Civil Rights*, 35.
[54] "City Hall Protest Asks Cop's Suspension," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, n.d., Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Howard S. Shapiro, Marc Schogol, and Robert J. Terry, "Rizzo Meets Reyes Marchers," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 9 Jul 1977, Ramos, Juan - Young Lords Party, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[55] Elmer Smith, "Hispanics Demand Rizzo Suspend Cop," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 9 Jul 1977, Ramos, Juan - Young Lords Party, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

of the police" among Puerto Ricans.[56]

Nonetheless, some established Latino organizations did not seem responsive to issues of police brutality, and citizens took it upon themselves to improve the situation. Wilson Santiago, Sr. charged that Concilio leaders failed to speak out about his son's beating until it was "politically safe."[57] The Santiago family picketed the Twenty-Sixth Police District, and when a preliminary hearing on the matter was set, *La Actualidad* encouraged "all the Puerto Ricans who can appear" to do so in order to signal the community's determination to get justice.[58] Santiago also called a meeting of one hundred residents at a North Philadelphia church, giving birth to a new organization called Concerned Citizens for Justice.[59]

In the late seventies, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights highlighted Philadelphia as an example of poor police-community relations by convening public hearings in the city. Officials in the Rizzo administration staunchly opposed any such airing of grievances. Because many complaints came from poor minorities, the city administration did not pay them much heed and did not think they deserved broader attention. When the Vice Chairman of the Commission noted that arrestees were presumably paying taxes that supported the police, Commissioner Joseph O'Neill responded "A good percentage of them aren't, sir."[60] Moreover, police believed the hearings themselves distorted public perceptions. City Solicitor Sheldon Albert stated, "What we've done by hearings and all this publicity is put every officer's life on the line, because, in

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[56] Ortiz, testimony in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Practices and Civil Rights*, 50.
[57] Laura Murray, "Father Says Concilio Failed to Back Son," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 5 May 1974, Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[58] "Presion de la comunidad ante alegada brutalidad policiaca da resultado," *La Actualidad*, 3 Jun 1974, bound volume, TUA. Result of hearing described in "Decision de la corte no satisface," *La Actualidad*, 7 Jul 1974, bound volume, TUA.
[59] The church was located at Seventh and Norris Streets. "Se funda una nueva organizacion en la comunidad," *La Actualidad*, 3 Jun 1974, bound volume, TUA.
[60] Joseph F. O'Neill, transcript of testimony in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Practices and Civil Rights*, 213.

fact, people now think that they can back off a police officer with impunity, because all they have to say is, 'The guy insulted me,' or 'The guy beat me,' or 'The guy attacked me.' We have created a whole group of citizens, not only this city but in all cities, who now take on the police department. We've taken whatever respect the police department has had in this city and other cities and taken it away from them."[61] Mayor Rizzo himself stated that "a pattern of . . . police abuse absolutely does not exist in Philadelphia; it was media generated."[62] City officials stifled criticism of law enforcement in other ways as well. Reverend Donald Gebert of the Spring Garden Community Services Center told how members of the State Crime Commission had intimidated his employee Helen Frye out of reading testimony that criticized existing efforts against juvenile crime.[63]

Struggles against police misconduct continued into the eighties. The existing distrust of police among minority residents was exacerbated even further by two fateful confrontations between police and MOVE, a black group that lived communally in West Philadelphia and advocated a back-to-nature lifestyle. In the late seventies, after complaints from neighbors, authorities obtained a court order for MOVE to vacate its property in Powelton Village. When the group failed to obey the order, police raided the house and a police officer was shot and killed in the ensuing firefight; nine MOVE members were incarcerated as a result. By 1985, remaining MOVE members had relocated to another house in West Philadelphia. Police still received complaints from neighbors and were concerned about various infractions by the group. An initial police attempt to remove the group from its house and arrest certain members led to a standoff and blockade. The standoff was eventually broken by police action that included firing

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[61] Sheldon Albert, transcript of testimony in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Practices and Civil Rights*, 240.
[62] Frank Rizzo, transcript of testimony in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Practices and Civil Rights*, 245.
[63] Lowenstein, "Sins of Forced."

tear gas canisters and bullets at the house and dropping an explosive device on top of the house. The resulting fire killed eleven MOVE members, including five children, and destroyed 65 surrounding houses. This tragic end brought criticism of the Philadelphia police and city officials to a new high and prompted years of investigation and review.[64]

Though friction between residents and police endured throughout the time period considered in this study, the shared foil of the police encouraged organizational cooperation between black and Latino groups. In the mid-sixties, North City Congress had attempted to bring black and Latino resident focus groups together, but found that distrust between them made this impossible. In the following years, black and Latino residents still sometimes fought parallel battles, particularly when responding to particular incidents, like the Board of Education demonstration or the Reyes shooting. On a larger scale, though, black and Latino groups increasingly cooperated in their struggles against police misconduct. Most notably, they came together to form COPPAR, initiated a class action lawsuit against the police, and emphasized the similarity of their grievances to fact-finding panels like that from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. A shared battle against police misconduct formed one plank of increasing political unity among blacks and Latinos.

8.2 POLICE HIRING

Coupled with issues of police brutality were recurring efforts to boost police hiring of minorities.

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[64] On the MOVE incidents, see Robin Erica Wagner-Pacifici, *Discourse and Destruction: The City of Philadelphia Versus MOVE* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Charles W. Bowser, *Let the Bunker Burn: The Final Battle with MOVE* (Philadelphia: Camino Books, 1989); Hizkias Assefa and Paul Wahrhaftig, *Extremist Groups and Conflict Resolution: The MOVE Crisis in Philadelphia* (New York: Praeger, 1988); Margot Harry, *"Attention, MOVE! This Is America!"* (Chicago: Banner Press, 1987).

Many community residents felt that black and Latino police would possess a much better understanding of the culture and living conditions of minorities in Philadelphia and perform their jobs with less racial bias and a more sympathetic attitude. Community and civil rights organizations therefore pressed the police department to take whatever steps necessary to make the proportion of minority police officers reflect the demographics of the general population. That goal remained elusive, but black and Latino groups viewed increasing the number of minority officers as a shared struggle.

Black police had served in small numbers on the city's force since the nineteenth century. By the mid-twentieth century, there was growing resistance to the department's discriminatory policies. Black officers formed the Guardian Civic League in 1951, which initially served mostly social purposes. Alphonso Deal, a black officer who was also prominent in the local NAACP, took the reins a few years later. Since the predominantly white FOP would not address the concerns of black officers, Deal refocused the Guardians toward occupational issues and cooperation with neighborhood residents.[65] The Guardian Civic League went on to press for changes in hiring and promotion policies and supported community efforts to improve police treatment of minorities.

As late as 1966, there were still no Latinos on the force, and since those who had applied had not been accepted, the police department started offering a Spanish language version of its entrance exam.[66] Members of the Fraternal Order of Police opposed the change, but Police

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[65] W. Marvin Dulaney, *Black Police in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 77-78; Guardian Civic League, "Our History," http://www.guardiancivicleague.com/about_us.cfm. In the 1980s, Deal served in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives for the 181st District.

[66] "Police Tests to Be Given in Spanish," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 29 Jul 1966, Police - Philadelphia - Spanish Instructions, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

Commissioner Bell explained, “We need Spanish-speaking police for our Spanish population.”[67] By 1967, the first cohort of Puerto Rican officers had graduated from the academy and joined the force.[68] Two years later, the police force added the first Puerto Rican to its Human Relations unit.[69] Puerto Rican police became a source of pride for some in the community.[70]

Misunderstandings between Latinos and police lingered, though. When Laura Vega and her children were harassed by white neighbors in Kensington, the Twenty-Sixth District purposely sent only white police to deal with the situation, feeling that Puerto Rican officers would “aggravate the community and be too sympathetic to Mrs. Vega.”[71] Moreover, the number of Puerto Rican police on the force and their status did not increase at the rate the community had hoped.[72]

The percentage of minority officers on the force actually peaked in 1967 at 21 percent, compared to a 33 percent minority population in the city as a whole.[73] The proportion of minority officers fared particularly poorly during Frank Rizzo’s tenure as police commissioner and mayor. Black applicants to the police department were often subtly screened out through subjective judgments during background investigations. Promotions of existing black officers

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[67] “Puerto Ricans Begin Studies to Join Police,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 23 Sep 1966, Police - Phila. Puerto Ricans, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[68] Joseph P. Barrett, “9 Puerto Ricans among 71 Police to Graduate Tonight,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 21 Mar 1967, Police - Phila. Puerto Ricans, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; “12 Puerto Ricans on Police Force Feted,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 8 May 1967, Police - Phila. Puerto Ricans, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[69] Peter H. Binzen, “Ghetto Negroes Fear Bluecoats as Their Army of Occupation,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 16 Jan 1969, Police - Phila. Bulletin Articles by Peter H. Binzen January 1969, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[70] “Bell, 12 Puerto Rican Police Are Honored by Community,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 26 Mar 1967, Police – Phila. Community Relations 1966 to 1967, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; “Conozcamos a los nuestros,” *La Actualidad* 12 Feb 1974, bound volume, TUA.
[71] “Anger Erupts as Politicans Profit from Racial Conflict,” *Kensington Peoples Press*, Dec 1970, Flat File, Coll 1970 Lighthouse, HSP.
[72] “More Spanish Speaking Police Officers Are Urgently Needed,” *La Actualidad*, 7 Jul 1974, bound volume, TUA.
[73] William W. Sutton, Jr., “Rizzo’s Gone, but Black Officers Remain Frustrated,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 28 Sep 1981, Police - Phila. Blacks 1980 to, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

also occurred less frequently than in the past.[74] Officer Melvin Jackson complained of “repeated harassment and intimidation” from other police due to his criticism of the department’s discriminatory practices and eventually resigned.[75] Lawsuits alleging biased treatment of black, Latino, and female police achieved limited success in the seventies.[76]

By the early eighties, minorities only filled 17 percent of police positions, though by then they represented over 40 percent of residents.[77] Over this period, though, efforts to promote hiring of black and Latino officers became increasingly intertwined. For example, The Philadelphia Community Anti-Drug, Anti-Crime Crusade, backed by the Black Economic Development Conference, had obtained “a lowering of height requirements for police recruits, thereby opening the way for more Puerto Rican police recruits.”[78] Among citizen groups, the Ad-Hoc Coalition for Affirmative Action Hiring and Promotion in the Philadelphia Police Department wrote Green regarding their “grave concern about the alarmingly low percentage of blacks and Hispanics” on the force. Increasing those proportions would “lead towards more effective law enforcement by increasing the level of trust between the minority communities and the police.”[79] It seemed a familiar refrain as City Councilman John F. White, Jr. pleaded for “more blacks and browns in blue.”[80] That year, Mayor William Green revived an earlier consent

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[74] Buschel, “Toward a White.”
[75] Len Lear, “Ex-Cop Attacks Former Employer,” *Distant Drummer*, 4 Sep 1969, NMC, FLP.
[76] Robert W. Kotzbauer, “Bias Suit Names Phila. Police Dept.,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 5 Sep 1975, Police - Phila. Blacks 1980 to, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Buschel, “Toward a White”; The Committee of Seventy, “Philadelphia Police Department Governance Study,” Jun 1998, 11, http://www.seventy.org/Downloads/Policy_&_Reform/Governance_Studies/1998_Police_Governance_Study.pdf.
[77] Sutton, “Rizzo’s Gone.”
[78] “Anti-Drug, Anti-Crime Crusade Requests Emergency Assistance,” *Philadelphia Tribune*, 29 Jun 1976.
[79] Joe Davidson, “Hire More Black Policemen, 25 Civic Groups Tell Green,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 14 Oct 1981, Police - Phila. Blacks 1980 to, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[80] John F. White, Jr., “Put More Blacks and Browns in Blue,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 15 Jan 1982, Police - Phila. Blacks 1980 to, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

decree committing to hiring quotas of black, Latino, and female recruits.[81]

Adding minority officers to the force was no panacea, either. One study revealed that inner-city children felt similar anxiety around police officers regardless of their race.[82] Armando Rodriguez criticized Puerto Rican police officers for assimilating too quickly, moving to the northeast and forgetting about the community.[83] An Officer Plaza, for example, had a reputation in the community for provoking and roughing up other Puerto Ricans.[84] Minority police were also suspected of the same corrupt practices as other officers, such as planting evidence on arrestees.[85] This is not surprising, given the entrenched institutional culture of the department; historian Matthew Countryman has called the police "the central institution in the resurgence of conservative politics in Philadelphia."[86]

Overall, efforts to increase the proportion of black and Latino police officers had started as largely separate endeavors in the sixties. As time went on, though, the hiring of blacks and Latinos became an increasingly linked goal for community residents and policymakers alike. Building a police force that reflected the city's demographics therefore joined with concerns about police brutality to form a basis for shared political orientations among Philadelphia blacks and Latinos.

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[81] The FOP still resisted, arguing the decree was illegal, but a federal judge upheld the agreement. "Philadelphia Guarantees More Black Officers," *New York Times*, 19 Nov 1983; Committee of Seventy, "Philadelphia Police," 11, 15.
[82] John Fraunces, transcript of testimony in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Practices and Civil Rights*, 186.
[83] Sansweet, "Majority Seeks to Solve Own Problems."
[84] Eddie Lowenstein, "Policeman in Puerto Rican Community," *Distant Drummer*, 9 Apr 1970, NMC, FLP.
[85] Lowenstein, "Policeman in Puerto Rican Community."
[86] Countryman, *Up South*, 214.

8.3 SCHOOL POLICY

Black and Latino communities also struggled throughout this period to change policies in the public school system. In earlier years, black and Latino parents generally interacted with the school system separately, focusing respectively on issues of desegregation and bilingual education. By the seventies and eighties, black and Latino groups were much more likely to join forces on education issues that affected all children, such as improving physical facilities and ending teacher strikes.

In part, separate efforts by black and Puerto Rican groups reflected the ambiguous classification of Puerto Rican students in earlier years. By the mid-sixties, it was still unclear. A speaker addressing the Puerto Rican Committee of the Nationalities Service Center explained the difficulty: "Is the Puerto Rican child in the 'White' count, the 'Negro' count? Since in a head-count it is the classroom teacher who decides color, how sensitive are these teachers to the question of color among Puerto Ricans?"[87] As the Latino population increased in size, statistics on school enrollment expanded by the early seventies to include Spanish-surnamed students as an additional category, making it easier for Latino groups to stake claims upon educational resources.[88] Activists attempting to prove that the 1970 U.S. Census produced a severe undercount of the local Latino population often pointed directly to school enrollment figures as predicting a much larger presence.[89]

More than classification issues, though, blacks and Latinos were divided in earlier years

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[87] Enrique Arroyo, "The Puerto Rican School Child in Philadelphia Public Schools," text of talk given at Puerto Rican Committee meeting, 12 Aug 1965, 1, Box 62 Folder 23, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[88] For example, see Office of Research and Evaluation, School District of Philadelphia, "Enrollment: Negro and Spanish Speaking in the Philadelphia Public Schools 1971-1972," 11, Box 18 Folder 15, Acc 469 Floyd Logan, TUA.
[89] Juan A. Albino, "Report on the Puerto Ricans in the City of Philadelphia," for American Friends Service Committee, June 1973, 1, Box 4 Folder 1, MSS 116 HFSED, HSP.

by different priorities. For the black community, the focus throughout the fifties and into the sixties was school desegregation. As the decreasing number of white families living in the city made this goal ever more elusive, black students, parents, and activists turned their attention in the mid-sixties toward reforming the curriculum and policies at predominantly black schools, drawing heavily on the developing rhetoric of Black Power. Many went further to advocate for full community control of schools. They were encouraged by the attitude of the system's young, liberal superintendent, Mark Shedd. Among other changes, students and parents pressed for more black teachers, the inclusion of black history and culture in the classroom, and permission to wear Afro hairstyles and African-influenced clothing. These demands coalesced most poignantly in the November 1967 Board of Education demonstration, as thirty-five hundred black high school students left their classrooms to converge in peaceful protest.[90]

Meanwhile, Latinos often stressed their particular needs due to language and cultural barriers that black students did not face. Aspira, a Puerto Rican organization that provided educational enrichment services, noted, "Negro and Puerto Rican schoolchildren endure many of the same inequities. The literature on minority problems seems to assume that solving the problems of the Negro child will at the same time solve those of the Puerto Rican child. In many areas of education this is true, but it is also true that Puerto Rican children face unique educational problems which demand unique solutions."[91] Activism by other minorities served primarily as a source of inspiration. A summary of concerns about Puerto Rican children in

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[90] Countryman, *Up South*, 244; Jon S. Birger, "Race, Reaction, and Reform: The Three Rs of Philadelphia School Politics, 1965-1971," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 120 (1996): 163-216; Henry S. Resnik, *Turning on the System: War in the Philadelphia Public Schools* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970). On the ultimate failure of efforts to achieve significant community control of schools in Philadelphia, see Fred J. Foley, Jr., "The Failure of Reform: Community Control and the Philadelphia Public Schools," *Urban Education* 10, no. 4 (1976): 389-414.

[91] Louis Nuñez, preface to Richard J. Margolis, "The Losers: A Report on Puerto Ricans and the Public Schools," commissioned by Aspira, Inc., May 1968, Box 62 Folder 23, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.

Philadelphia schools noted:

> The Black people in our society have raised their voices not wanting to be underestimated but raising their heads with pride to participate and direct the educational programs of their children. The Mexican Americans are doing likewise. Must we Puerto Rican-Americans settle for less? Must we sit down and wait for the Big Great White Administrators using a few of us to make believe that we are in the game to feed us the bones of their generosity and get up from time to time to thank them, sit down again and wait for more? . . . Let it be clarified that it is our desire to work with everyone regardless of race, creed or sex, we only want a piece of the action; and now we must have it not when everything fails.[92]

These statements make clear that concerned Puerto Ricans felt they had to make their own, distinct claims on the school system. The activism of blacks and other groups does not appear as competition, but simply a successful model.

Latino efforts focused primarily on implementing bilingual education programs in schools with sizeable Latino enrollments. Putting programs into practice, though, produced schisms between Latino leaders and school administrators. One controversy arose over a program for a Bilingual Teachers Institute that would recruit qualified, bilingual teachers from Puerto Rico and employ them in Philadelphia schools while providing additional training at Temple University. A program administrator stressed these teachers would "teach all children" in English but would hopefully put Puerto Rican students more at ease.[93] Puerto Rican Fraternity leader Maria Lina Bonet and others were displeased with the implementation of the Institute, even though it had been their idea. They felt Eleanor Sandstrom, director of the school system's Office of Foreign Languages, had gained too much control and that some teachers were not

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[92] "Concerns on Education for Puerto Rican Children in the Philadelphia Schools," n.d., 1-2, Box 16 Folder 21, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[93] Ralph A. Franco, "Qualified Puerto Rican Teachers for the District," n.d., 1 (emphasis in original), Box 16 Folder 21, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.

qualified.[94] On the other hand, Ramon Velazquez, Domingo Martinez of Aspira, and Carlos Morales of Concilio supported the implementation of the Institute. They felt Raphael Franco, a Puerto Rican working in the school district's Office of Inter-Group Relations, was only making relations worse by attacking the program and its supporters, and assured the superintendent that they had the "full support of the Spanish-speaking community."[95] Frustrated with incremental progress, by 1975 Latino groups joined together to sue the school district for discrimination against Spanish-speaking students.[96]

Meanwhile, other initiatives to change school policies began to join the interests of blacks and Latinos. These centered around general issues of funding, physical facilities, and keeping teachers on the job. Beginning in the early seventies, the Philadelphia Welfare Rights Organization (PWRO) filed multiple lawsuits over the school system's distribution of funds for low-income students from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. PWRO argued the district was spreading the funds too thinly and thereby "ignoring its responsibilities to inner city kids who are predominantly Black and Puerto Rican."[97] Calls to improve physical conditions also referred to both black and Latino students. As Mattie Humphrey pointed out to a conference in 1965, "Black people, Spanish-speaking people, and poor people are crammed into the oldest and most decayed [schools]."[98] Joint concerns about deteriorating buildings arose most

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[94] [Melba C. Hyde], "Recording of Conference in Regard to Institute for Bi-Lingual Teachers," 16 Sep 1969, Box 16 Folder 21, Acc 625 NSC, TUA; Mrs. Hyde to Inder and Mr. Sanchez, memo, 19 Sep 1969, Box 16 Folder 21, Acc 626 NSC, TUA.
[95] Ramon Velazquez et al. to Mark R. Shedd, 29 May 1970, Box 16 Folder 21, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[96] Harry Amana, "Amana at-Large," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 22 Feb 1975.
[97] Amana, "Amana at-Large," 22 Feb 1975; Margaret Halsey, "Challenge of Title I Funding May Hurt Many Phila. Pupils, Schoolman Says," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 26 Apr 1973, Welfare Rights Organization Philadelphia 1971 to 1974, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Jack Smyth, "Board Helps Kensington School," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 18 Oct 1973, Mounted Clipping Box 108A, Kensington (Section) Miscellaneous 1971-74, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Gertrude S. Goldberg, "Class Action, Community Organization, and School Reform," *IRCD Bulletin* 11, no. 2 (1976): 3-6, ERIC database, http://www.eric.ed.gov/PDFS/ED129939.pdf.
[98] Quoted in Countryman, *Up South*, 191.

notably in the decades-long struggle by black and Latino parents and students to get the district to build a new Edison High School.[99] Black and Latino groups also consistently opposed teacher strikes.[100] In 1980, demonstrators including representatives from Kensington Joint Action Council, ACORN, Philadelphia Council of Neighborhood Organizations, and the Puerto Rican Alliance demanded that Mayor Green end another strike.[101]

From the fifties well into the seventies, black and Latinos often interacted with the school system on separate, parallel tracks. Black parents were most concerned about desegregating and decentralizing schools while many Latino parents prioritized bilingual programs. Blacks and Puerto Ricans also waged their own campaigns to diversify curriculums by teaching, for example, black or Puerto Rican history. Beginning in the late sixties, their efforts sometimes converged as they tried to ensure that financial, physical, and personnel resources were being distributed in a manner that would help both black and Latino students. These shared concerns about educational resources combined with shared struggles to curb police brutality and increase police diversity, helping to form a common political outlook.

8.4 ELECTORAL POLITICS IN BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITIES

Both black and Latino communities had their fair share of internal political schisms and debates. Leaders within each community frequently assailed one another over who truly represented the

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[99] The struggle for a new Edison High School is described in more detail on pages 114-17 of this dissertation.
[100] Teachers threatened to strike in 1968 and actually did strike in 1970, 1972, 1973, 1980, and 1981. Countryman, *Up South*, 245, 319.
[101] Dianne C. Gordon, "Parents, Preachers, Kids Demand Mayor Green End Teacher Strike," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 17 Sep 1980, Kensington Joint Action Council, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

people's interests.[102] In the fifties and sixties, these types of divisions within black and Latino groups were significant enough that they put limits upon cooperation between the groups. Over time, though, blacks gained control of increasing portions of the Philadelphia political landscape, while the Latino population grew larger and became a crucial voting bloc. These demographic factors, combined with similar concerns about police and schools and growing dissatisfaction with the Rizzo administration, helped pave the way for a more united political front among blacks and Latinos. This united front drew strength from both shared desires of residents on the street and the close personal relationships that developed between black and Latino politicians.

In the postwar decades, black politics in Philadelphia underwent a transformation from loyalty to the Democratic machine toward a more independent base, as carefully documented by historian Matthew Countryman. Black politicians had been tied to the traditional Democratic machine through a system of "plantation politics" where black candidates were chosen based on their relationship with the predominantly white machine.[103] This arrangement limited black officials' accountability to community desires. Concerted efforts by community groups to limit the number of taprooms in North Central Philadelphia, for example, failed to make progress because taproom owners were large political contributors.[104]

By the sixties several forces were beginning to change the black political landscape. Early in the decade, Cecil Moore moved the local NAACP into a stronger political role, hoping to establish a black voting base independent of other liberals and the Democratic machine.

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[102] Tommie St. Hill, "Angel Gets Bedeviled by Amigos," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 14 Sep 1984; "Puerto Ricans Ask Poverty Council Seat," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 23 Feb 1968, Puerto Rican Citizens for Community Affairs, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[103] Countryman, *Up South*, 309 (quote); Berson, *Case Study*, 29.
[104] Berson, *Case Study*, 47.

Moore himself ran for mayor in 1967.[105] Black Power activists were also increasingly turning toward electoral politics in the late sixties and early seventies, realizing, as Countryman puts it, that "only by electing supporters to public office could they hope to sustain black control over public institutions and resources in the black community."[106] The Black Panthers thus ran two candidates for city council seats in 1969.[107] The local experience of the War on Poverty and Model Cities programs in Philadelphia imparted two additional lessons: first, the potential for state power to mobilize vast resources, and second, that sitting politicians could not necessarily be trusted to work in the community's interest.[108] Class divisions often clouded solidarity between black politicians and their constituency. On one telling occasion, black city councilmen declined to support a strike by mostly black sanitation workers.[109]

Increasing empowerment among black residents and citizen desires for more accountable representatives contributed to the launch of the Black Political Forum in 1968. Black activists in Philadelphia were aware of nearby Newark's 1968 Black Political Convention and 1969 Black and Puerto Rican Political Convention, which had succeeded in electing Kenneth Gibson as mayor in 1970.[110] North Philadelphia had also hosted the third annual National Black Power Conference at the Church of the Advocate in 1968. In 1970, the Philadelphia's Black Political Forum held its founding convention.[111] It was soon followed by the 1971 Black Political Convention. A wide range of leaders spoke, ranging from Newark activist Leroi Jones to OIC founder Leon Sullivan, and the workshops had a strong "spirit of collective effort." Political

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[105] Countryman, *Up South*, 152.
[106] Countryman, *Up South*, 296.
[107] "Black Panthers Announce for 1st District," *Distant Drummer*, 18 Sep 1969, NMC, FLP.
[108] Countryman, *Up South*, 296-307.
[109] Laurence H. Geller, "Black Is Beautiful but Politics Is Politics," *Distant Drummer*, 4 Jun 1970, NMC, FLP.
[110] Komozi Woodard, *A Nation within a Nation: Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) and Black Power Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 101-07, 140-43.
[111] Countryman, *Up South*, 308.

candidates signed a pledge to uphold the platform endorsed by the convention.[112]

These conventions marked a sharp break from past loyalty to the machines. The 1971 meeting passed a resolution reading, "The history of black elected officials is that they continue to identify more closely with the political system and its sanctions than they do with their own people. The failure of certain black elected officials to attend the convention is evidence of a primary allegiance to something other than black people."[113] Similarly, a group called the Black Accountability Committee criticized sitting black politicians for failing to recognize certain black groups and the community in general. State Representative Earl Vann retorted that residents couldn't expect much accountability until they "get behind black politicians and support them with money and workers."[114]

In this atmosphere, Hardy Williams staged a run as one of Frank Rizzo's opponents for the Democratic mayoral nomination in 1971. Williams had scored a surprising political upset several months earlier by unseating the machine-backed state representative in West Philadelphia's 191st District. He had a reputation for independence, often refusing to bow to the machine's pressures when other black politicians did. In some ways, though, that independence had unintentional fallout for Philadelphia's political trajectory during the 1970s. Congressman Bill Green and the more progressive City Councilman David Cohen also ran in the Democratic primary. By some accounts, Williams and his supporters thought he had a genuine chance of winning a four-way race if he enticed enough black voters to show up at the polls. Cohen eventually dropped out, throwing his support to Green, but Williams refused to do so. In the end, Williams and Green divided the anti-Rizzo vote and Rizzo emerged the victor, going on to serve

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112 Ruth Rovner, "Seizing Political Power," *Thursday's Drummer*, 18 Feb 1971, NMC, FLP.
113 Quoted in Rovner, "Seizing Political Power."
114 Tommy Cross, "Rep. Vann Defends Black Politicians," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 12 May 1970.

two terms as mayor.[115]

In other ways, the first Rizzo campaign galvanized the independence of black Democrats. While Republican mayoral candidate Thacher Longstreth accepted an invitation to speak at a Black Political Forum meeting, Rizzo declined to appear. That November, blacks departed en masse from the Democratic ticket to vote for Longstreth instead.[116] As time went on, black candidates for office were increasingly drawn from the ranks of activists that had criticized earlier generations of black politicians for their lack of independence. Among those activists later elected to office were Cecil Moore, who had launched many a protest campaign with the NAACP; David Richardson, who had founded a group called the Young Afros in Germantown; Milton Street, who led campaigns of protesting street vendors and housing squatters; and Roxanne Jones, who for many years headed the Philadelphia Welfare Rights Organization.[117]

Meanwhile, politics in the Puerto Rican community followed a similar course but faced additional obstacles. In the fifties and sixties, the Latino population in Philadelphia was small enough that its impact on city politics was very limited. Puerto Rican leadership emerged from a small cadre of educated and/or financially successful individuals, including German Quiles, Jose Fuentes, Hilda Arteaga, Pascual Martinez, and Carlos Morales, among others. These leaders used a pragmatic approach, seeking to build better relationships with local institutions while also supporting the maintenance of Puerto Rican culture and identity within the community. Though their opinions on assimilation differed, to some extent these earlier leaders all chose to work

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[115] Countryman, *Up South*, 311-17.
[116] "Longstreth to Make Pitch to Black Political Forum Rizzo Decides to Warm Bench," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 31 Jul 1971; Conrad Weiler, *Philadelphia: Neighborhood, Authority, and the Urban Crisis* (New York: Praeger, 1974), 56-57.
[117] Countryman, *Up South*, 320-22. Others who would fall into this category are Lucien Blackwell and Chaka Fattah.

within the existing system.[118]

In addition to their small numbers, many Puerto Ricans thought the community was simply too apathetic. While on the island a high percentage of residents voted, political participation in Philadelphia was much lower. The editors of *La Actualidad* felt that without greater "political muscle," the community was "doomed to oblivion" as its needs went ignored.[119] Newspaper staff, along with clergy, repeatedly urged readers to register and vote.[120] Others recognized the competitive nature of politics in Philadelphia and felt that even though the Puerto Rican population was small, it was important. Hilda Arteaga, a well-known informal leader, noted that Puerto Rican voters had been decisive in electing Ethel Allen, a black female doctor, to the Fifth District city council seat in 1971. However, once Allen was in office, she seemed to be ignoring the Puerto Rican community by opposing the construction of the Spanish Village II housing development.[121]

By the late sixties and early seventies the Puerto Rican population was both larger and more militant. The community started to produce candidates for office, whereas earlier political leaders had primarily been appointees. Pedro Medina ran in the Democratic primary for State Representative in the 180th District in 1971, with the local Spanish-language newspaper noting,

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[118] Ariel Arnau, "The Evolution of Leadership within the Puerto Rican Community of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 136, no. 1 (2012): 60-68.
[119] "Our Political Involvement Is a Must," *La Actualidad*, 17 Jun 1974, bound volume, TUA. A similar sentiment appears in Jose (Pepe) Figueroa, "Bombitos al cuadro," *La Actualidad*, 3 Jun 1974, bound volume, TUA.
[120] "Votar es un derecho: Inscribete," *La Actualidad*, 16 Apr 1974, bound volume, TUA; "Directores espirituales de la comunidad aconsejan inscribirse y votar," *La Actualidad*, 16 Apr 1974, bound volume, TUA.
[121] Hilda Arteaga, quoted in"El alcade apoya Villa Hispana II," *La Actualidad*, 31 Aug 1974, bound volume, TUA. Original reads: "Es una peña que Ud. Sra. Allen ahora nos ponga a un lado y se declare en contra den un programa que es en bien de nuestro pueblo." Arteaga had served as a Democratic committeewoman for the Fifteenth Ward and then worked for the city's Revenue Department. She was also heavily involved with Asociación de Puertorriqueños en Marcha, which provided support services for the Puerto Rican population. She may have been best known, though, for her personal attention to countless Puerto Ricans as she helped them navigate institutional bureaucracies or provided food or supplies. Sandy Bauers, "She's Always There: Hilda Arteaga Cooks for the Homeless and Finds Toys for Needy Children," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 24 Aug 1992.

"he knows the community and its problems and needs."[122] A younger generation of Puerto Rican leaders increasingly demanded equal rights. These leaders drew inspiration from the progress they had seen black neighbors make in the past decade. On one occasion, Baltasar Dávila noted "It is time now that we are given the same rights in education, employment, and health program. We are citizens at the same level as the blacks and we demand the same treatment as them."[123] As Ariel Arnau notes, the younger generation of Puerto Rican leaders shared "a sense of distrust and contempt for the established Puerto Rican leadership and its connection to City Hall."[124] Thus as the community strove to become more politically active, personal schisms elevated. Fierce conflict between leaders at Concilio in the mid-seventies led one newspaper to note, "Lack of vision and sharp personalism could impair this continuing progress."[125]

Many activists hoped to overcome these divides while also changing the style, tone, and alignment of Puerto Rican politics in Philadelphia. By the early seventies, many younger Puerto Rican leaders no longer sought to work within the system, but instead viewed themselves as "catalyst[s] for social change."[126] These leaders made more vocal demands than their predecessors, particularly surrounding the issue of police brutality. Members of the Young Lords like Wilfredo Rojas and Juan Ramos and attorney and newspaper columnist Nelson Diaz gained visibility and clout in the community. Meanwhile, other Puerto Rican leaders continued their efforts within the establishment, prefiguring a struggle over Puerto Ricans' allegiance to the Rizzo administration.

A number of groups came together in 1979 to form the Puerto Rican Alliance and

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[122] Jose (Pepe) Figueroa, "Bombitos al cuadro," *La Actualidad*, 28 Jan 1974, bound volume, TUA. Original reads "Pedro conoce a la comunidad y sus problemas y necesidades."
[123] "Alcalde apoya." Original reads: "Es tiempo que ahora se nos den los mismos derechos en educación, empleos y programas de salud. Somos ciudadanos al mismo nivel que los blacks y negros y exigimos el mismo trato de ellos."
[124] Arnau, "Evolution of Leadership," 69.
[125] "Let's Wake Up!" *La Actualidad*, 19-26 Oct 1975, Box 52 Folder 19, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[126] Arnau, "Evolution of Leadership," 73.

sponsor the city's first Puerto Rican Convention. Participants called for an end to discrimination, hoped that political candidates would appear before them, and began to discuss running a candidate for city council. The Alliance, headed by former Young Lord Juan Ramos, generally sought to rally residents around the issues of "housing, workers' rights, education, and police brutality." The Alliance also carried on the socialist and *independentista* leanings that the Lords and some other groups had developed by protesting the U.S. Navy outpost at Vieques.[127]

Gaining attention from the power structure was still difficult, though. Juan Ramos felt the Green administration of the early eighties ignored Puerto Ricans as much as those of the past.[128] The sense that the community existed in the shadows persisted. Ralph Acosta, a community activist that led Kensington Joint Action Council and ran for city council in 1980, shared priorities and strategies with Milton Street, who had also been active in squatters' campaigns. Yet while Street was well-known, the *Inquirer* still saw Acosta as "a stranger to the political establishment" because "his constituency, though large, remains invisible and mostly powerless."[129] Some felt this was in part due to the persistent pull of the island, the sense that Puerto Ricans had "one foot in Puerto Rico and one foot in the U.S."[130] Nelson Diaz agreed that many in the community were not politically active because they felt they were there "on a grace period."[131] During the eighties, this sense of apathy and invisibility finally began to recede as Puerto Ricans who had been affiliated with the Alliance were elected to city council and appointed to other conspicuous posts in city administration.

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[127] *Independentista* refers to those who advocated for Puerto Rico's complete independence from the United States. Stephen Franklin, "'75 Bombing Leads to Puerto Rican Convention," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 19 Mar 1979, Puerto Ricans in Penna., Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Whalen, *From Puerto Rico*, 237-38.
[128] Tommie St. Hill, "Hispanic Community Claims Its Ignored," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 14 May 1980.
[129] Lewis Beale, "Caught between Two Worlds," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 14 Dec 1980, Puerto Ricans in Phila. 1980 to Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[130] Nazario Jimenez, quoted in Beale, "Caught between."
[131] Nelson Diaz, quoted in Beale, "Caught between."

8.5 FRANK RIZZO AS DIVIDER AND UNIFIER

Frank Rizzo, in his roles over the years as a policeman, deputy police commissioner, police commissioner, and mayor, probably served more than any other individual to promote political unity between black and Latino residents.[132] That unity, however, arose out of a process that lasted over a decade. Along the way, Rizzo served primarily as a divisive figure, both within black and Latino groups and between black and Latino groups and many whites.

Rizzo came from an Italian-American family that lived in South Philadelphia. His roots in that community and his direct manner differentiated him from the traditional pedigree of Philadelphia's political elite. He was a conservative Democrat, and came to embody a law-and-order approach to urban problems in an era of rising concern about crime and disorder. Meanwhile, he opposed some of the experimentation and social spending pursued by earlier city administrations. He had wide appeal among white ethnic communities in the city, particularly with working class and lower middle class voters.

Rizzo had a troubled relationship with the black community from his early days on the police force. He had gained a reputation for raiding black establishments and attacking black suspects with particular ferocity. Black distrust of Rizzo as police commissioner went so deep that it turned some against Mayor Tate, who had appointed him. On one occasion, black youths burst into a ceremony honoring Tate at Bright Hope Baptist Church, distributing leaflets reading, "We state here that…the mayor that governs white Philadelphia, is an ardent supporter of the definitely racist and fascist Frank Rizzo, alias the Mighty Meatball. . . . and has shown a

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[132] Rizzo was named deputy commissioner in late 1963 and promoted to police commissioner in fall 1967. He was elected mayor in fall of 1971 and served two terms, leaving office at the end of 1979.

disregard for black people."[133] A few parts of the black community disagreed. The Guardian Civic League, an organization of black police officers, handed Rizzo an Annual Achievement Award in 1967, despite pickets led by Cecil Moore.[134] A minority of conservative-leaning black homeowners probably supported Rizzo due to the attractive simplicity of law and order approaches.[135] And a black committeeman criticized black ward leaders for not even showing up to vote against Rizzo's nomination, calling them and those black officials that supported Rizzo "traitors" and worse.[136] Generally, though, by Rizzo's mayoral campaign of 1971, he had come to represent "a new force in Philadelphia politics: a heretofore unlikely coalition of ethnic groups held together by the color of their skin – white – and a common emotion – fear."[137]

On the other hand, for a time Rizzo enjoyed good relations with significant sectors of the Puerto Rican community. Rizzo felt the culture and struggles of Puerto Rican migrants bore a strong resemblance to that of his own Italian-American forebears. In particular, he forged close ties to middle class Puerto Rican leaders and business owners. In 1973, Concilio even presented the mayor with a plaque commemorating "his efforts on behalf of the Spanish speaking community in Philadelphia," especially the installation of a Spanish Speaking Advisory Council in City Hall and the translation of Civil Service exams.[138] Ramon Santos, coordinator of Club Hispano-Americano and a member of Concilio, had a photograph of Rizzo and himself hanging

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[133] Desmond Ryan, "Intruders Give Tate an Award - 'Heathen,'" *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 25 Apr 1968, Concerned Black People of Philadelphia, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[134] "Negro Police Cite Rizzo Despite Moore's Pickets," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 3 Oct 1967.
[135] Lawrence H. Geller, "When the Chickens Come Home to Roost," *Distant Drummer*, 19-26 Mar 1970, NMC, FLP.
[136] "Letter from a Black Committeeman," *Thursday's Drummer*, 1 Apr 1971, NMC, FLP.
[137] Hamilton, *Rizzo*, 11.
[138] "Rizzo Gets Plaque from Spanish Council," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 7 Dec 1973, Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; "En Uds. veo a mis antepasados," *La Actualidad*, 8 Dec 1973, bound volume, TUA.

on his office wall. Rizzo had visited during his mayoral campaign and seemed sincere.[139] Rizzo had also endeared himself to some Puerto Ricans by backing the construction of a housing project called Spanish Village. He later supported the construction of Spanish Village II near Twentieth Street and Fairmount Avenue, despite the objections of a mostly white neighborhood civic group and some blacks.[140]

By 1975, Charles Bowser believed he could challenge Rizzo's reelection as mayor by unifying the city's minority voters and liberal whites under an independent, third party slate. Included on the Philadelphia Party ticket were four blacks, three whites, and one Puerto Rican.[141] Bowser had already established good ties in the Puerto Rican community. Columnist Nelson Diaz noted, "Even though Bowser is not Puerto Rican or Hispanic, he has been one of the few black leaders respected and appreciated by our community in Philadelphia."[142] He had gained this goodwill in part by approving support for Concilio while director of the Philadelphia Antipoverty Action Committee, helping to give city jobs to Puerto Ricans while deputy mayor, and securing funding for Latino groups through the Urban Coalition.[143] It also helped that he was from North Philadelphia; Diaz felt that of the three candidates, Bowser was "the only one who knows our problems because he has lived them also."[144]

Epifanio de Jesus ran for city council with Bowser's support; he was the first Latino

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[139] "Conozcamos a los nuestros," *La Actualidad*, 31 Aug 1974, bound volume, TUA. Original reads "En la pared de su oficina observamos una fotografía de Don Ramón con el Alcalde de la ciudad Frank L. Rizzo y él nos explica que Rizzo durante la campaña política visitó el club y la impresioón que le causó fue de sinceridad y que por esto le dió su respaldo."

[140] "Inauguració de un pueblo hispano," *La Actualidad*, 26 Feb 1974, bound volume, TUA; "Alcalde apoya."

[141] Harry Amana, "Charles Bowser Announces Slate of Running Mates," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 16 Aug 1975; "Bowser Files Slate Petition," *Philadelphia Tribune*, 23 Aug 1975.

[142] Nelson Diaz, "Bowser Aids Puerto Rican Causes," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 26 Jan 1975, Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[143] Diaz, "Bowser Aids."

[144] Nelson Diaz, "Bowser para alcalde," *La Prensa Mercantil*, 23 Oct 1975, Box 52 Folder 19, Acc 625 NSC, TUA. Original reads: "De los 3 candidatos, conceptúo a Bowser como el único que conoce nuestros problemas porque él también los ha vivido."

candidate to be backed directly by a mayoral candidate. A Bowser campaign ad accordingly proclaimed the Philadelphia Party as the party of Hispanics.[145] De Jesus had served as director of Aspira and headed the Board of Directors of the Spanish Merchants Association.[146] While active in these pursuits, de Jesus had concluded that "only through politics" could solutions to some of the community's problems be found.[147]

The Philadelphia Party challenge to Rizzo proved effective in the black community but produced mixed results among Latinos. Some Puerto Rican leaders were starting to question Rizzo's fiscal responsibility, criticizing his budget deficit and decision to give city employees a heavy raise and were open to supporting Bowser.[148] But for other Puerto Ricans, allegiance to Rizzo died hard. Rizzo's campaign appealed to Puerto Rican voters much as it did to ethnic white voters. One ad appearing in Spanish focused on personal safety, concluding, "If you are worried about crime . . . If you are afraid to go out at night . . . if you fear for the safety of your family, vote for Mayor Rizzo."[149] Rizzo's attention to the community and his administration's hiring record with respect to Latinos led the Asociación de Puertorriqueños en Marcha to endorse his reelection.[150] *La Actualidad*'s endorsement called Rizzo "a true friend our community."[151] In a supplement to that same issue, though, Nelson Diaz authored a strong endorsement of

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[145] "Vote partido Filadelfia," *La Actualidad*, 26 Oct - 2 Nov 1975, Box 52 Folder 19, Acc 625 NSC, TUA. Entire text of ad reads: "¡Democrata! Vote Partido Filadelfia 'El de los Hispanos' Bowser Hale la palanca 'F' para elegir a 'de Jesus'"
[146] Nelson Diaz, "Epifanio de Jesus para concejal," *La Prensa Mercantil*, 23 Oct 1975, Box 52 Folder 19, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[147] Diaz, "Epifanio de Jesus." Original reads: "Luego de su vasta experiencia, ha concluido que solo a través de la política se encontrarán soluciones a muchos de nuestros problemas."
[148] Diaz, "Bowser para alcalde."
[149] Citizens for Rizzo, "Rizzo Cares About Your Safety," *La Actualidad*, 26 Oct - 2 Nov 1975, Box 52 Folder 19, Acc 625 NSC, TUA. Spanish reads "Si a Usted le preocupa el crimen . . . si teine miedo salir de noche . . . si teme por la seguridad de su familia, vote por [sic] el Alcalde Rizzo."
[150] Jesus M. Sierra, "Comite de padres centro de A.P.M. endosa al Alcalde Frank L. Rizzo," *La Actualidad*, 26 Oct - 2 Nov 1975, Box 52 Folder 19, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[151] "Editorial," *La Actualidad*, 26 Oct - 2 Nov 1975, Box 52 Folder 19, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.

Bowser.[152] De Jesus's city council candidacy, while also ultimately unsuccessful, found broader support. Columnist Chuck Stone at the *Daily News* and even the more conservative *Inquirer* endorsed him.[153] Even *La Actualidad*, while endorsing Rizzo over Bowser, supported de Jesus because he would be the most receptive to community needs.[154]

After Rizzo's reelection, the extent of the city's fiscal crisis became clearer. Officials had previously downplayed the seriousness of the situation through creative accounting by finance director Len Moak. An eighty-million-dollar deficit now appeared and was projected to grow far worse. As a result, the Rizzo administration sharply raised both real estate and wage taxes, despite campaign pledges to the contrary. Many residents were put off by the tax increases, but most were even angrier about the administration's deception. Despite financial woes, the administration's patronage practices continued unabated.[155]

Disillusionment with the administration culminated in a 1976 recall campaign to remove Rizzo from office. The Citizen's Committee to Recall Rizzo succeeded in obtaining enough petition signatures to legally force a recall election. Court rulings eventually blocked the recall after a series of maneuvers by Rizzo allies.[156] But the airing of citizen discontent over Rizzo's leadership began to pull more Latino residents into the Rizzo opposition and helped pave the way for a stronger minority voting bloc.

Rizzo's subsequent 1978 campaign to change the city charter to allow him to run for a third consecutive term as mayor was a further step toward black and Latino political unity. The effort served first to deepen divisions within the Puerto Rican community that had been apparent

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[152] Diaz, "Bowser para alcalde."
[153] "Eppy de Jesus para concejal," *La Actualidad*, 26 Oct - 2 Nov 1975, Box 52 Folder 19, Acc 625 NSC, TUA.
[154] "Editorial"; "Eppy de Jesus."
[155] Daughen and Binzen, *Cop Who Would*, 297, 301.
[156] In part, Rizzo and his allies won by having many of the petition signatures disqualified. Daughen and Binzen, *Cop Who Would*, 308-14, 317-23.

during the 1975 campaign, and second to push black and Puerto Rican political goals closer together than ever before. Initially hoping to hold on to the middle-class Puerto Rican support he had long enjoyed, Rizzo made several promises, including installing Ramonita Rivera as an assistant to the mayor, promoting Max Santiago from bilingual representative to bilingual supervisor at the Commission on Human Relations, improving lighting and sanitation along the Golden Block, and considering a branch office to serve Latino residents.[157]

As the campaign progressed, however, Rizzo's choice of strategy combined with his performance as mayor to turn the tide of Puerto Rican opinion against him. In a talk to supporters in Northeast Philadelphia, Rizzo urged residents to "vote white." This instruction provoked quick condemnation by blacks and Puerto Ricans. Rizzo traditionally marched in the Puerto Rican Day Parade, but Puerto Ricans United Against the Charter Change asked that his invitation be withdrawn in light of Rizzo's racist rhetoric.[158] Puerto Ricans United Against the Charter Change also joined with blacks and white liberals to mount a voter registration campaign. Angel Ortiz recalled that activists saw the Rizzo situation as a useful opportunity to mount united efforts. He added, "The leadership broke down very clearly, the traditional leadership went with the mayor and those of us that were Left, we went to make an alliance with the African American community."[159]

When the time came, blacks voted against the charter change by a margin of twenty-five

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[157] Joe Davidson, "Puerto Ricans Get Rizzo Pledge on Key Job," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 17 Oct 1978, Ortiz, Angel L. - Community Legal Services, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Joe Davidson, "Hispanic's 'Expedient' Promotion Assailed," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 19 Oct 1978, Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, Bulletin Clippings, TUA.

[158] "Nation: Rizzo Again," *Time*, 30 Oct 1978; "Rizzo Skips Puerto Rican Day Parade," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 25 Sep 1978, Puerto Ricans United Against the Charter Change, Bulletin Clippings, TUA; Sandra Featherman and William J. Rosenberg, *Jews, Blacks and Ethnics: The 1978 'Vote White' Charter Campaign in Philadelphia* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1979), Davis Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.

[159] Whalen, *From Puerto Rico*, 237.

to one and abandoned the Democrats to support Republican Dick Thornburgh for governor.[160] Meanwhile, though a majority of Puerto Ricans had supported Rizzo in 1971 and 1975, by 1978 over 60 percent of Puerto Rican voters helped defeat the charter change referendum.[161] Over the course of the seventies, the Puerto Rican community had allied itself much more closely with the black community; many black political leaders had openly supported such unity.

8.6 CONNECTIONS AND MENTOR RELATIONSHIPS

From the mid-seventies onward, the political loyalties and trajectories of the black and Latino populations became increasingly intertwined. Even though Latinos comprised a relatively small proportion of the city's population, the high level of competition in Philadelphia politics "forced all politicians seeking citywide offices to court Latino voters."[162] In this atmosphere, black and Latino activists and politicians increasingly reached out to one another.

At the Black Political Convention in January 1979, a human rights agenda emerged that stressed the similar needs of blacks and Puerto Ricans and endorsed bilingual and bicultural school curriculums.[163] The second Puerto Rican Political Convention, held in 1980 sought to "specifically address itself to Blacks and Puerto Ricans working more closely together to solve some of their common problems."[164] And a 1979 William Green mayoral campaign document entitled "A Historic Commitment of Conscience to the People of Philadelphia" repeatedly

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[160] Ronald Goldwyn, "Black Convention Goes Slowly in Making Any Endorsements," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 5 Jan 1979, Black Political Convention, Phila., Bulletin Clippings, TUA.
[161] Whalen, *From Puerto Rico*, 237.
[162] Richard A. Keiser, "The Rise of a Biracial Coalition in Philadelphia," in *Racial Politics in American Cities*, ed. Rufus P. Browning, Dale Rogers Marshall, and David H. Tabb (New York: Longman, 1990), 66.
[163] "Human Rights Agenda: Black Political Convention Focus '79," 26-30 Dec 1978 and 5-7 Jan 1979, Box 22 Folder 9, Acc 580 Tenant Action Group, TUA.
[164] St. Hill, "Hispanic Community."

mentioned the linked and overlapping interests of black and Puerto Rican residents.[165]

By this time, Juan Ramos felt blacks and Puerto Ricans were "much closer" than in the past. Pennsylvania Representative Milton Street, City Councilman Lucien Blackwell, and U.S. Representative Bill Gray were particularly "sensitive" to Puerto Rican constituencies. Still, Ramos noted, "we don't count on the black community; we have a working relationship with black leaders."[166] As a result, Latinos increasingly backed black political candidates.

In the early eighties, a "coalition of prominent civic, business, and community leaders – blacks, white[s], and hispanics" urged the city's managing director, Wilson Goode, to run for mayor.[167] He was eventually persuaded, and his campaign sited one of eleven field offices in the Puerto Rican community, under the direction of Ralph Acosta.[168] Goode faced Frank Rizzo in a tight mayoral election in 1983; he won a narrow victory in part by garnering 75 percent of the Latino vote to become Philadelphia's first black mayor.[169]

Heading these cooperative efforts, a small cadre of black and Puerto Rican leaders formed a close personal network of mentorship. Nelson Diaz noted how Charles Bowser had "been an advisor and a motivating figure in [his] work with the community."[170] Bowser had also supported Epifanio de Jesus's bid for city council. Wilson Goode, during his campaign for mayor

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[165] The document, comprised of a speech by Green and introductory remarks by Samuel L. Evans and C. DeLores Tucker, appeared at a moment when Charles Bowser had stepped out of the mayoral race after a strong showing in the primary. Part of its purpose was to show the black community's support for a white candidate, and communicate Green's sincere interest in serving the black community. Evans had specifically secured a written commitment from Green to appoint a black managing director for the city in exchange for support from the black community; that post was filled by Wilson Goode. William J. Green, "A Historic Commitment of Conscience to the People of Philadelphia," 1979, reproduced in Mary Ellen Balchunis, "A Study of the Old and New Campaign Politics Models: A Comparative Analysis of Wilson Goode's 1983 and 1987 Philadelphia Mayoral Campaigns" (PhD diss., Temple University, 1992), Appendix C, 178-79, 182, 185.
[166] Beale, "Caught Between."
[167] The coalition called itself the "Draft Goode Committee." Balchunis, "Study of the Old and New Campaign Politics," 8.
[168] Balchunis, "Study of the Old and New Campaign Politics," 136, 173.
[169] Keiser, "Rise of a Biracial Coalition," 67.
[170] Diaz, "Bowser Aids."

in 1983, placed Angel Ortiz on the ballot for an at-large city council seat. Ortiz was not elected that year, but Goode appointed him commissioner of records, where he was the first Latino head of a city department. Goode then backed Ortiz's successful bid for city council in a 1984 special election; Ortiz went on to serve several consecutive terms.[171] Marian Tasco, who had been active with the Black Political Forum, later gained a seat on city council.[172] In turn, she became an important mentor for Maria Quiñones-Sánchez, who in the 1980s began working with Aspira and in 2007 was elected to city council representing the Seventh District.[173]

8.7 PHILADELPHIA POLITICS TRANSFORMED

Between the fifties and the eighties, a major transformation in black and Latino politics took place. In earlier years, each group had its own internal concerns. In the black community, many worked to derive a political structure independent from the city's Democratic machine. Latinos, meanwhile, worked to overcome their small numbers, class divisions, and personal disputes. As time went on, several trends coincided to push black and Latino voters into closer alliance. Persistent problems with police brutality alongside low minority representation on the police force led to greater organizational cooperation between black and Latino groups to address these issues. In a similar manner, concerns about school resources such as funding and facilities helped forge links between black and Latino residents. During the seventies, more and more of the Latino population retreated from supporting Frank Rizzo, which also opened to door to cooperation with black Rizzo opponents. By the early eighties, the Philadelphia political

[171] Keiser, "Rise of a Biracial Coalition," 66.
[172] Countryman, *Up South*, 310.
[173] Maria Quiñones-Sánchez, interview by author, 4 Jan 2010.

landscape included a solidified black and Latino voting bloc headed by a close personal network of black and Latino leaders.

9.0 ASSESSING BLACK AND LATINO RELATIONS IN PHILADELPHIA

Several scholars have noted the irony of Philadelphia's name. Rather than a place of brotherly love, postwar Philadelphia appears in many accounts as a site of extraordinary conflict, tension, and division, particularly along racial and ethnic lines. In the seventies, geographers Peter Muller, Kenneth Meyer, and Roman Cybriwsky described residents' "inability to cope with social heterogeneity" as creating a "battleground for different interest groups" in a profoundly fragmented city.[1] Similarly, political scientist Carolyn Adams and her coauthors noted in the early nineties how scarcer resources in the city's postindustrial economy led to increased competition, "fueling racial tension that erupt[ed] periodically into open conflict."[2] As a city where racially-motivated fire bombings were not uncommon, where police conduct was especially brutal, and where politics at times became explicitly racial, Philadelphia in some ways seems an unlikely place to find significant interracial harmony.

Yet the story of black-Latino relations in Philadelphia reveals a more complex and nuanced situation. In the postwar decades, the relationship between these groups was a mixture of conflict, cooperation, and coexistence that shifted over time. The tension and separation between blacks and Latinos in earlier decades gave way to greater cooperation and integration

[1] Peter O. Muller, Kenneth C. Meyer, and Roman A. Cybriwsky, *Metropolitan Philadelphia: A Study of Conflicts and Social Cleavages* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1976), 1.
[2] Carolyn Adams et al., *Philadelphia: Neighborhoods, Division, and Conflict in a Postindustrial City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 22.

from the late sixties through the seventies. To be sure, conflict over discrete resources continued to some extent. The harmony attained between blacks and Latinos in Philadelphia was not complete, nor permanent; like examples of multiethnic unity elsewhere, it was “pragmatic and provisional.”[3] But the ability of black and Latino residents to work together on issues of broader policy helped temper the overall tenor of relations.

In the fifties and sixties, the growing numbers of blacks and Puerto Ricans in North Philadelphia initially found that they were seeking out many of the same resources. As they navigated neighborhoods that were undergoing racial transition, escalating in population density, and declining in socioeconomic status, blacks and Puerto Ricans sometimes came into conflict over housing and territory. Attempts by many Puerto Ricans to draw upon white privilege combined with language and cultural differences to forestall greater unity between these groups. Meanwhile, local institutions ranging from schools to neighborhood service centers struggled in these years to serve a new, "foreign" group that they did not fully understand. In some cases this meant that Puerto Ricans were left to their own devices and thus further segregated from their neighbors; in other cases explicit efforts to reach out to Puerto Ricans could seem like a slight to black groups who were also in need of assistance.

Beginning in the late sixties, a number of historical trends came together that improved black-Latino relations in Philadelphia. First, the mobilization of federal funding through the War on Poverty and Model Cities programs brought new opportunities for interaction between black and Latino residents. These federal programs had geographically-based citizen participation requirements that encouraged black and Puerto Rican involvement in the area councils that helped shape local antipoverty initiatives. In addition, the influx of federal funds created new

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[3] Eduardo Contreras, “The Historical Construction of Latinidad,” (paper presented at 127th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, New Orleans, LA, January 6, 2013).

sites of interaction and connection, as black and Puerto Rican residents now encountered each other as they drew upon programs like Head Start and Legal Aid.

As these federal programs took shape, policymakers and community workers were growing increasingly concerned about the experiences of urban youth, both in school and out. This concern translated into the construction of additional sites for interaction between blacks and Puerto Ricans. The growth of early childhood education programs, the increasing popularity of day care, and the proliferation of day camps and recreation programs all increased contact among neighborhood youth. Of course, not all programs were integrated, and language still sometimes created a barrier, but this intergroup exposure at a young age served as a countervailing force against tendencies toward social segregation.

By the mid and late sixties, the energies of the broad civil rights movement also infused grassroots struggles for basic resources. As blacks and Puerto Ricans sought to attain greater government assistance in the welfare rights movement or take on substandard housing conditions through rent strikes and tenants' rights groups, they found common cause. While their activism in pursuit of broad policy changes was largely cooperative, they were more likely to work in parallel on specific projects with finite benefits, like the Spanish Village housing developments.

Employment offered another potential arena of cooperation for blacks and Latinos in Philadelphia, but experiences in this area were mixed. From the mid-sixties onward, the increasingly apparent effects of deindustrialization combined with concerns over urban disorder to foster job training programs. Some Puerto Rican leaders felt that existing training programs concentrated too heavily on the needs of African Americans, and thus sought to offer services targeted to Spanish-speaking residents. While OIC attempted to serve Puerto Ricans through the Ramos Antonini Center, its efforts had limited reach. Some competition between blacks and

Latinos probably occurred as the job market tightened, but once on the job blacks and Puerto Ricans often joined each other in labor unions to demand better working conditions and pay.

Community organizations and local institutions facilitated much of the interaction between black and Latino residents. Ludlow Community Association and Kensington Joint Action Council were particularly successful in mobilizing a multiracial membership base to secure attention and resources from the city. But blacks and Puerto Ricans also cooperated in other organizations like Tenant Action Group, the Spring Garden Community Services Center, and Spring Garden United Neighbors, to name just a few. Those organizations that remained wholly or primarily black or Latino were still likely to form coalitions that crossed racial boundaries. As residential demographics shifted, existing neighborhood organizations like the YWCA and Lighthouse struggled to incorporate new constituencies. As this process occurred, blacks and Latinos did not compete with each other for representation or attention, but instead sought the inclusion of both groups.

Black and Latino residents also forged relationships with each other as they struggled to make local government more responsive to their needs. In efforts to address police brutality and diversify the police force, blacks and Puerto Ricans found a shared agenda that encouraged coalition efforts. Similarly, the shortcomings of Philadelphia schools provided fertile ground for collaboration, most notably in the campaign for a new Edison High School. Blacks and Puerto Ricans were meanwhile becoming more integrated into the city's formal politics. The possibilities for an electoral coalition were especially apparent by the late seventies, as Puerto Rican loyalty to Frank Rizzo ebbed and a younger generation of Puerto Rican leaders sought a more explicit alliance with the black community.

The greater black-Latino unity that had emerged by the late seventies would persist in some ways, while also facing new challenges in the eighties and nineties. Scarce jobs, deteriorating urban neighborhoods, and city budget woes continued to impact life in North Philadelphia. Meanwhile, the Latino population grew both in size and diversity, as migrants from Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and other nations joined Puerto Ricans. The larger Latino population likely shifted the dynamics of black-Latino relations. As they gained strength in numbers, Latinos may have been less dependent upon an alliance with the black community. Second, as more Latinos moved to North Philadelphia, their presence may have seemed more threatening to black residents.

Meanwhile, Wilson Goode's election as mayor in 1983 marked the political ascendency of the black community, but also presented its own challenges. The MOVE tragedy, which many observers felt was only the most horrific example of deep-seated problems with the police department, had occurred under the watch of a black mayor. While Goode had initially maintained good relationships with Puerto Rican leaders, their rapport soured over time. By 1990, many felt the Goode administration had neglected Latino issues.[4] The influx of crack cocaine and the AIDS epidemic were also placing additional pressure on low-income neighborhoods in North Philadelphia by the late eighties and early nineties.

In 1989, two highly publicized murders occurred involving white and Puerto Rican youths took the stage, bringing into focus racial tensions that had long been simmering. Activists protested the different treatment that whites and Puerto Ricans received from both the justice

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[4] Israel Colon, "The Puerto Rican Experience under Mayor Wilson Goode," in Institute for Puerto Rican Policy, *The Dinkins Administration and the Puerto Rican Community: Lessons from the Puerto Rican Experience with African-American Mayors in Chicago and Philadelphia* (New York: Institute for Puerto Rican Policy, 1990), 8-11, Box 1A Folder Lessons from the Puerto Rican Experience with African American Mayors, Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia, Series: Puerto Rican Immigration, Eugenio Maria de Hostos Archives Center, Taller Puertorriqueño.

system and the media. They connected these immediate injustices to what they felt was a broader pattern of neglect from the city's black and white power structures. As a result, the city's Commission on Human Relations convened hearings on concerns of the Latino community during the summer of 1990.[5]

Despite these additional challenges, amicable relations between portions of Philadelphia's black and Latino communities persisted. Sociology graduate student Yasmeen Davis conducted a small set of interviews on the character of black and Latino relations in North Philadelphia in 2008. Among her seven respondents, "about half agreed that relations could be strengthened while the other half felt that improving relations was a non-issue. They believed that intergroup relations were cooperative and there was no need to improve African American and Latino relations." All agreed that the two populations "had a high level of interaction" in shared neighborhood spaces. About one-third of Davis's respondents felt contemporary attitudes were better than those in the past; a majority felt relations had "always [been] cooperative, with a few extraneous cases of conflict" that had little influence on the general tenor of group relations.[6]

Overall, the links forged between black and Latino communities in postwar Philadelphia complicate standard narratives of American urban history in several ways. They push beyond the black-white binary to show how relations among minority groups were also important in shaping residents' everyday lives. The continued activism of blacks and Latinos in North Philadelphia reveals that citizens remained engaged and demanded change long after the civil rights movement had supposedly petered out. And the sustained efforts by these groups to maintain and

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[5] Judith Goode and Jo Anne Schneider, *Reshaping Ethnic and Racial Relations in Philadelphia: Immigrants in a Divided City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 74, 195-204.

[6] Davis primarily interviewed individuals active in community organizations or employed by government agencies and acknowledges that a sampling bias may have produced more favorable assessments of black-Latino relations than she would have found among other members of the communities. Davis, "African American and Latino Relations: A Case Study of Philadelphia Neighborhoods" (MA thesis, Duquesne University, 2008), 44, 45 (quotes), 49.

revitalize North Philadelphia neighborhoods show that the decline of inner city neighborhoods was not inevitable, nor uncontested. The harmony that existed between black and Latino groups in Philadelphia was always partial, but it nonetheless shows us the possibilities for cooperation and peaceful coexistence on the streets of a diverse America.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACORN	Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
ACWA	Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
APAC	Anti-Poverty Action Commission
AWC	North City Area Wide Council
CA	City Archives, Philadelphia
CAC	Community Action Council
CASH	Coalition Against Slum Housing
CEPA	Consumers Education and Protective Association
CETA	Comprehensive Employment and Training Act
CHR	Commission on Human Relations, City of Philadelphia
CLS	Community Legal Services
COPPAR	Council of Organizations on Philadelphia Police Accountability and Responsibility
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
CSA	Community Services Administration
DPA	Department of Public Assistance, City of Philadelphia
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
FLP	Free Library of Philadelphia
FNG	Friends Neighborhood Guild
FOP	Fraternal Order of Police
HADV	Housing Association of the Delaware Valley
HFSED	Hispanic Federation for Social and Economic Development
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania
HUD	U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
ILGWU	International Ladies Garment Workers Union
KCBA	Kensington Council on Black Affairs
KJAC	Kensington Joint Action Council
LAS	Legal Aid Society
L&I	Department of Licenses and Inspections, City of Philadelphia
LCA	Ludlow Community Association
LNS	Little Neighborhood Schools
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NCC	North City Congress
NMC	Newspapers and Microfilm Center
NSC	Nationalities Services Center

NTULC	Negro Trade Union Leadership Council
OEO	Office of Economic Opportunity
OIC	Opportunities Industrialization Centers
OPEN	Organization of People Engaged in the Neighborhood
PAAC	Philadelphia Antipoverty Action Committee / Philadelphia Antipoverty Action Commission / Philadelphia Allied Action Commission
PEJ	Philadelphians for Equal Justice
PHA	Philadelphia Housing Authority
PIDC	Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation
PWRO	Philadelphia Welfare Rights Organization
TAG	Tenant Action Group
TSC	Temple University Libraries, Templana Special Collections
TUA	Temple University Libraries, Urban Archives
UFW	United Farmworkers
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

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Puerto Rican Immigration

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Aspira
Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations (El Concilio)
Episcopal Community Services
Haddington Leadership Organization
Hispanic Federation for Social and Economic Development
The Latino Project
The Lighthouse
Model Cities
Nelson A. Diaz
Spanish Merchants Association

National Archives and Record Administration, College Park, MD
Records of the Community Services Administration, Office of Economic Operations

Pacifica Radio Archives, http://www.pacificaradioarchives.org/
University of California Berkeley Library Social Activism Sound Recording Project: The Black Panther Party

Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, Wynnewood, PA
Cardinal’s Commission on Human Relations

Robert S. Rankin Memorial Library, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, DC
State Advisory Committee Reports

Temple University Libraries, Templana Special Collections, Philadelphia, PA
Contemporary Culture Collection

Temple University Libraries, Urban Archives, Philadelphia, PA
Fellowship Commission
Floyd Logan
Friends Neighborhood Guild
General Pamphlet Collection
Haddington Leadership Organization
Housing Association of the Delaware Valley
Legal Aid Society
Nationalities Service Center
Neighborhoods and Urban Renewal
Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America
Philadelphia Council of Neighborhood Organizations
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Tenant Action Group
Urban League
Young Women's Christian Association - Kensington Branch

Oral History Interviews

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