

**URBAN AND REGIONAL RESTRUCTURING AND
BARRIO FORMATION IN MASSACHUSETTS:
THE CASES OF LOWELL, LAWRENCE AND HOLYOKE**

by

Ramón Borges-Méndez

M. C. P. Masters in City Planning,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988

B.A. Social Thought and Political Economy,
University of Massachusetts/Amherst, 1985

Submitted to the Department of
Urban Studies and Planning
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in Urban and Regional Planning
at the

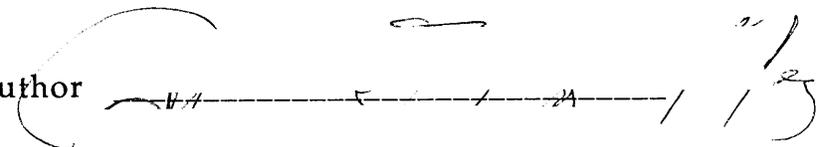
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

October 1994

© Ramón Borges-Méndez 1994
All Rights Reserved

The author hereby grants to MIT permission to reproduce or to
distribute publicly copies of this thesis document in whole or in part.

Signature of the Author



Certified by

Dr. Edwin Melendez, Associate Professor
Department of Urban Studies and Planning,
Thesis Advisor

Accepted by

Dr. Karen Polenske, Professor
Chairperson, D. U. S. P. Ph.D. Committee

Rotch

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

MAR 09 1995

**URBAN AND REGIONAL RESTRUCTURING AND
BARRIO FORMATION IN MASSACHUSETTS:
THE CASES OF LOWELL, LAWRENCE AND HOLYOKE**

by

Ramón Borges-Méndez

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
on October 14, 1994 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Urban and Regional Planning.

ABSTRACT

In the last decade, the number of Puerto Ricans in small cities and towns of the Northeastern United States has been growing steadily. This regionalization is in part the result of two processes: *barrio formation* and *barrio differentiation*. The former is a multi-stage process of development mediated by social networks wherein Puerto Ricans use their ethnic and social bonds as a strategy to cope with drastic social and economic change both in the island and in the mainland. Three main stages of *barrio formation* can be identified: *colonia formation*, *colonia expansion*, and *barrio maturation*. During the latter two stages of *barrio formation*, population dynamics, economic restructuring, urban renewal and urban policies, and sociocultural dynamics are the four main factors of differentiation which transform the spatial/residential, family/household, labor-market, and organizational characteristics of *barrios* and their residents. The result of this process of *barrio differentiation* is *barrios* which exhibit a mix of characteristics from three types of barrios: *working-class barrios*, *underclass barrios*, and *ethnic enclaves*. Our research has shown that the mix of characteristics exhibited by *barrios* is critically framed and defined by the **factors of differentiation**. However, in some specific instances the mix of characteristics can be countervailed by the interaction between human agency and the factors of differentiation. To investigate this process of *barrio formation* and *differentiation* our research compared three case-studies of development of Puerto Rican communities in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, Massachusetts between the late 1950's and the early 1990's. In all three cities the *colonias* formed as a result of a dual situation of employment instability in Puerto Rico and in the US, and of the conditions of social hardship and isolation in the new locales. In this context, families in the small *colonia* largely concentrated in coping with their immediate problems of migration, survival and instability. The threat of urban renewal and neglect, and of social isolation, however, lead them to use ethnic and kinship networks to develop forms of collective defense and solidarity that sought to benefit the community at large by forming the first cultural and social support organizations. Albeit small and often fragmented, these first organizational efforts intended to preserve the social and spatial identity of the community, and ensure its continuity. In the second stage, social networks continued to play a central role in expanding organizational efforts within the communities. These efforts were geared to counter negative socioeconomic conditions. But the social networks also turned "outwardly" and began attracting newer Puerto Rican residents to the three cities, significantly contributing to the expansion of the *colonias*. The networks were attracting people which were trying to cope with socioeconomic dislocation in other cities of the Northeast of the US that were going through drastic processes of urban and economic restructuring or turmoil. Through the third stage of *barrio maturation* the social networks remained attracting newer residents yet apparently mostly from Puerto Rico and less through internal migration. The activities of social networks became more oriented to enhance or institutionalize the organizational gains of the previous stage, especially by becoming the basis for building political coalitions to elect Puerto Rican/Latino public officers; better social relationships with other racial/ethnic

groups; inter-Latino small-business development strategies; and other educational and social initiatives and organizations to counter a broad array of social and economic problems. Embedded in this process of barrio formation a process of differentiation took place, which transformed the spatial/residential, family/household, labor market and organizational characteristics of the becoming barrios. In each city, this differentiation turned the small and rather homogeneous colonias into barrios which evidenced a mix of characteristics from **working-class barrios**, **underclass barrios**, and **ethnic enclaves**. In Lowell, the mix of characteristics matched closely the working-class type of barrio. However, important underclass spatial/residential and family/household characteristics were also collated in the mix. Some of the spatial/residential characteristics of **ethnic enclaves** were in evidence, although incipiently. In Lawrence, in contrast to Lowell, the profile of characteristics induced by the process of differentiation was much less concise and more interlaced. The barrios in the city showed a mix of working-class characteristics in strong contention with underclass ones in three of the four main categories: spatial/residential, family/household and labor market characteristics. Organizationally, the barrio does not evidence the signs of breakdown which characterizes underclass barrios. Unique to Lawrence was the strong profile of ethnic enclave characteristics. In Holyoke, the process of differentiation has been more definitive. The barrios in the city evidence mainly underclass characteristics, although underclass labor market characteristics seemed in contention with working-class ones. Paradoxically, the city evidences strong working-class organizational characteristics. Ethnic enclave characteristics were not present in Holyoke. The findings of the research indicate, on the one hand, that the factors of differentiation did play a critical role in generating barrios with mix characteristics. But, on the other hand, they also suggest that human agency in the form of social networks and horizontal social relations among residents at instances did interact with those factors of differentiation to influence especially the spatial/residential, and organizational characteristics of barrios. Such interaction, may be key to understand contending or paradoxical profiles in the spatial/residential and organizational characteristics within the barrios of each city. From the onset, for a number of theoretical, methodological, and empirical reasons, the design of the case-studies was delimited to mostly research the effect of this possible interaction on the spatial/residential and organizational characteristics of barrios. The research did not focus on the possible effect of this interaction on family/household and labor market characteristics. However, from researching the effect of the interaction on barrio spatial/residential and organizational characteristics spilled-over evidence seems to suggest that the interaction may have been also important with regard to changes that took place in the family/household and labor market characteristics of barrios. This issue, however, was not subject to any further research. The overall findings of the research can inform planning practice in three general ways. First, the insight into the processes of barrio formation as a geographic and as an "organized" social response to structural change can improve the ability of policies to outreach Puerto Rican and Latino populations in need. Secondly, the insight into process of **barrio differentiation** can serve as a bounded frame of reference to achieve better policy complementarity in community planning strategies. Thirdly, the insight of how human agency in barrios confronts and withstands drastic change justifies the need for valuing horizontal relations in communities when designing or planning policies and programs. Along those lines, policy and programmatic efforts could be developed in other specific areas.

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Edwin Meléndez

Title: Associate Professor of Urban Studies and Planning

A mis dos hijos, Diego y Francisco

y

A mis dos hermanos, Federico y Manolo

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT		2
DEDICATION		4
INTRODUCTION		13
CHAPTER 1:		
PUERTO RICAN MIGRATION, BARRIO FORMATION AND BARRIO DIFFERENTIATION		
1.1	Puerto Rican Migration, Regionalization of Settlements, and Urban and Industrial Restructuring in the Post-WW II Era.....	22
1.2	Migration and Social Networks.....	27
1.3	<i>Barrio</i> Formation	29
1.4	<i>Barrio</i> Differentiation: Three Types of <i>Barrios</i> and the Factors of <i>Barrio</i> Differentiation.....	32
1.4.1	Working-Class <i>Barrios</i>	37
1.4.2	Underclass <i>Barrios</i>	39
1.4.3	Ethnic Enclaves.....	40
1.5	Comparison of the Types of <i>Barrios</i>	42
1.5.1	Spatial/Residential Characteristics.....	42
1.5.2	Family/ Household Characteristics.....	43
1.5.3	Labor Market Characteristics.....	44
1.5.4	Organizational Characteristics.....	45
1.6	Why <i>Barrios</i> With Mixed Characteristics?.....	46
1.6.1	Urban Renewal and Policies: The Neglected Factor.....	47
1.6.2	Qualifying and Reinterpreting the Role of Population Dynamics and Economic Restructuring	48
1.6.3	The Underclass Framework and Latinos.....	53
1.7	Summary	54

CHAPTER 2:

**COMPARATIVE CASE-STUDIES OF NEW PUERTO
RICAN BARRIOS**

2.1	Why Case-Studies of <i>Barrio</i> Formation and <i>Barrio</i> Differentiation in Small Cities?.....	57
2.2	<i>Barrio</i> Formation and <i>Barrio</i> Differentiation in a Comparative Case-Study Methodology	58
2.3	Steps in Operationalizing <i>Barrio</i> Formation	59
2.3.1	Defining the Historical Conditions of <i>Barrio</i> Formation in Massachusetts: European and Latino Immigrants	60
2.3.2	Defining <i>Colonia</i> and <i>Barrio</i>	61
2.3.3	Identifying the Historical and Chronological Stages of <i>Barrio</i> Formation.....	62
2.3.4	Investigating and Making the Link Between Social Networks and <i>Barrio</i> Formation.....	63
2.4	Steps in Operationalizing <i>Barrio</i> Differentiation	65
2.4.1	Finding and Developing Indicators for the Types of <i>Barrios</i>	65
2.4.1.A	Spatial/Residential Characteristics, Indicators and Data.....	67
2.4.1.B	Family/Household Characteristics, Indicators and Data.....	69
2.4.1.C	Labor Market Characteristics, Indicators and Data.....	71
2.4.1.D	Organizational Characteristics, Indicators and Data.....	74
2.4.2	Linking the Factors of <i>Barrio</i> Differentiation to Changes in the Characteristics of <i>Barrios</i> , and the Mix of Characteristics	78
2.4.2.A	Population Dynamics, the Characteristics of <i>Barrios</i> , and the Mix of Characteristics.....	82
2.4.2.B	Economic Restructuring, the Characteristics of <i>Barrios</i> , and the Mix of Characteristics.....	84
2.4.2.C	Urban Renewal and Policies, the Characteristics of <i>Barrios</i> , and the Mix of Characteristics.....	87
2.4.2.D	Sociocultural Dynamics, the Characteristics of <i>Barrios</i> , and the Mix of Characteristics.....	88
2.5	The Main Thrust of the Findings	90
2.5.1	<i>Barrio</i> Formation	90
2.5.2	<i>Barrio</i> Differentiation	91
2.6	Summary	93

CHAPTER 3:**INDUSTRIAL CHANGE, IMMIGRATION AND
COMMUNITY FORMATION IN THREE MILL CITIES**

3.1	Early Industrialization and Expansion (1830-1890): Irish, British, Germans, and French-Canadian Immigrants	95
3.2	Monopolistic Expansion and Early Desindustrialization (1890-1950): Southern and Eastern European Immigrants	100
3.3	Industrial Restructuring (1960-1990): Puerto Rican and Latino Immigrants	105
3.4	Summary	112

CHAPTER 4:**THE ORIGIN OF THE *COLONIAS* IN LOWELL, LAWRENCE
AND HOLYOKE: THE LATE 1950'S TO THE LATE 1960'S**

4.1	The Origin of the <i>Colonias</i> : Late 1950's to the Late 1960's	114
4.2	Summary	124

CHAPTER 5:**FROM *COLONIA* TO *BARRIO*: LATE 1960's TO THE LATE
1980s**

5.1	Networks and <i>Colonia</i> Expansion	126
5.2	<i>Colonia</i> Expansion and Differentiation: The Role of Population Dynamics	136
5.3	<i>Colonia</i> Expansion and Differentiation: The Role of Economic Restructuring	147
5.3.1	Labor Market Characteristics.....	151
5.3.2	Family/Household Characteristics.....	168
5.4	<i>Colonia</i> Expansion and Differentiation: The Role of Urban Renewal and Sociocultural Dynamics	177
5.4.1	Lowell.....	177
5.4.2	Lawrence	181
5.4.3	Holyoke	184
5.5	Summary	189

CHAPTER 6:**BARRIOS MATURE AND DIFFERENTIATE:
EARLY 1980'S TO THE PRESENT**

6.1	Networks, Growth, and <i>Barrio</i> Maturation	202
6.2	<i>Barrio</i> Maturation and Differentiation: The Role of Population Dynamics	205
6.3	<i>Barrio</i> Maturation and Differentiation: The Role of Economic Restructuring	218
6.3.1	Labor Market Characteristics.....	220
6.3.2	Family/Household Characteristics.....	233
6.4	<i>Barrio</i> Maturation and Differentiation: The Role of Sociocultural Dynamics	235
6.4.1	Lowell.....	235
6.4.2	Lawrence	238
6.4.3	Holyoke	243
6.5	Summary	248

CHAPTER 7:**CONCLUSIONS**

7.1	<i>Barrio</i> Formation	259
7.2	<i>Barrio</i> Differentiation	260
7.2.1	<i>Colonia</i> Expansion, Differentiation and the Mix of Characteristics	263
7.2.2	<i>Barrio</i> Maturation, Differentiation and the Mix of Characteristics	266
7.3	<i>Barrio</i> Formation and Differentiation, and Policy Planning.....	269
7.3.1	<i>Barrio</i> Formation and Improving Policy Outreach	269
7.3.2	<i>Barrio</i> Formation and Differentiation and Policy Complementarity	270
7.3.3	<i>Barrio</i> Formation and Differentiation and Horizontal Relations	271
7.3.4	Statewide Economic Development Policies: Reaching out to Puerto Ricans and Latinos and Building Horizontality.....	272
7.3.5	Program Development in the Philanthropic Sector, Puerto Rican and Latino Organizations: Growing Organizations.....	273
7.3.6	Human Resource Development and Horizontal Community Relations.....	274
7.3.7	Leadership Development, Horizontal Strength and Growth.....	275

7.3.8	Neighborhood Stabilization: Concentration with Horizontal Relations	276
7.3.9	Small-Business Development and Horizontal Relations.....	277
7.4	Puerto Rican Exceptionalism, <i>Barrio</i> Formation and Differentiation.....	278
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		280
LIST OF INTERVIEWS.....		299
APPENDIXES		
I	Lowell's Firms	301
II	Lawrence Firms.....	305
III	Holyoke's Firms.....	309

LIST OF TABLES

1	Characteristics of Types of Barrios.....	35
2	Type of <i>Barrio</i> by Factors of Differentiation	36
3	Characteristics and Indicators of <i>Barrio</i> Differentiation	66
4	Factors of Differentiation and <i>Barrio</i> Characteristics	81
5	Mix of Characteristics by City.....	92
6	Massachusetts Population by Race and Latino Origin, 1960-1990.....	109
7	Population of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke by Race and Latino Origin, 1970-1980	127
8	Distribution of the Latino Population by Ethnic Group: Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, 1970-1990	128
9	Place of Residence of Latinos Prior to the Census: Lowell, 1970-1990.....	132
10	Place of Residence of Latinos Prior to the Census: Lawrence, 1970-1990.....	133
11	Place of Residence of Latinos Prior to the Census: Holyoke, 1970-1990.....	134
12	Distribution of Census Tracts by Share of P.R./Latino and White Populations, 1970-1990	139
13	White/Latino and White/Puerto Rican Dissimilarity Indexes: Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, 1970-1990	140
14	Percentage of Latino Individuals in Massachusetts, Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke below the Federal Poverty Line, 1969-1989.....	144
15	Employment Status of the Total and Latino Populations 16 Years Old and Over by Sex: Lowell, 1970-1990.....	154
16	Employment Status of the Total and Latino Populations 16 Years Old and Over by Sex: Lawrence, 1970-1990.....	155
17	Employment Status of the Total and Latino Populations 16 Years Old and Over by Sex: Holyoke, 1970-1990.....	156
18	Occupational Distribution of the Employed Total and Latino Populations 16 Years Old and Over: Lowell, 1970-1990	158

19	Occupational Distribution of the Employed Total and Latino Populations 16 Years Old and Over: Lawrence, 1970-1990.....	161
20	Occupational Distribution of the Employed Total and Latino Populations 16 Years Old and Over: Holyoke, 1970-1990.....	164
21	Male Marriageable Pool Index for the Total and Latino Populations: Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, 1970-1990.....	170
22	Total and Latino Populations by Household Type: Lowell, 1970-1990.....	172
23	Total and Latino Populations by Household Type: Lawrence, 1970-1990.....	173
24	Total and Latino Populations by Household Type: Holyoke, 1970-1990.....	174
25	Spatial/Residential Characteristics: <i>Colonia</i> Expansion, Late 1960's to Mid-1980's:	
	25a Lowell.....	192
	25b Lawrence.....	193
	25c Holyoke.....	194
26	Family/Household Characteristics: <i>Colonia</i> Expansion, Late 1960's to Mid-1980's:	
	26a Lowell.....	195
	26b Lawrence.....	196
	26c Holyoke.....	197
27	Labor Market Characteristics: <i>Colonia</i> Expansion, Late 1960's to Mid-1980's:	
	27a Lowell.....	198
	27b Lawrence.....	199
	27c Holyoke.....	200
28	Organizational Characteristics: <i>Colonia</i> Expansion, Late 1960's to Mid-1980's: Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke	201
29	Population of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke by Race and Latino Origin, 1980-1990.....	203
30	Tenure of the Householder for the Total and Latino Populations: Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, 1980-1990.....	208
31	Poverty Rates for Individuals of Latino Origin per Census Tract with 400 or more Latinos: Lowell, 1979-1989	213
32	Poverty Rates for Individuals of Latino Origin per Census Tract with 400 or more Latinos: Lawrence, 1979-1989.....	215
33	Poverty Rates for Individuals of Latino Origin per Census Tract with 400 or more Latinos: Holyoke, 1979-1989.....	216

34	Spatial/Residential Characteristics: <i>Barrio Maturation</i> , Early 1980's to the Present:	
	34a Lowell.....	249
	34b Lawrence.....	250
	34c Holyoke.....	251
35	Family/Household Characteristics: <i>Barrio Maturation</i> , Early 1980's to the Present:	
	35a Lowell.....	252
	35b Lawrence.....	253
	35c Holyoke.....	254
36	Labor Market Characteristics: <i>Barrio Maturation</i> , Early 1980's to the Present:	
	36a Lowell.....	255
	36b Lawrence.....	256
	36c Holyoke.....	257
37	Organizational Characteristics: <i>Barrio Maturation</i> , Early 1980's to the Present: Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke.....	258
38	Mix of Characteristics by City.....	262

LIST OF CHARTS

1	Manufacturing and Services: Lowell, 1967-1988	148
2	Manufacturing and Services: Lawrence, 1967-1988.....	149
3	Manufacturing and Services: Holyoke, 1967-1988.....	150

INTRODUCTION

The Puerto Rican migratory and settlement experience in the United States already expands for some eighty years, although our "official" contact with the metropolis is almost one hundred years old. In 1998, at the age of the millennium, we will be "celebrating" the one hundredth anniversary of the Spanish-American War. Throughout that entire period, the relationship between "us" and "them" has not been easy, especially for those Puerto Ricans who have had to endure the rigors of migration, poverty, discrimination and cultural confrontation, both here and in the island. Some others --undeniably-- have also benefitted from this relationship, and from the much valued --but at the same time inherently contradictory-- American US citizenship. In the process and through the contact, some of us Puerto Ricans have learned their ways, customs, language, becoming more like "them" and less of "us". But today, more than ever before, some of "them" have seen the need to start learning about our ways. This has happened in the context of Puerto Ricans, together with other Latinos, becoming a large share of the population and workforce of the continental United States.

The *barrio* , the main unit of analysis of this dissertation, has been central to our adaptation and survival in the US mainland, and the fundamental mediating communal structure between "us" and "them" -- leaving aside the issue of whether the *barrio* promotes or hinders assimilation or acculturation, a debate which is worth mentioning we Puerto Ricans did not initiate. In as much as *barrios* are our own communal structure, it is important to understand how they form, change, transform, collapse, and even mutate under all sorts of structural and environmental pressures. Equally important, however, is to understand how the people who live in them experience and respond to these changes induced by the pressures which encircle the *barrio*. Those two issues, how *barrios* change and how people respond to such changes, constitute the central goals of this research.

These two concerns, have become important objects of study and research because Puerto Ricans other Latinos, as well as other racial

and ethnic groups, experience change-- whether positive or negative -- in either a disproportionate fashion, or in an *exceptional* way. That is, when there are large scale negative shifts in the economy minorities tend to fall farther down relative to other groups, and when the shifts turn positive it takes them longer to resurface, and even when they do so, they have greater difficulty staying afloat. In urban environments, that structural disadvantage, or exceptional socioeconomic "inertia" -- to define the problem in more palatable terms-- either because of racial, gender, class or other political factors has generated a broad array of situations and trends commonly associated with the rise of the "urban underclass", persistent poverty, the working poor, dark ghettos, *barrios malos, gangas y drogas*. The manifestations or entrenchment of the general dynamic in ethnic/racial communities, either as a historical-structural problem, as a "behavioral" one, or as a combination of the two, has been effectively analyzed, among others, by William Julius Wilson, Hebert Gans, Joan Moore, Frank Bonilla, William Tabb, and Kenneth Clark.

In a much more reduced scale, and as modest contribution to such a tradition of research, this thesis attempts to address the broader issues of how historical-structural change impacts the development of our *barrios*, and the collective behavior of its residents. In this dissertation, I investigate two main processes: *barrio formation* and *barrio differentiation*.

The first process, *barrio formation*, I have defined in two dimensions. On the one hand, as a survival strategy, as the social and spatial process whereby Puerto Ricans use ethnic bonds to form new communities in locations away from large cities in order to cope with socioeconomic structural change and instability . On the other hand, it is conceived as a multi-stage process of communal development in which three main stages can be identified: (a) *colonia formation*; (b) *colonia expansion*; and (c) *barrio maturation*. The second process, *barrio differentiation*, I have defined as a process of communal maturation in which a combination of population dynamics, economics restructuring, urban renewal and urban policies, and sociocultural dynamics (factors of differentiation) create heterogeneity within and between *barrios* by affecting their spatial/residential, family

/household, labor market and organizational characteristics. The result of this process, is *barrios* that evidence a mix of characteristics from three main types of barrios --**working-class barrios, underclass barrios** and **ethnic enclaves** . The mix of characteristics exhibited by *barrios* is critically framed and defined by the above mentioned **factors of differentiation**. However, in some specific instances the mix of characteristics can be countervailed by the interaction between human agency and the factors of differentiation. To investigate this process of barrio formation and differentiation our research compared three case-studies of development of Puerto Rican communities in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, Massachusetts between the late 1950's and the early 1990's.

Regarding the first process, I hypothesized if in fact *barrio formation* as a survival strategy "organized" by social networks, grasps and explains part of the regionalization which has been taking place in the Puerto Rican settlement pattern in the Northeast, and which seems intimately related to the urban and economic restructuring of large urban centers in which older *barrios* where located. That is, I asked if the social networks of migration had contributed and mediated the emergence of new*barrios* in locations away from the traditional locales. The findings of the research tended to confirm the hypothesis on *barrio formation*, and the important role which networks play in such process. *Barrio formation* in part represents a survival strategy for Puerto Ricans in coping with structural change.

In Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, the *colonias* formed as a result of a dual situation of employment instability in Puerto Rico and in the US, and of the conditions of social hardship and isolation in the new locales. In this context, families in the small *colonia* largely concentrated in coping with their immediate problems of migration, survival and instability. The threat of urban renewal and neglect, and of social isolation, however, lead them to use ethnic and kinship networks to develop forms of collective defense and solidarity which sought to benefit the community-at-large by forming the first cultural and social support organizations. Albeit small and often fragmented, these early organizational efforts intended to preserve the social and spatial identity of the community, and ensure its continuity.

In the second stage, social networks continue to play a central role in expanding organizational efforts within the communities. These efforts were geared to counter negative socioeconomic conditions. But the social networks also turned "outwardly" and began attracting newer Puerto Rican residents to the three cities, significantly contributing to the expansion of the colonias. The networks were attracting people who were trying to cope with socioeconomic dislocation in other cities of the Northeastern of the United States that were going through drastic processes of urban and economic restructuring or turmoil.

Throughout the third stage of *barrio* maturation the social networks continued attracting newer residents, yet apparently mostly from Puerto Rico and less through internal migration. The activities of social networks became more oriented to enhance or institutionalize the organizational gains of the previous stages, especially by becoming the basis for building political coalitions to elect Puerto Rican/Latino public officers; better social relationships with other racial/ethnic groups; inter-Latino small-business development strategies; and other educational and social initiatives and organizations to counter a broad array of social and economic problems.

In regard to the second process, *barrio differentiation*, I hypothesized that the effect of the various factors of differentiation which I have identified transform the characteristics of *barríos* to create *barríos* which exhibit a mix of characteristics from the three types. My second hypothesis on the process of *barrio differentiation* was also confirmed.

In Lowell, during the stage of *colonia expansion* the rather slow pace of white flight, the relatively smaller inflow of Puerto Ricans and Latinos, the terminal character of urban renewal, and a better local economy induced a slow process concentration and lower segregation: working-class characteristics were dominant. Poverty in the expanding colonia, however, was high-- as in the other two cities. In a further stage of *barrio* maturation, the mix of characteristics continued to match closely the working-class type of *barrio*. However, important underclass spatial/residential and family/household characteristics were also collated in the mix. Some of the spatial/residential

characteristics of **ethnic enclaves** were in evidence, although incipiently. **Barrio differentiation** had simultaneously induced concentration into a main, poor and segregated core --the Acre neighborhood-- and scatteredness throughout the city. This spatial/residential profile may be seen as an indication of a process of socioeconomic polarization taking place, as described in the underclass framework. However, it is important to take into consideration that such a concentrated core was also the product of the focused organizing and community stabilization efforts on the part of Puerto Rican residents in reaction to a long history of urban renewal policies.

In Lawrence, in contrast to Lowell, the profile of characteristics induced by the process of differentiation was much less concise and more interlaced. The absence of urban renewal, rapid white flight, and rapid Puerto Rican/Latino population growth did allow the original *colonia* to grow unaffected by displacement, although at the price of widespread neighborhood deterioration, growing segregation, and rising poverty. As a result, the barrios in the city showed a mix of working-class characteristics in strong contention with underclass ones in three of the four main categories of characteristics:

spatial/residential, family/household and labor market.

Organizationally, the barrio did not evidence the signs of breakdown which characterizes underclass barrios. Unique to Lawrence was a strong profile of ethnic enclave characteristics. In sum, geographic concentration with organizational development allowed neighborhood organizations and businesses to proliferate, and to gain geographic control of the area managing to counter some of the negative effects of broader structural forces.

In Holyoke, the process of differentiation has been more definitive. The barrios in the city evidence mainly underclass characteristics, although underclass labor market characteristics seemed in contention with working-class ones. From the stage of *colonia expansion* onwards, a strong process of concentration, accompanied by increased racial/ethnic segregation and impoverishment, has been developing. Ethnic enclave characteristics have not developed in Holyoke. Paradoxically, the city has evidenced strong working-class organizational characteristics. This paradox can be explained by the

strong organizational activity of residents mainly in response to a protracted process of urban renewal which for many years has threatened the spatial and social viability of the community.

Our findings indicate, on the one hand, that the factors of differentiation did play a critical role in generating barrios with mixed characteristics. But, on the other hand, they also suggest that human agency, in the form of social networks and horizontal social relations among residents, at instances did interact with those factors of differentiation to influence especially the spatial/residential, and organizational characteristics of barrios. This interaction, may be key to understand contending or paradoxical profiles in the spatial/residential and organizational characteristics within the barrios of each city. Particularly important, the findings demonstrate that the process of concentration taking place as part of barrio formation is not indicative of a process of social disintegration. To the contrary, it shows the ability of human agency in barrios to counter social ostracism and drastic structural change.

The overall findings can inform planning practice in three general ways. First, the insight into the processes of barrio formation as a geographic and as an "organized" social response to structural change can improve the ability of policies to outreach Puerto Rican and Latino populations in need. Secondly, the insight into the process of *barrio differentiation* can serve as a bounded frame of reference to achieve better policy complementarity in community planning strategies. Thirdly, the insight of how human agency in barrios confronts and withstands drastic change justifies the need for valuing horizontal relations in communities when designing or planning policies and programs. Along those lines, policy and programmatic efforts could be developed or improved in the following specific areas: local and statewide economic development policies targetting Latinos; human resource development; program development in the philanthropic sector; leadership development programs in Puerto Rican and Latino barrios; neighborhood stabilization; and Latino small-business development.

The search for conformity in scientific inquiry generally drives scientists to ignore the analytic value of exceptions, and even less to

consider how any particular set of theoretical principles generates exceptional outcomes. This has deep implications for the social sciences because exceptions are an intricate part of social reality; in society not everything or everybody conforms to a common rule or pattern. But "creating" exceptions in social life is a more complex problem which goes beyond the logical procedures of scientific inquiry. By creating "social exceptions" we contribute to cast the social, economic, political and cultural position of groups in society.

Puerto Ricans, and their experience in the mainland, has been recurrently cast by the social scientific and public discourse in "exceptional" terms, e.g., as "unmeltable" or as the "paradox" of assimilation. Is Puerto Rican "exceptionalism" product of our attributes or of the terms of scientific inquiry and analysis which, seeking conformity, simply add to and reinforce such exceptionalism? As a research strategy, I could have chosen to study barrios seeking to explain how they conformed to either one of the three main types of barrios which dominate the literature. Further, I could have attempted to explain any typological mismatches or differences as the result of some stylized facts. Foreseeably, I could have chosen to exact differentiation out of my inquiry by studying the formation of new Puerto Rican barrios as an exception to previously defined types. Yet, I adopted a strategy which, to contrary, incorporated differentiation between and within barrios as a way of creating a framework capable of explaining exceptions, not as the exclusionary outcome of existing types but as the outcome of unaccounted social, economic and cultural processes, and of theoretical insufficiencies in the literature.

Within such framework the value of studying several previously unaccounted social phenomena proved a fruitful approach to characterize what happens to and in our barrios. The impact of urban renewal, the quality of ongoing population dynamics, the processes of economic restructuring within firms, and the interaction between human agency and broader structural forces cannot be left out of any framework meant to understand changes in Puerto Rican barrios; we are in need of our own framework built upon reinterpreting our own experience of communal development.

The discussion on the general changes which have taken place in the Puerto Rican migratory and settlement experience in the US in the Post-WW II Era , the conceptual definition of *abarrio*, the theoretical discussion of the concepts of *barrio formation* and *barrio differentiation*, and the three types of barrios are covered in Chapter 1. A discussion of the hypotheses, research design, operational definitions and procedures, indicators, data and general relationships which I sought to establish, as well as a brief highlight of the findings are in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, a general comparison between the Latino immigrant experience of socioeconomic insertion and the one of previous immigrants attracted to Massachusetts serves as a transition into the more detailed chapters in which I analyze the process of *barrio formation* and *differentiation* in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke. That comparison is in Chapter 3. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 are arranged according to the stages of the process of *barrio formation* which I have identified. Chapter 4 corresponds to the formation of the *colonias* in the three cities; Chapter 5 to the expansion of the *colonias* ; Chapter 6 to the maturation of *barrios*. The analysis of the process of *barrio differentiation* cuts through Chapters 5 and 6 because I believe that theoretically it is mostly relevant to the latter two stages of the developmental process. The conclusions are in Chapter 7, as well as a brief discussion of the importance of the findings for planning and public policy.

The thinking, researching and writing of this thesis took me into many places and put in me in contact with many people. It also required the monetary, institutional, family and individual support of many people and organizations. I would like to thank the people in the communities of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke who lent me their lived experiences to make this thesis possible. They are too many to name them in here. The Social Science Research Council's, Programs on the Urban Underclass and on the Causes of Puerto Rican Poverty provided generous funding. At the SSRC, Félix Matos Rodríguez and Leslie Dwight were always in a good mood after "lively" scholarly affairs. Central to this institutional (and monetary) support was the Mauricio Gastón Institute for Latino Community Development and Public Policy at the University of Massachusetts, Boston --my first true

professional home. Its support between 1989 and 1993 was practically unconditional. There, I would like to thank: Dr. Miren Uriarte, its former director, for having had faith in me and given me a chance, as well as some of the first lessons at "institutional boxing" at UMass; Dr. Ralph Rivera --apparently never in a bad mood-- for good lessons on commitment and on how to "mediate" with difficult "guys" or "gals"; and other staff which through the years put up with me --Martha Kelly, Linda Kluz, Mary Coonan, Francoise Carré, Ramón Olivencia, and other workstudy students which are part of the Institute, especially Mariana Cruz and Elena Arrescurrenaga. The present director of the Institute, Dr. Edwin Meléndez, also for many years my advisor at MIT and my Masters and Ph. D thesis supervisor deserves eternal gratitude for his friendship, guidance and support. From him, I learned the meaning of loyalty. My other two advisors have also been very important: Dr. Paul Osterman and Dr. Bennett Harrison. Paul and Ben have always demanded nothing but the best from me. At the Dept. of Urban Studies and Planning at MIT I would like to thank Profs. Karen Polenske, Mel King, and Phil Clay, as well as other members of the staff, especially Sandy Wellford --for stretching bureaucracy to the limit. Many other friends lent me their support and help among them are: Abel Valenzuela, Michael Stoll, Melvin LaPrade.

The support from my family deserves a separate paragraph. I would like to thank: my wife Anny Rivera Ottenberger --she and I know why; my two children Diego and Francisco, two of the people whom I dedicate this thesis; Federico Borges and Manuel Borges, my brothers whom I also dedicate this thesis; my mother Ramonita Méndez Corrada. Federico has painstakingly edited this thesis, it truly reads better. They always have been there for me. Finally, I would like to thank Ana Ottenberger for being there throughout the last year. All the mistakes the reader might find in what follows are mine not theirs.

CHAPTER 1:

PUERTO-RICAN MIGRATION, BARRIO FORMATION AND BARRIO DIFFERENTIATION

1.1 Puerto-Rican Migration, Urban and Industrial Restructuring, and the Regionalization of Settlements in the Post-WW II Era.

Puerto-Rican patterns of migration and settlement in the mainland have undergone significant change in the Post-WW II Era on account of several reasons: (a) greater economic and political integration between Puerto Rico and the United States; (b) transformations in the island's economy and in its development strategies; and (c) the economic restructuring of urban areas in the American Northeast (Bonilla & Campos, 1986a, 1986b; Ortiz, 1986; Meléndez, 1992; Rodríguez, 1989a). In addition to significant fluctuation in the volume of migration, and some changes in the human capital and socioeconomic characteristics of immigrants, one of the most important changes during this period has been the regionalization of Puerto-Rican settlements in the mainland. Puerto-Ricans have been moving away from New York City and adjacent areas, to form new *barrios* in medium-sized and small cities in the Northeastern United States. ¹ This regionalization of Puerto-Rican settlements has been simultaneous with --and perhaps a result of-- the spatial and economic restructuring of large urban areas in the Northeast. The overall change in the migration and settlement patterns during the Post-WW II Era can be broken into three identifiable stages.

In 1898, the United States took control of Puerto Rico --along with Cuba and the Philippines-- after defeating Spain in the Spanish-American War. The Jones Act of 1917 declared Puerto-Ricans American citizens by birth, facilitating their unrestricted access to the mainland (Maldonado-Denis, 1980; Rodríguez, 1989a). By the mid-

¹ In general terms, a *barrio* is the Spanish word used to identify concentrations of Latinos in a particular district(s), neighborhood(s) or area(s) of a city where they represent the majority of the population. *Barrios* vary in size and extension depending on the city. The origin and development of *barrios* in urban areas of the U.S. obeys to the diverse circumstances of urban development and change of cities, the history of migration, settlement, and labor market insertion of the different Latino sub-groups, and to their sociocultural background. More on the definition of *barrio* later.

1920's, both Puerto-Rican workers and professionals had formed a sizable community in New York City. Like their predecessors in the latter third of the 19th--immigrants and political exiles-- this early *colonia* in New York City organized a broad variety of labor, social, political, and cultural organizations and actively participated in the civic life of the city (Sánchez-Korrol, 1983; Vega, 1984).² Earlier in this century, Puerto-Rican migrant workers were also recruited to work in the sugar-cane and pineapple fields of Hawaii (Oral History Task Force, 1986).

Even though prior to WWII Puerto-Ricans had unrestricted access to the United States on account of their citizenship status, they did not migrate *en masse* to the mainland until the period immediately following the war. Before the war, the absence of important *push-pull* social and economic factors deterred mass migration to the mainland. The modernization of the island's economy after the war, however, would introduce deep changes in the social and economic structure of the island in which essentially rural/agrarian surplus labor was displaced or pushed from the rural areas and into the larger cities of the island or the mainland, primarily New York City.

The economic integration between Puerto Rico and the United States was strengthened during WW II when Puerto-Rican soldiers fought in the war, and American corporations began to invest heavily in the island's industrialization. The island's rapid industrialization and modernization program --*Operation Bootstrap*-- was set in place and implemented by the Popular Democratic Party, swept into power in the 1952 election, the first popular election ever held in the island. During the Post-WW II Era, *Operation Bootstrap* set the pace for the first stage in the mass migration and resettlement of Puerto-Ricans in the mainland.

The industrialization program comprised of three basic components. First, in return for investment in the island, the newly

² Following Sanchez-Korrol (1983), I use the Spanish word *colonia* to identify the first and original concentration of Puerto Ricans in any particular city. The formation of a *colonia* precedes the formation of a *barrio*, and is largely formed by a relatively small number of Puerto Ricans concentrated in a few city blocks.

elected government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico offered American corporations tax exemptions for up to 25 years. This mainly attracted apparel and other light-assembly, labor-intensive manufacturing to the island. Second, the government initiated an aggressive birth-control and family-planning campaign to slow down population growth, which at that moment was being portrayed by local politicians and economists as a major cause of Puerto Rico's underdevelopment. Third, through various official organisms, the government of the Commonwealth encouraged the mainland-bound migration of rural workers displaced by the rapid process of modernization.

From the late 1940's and up until the mid-1960's, *Operation Bootstrap* transformed the island's traditional sugar-cane economy into a modern, industrial, and export-oriented economy. Rapid industrialization and modernization provided the backdrop for a migratory process wherein a part of the displaced agrarian labor force was officially urged, openly recruited, or indirectly forced to migrate to the United States (Bonilla & Campos, 1986a; Historic Task Force, 1979; Rodríguez, 1989a; Sassen, 1988).

Between the early 1950's and the mid-1960's --the period of both economic expansion and *Operation Bootstrap*-- migratory flows to the U.S. increased steadily; moreover, they seemed unidirectional, very much part of a bipolar labor market which connected Puerto-Ricans to unskilled and low-skill manufacturing jobs still available in New York City, its urban periphery, and Chicago (Bonilla & Campos, 1986a, 1986b; History Task Force, 1979; Maldonado, 1979; Rodríguez, 1979). In this first stage, the settlement of Puerto-Ricans in the mainland was "grounded" to either a declining manufacturing base in large urban areas, or to seasonal agricultural work in the Northeast. However, this situation began to change during the late 1960's when urban renewal and the erosion of employment in light manufacturing displaced many Puerto-Ricans from the main settlements in Manhattan to other boroughs and to adjacent cities (Rodríguez, 1989a; Sánchez, 1986). While in 1940, 90% of Puerto-Rican immigrants lived in New York City, only 60% did in 1960 (Maldonado, 1979; López, 1974; US Commission on Civil Rights, 1976).

In a second stage --between the late 1960's up to the mid-1970's- migratory flows to the U.S. declined, perhaps as a result of various factors, among them: continued economic stability and changes in the island's industrial mix, and of a strong phase of desindustrialization and rapid expansion of the service economy in the entire Northeastern region (Bluestone & Harrison, 1982; Meléndez, 1992). The employment opportunities in manufacturing historically available to Puerto-Ricans in the mainland began to disappear rapidly. By the end of the 1960's they still had the smallest proportion of service and white-collar workers when compared to other groups in the population (Bonilla & Campos, 1986b; History Task Force, 1979; Maldonado, 1979; Meléndez, 1992; Piore, 1979; Rodríguez, 1979). The disappearance of manufacturing jobs, innumerable barriers to access the growing service sector, and the spatial imperatives of urban restructuring -- gentrification, high-rise development, real estate speculation-- seem to have combined to accelerate the movement of Puerto-Ricans away from New York City and its urban periphery (Backstrand & Schensul, 1982; Fainstein & Fainstein, 1987; González, 1988; Rodríguez, 1989a; Sánchez, 1986; Sassen, 1991). By 1970 there were about 30 other cities in the U.S. with 5,000 or more Puerto-Ricans (López, 1974; US Commission on Civil Rights, 1976). Apparently, this decentralization pointed towards an expansion of the migratory circuit. Puerto-Ricans were incorporating a broader labor market territorially in order to cope with structural and spatial dislocation.

Puerto-Rican migration to the United States continued to decline between the mid-1970's and 1980, but since the mid-1980's until the present it, as well as the circulation between Puerto Rico and the island, has been increasing (Falcón, 1990; Rodríguez, 1989b; Meléndez, 1992). This third stage seems the result of the sustained economic stagnation and further restructuring of the island's economy, and of the specialization and polarization of the occupational structure in large cities such as New York City and Chicago with high concentrations of Puerto-Ricans (Meléndez, 1992; Sassen, 1988; Waldinger & Baily, 1991).

In Puerto Rico, a combination of recessionary shocks of the 1970's and early 1980's, changes in U.S. industrial tax policies towards

the island, and a transition to a service-oriented economy contributed to the incremental dismantling of labor-intensive manufacturing, and to the concomitant displacement of workers in that sector of the economy, possibly causing changes in the demographic and socioeconomic composition of migratory flows (Ortiz, 1986; Meléndez, 1992). In large urban areas of the mainland, desindustrialization and corporate restructuring lead to a polarization of the occupational structure with expansion in upper technical and professional jobs, and in unskilled and low-skill jobs mostly filled by newer and more vulnerable immigrants from Third World countries (Meléndez, 1992; Waldinger, 1986; Sassen, 1991).

During the 1970's and 1980's the manufacturing jobs once available to Puerto-Ricans continued to decline. However, Puerto-Ricans remained overrepresented in blue-collar jobs, but with increasing representation in low-skill, low-wage jobs in clerical, sales, and service occupations. As a result, their socioeconomic situation and prospects in the mainland deteriorated despite significant gains in white-collar and service employment, and in human capital improvements (Falcón & Hirschman, 1992; Hinojosa-Ojeda, Carnoy & Daley, 1989; Rodríguez, 1989a). By 1980, the percentage of Puerto-Ricans living in New York City had diminished to 40%, while the number of medium-sized and small cities with substantial numbers of Puerto-Ricans increased (Bonilla & Campos, 1986a; Rodríguez, 1989a). The shift away from New York City into mid-size and small Northeastern cities has continued throughout the 1980's and seemingly into the 1990's. During this period, the *colonias* which had been forming in medium and small cities of the Northeast during the previous two stages expanded dramatically and matured into new *barrios*; Puerto-Ricans are seemingly becoming less *big-city* immigrants (ASPIRA, 1991).

In this thesis, I hypothesize and document how this regionalization was mediated by the social networks of migration, which were grounded in the culture and social organization of the migrant group. That is, Puerto-Ricans confronted with the structural instability created by the rapid pace of urban restructuring, began to employ their ethnic and communal bonds to develop forms of

survival against such instability. Traditional views of the migratory, and settlement process, however, have downplayed such kinds of responses among immigrants.

1.2 Migration and Social Networks

For decades, the analysis of migration has relied on the theoretical framework provided by neoclassical economics to explain why people move from one area into another. This view essentially asserted that labor flowed from areas of low labor demand, low economic growth and large labor supply towards areas of high labor demand, high economic growth and low labor supply where actually labor would be better remunerated. In time, migration subsides as the relative wage and growth differentials between locales disappear, and the labor market reaches some equilibrium point (Greenwood, 1981; Long, 1988). This view downplayed the importance of various structural and behavioral factors, such as power relations between sending and receiving locations, the social and political character of some migratory waves, and the fact that migration often fluctuates counter to cycles of economic growth or contraction. In short, this view of migration overlooked the specificity of social and political forces which induce migration, and that subsequently influence its permanence and stability (Portes & Bach, 1985).

Furthermore, this view considered changes in the origin and stability of migration as phenomena largely independent from the settlement and adaptation of immigrants in the receiving country or locale (Piore, 1979; Portes & Bach, 1985). This neoclassical view, in its more sociological version (Handlin, 1951), stressed that migration was an "uprooting", a one-way escape from hunger, want, or persecution, in which the formation of ethnic settlements was always but a first step in a series of stages which culminated in assimilation into the core society, or at least into one of its subsegments (Portes & Bach, 1985).³

³ There are four variations of this classical economic/sociological view on migration and ethnic/racial assimilation: (a) the Anglo-conformist; (b) the "Melting Pot"; (c) the ethnic/racial succession; and (d) the cultural-pluralist. For reviews see Gordon, 1964; Blauner, 1972; Portes and Bach, 1985; Omi and Winant, 1986. Except in the cultural pluralist view, the identity of the ethnic community ultimately should disappear as a result of the process of assimilation.

In the neoclassical view, the formation of the ethnic settlement is identified as a transitory step in a process of assimilation to overcome the uprootedness of migration, which, in their view, weakens the social, cultural, and economic ties of individuals, households and groups amongst themselves, as well as to the rest of society. This situation either causes or enhances the breakdown and decomposition of personality, group identity, and communal structure. This breakdown further inhibits structural, spatial, or social assimilation, promising a likely outcome of poverty. Likewise, that view also predicted that, in the long-run, failure to leave the ethnic settlement would delay assimilation, resulting in negative socioeconomic outcomes (Bodnar, 1985; Gutman, 1987a; Portes & Bach, 1985; Tilly & Brown, 1974).

In more recent years, an alternative view has analyzed the origin and stability of migration in terms of an expanding and transforming capitalist economic system which shifts and reallocates vulnerable labor supplies as a way of coping with labor shortages and structural change in distinct industrial sectors at different points in time (Piore, 1979; Portes & Bach, 1985; Sassen, 1988).⁴ In this view, the origin and stability of migration are an integral part of the conflict between capital and labor, or between countries to control and restructure economic activities.

In this context, the formation of the ethnic settlement and immigrant adaptation become associated to processes of social and cultural resistance, and economic survival. Portes & Bach have argued that:

[T]he process [of settlement and adaptation] entails not a gradual assimilation into the core [of society] but the gradual awareness of exploitation and an increasing dissatisfaction with a subordinate role in the cultural division of labor. The eventual reaction [of

4 Piore (1979), Portes & Bach (1985) and Sassen (1988) agree on a basic point: that the origin and stability of migration are related to the economic need of employers in finding vulnerable workers, they differ in the extent to which they see this process to be a fundamental function of an expanding capitalist system that rests on the unequal power relations between developed industrial countries and the Third World. Piore sees the origin and stability of migration in relative isolation to the power relations between developed countries and the Third World, while Portes and Bach, and Sassen see migration as an intricate part of an unbalanced and unequal relation of power in which developed countries continuously seek to preserve control over economic and political relations and exchanges with the Third World.

migrants] to this situation is framed by cultural solidarity and mobilization around the symbols of a common ethnicity. (pp. 26-27)

In response to structural inequities, social antagonism, and economic instability migrants progressively build social relations within the migrating group and tend to preserve the ethnic settlement and community over time.

In this alternative view migration is a socially embedded phenomenon in which a system of macro-linkages and power relations --economic, political and cultural-- between sending and receiving countries or locations leads to the progressive development and adaptation of human networks which influence the direction, flow, size, and persistence of migration (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Massey, et. al. 1987). These human networks --not necessarily created by the process of migration but adapted to and reinforced by it-- are social ties, such as kinship, ethnic/racial, and gender ties (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). These micro-structures of migration:

- (a) self-sustain migration over time by fostering contacts across space which develop into migratory chains between the sending and receiving locations, often independent of economic conditions (Arizpe, 1983; Boyd, 1989; Crummet, 1987; Massey, et. al., 1987; McDonald & McDonald, 1974; Piore, 1979);
- (b) provide a broad array of informational, material, and emotional resources that assist and diminish the risks of relocation for immigrants (Bodnar, 1985; Boyd, 1989; Portes & Bach, 1985); and
- (c) serve as basic building-blocks to the organizational and institutional development of new immigrant communities, potentially enhancing the ability of the immigrant group to make inroads into the institutional make-up of the receiving society or economy (Browning & Rodríguez, 1985; Portes & Bach, 1985; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Tilly & Brown, 1974).

1.3 *Barrio* Formation

This neoclassical view of migration and settlement sees *barrios* as either a transitory step towards assimilation, or as a detrimental structure that delays assimilation. Furthermore, it stresses the *uprooting effect of migration* which contributes to the destruction of communal bonds. In contrast, the alternative view stresses the progressive building of social relations among immigrants, and the positive role these relations play in the settlement process which is part of the adaptation of the migrating group to its new environment.

Barrios, in this alternative view, become a long-lasting structure whose formation and further development facilitate the adaptation of Puerto-Ricans and all immigrants to life in the mainland; the extant literature on Puerto-Rican and other Latinobarrios tends to confirm this. *Barrios* are resilient communities that tend to not disappear, but rather continue to play an important role in the adaptation of ethnic and racial minorities. They have been key to the spatial and socioeconomic incorporation of Puerto-Ricans into U.S. society (Hernández-Alvarez, 1968; Maldonado, 1979; Padilla, 1985, 1987; Sánchez-Korrol, 1983; Uriarte, 1988). In a way this resilience indicates that the communal structure and the institutions of immigrant groups may be a permanent resource which generates organized social and economic responses in order to cope with structural and historical situations of drastic social and economic change.

It is in this context that I define *barrio formation* as the social and spatial process whereby Puerto-Ricans use ethnic bonds to form new communities in locations away from large cities in order to cope with socioeconomic structural change and instability. *Barrio formation* is fundamentally an ethnic response, a survival strategy, organized through the social networks of migration. These social networks play a central role in directing or channeling both international and internal migratory flows to the new settlements; assist in and diminish the risks of relocation; and create the basic organizational building-blocks which allow Puerto-Ricans to further counteract situations of instability and change in their new environment.

I identify three stages in the process of *barrio formation*. *Colonias* are formed first, a small and dense cluster of migrant or working-class city blocks develops providing for the manifestation of Puerto-Rican social identity through customs, language and habits. A combination of recruitment by employers, kinship and ethnic networks attracts the people who establish the *colonia*. The formation of the small *colonia* is regularly a response to the situation of dual instability in Puerto Rico and the United States. Social networks in the *colonia* serve to maintain family/household and community continuity threatened by unstable jobs and social displacement. These urban settlements have served as the primary context for the

migration, dispersal and integration of the Puerto-Rican population in the mainland, further constituting the geographic nuclei of *barrios* (Maldonado, 1979; Sánchez-Korrol, 1983).

In a second stage, *colonias* begin to develop into *barrios* . During this stage *colonias* expand their population and geographic base due to the influx of new residents, many of them attracted through the networks of migration. In the context of *colonia expansion* migration continues to serve as a survival strategy, yet it becomes an even more important force in creating a critical mass of people --a *barrio* -- which is fundamental to the spatial and social viability of the community. Also, the organizational structure of the community begins to grow mainly in response to the increasing ostracism and social antagonism that immigrants experience in the new environment. Some community organizations, civic clubs and businesses emerge, and the first attempts to penetrate or fight the institutional structures of the host environment are organized by residents.

Finally, *barrios* begin to mature, becoming a distinct area of the city with a dense concentration of organizations and businesses. The organizational richness and institutional development of the community grow heavily during this stage. By this point, Puerto-Ricans (and other Latinos) are generally developing an independent base of organizations, forging coalitions with other racial and ethnic groups, and penetrating the political structure of the host environment.

Structural changes in the Post-WW II Era have modified Puerto-Rican migration, patterns of settlement, and adaptation in the Northeast. The specificity of the origin and stability of Puerto Rican migration have depended on the colonial and structural relationship between Puerto Rico and the US, affecting both the conditions that Puerto Ricans face in the island and in the mainland. This dual situation of instability has led to the regionalization of settlements in the mainland, and to the formation of new *barrios*. The social relations and networks of migration have mediated this process of regionalization through *barrio* formation. *Barrio formation* has remained central to the ability of Puerto-Ricans to develop the social, political and geographic base wherefrom to organize social-services,

community-development, and political institutions, whose role has been to counteract and ameliorate situations of drastic socioeconomic restructuring. However, as I point out in the next section, throughout the stages of *barrio* formation important changes will take place in the characteristics of barrios.

1.4 ***Barrio* Differentiation: The Three Types of *Barrios* and the Four Factors of *Barrio* Differentiation**

Throughout the 1950's and 1960's, urban sociological research (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Lewis, 1966) emphasized that *barrios* and their residents in one city, or in different cities or areas more often than not shared common spatial, family, labor-market and organizational characteristics. That is, *barrios* and their residents were portrayed as homogeneous communities evolving along a common developmental path which would lead to either their assimilation into mainstream society, or perhaps to their permanent marginalization. Because at the time *barrios* and their residents indeed seemed as if they were moving down a common path, this theoretical and empirical platform seemed appropriate to analyze the overall social experience and structural situation of Puerto-Ricans and Latinos in the United States mainland.

During the 1950's and the 1960's, the *barrios* formed in the Post-WW II Era reflected the homogeneous character of newly forming communities; due to the relatively recent arrival of migrants, they had yet to mature and show diverging patterns of development. In addition, the pace and scope of change in the large cities in which *barrios* predominantly formed had yet to reach the proportions evidenced today.

However, entering the 1970's and all throughout the 1980's this optic began to change as a combined result of the rapid pace of urban restructuring which affected large cities and their regional surroundings, and of the more intensive and sophisticated research on Latinos and their experience in the United States mainland. On the one hand, urban restructuring and its impact on cities has not been uniform, contributing to diversify the structural and social conditions

shaping the development of *barrios* and the characteristics of their residents. On the other hand, the historical and sociological literature on Latinos (and other ethnic/racial groups) exposed ample differences in the migratory and settlement experience of the various Latino subgroups, and how they were responding to the forces of social change pressuring them.

In that way, research on *barrios* and their residents slowly began shifting its analytical focus towards the heterogeneous impact of urban restructuring on Latinos and the subgroups which comprise this population, and the contrasting forms or types of *barrio* development taking shape in urban and even rural areas. Today, the tendency to homogenize *barrios* and their residents is being replaced by another outlook which attempts to explain how and why *barrios* and their residents show heterogeneous qualities and characteristics, and what factors contribute to this process of **differentiation**.

In the more current urban sociological research it is possible to distinguish three distinct types of *barrios* : **working-class barrios**, **underclass barrios**, and **ethnic enclaves**. To a certain extent, these three types are the result of theoretical and research efforts oriented toward explaining the roots of heterogeneity in the developmental path of *barrios*, and in the socioeconomic characteristics of their residents.

I summarize the characteristics of each of these types of *barrios* in Table 1. For purposes of comparison, I have organized their characteristics along four --spatial/residential, family/household, labor-market, and organizational-development-- main categories. Further, in Table 2, I summarize the dynamic factors at play in the development of these types of *barrios*. These **factors of differentiation** contribute to what I have termed **barrio differentiation**. I classify these factors along four dimensions: **population dynamics; economic restructuring; urban renewal and urban policies; and sociocultural dynamics**.

I discuss the three types of *barrios* and the factors that shape them not only to define the process of **barrio differentiation**, but also to critique the theoretical traditions underlying them. These traditions do not explore the possibility that *barrios* may in fact mature to show a mix of coexisting characteristics of the three types of *barrios*.

This shortcoming results from:

- (a) their failure to take into consideration urban renewal and urban policies as key factors shaping the development of *barrios*;
- (b) an incomplete account of the diverse population and migration dynamics taking place in urban areas, and of the qualitative differences in the processes of economic restructuring affecting cities; and
- (c) the indiscriminate application of the underclass framework to the Latino experience of communal development.

I define *barrio differentiation* as a process of communal maturation in which a combination of population dynamics, economic restructuring, urban renewal and urban policies, and sociocultural dynamics create heterogeneity within and between *barrios*. As a result, *barrios* show a mix of characteristics from the three main types of *barrios*. *Barrio differentiation* is likely to occur during the two latter stages of *barrio formation*: *colonia expansion* and *barrio maturation*. During the formation of *colonias*, developmental heterogeneity tends not to show because of the small size, and recency of the settlement, although important developmental differences may begin to profile as the *colonia* expands. In this process of differentiation, the types and the mix of characteristics which *barrios* may evidence are critically framed and defined by the factors of differentiation. At specific instances, however, the mix of characteristics can be also countervailed, or affected, by the interaction between human agency and these factors of differentiation. This interaction, mostly through social networks and horizontal community ties, is particularly important in inducing migratory inflows into becoming *barrios*, and in structuring organizational characteristics.

Table 1
Characteristics of Types of Barrios

	Spatial/Residential	Family/Household	Labor Market	Organizational
Working-Class	The ethnic/racial group is concentrated in a residential core near workplaces, often in central-city neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are key to the social, political and economic incorporation of the group into mainstream society and the urban fabric. Most residents live in old rental housing, although homeownership tends to increase with the age of the settlement. These neighborhoods show strong racial/ethnic segregation.	These neighborhoods or barrios show a relatively balanced mix of married-couple and single-heads of household families. Family formation tends not to be a strong social problem that causes communal instability. This balanced mix of family types promotes social integration in the community and supports various kinds of social networks.	Residents are working poor but with strong labor force/market attachment. The occupational composition of these neighborhoods is fairly homogeneous with residents concentrated in unskilled and semiskilled occupations in labor-intensive manufacturing and increasingly in specific service sectors.	Strong, active and rich organizational life around the symbols of ethnic/racial identity to defend the community, preserve culture, or to obtain access to resources. This active life takes the form of social clubs, community-based organizations, political groups.
Underclass	The ethnic/racial group is concentrated in a deteriorated residential central-city core. These were neighborhoods which decayed and formed as a result of the exit of the group's middle-class. Residents live in rental private and public housing with a marginal share of homeowners. The poor is over-concentrated in these neighborhoods, which also show very strong racial/ethnic segregation.	Family formation is social problem in these neighborhoods or barrios. Poor female single headed household /families represent a large share of families. Large shares of the latter households increase social isolation and disintegration. Family instability is closely related to the concentration of poverty.	Residents in these neighborhoods show strong labor market disattachment and severe employment problems.	Weak organizational life due to social disintegration induced by the exit of the middle- and working-class, and by other social and economic problems such as isolation, drugs, bad employment, and family instability.
Ethnic Enclave	The ethnic/racial group is concentrated in a residential core. These neighborhoods are key to the social, political and economic incorporation of the group into mainstream society and the urban fabric. Also, they show a strong small-business core that provides stability and development. This core of small businesses is an important component of the identity of these neighborhoods; it enhances spatial control of the neighborhood by the group. Most residents are renters but with a considerable share of homeowners. These neighborhoods show moderate racial/ethnic segregation.	These neighborhoods or barrios show a relatively balanced mix of married-couple and female single headed households. Family formation tends not to be a strong social problem that causes instability. The family is key to the formation of businesses and various kinds of social networks.	These neighborhoods show a mix of working poor in unskilled and semiskilled occupations with strong labor force/market attachment, and of other kinds of workers. The occupational composition of these neighborhoods shows occupational heterogeneity because of a greater share of professionals, technicians and craftsmen. Also, a good share of residents are self-employed, and work in community-owned businesses.	Strong, active and rich organizational life around the symbols of ethnic/racial identity to defend the community, preserve culture, or to obtain access to resources. This active life takes the form of social clubs, community-based organizations, political groups. In the enclave, strong merchant groups tend to lead organizational life, and form networks to foster economic growth and political influence.

Table 2

Type of Barrio by Factors of Differentiation

	Population Dynamics	Economic Restructuring	Urban Renewal and Urban Policies	Sociocultural Dynamics
Working-Class	Continuous immigration replenishes the population of barrios. At first, immigrants are attracted by jobs in secondary manufacturing, agriculture, or low-pay services. Subsequently, inflows are sustained by networks and the growth of the racial/ethnic community (or barrio).	Economic restructuring seeks to preserve or to create labor pools of vulnerable or tractable workers that are used to: meet the needs of labor-intensive manufacturing firms in the secondary labor market; to fill all sorts of bad jobs unwanted by the native population; to avoid class solidarity among workers. These conditions lead to poor labor markets outcomes such as occupational segregation, low wages, little mobility.	Urban renewal and policies are a negative force that work against the ability of racial/ethnic minorities to preserve their community. Urban renewal physically destroys barrios.	The bonds of ethnic/racial group solidarity are used to form institutions and organizations to resist ostracism and to fight subordination. The community organizes as it becomes aware of its subordination and to form an independent institutional base capable of political organizing.
Underclass	The outmigration of middle-class and some segments of the working-class leads to the concentration of the poor. This outmigration indirectly causes social problems that affect the demographic base of communities, i.e. family instability.	Desindustrialization and restructuring lead to skills and spatial mismatches which affect negatively the employment opportunities of central city minority residents, and that produce labor market disattachment.	[Urban renewal and policies are absent from the underclass framework and literature, occasionally grouped with poverty alleviation and social welfare policies.]	Social and economic disintegration induced by working- and middle-class outmigration weakens and destroys the organizational base of neighborhoods. This inhibits communal organization.
Ethnic Enclave	Similar to the working-class type. However, the creation of a protected ethnic labor and consumer market exerts a strong pulling force for working-class immigrants and professionals.	[Economic restructuring is absent as a factor of differentiation.]	[Urban renewal and urban policies are absent as a factor of differentiation.]	The bonds of ethnic/racial group solidarity are used to form institutions and organizations to resist ostracism and to fight subordination. The community organizes as it becomes aware of its subordination and to form an independent institutional base capable of political organizing. Greater emphasis on the use of networks and bonds to maintain the economic viability of the enclave, i.e. the formation of chambers of commerce, business organizations, business relations, etc.

1.4.1 Working-Class *Barrios*

In the 1970's and 1980's, several sociological and historical studies of Puerto-Ricans and of other Latinos asserted the historical and developmental specificity of Latino working-class *barrios* relative to the experience of communal formation of previous European immigrants and, to some extent, of African-Americans (Barrera, 1989; Blauner, 1972; Camarillo, 1979; García, 1981, 1988; Padilla, 1985, 1987; Romo, 1983; Sánchez-Korrol, 1983). In contrast to the sociological literature on ethnic assimilation and to traditional urban ecological models, the migratory and settlement experience of most Latinos in the mainland was intimately linked in these studies to a history of forceful and subordinate incorporation into the Anglo-dominated American society and economy. For instance, the incorporation of Mexicans and Puerto-Ricans was bounded by the unequal political and economic relationship between Mexico and the US since the Mexican-American War, and by the colonial relationship between Puerto Rico and the US since the Spanish-American War. To a large extent, the formation and further development of *barrios*, reflected this experience of subordination.⁵

In this literature, working-class *barrios* are described as a strong and permanent core of city blocks or neighborhoods that serve as a foothold for the ethnic community. These neighborhoods are key to the social, political and economic incorporation of immigrants into mainstream society and the urban fabric. Their formation and development in large urban areas is typically related to the demand for, and direct recruitment of immigrant, unskilled and semi-skilled workers to fill low-pay, secondary-manufacturing, services and

5 For instance, in East Los Angeles, the concentration of Chicanos and Mexicans in that area did not fit a process ethnic and racial succession, but one of urban segregation and displacement which initially pushed Mexicans out to the margins of the city of Los Angeles, only to be further incorporated by political and economic enclosure when the city expanded over its own limits (Romo, 1983). The distinct character of Latino barrio formation also applied to the development of Mexican barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California. In these areas, Mexican pueblos incrementally transformed into barrios as cities expanded and the Anglo population became economically and politically more powerful, even when at times Anglos did not represent a numeric majority (Camarillo, 1979). Further, the relatively high levels of spatial and residential segregation that affect Puerto Ricans in central city areas, their slow path to suburbanization, and their sustained poverty even in suburban areas challenges some of the predictions of conventional urban ecological models; Puerto Ricans do not achieve greater spatial assimilation with increasing social and economic attainment (Santiago, 1991).

agricultural jobs. These jobs are available because they are often created or "designed" by employers who are seeking to take advantage of the vulnerability and tractability of these workers.

Although these conditions of labor market subordination reproduce poor labor market outcomes --like occupational segmentation, homogeneity and low wages-- they also offer a minimum of employment stability to *barrio* residents. Thus, while *barrio* residents may be mostly working poor, they also show strong labor-force and labor-market attachment, which is key to family formation and stability. As a consequence, these neighborhoods tend to show a relatively balanced mix of married-couple and single-head-of-household families which promotes social integration within the community, and support various forms of communal development.

The sustained demand for this kind of workers also creates a continuous flow of immigrants that replenishes the population of *barrios*. Even during periods of economic decline, these inflows are sustained by a broad array of social networks that continue to attract the members of the racial/ethnic group contributing thus to the numeric growth of the community. Under conditions of subordination, such growth leads to the formation of relatively isolated and segregated communities which often show signs of spatial and residential deterioration. Most residents in working-class *barrios* live in old rental housing, although homeownership tends to increase with the age of the settlement. The literature has pointed out that in many cities urban renewal and urban policies have targeted these areas seeking their shrinkage or elimination.

As a result of this experience of subordination and the awareness of their situation, working-class-*barrio* residents employ the bonds of ethnic/racial solidarity (social networks) to mobilize the community against social ostracism and to form an independent base of organizations capable of political organizing. Such social activity produces a strong, active and rich organizational life that takes the form of social clubs, community-based organizations and political groups which (a) mediate social and political relations with external governmental structures and other ethnic and racial groups; (b) penetrate the political and economic structures of the host

environment; (c) provide material and emotional support to old and newer residents; and (e) maintain the internal social coherence of the community.

1.4.2 Underclass *Barrios*

Formally, the term *underclass* was coined to capture the increasing socioeconomic and spatial marginalization of a segment of the African-American population in relatively large areas of central-cities, like New York City and Chicago, during the Post-WW II Era (Wilson, 1987). Upon further theorization and empirical elaboration, the term has been refined to characterize a broad array of temporal, spatial and behavioral aspects of poverty, and of individuals and groups living in poverty (Jargowsky & Bane, 1991; Jencks, 1991; Massey, 1990; Massey & Eggers, 1990; Massey & Denton, 1987, 1989; Ricketts & Sawhill, 1986; Ricketts & Mincy, 1988).⁶ Increasingly, however, the term is being used to describe an analogous process among Latinos, referring mainly to a segment of the Puerto-Rican population, and to some of their communities in large central-city areas (Torres & Rodríguez, 1991). Thus, some social scientists have alluded to the development of a **Puerto-Rican underclass**, and **Puerto-Rican-underclass *barrios*** (Tienda, 1988, 1989; Tienda & Díaz, 1987).

This literature, referring both to African-Americans and Latinos, describes underclass neighborhoods or *barrios* as a geographic overconcentration of poor people living in a deteriorated, highly segregated residential central-city core. The poor in these neighborhoods live mainly in private and public rental housing, and evidence strong problems in family formation, labor market attachment, and organizational disintegration.

⁶ The term "underclass" has been further developed to characterize; (a) those individuals, and families who remain poor for long periods of time and that perhaps pass poverty on to their children (persistent poverty); (b) geographic areas with high poverty rates characterized by abandoned housing and urban deterioration (neighborhood poverty); (c) behavioral patterns and attitudes that deviate from mainstream social norms, like drug and alcohol abuse, habitual criminal behavior, welfare dependency, weak attachment to the labor force, and bearing children out of wedlock (underclass poverty) (Jargowsky and Bane, 1991).

The development of this type of neighborhood or *barrio* results from what William Julius Wilson has called the "vertical disintegration of the ghetto" (Wilson, 1987). In broad strokes, the argument claims that civil rights gains during the 1960's combined with economic restructuring created conditions that facilitated the outmigration from central-city neighborhoods of the black or Latino middle-class and of steady working-class residents. This outmigration lead to the socioeconomic polarization of communities, to the concentration and isolation of the poor in specific geographic areas, and to the breakdown of community and neighborhoods institutions (Wilson, 1980, 1987).

The poverty of residents in these neighborhoods or *barrios* was further exacerbated by skills and spatial mismatches created by the desindustrialization of central-cities, the rapid transition to a service-oriented economy, the suburbanization of jobs, and the inadequacy of the skills and education of central-city residents (Kasarda, 1988; Wilson, 1987). The general outcome of this labor market dynamics was labor force and market disattachment among the poor residents of this type of *barrio*.

In addition, the outmigration of the middle- and working-class contributed to the collapse of community and family bonds, leaving the poor without the organizational means to wage community-based political struggles, to preserve cultural identity, and without positive role models that could contribute to community integration. Overall disintegration explains part of the negative patterns of behavior such as family instability, habitual criminal behavior, street gang activity and drug addiction.

1.4.3 Ethnic Enclaves

The notion of the ethnic enclave, although central to accounts of the formation of European and Asian-- Chinese and Japanese -- communities in the United States, has been lately associated to the growth and development of the Cuban enclave in Miami, and the Mexican enclave in San Antonio during the 1970's and 1980's (Bodnar, 1985; Policy Research Project, 1991; Portes & Bach, 1985).

In this literature, the origin of **ethnic enclaves** --like that of working-class *barrios*--- is conceptualized in terms of the subordinate position which immigrants occupy in Anglo-dominated society. Initially, immigrants are attracted by various types of social networks, or by employer networks that recruit them to occupy subordinate, secondary labor-market jobs. This literature, however, emphasizes how immigrants, as part of their adaptation to the new environment, use their ethnic bonds to develop economic opportunities to overcome their subordination.

In the ethnic enclave, the racial/ethnic group is concentrated in a residential core with little signs of residential deterioration, and where the development of strong ethnic networks and bonds of solidarity become the basis for economic growth and individual socioeconomic mobility. Relative to working-class and underclass *barrios*, these neighborhoods tend to show moderate residential segregation.

Ethnic enclaves tend to show a strong and busy small district of ethnically-owned small businesses which enhances the group's spatial control of the neighborhood and provides stability to the community. This independent and endogenous economic base, under control of the community, enables the development of an enclosed and protected Latino consumer and labor market which provides unskilled, skilled and some professional jobs, as well as services and products, to substantial portions of the ethnic community. Due to the greater share of professionals, technicians, craftsmen and self-employed workers among neighborhood residents, the occupational composition of these neighborhoods shows heterogeneity.

Also, the availability of job opportunities for both recently arrived and older immigrants contributes to reduce family instability, and fosters strong labor force/market attachment among enclave residents, especially since the family is central to the formation of businesses. Thus, the economy of the enclave permits the successful social integration of working- and middle-class immigrant family into the life of the neighborhood. Given these opportunities, family formation in the enclave tends not to be problematic; the household composition of these neighborhoods tends to show a balanced mix of

married-couple- and single-heads-of-household families.

Organizationally, the ethnic enclave shows a strong, active and rich organizational life formed around the symbols of racial/ethnic identity, and as a result of the immigrants' efforts to overcome their subordination. This active life, however, is mostly lead by strong merchant groups who strive to preserve the economic and political viability of the enclave through a tightly knit web or network of commercial enterprises, business organizations and chambers of commerce.

1.5 Comparison of the Types of *Barrios*

1.5.1 Spatial/Residential Characteristics

A common characteristic of all three types of *barrios* is the concentration of the racial/ethnic group in a spatial/residential core. However, the origin of such concentration in each type of *barrio* can be attributed to qualitatively different processes. The kind of population dynamics which create working-class *barrios* and **ethnic enclaves** are product of the inflow of immigrants attracted to occupy subordinate jobs in various sectors of the economy. Further, these inflows contribute to the building of social relations and networks which connect the immigrant sending and receiving locations, and that tend to continue attracting immigrants even during economic downturns. Also in the ethnic enclave, in contrast to working-class *barrios*, the formation of an ethnic labor and consumer market with a large component of self-employment and small businesses exerts a pulling force which attracts newer immigrants who find protection in the enclave. In the case of **underclass barrios**, in contrast, the concentration of the racial/ethnic group results from a process of communal disintegration sparked by the socioeconomic polarization of the community, and other factors such as economic restructuring.

Such dissimilarity in the population dynamics at work in the formation of each of the three types of *barrios* also influences homeownership patterns, the relative degree of segregation, and neighborhood deterioration. Ethnic enclaves are characterized by

higher rates of homeownership, less racial/ethnic segregation, and neighborhood deterioration because the inflows of newer residents go hand-in-hand with a process of endogenous economic development which fosters permanency, creates economic opportunities, and has the potential to create conditions which allow other racial/ethnic groups to benefit from services and products offered by the ethnic enclave.⁷ Underclass *barrios*, in contrast, are characterized by an insignificant share of homeowners, high segregation, spatial deterioration, and overconcentration of poverty due to the outflow of more affluent residents.

Working-class *barrios* lie in between **ethnic enclaves** and **underclass barrios** in terms of homeownership, segregation and deterioration. The migratory inflows into working-class *barrios* bring people who will presumably find employment in secondary-labor market jobs and who will not confront the communal disintegration characteristic of underclass *barrios*. However, they do not participate in a process of endogenous economic growth, as residents in **ethnic enclaves** do. As a result, residents in working-class *barrios* can rely on the basic economic floor offered by these jobs to accumulate the economic resources which, in the long run, can improve homeownership opportunities, and reduce neighborhood deterioration, although at a slower pace than in **ethnic enclaves**. With slow improvements in neighborhood stability, racial/ethnic segregation may tend to decrease with time.

1.5.2 Family/ Household Characteristics

Working-class *barrios* and **ethnic enclaves** tend to show greater family and household stability than underclass *barrios*. In the first two types of *barrios*, the secondary labor market and the social relations which develop on account of the experience of migration and settlement offer minimal economic opportunities to sustain family

⁷ In relation to this last issue of racial/ethnic segregation in the ethnic enclave, Portes and Stepick (1993) have emphasized that the Cuban ethnic enclave of Miami during the last ten years shows the signs of growing racial/ethnic conflict and polarization due to the massive exodus of whites and rapid growth of the Haitian population, and the growing poverty of the AfricanAmerican population. They describe the development of racial/ethnic tensions that have had an impact upon the spatial and economic characteristics of the enclave.

formation, and forestall social disintegration. In **ethnic enclaves**, the family is key in the formation and development of ethnically-owned businesses, which anchor middle-class residents to the community, and create greater socioeconomic diversity than in working-class *barrios*. In contrast, the overall effect of social disintegration resulting from the outmigration of the middle-class and of segments of the working-class in **underclass barrios** aggravates problems in family formation and instability. Relative to **underclass barrios**, greater family stability in working-class *barrios* and **ethnic enclaves** contributes to a balanced mix of married-couple and single-heads-of-household families. In **underclass barrios**, poor mostly female single-heads of households are overrepresented in the household mix.

1.5.3 Labor Market Characteristics

The labor market characteristics of each type of *barrio* also show striking differences. In the main, residents of working-class *barrios* and of **ethnic enclaves** show strong labor force/market attachment, while **underclass barrios** do not. These relative differences are the product of the contrasting social and economic forces which are at play in the formation and development of each type of *barrio*.

Residents in working-class *barrios* and **ethnic enclaves** can depend on a steady source of secondary-labor-market jobs which offers a minimal degree of economic survival. In addition, residents in **ethnic enclaves** can rely on the jobs available within the enclave's economy. While falling short of offering high wages and good jobs, these opportunities contribute to foster labor force/market attachment.

By contrast, **underclass barrios** are characterized by the lack of labor force/market attachment among residents, largely the result of desindustrialization and other forms of economic restructuring. In **underclass barrios**, residents are confronted with a collapsing economy for unskilled jobs, and other forms of restructuring that block their geographic access to available jobs. In addition to the chronic lack of jobs, a combination of spatial and skills mismatches contributes to block geographic and occupational access to good jobs or to jobs which assure above-poverty wages. The lack of jobs and access to

opportunities combined with the breakdown of communal structure foster dependency upon public assistance and incrementally erode the work ethic of *barrio* residents. Over a sustained period of time, this dynamic leads to weak labor force/market attachment among underclass *barrio* residents.

Important differences also exist in the occupational profile of the three types of *barrios*. In **working-class *barrios***, the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled workers to fill secondary-labor-market jobs mainly in manufacturing creates occupational homogeneity. Over the long-run, this homogeneity is in part reinforced by the restructuring efforts of employers to create and preserve the labor pools of vulnerable and tractable⁸ workers which are key to the economic viability of their industries. In the ethnic enclave, this labor market dynamic is also at work, but the formation of community-based ethnic businesses tends to diversify the occupational composition of the enclave. The enclave shows a greater share of professionals, technicians, craftsmen and self-employed workers. In **underclass *barrios***, labor force/market attachment is a grave problem, and those employed are mostly concentrated in unskilled occupations.

1.5.4 Organizational Characteristics

Working-class *barrios* and ethnic enclaves tend to show a strong, active and rich organizational life that takes the form of social clubs, community-based organizations and other political and cultural groups. In both cases, this strong organizational structure develops around the symbols of racial/ethnic identity, and several forms of group solidarity as a defense against social ostracism and to access resources. In the ethnic enclave, however, the organizational life of the community reproduces the social and economic networks and relations which sustain its protected consumer and labor market.

⁸ Tractable labor are workers who for a broad variety of reasons (citizenship, sexual and racial/ethnic prejudice, laws, custom, extended unemployment) are unprotected by unions, the state, and other institutions and who tend to be employed in jobs unwanted by native populations and union workers. They are generally perceived to be more "passive, docile and unorganized," ideal for easing drastic work-place changes and easily hired and fired depending on the interests of employers.

Particularly, the organizational life of the enclave revolves around the formation of strong merchant groups who seek endogenous economic growth and political influence.

In striking contrast to the above, **underclass *barrios*** reflect the characteristics of social disintegration. Their organizational life is weak due to the outmigration of the middle-class and some segments of the working-class. Upon their exit, organizations such as churches, and community-based businesses and organizations collapsed. Together, the effect of this organizational breakdown and the proliferation of various forms of problematic behavior inhibit the development of organizations.

1.6 Why *Barrios* With Mixed Characteristics?

During the late 1980's and early 1990's, more recent research on the socioeconomic situation of Latinos in the mainland and on the development of *barrios* -- employing a wide array of research strategies and from contrasting theoretical perspectives --further emphasized the importance of differentiating how structural factors had an impact on the various Latino subgroups, and how Latinos were responding to those changes (Moore, 1989; Moore & Pinderhughes, 1993). As an extension of previous research on Latinos, the general thrust of this literature reaffirmed that these factors and social responses lead to the formation and development of *barrios* with heterogeneous characteristics.

This more recent body of literature has proposed to study three issues or problems which were either downplayed, underresearched, or flatly ignored by previous work on the development of *barrios*, and which are key to understand why *barrios* are increasingly showing greater heterogeneity. This new body of literature is slowly incorporating into the analysis of *barrios* previously neglected factors such as the role of urban renewal and urban policies play in altering the developmental path of *barrios* (Moore, 1989; Moore & Pinderhughes, 1993). Also, it is qualifying and reinterpreting the incomplete portrayal by previous research of the population and migration dynamics affecting *barrios*, and has advocated for a more in-

depth and complex analysis of the impact of economic restructuring upon *barrios* and their residents (Moore, 1989; Rodríguez, 1993). Finally, it has suggested that the underclass framework, originally developed to analyze the Afro-American experience of poverty and communal breakdown, is only partially applicable to the Latino experience of communal development (Moore, 1989; Meléndez, 1993).

On the one hand, this critique challenges the efficacy of employing existing types to describe the heterogeneity of characteristics evidenced by *barrios*; on the other, it calls for a more complex and integrated analytical framework capable of accounting for the processes of differentiation creating heterogeneity within and between *barrios*.

1.6.1 Urban Renewal and Policies: The Neglected Factor

Urban renewal and urban policies have been neglected in explanations of the characteristics and development of **underclass *barrios*** and **ethnic enclaves**; only rather brief city-specific studies of Puerto-Rican working-class *barrios* in New York City, Boston, and Philadelphia have addressed the role played by urban renewal in the formation and development of *barrios* (González, 1987; Sánchez, 1986; Uriarte, 1988). These studies, focused mainly on how Puerto-Ricans developed community-based organizations to resist residential and geographic displacement. The threat of displacement, while it often generated organizational activity in *barrios*, frequently contributed to disperse the organizational base of communities (Gastón & Kennedy, 1987; González, 1987; Rodríguez, 1989a; Sánchez, 1986; Uriarte, 1988).

Other important issues like the pace, the intensity and the scope of urban renewal and policies relevant to ***barrio* formation** and differentiation remain unincorporated into the analysis. Urban renewal and policies are not implemented in the same fashion in every city, and the selective enforcement of policy decisions creates a wide variety of outcomes, even when the source of urban renewal funds and planning programs are guided by a common set of rules and objectives (Frieden & Kaplan, 1975; Teaford, 1990; Wilson, 1966). In some instances, the political conflicts engendered by urban policies among urban elites, between these elites and other corporate or

community groups, or between federal, state and local agencies modifies the direction of policies and of outcomes (Katznelson, 1981; Mollenkopf, 1983).

It is crucial to elucidate these dynamics in relation to the formation of *barrios*, and their further differentiation because they directly shape the spatial/residential characteristics of *barrios*, and orient much of the organizational activity of *barrios*. Urban renewal and urban policies, for instance, may operate to intensify or reduce racial/ethnic segregation, to attract or expel new racial/ethnic and socioeconomic groups from certain areas, destroy the spatial integrity of communities thereby affecting social stability, or they may spark organizational responses on the part of residents which serve to enhance the long-term development of *barrios*.

1.6.2 Qualifying and Reinterpreting the Role of Population Dynamics and Economic Restructuring

A) Population Dynamics

Population dynamics, mainly the immigration or outmigration of different racial/ethnic and socioeconomic groups, are key to the formation and development **working-class, underclass *barrios*, and ethnic enclaves**. In general, the flows of people in and out of *barrios* still remain associated to the subordinate position of Latinos in the economy or to problems of communal disintegration. But the portrayal of these flows in the literature has been rather incomplete and problematic for a number of reasons.

First, migration into or outmigration from *barrios* have been treated as mutually exclusive phenomena, rather than as overlapping tendencies which may be occurring simultaneously, albeit with different intensity. For instance, given the open character of Latino immigration into the mainland, and to a number of other social, economic, and cultural reasons, the flow of both new international and domestic/internal migrants into *barrios* may be a continuous factor that periodically reshapes the population base of *barrios* (Moore, 1989). These constant flows can play a key role throughout the stages of *barrio*

formation.

They bring into *barrios* new Latino immigrants from different countries and from various socioeconomic backgrounds, which may overlap with older working-class Latino residents or Latinos who may be experiencing the effects of communal bifurcation induced by dramatic changes in the industrial base of any particular city (Sullivan, 1993). Secondly, with very few exceptions (Portes & Stepick, 1993), the immigration of other non-Latino ethnic and racial groups (Asians and Haitians) into *barrios* has been practically ignored among the population dynamics affecting the formation and development of the three different types of *barrios*. The immigration of these groups into *barrios* could either be determined by, or totally independent from, the population dynamics attracting Latinos. Thirdly, the pace at which non-Latino racial/ethnic groups outmigrate from developing *barrios* has also been narrowly portrayed or studied.

Recasting the population dynamics taking place in *barrios* and exploring their simultaneity is key to understanding the developmental path of *barrios*, and the reasons why *barrios* may be showing a mix of coexisting (spatial, family/household, labor market and organizational) characteristics of the three types of *barrios*. Depending on their socioeconomic characteristics, the entry of new Latino groups can contribute to improve or deteriorate the spatial integrity and stability of *barrios*. Similarly, the characteristics of the new Latino inflows can create shifts in the household mix and occupational mix of *barrios*, or can infuse *barrios* with greater or lesser organizational experience. The entry or exit of other racial groups may prove equally significant, especially regarding the organizational characteristics of *barrios*, and the coalition-building efforts of their residents.

B) Economic Restructuring

Various studies have shown how during the last fifteen years both the demand- and supply-side effects of economic restructuring have disproportionately undermined the already subordinate labor market position of Puerto-Ricans and other Latinos, especially in large

urban centers like New York City (DeFreitas, 1992; Meléndez, 1991b; Ortiz, 1992; Waldinger, 1987). However, these analyses have largely focused on macro variables and on the individual characteristics which determine the labor market outcomes of Latinos. With noticeable exceptions (Kirschman & Neckerman, 1991), little work has investigated the qualitative, firm-based intermediate aspects of economic restructuring that impact the structure of economic opportunities for *barrio* residents and their communities.

Between the late 1940's and late 1960's, the American industrial structure appeared to be divided into a core sector of capital-intensive, monopolistic corporations, and a peripheral sector of labor-intensive, smaller and flexible firms.⁹ Since the 1970's, however, the globalization of the American economy, falling profit rates, technological changes, the erosion of the dominant economic position of the country, and significant shifts in the demographic composition of domestic labor supplies have all combined to modify the strategies adopted by both core corporations and peripheral firms to overcome market volatility and economic change (Bluestone & Harrison, 1982; Sabel & Piore, 1984). In manufacturing in particular, these newer corporate strategies and employment practices have partially changed the morphology of post-W.W. II industrial dualism.¹⁰

Structurally, corporations have become less vertically integrated and more geographically mobile, sometimes dismantling large parts of their operations in old industrial areas and moving them to other "green" areas in the United States or abroad (Bluestone & Harrison, 1982; Noyelle & Stanback, 1983; Sabel & Piore, 1984; Scott & Storper, 1986). This restructuring, on the one hand, has depressed regional and urban labor markets that depended heavily on manufacturing and that historically employed high number of

9 In these two sectors jobs were qualitatively different, and the presumed open competitiveness of the labor market was severely curtailed. This industrial and labor market dualism resulted from a combination of the differences in the technological development of firms, the strategies of corporations and managers in avoiding class solidarity among workers, the institutionalization of labor market regulation, and the socio-historical conditions that governed the insertion of certain racial/ethnic groups into the social division of labor (Berger and Piore, 1980; Blauner, 1972; Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Edwards, Gordon and Reich, 1982).

10 For instance, corporations and firms in the core sector have adopted economic strategies and employment practices often reserved for peripheral firms, and vice-versa; employment security in some core firms is no longer encouraged at certain levels of the occupational ladder while peripheral firms are encouraging job development and employment stability (Doeringer, et.al.1991).

immigrants (Sassen, 1988, 1991; Waldinger & Bailey, 1991). On the other hand, the same process has also increased the use of immigrant labor in peripheral subcontracting firms and independent producers that supply larger firms (Fernández-Kelly, 1983; Waldinger, 1986).¹¹

The shift away from the technical and organizational principles of mass production in both the primary and secondary sector has been equally important in the transformation of post-WW II industrial dualism.¹² The growing use of computerized, more efficient, flexible technologies seems to be integrating work tasks, dramatically transforming the ways in which work is organized in factories, internal labor markets, and the skills demanded from workers. In both primary and secondary firms, more occupational flexibility and knowledge-based skills are being demanded from workers, and production-line forms of organizing work are being phased-out. These are being replaced by concepts such as team-work and job-rotation as a way to cope with market volatility without reducing or affecting productivity (Kelley, 1990; Kochan, Katz, & Mackersie, 1986; Sabel & Piore, 1984).

It is difficult to establish how these industrial and technological changes have affected the use of Latino immigrant labor and minority communities because little research has been done on the matter, and the recency and relatively small-scale of the transformation has yet to produce definite patterns. However, the available evidence indicates that immigrant workers are being used as a cheap supply of transitional labor in the process of deploying and "breaking-down" new capital-intensive technologies, in breaking the resilience of unionized domestic workers to accept the occupational changes caused by

11 For example, immigrant (Mexican) female labor in the southwest of the United States, traditionally concentrated in basic manufacturing and agriculture, is being used by electronic firms which are subcontractors to major electric appliance and computer hardware corporations (Fernández-Kelly, 1983). In New York City, decaying garment manufacturing sectors have revived due to the entrepreneurial activity of immigrants (Asian and Latino) hiring other immigrants and subcontracting for large clothing and apparel producers (Waldinger, 1986).

12 Mass production is defined in two dimensions. First, it is defined as a form, of producing goods in which a combination of technological and organizational (managerial) practices create the possibility of increasing the speed and volume of the flow of materials, and therefore of output, by replacing manual operations with machines arranged to integrate and synchronize (coordinate) productive activities within a single industrial establishment (Chandler, 1977). Increases in speed and volume permit economies of scale that lower production costs and increase output per worker per machine. Secondly, it is defined as a set of institutional (social and political) arrangements that reproduce and legitimize the predominance of this form of production over other forms of organizing production (Sabel and Piore, 1984).

modernization, or as a source of cheap, flexible labor that permits manufacturers to combine piecemeal modernization with old assembly-methods without skill and wage improvements (Morales, 1983; Papademetriou, et. al, 1989).

Finally, human resource development and management practices have experienced a major change in that several human resource development models have proliferated and inter-mixed in different industrial sectors, in particular within the manufacturing sector (Doeringer, et.al, 1991; Kochan, Katz,& Mckersie, 1986; Osterman, 1988). The industrial relations model, once dominant in major manufacturing industries such as the auto and steel industries, has collapsed due to the institutional rigidity that grew out of many years of confrontation between labor and management, and the efforts by firms and corporations to restructure occupational categories, technology, and work outside the legal and customary framework provided by the system of industrial relations (Heckscher, 1988; Katz & Keefe, 1991; Kochan, Katz,& Mckersie, 1986).¹³ By contrast, the employment-at-will and the full-employment models, once prevalent in labor-intensive, competitive manufacturing and in large, non-union corporations respectively, have come to influence human resource management practices in a broad range of both core and peripheral manufacturing firms (Doeringer, et. al., 1991).¹⁴

In the context of these intermediate firm-based changes, the use of immigrant labor and the labor market attributes of *barrio* residents may be less characterized by the strong industrial dualism of the immediate Post-WW II Era, and more by the particular characteristics and prerogatives of the restructuring of both core and peripheral firms (Piore, 1986). Immigrant labor remains largely

13 This model of human resource management practices, established in American industry during the 1940's and heavily influenced by the trade union movement, was characterized by narrow job classifications and rigid ladders of mobility where seniority played a central role in job assignments and layoffs, and where managers preserved their prerogatives over command and control functions in the workplace.

14 The employment-at-will model is mostly characterized by little commitment on the part of the firm to human resource development, by the encouragement of high turnover, and the employment of a footloose labor force. The full-employment model, to the contrary, emphasizes human resource development through workplace training, encourages workplace stability and the creation of an employment culture that fosters occupational flexibility, worker's self-management, and less rigid work rules.

employed in the peripheral sector yet increasingly playing a strategic role in a broad range of corporations and firms facing diverse conditions of growth, decline, and adaptation.

The increasing heterogeneity of employment practices by firms seeking to survive under diverse conditions of economic growth, decline, and adaptation may produce mixed labor market characteristics of the three types of *barrios*. For instance, human resource management practices could enhance the ability of immigrant workers to improve their training and educational opportunities, particularly in small and mid-size modernizing firms located in areas with a high concentration of immigrants, and where features of the industrial relations and full-employment models are being combined to create the organizational flexibility required to cope with periods of economic volatility. In these firms, the human resource management environment may contribute to change the stereotypical images which have reinforced the long-term seclusion of immigrant workers to low-skill, low-pay occupational categories. This could improve labor market attachment and diversify the occupational composition of *barrios*. In contrast, firms adopting strategies characteristic of the traditional secondary-labor-market may increase labor market disattachment, occupational segregation and homogeneity, or even create further unemployment among immigrants.¹⁵

1.6.3 The Underclass Framework and Latinos

The applicability of the urban underclass concept to the experience of Latinos in urban areas remains relatively unexplored, especially regarding the processes of *barrio formation* (Moore, 1989). The rise of *underclass barrios* presumes the disintegration of what were previously working-class *barrios*, a developmental path which has not been truly documented to its full extent by any study of Latino or

15 The industrial relations model, often hindered the occupational mobility of immigrant labor (women and other racial/ethnic minorities), particularly in white male controlled union shops, or simply never proliferated in secondary manufacturing where immigrant labor was concentrated and where the employment-at-will model generally ruled. The full-employment model took shape largely in employment and occupational settings with little or no immigrant workers so that it has barely impacted the insertion and use of immigrant labor.

Puerto-Rican *barrios*. In addition, it is not enough to explain the rise of underclass *barrios* by way of showing the convergence between the metric indicators of black, Latino and Puerto-Rican poverty-- high rates of female-headed households, welfare dependency, criminal behavior - -because this ignores much of the social processes whereby those *barrios* and indicators are created (Moore, 1989).

Some specific studies have focused on the relative situation of Latino poverty at the local level, and have dealt primarily with very specific aspects of that situation of poverty like the breakdown of community institutions (Cuciti & James, 1990); the behavioral factors that reinforce social isolation and poverty (Sullivan, 1993); the declining labor force attachment among some segments of the poor population (Ong, 1988; Osterman, 1989); and the geographic concentration of poverty, and spatial segregation (Massey & Denton, 1989; Massey & Bitterman, 1985). However, as some of these works have pointed out, the evidence is inconclusive to suggest the formation of a Latino underclass, although some Latino *barrios* and their residents do profile some of the characteristics of the underclass and underclass *barrios* (Meléndez, 1993; Moore, 1989). Further, these underclass characteristics seem to coexist with characteristics from other types of *barrios*.¹⁶

1.7 Summary

The structural conditions affecting Puerto-Rican migration to the mainland have changed considerably during the post-WW II era. Throughout that period, the economic restructuring of the island's economy and of urban economies in the mainland have largely contributed to a deterioration of the socioeconomic situation of Puerto-Ricans, despite human capital improvements, and significant gains in white-collar and service employment. An apparent outcome of this

¹⁶ For instance, a study of Denver's mostly Chicano neighborhoods questioned the applicability of the underclass framework to Latinos on the grounds that it failed to grasp the historical neighborhood and communal experience of Latinos in the city. Institutions and organizations in Denver's poor neighborhoods continue to be vital elements of community life (Cuciti and James, 1990). Also, in Los Angeles, among other findings, important differences existed between *barrios* and ghettos regarding the presumed correlation between the geographic concentration of the poor and emergence of an underclass (Ong, 1989).

growing socioeconomic instability has been a tendency for Puerto-Ricans to disperse geographically by moving away from large urban areas, such as New York City, and into mid-size and smaller cities of the Northeastern region. Puerto-Rican settlement patterns have regionalized, and Puerto-Ricans seem to increasingly becoming less *big-city* immigrants by forming new *barrios* in small cities.

At the center of this regionalization and the formation of new *barrios* may be the supportive and strategic role that social networks play in the process of migration, and in the settlement and adaptation of immigrants to their new environment. The process of *barrio formation* has been a strategy of survival for Puerto-Ricans in the mainland. Puerto-Ricans have been forming new communities beyond the traditional *barrios* in large cities trying to cope with situations of drastic urban and economic restructuring. In this way, *barrio formation* may be a sociological response to drastic changes in the economic structure of urban areas.

Barrio formation, however, is a process that takes place throughout a period of time which can be broken down in three fundamental stages: (a) *colonia formation*; (b) *colonia expansion*; and (c) *barrio maturation*. At each of this stages important changes take place in the spatial, family/household, labor market and organizational characteristics of *barrios*, and in the structural factors affecting the development of the new communities. The developmental path of *barrios*, especially during the latter two stages--*colonia expansion* and *barrio maturation*-- is affected by a combination of population, economic, urban and sociocultural dynamics. This overall process of change, I have termed *barrio differentiation*.

These factors create heterogeneity between and within *barrios*, and give way to *barrios* with a coexisting mix of characteristics of *working-class* and *underclass barrios*, and *ethnic enclaves*. In this process of differentiation, the types and the mix of characteristics which *barrios* may evidence are critically framed and defined by the factors of differentiation. At specific instances, however, the mix of characteristics can be also countervailed, or affected, by the interaction between human agency and these factors of differentiation. This interaction, mostly through social networks and horizontal

community ties, is particularly important in inducing and modifying migratory inflows into becoming barrios, and in structuring organizational characteristics.

Better understanding of how this mix of coexisting characteristics develops is a direct consequence of a clearer appraisal of the qualities of the factors at play in the process of differentiation, and from reexamining the use of the underclass framework to explain Latino socioeconomic outcomes. Especially important are the overlapping of successive migratory flows with distinct characteristics in specific locales; the scale, scope and intensity of urban renewal efforts; important differences in local economic development, and in the strategies that firms employ to cope with economic change; and the positive character of sociocultural dynamics in Latino *barrios*, which, even in the midst of entrenched poverty can generate effective organizations.

**CHAPTER 2:
COMPARATIVE CASE-STUDIES OF
NEW PUERTORICAN BARRIOS**

**2.1 Why Case-Studies of *Barrio* Formation and
Barrio Differentiation in Small Cities?**

New Puerto Rican *barrios* in mid-size (100,000-1 mil. inhabitants) and small cities (< 100,000 inhabitants) are a relatively new social phenomena in the Puerto Rican experience in the mainland. Puerto Rican *barrios* in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, Massachusetts began forming in the late 1950s and early 1960s, 25 to 30 years behind the older *barrios* in large cities of the Northeast and the Midwest. The new *barrios* grew and began to mature during the 1970's and 1980s.

Unlike older and bigger *barrios* in New York City and Chicago, this new crop of Puerto Rican *barrios* grew throughout a period of dramatic urban and regional industrial restructuring, both in Puerto Rico and in the US. mainland, whose impact produced largely negative results for Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans and Latinos, socioeconomically speaking, did not fare well relative to other racial and ethnic groups in the population throughout the 1980's. In fact, during this phase of restructuring their socioeconomic situation deteriorated despite of periods of economic growth and expansion. In Massachusetts, their impoverishment through a period economic growth was most poignant (Osterman, 1992). Latinos in Massachusetts became the poorest Latinos in the nation during a period of expansion (Meléndez, 1993).

In this context, first, it is important to investigate how the formation of these new *barrios* relates to the structural changes affecting Puerto Ricans, and how they are coping with such changes. Second, given the tendency of these newer *barrios* to continue growing, it is crucial that we understand how distinct political, economic, social, and even cultural factors condition their development. In addition, developing new cases of *barrio* formation and differentiation in small cities would be crucial to a new planning optic, especially to tackle public policy issues in community economic development,

employment and training, educational reform, and many other issues. The optic of policies aimed at minorities in these programmatic areas still preserves the central-city environment of large urban centers as the main point of theoretical and practical reference. Relative differences between large and small cities in, for instance, political structures, ways of accessing federal and state resources, economic opportunities, racial/ethnic composition are often ignored by these policies.

2.2 *Barrio* Formation and *Barrio* Differentiation and the Comparative Case-Study Methodology

In this thesis, I investigated two interrelated hypotheses, and both focused on the *barrio* as the main unit of analysis. First, I hypothesized, that *barrio* formation among Puerto Ricans is a survival strategy that constitutes a social response to an overall situation of structural instability induced by urban and economic restructuring in the Northeast of the United States. Secondly, I hypothesize that *barrio* differentiation is a process of communal maturation whose main result are *barrios* with mixed characteristics of the three types of *barrios*: *working-class barrios*, *underclass barrios* and *ethnic enclaves*.

The comparative case-study methodology was key to test both hypotheses. The *barrios* of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke have been affected by different situations of economic redevelopment during the last 10 to 15 years. The economic "Miracle of Massachusetts" of the 1980's impacted these three cities unevenly. Lowell, near Route 128, redeveloped into a relatively prosperous city. In contrast, Lawrence remained half-way between old industrial town and revitalized city, and Holyoke saw little economic redevelopment, remaining largely deteriorated and depressed. As a result of these contrasting trajectories, economic opportunities and other social, spatial, and population dynamics in the three cities differ substantially.

By comparing the process of *barrio* formation in contrasting scenarios of economic redevelopment I was able to highlight the mediating role of networks in the process of *barrio* formation. In spite of differences in economic opportunity, the relocation of Puerto Ricans

to these three cities has been, numerically speaking, relatively similar. This may imply that, in addition to economic forces, there were other social forces pulling immigrants and contributing to the process of relocation. Contrary to neoclassical arguments on the origins of migration, the indistinct relocation to cities with such contrasting situations of economic redevelopment suggests that economic opportunities may not have been the only pulling force mediating relocation, but that social networks may have played a key role in the formation of *barrios*.

The comparative case-study methodology was also important to investigate the hypothesis on *barrio differentiation*. It allowed me to illustrate that the intervention of the distinct factors of differentiation in each city transformed relatively homogeneous *colonias* into *barrios* displaying a mixture of characteristics. That is, it allowed me to show the overall transition of *colonias* characterized by a common pattern of homogeneity into *barrios* characterized by a common pattern of heterogeneity, i.e. *barrios* with mixed characteristics.

Both hypotheses are treated in greater detail in separate sections below. In each section, I also discuss the indicators that I used to measure specific changes, and the data sources that I employed. I organized the sections below in terms of the "steps" that I took to operationalize each hypothesis. I emphasize that I did not take these "steps" in a sequential order. The making of case-studies often requires several iterations of theoretical elaboration, data gathering and analysis, or simultaneous strategies of data gathering and theoretical readjustment.

2.3 Steps in Operationalizing *Barrio* Formation

I hypothesized that *barrio* formation among Puerto Ricans is a survival strategy that constitutes a social response to an overall situation of structural instability induced by urban and economic restructuring in the Northeastern United States. The social networks that mediate the process of *barrio* formation originate in the experience of migration to and settlement in the mainland. Further, I proposed to understand the process of *barrio* formation by examining how it

unravels throughout three fundamental stages: (a) *colonia* formation; (b) *colonia* expansion; and (c) *barrio* maturation. I took four key steps to operationalize and investigate this first hypothesis on *barrio* formation.

2.3.1 Step 1: Defining the Historical Conditions of *Barrio* Formation in Massachusetts: European and Latino Immigrants

New *barrio* formation is intricately related to the regionalization of Puerto Rican settlement patterns, and to structural changes in the economy and society. With that in mind, I located the process of *barrio* formation in Massachusetts and in three cities within a broader historical framework that compared the experience of economic insertion and communal formation of previous European immigrants who were attracted to Massachusetts, and to Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke during earlier stages of industrial development to the more recent Puerto Rican and Latino experience. My objective was to create a counterpoint between the conditions which attracted and awaited previous immigrants, and those which served as the backdrop to the process of *barrio* formation in the state and in the cities under study.

In this description, I mainly used literary material of general interest and secondary data, and a marginal amount of primary data from a combination of the following sources, all appropriately cited in the bibliography:

- (a) General documentation, books and dissertations on various aspects (labor, religion, community formation, politics, etc.) of the development of non-Latino immigrant communities (Irish, French-Canadian, German, English, and Italian) in the state and in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke during the 19th and 20th centuries. Some of this documentation was available at the Lawrence Immigrant City Archives and at the archives of the Lowell Historic Preservation Commission;
- (b) Books, dissertations, and other printed sources on the development of the Puerto Rican and Latino communities in Massachusetts. Most of these materials are available at the library collection of the Mauricio Gastón Institute for Latino Community Development and Public Policy at the University of Massachusetts in Boston;

- (c) Relevant books, journal articles, and government reports on the economic and industrial restructuring of Massachusetts between 1960 and 1990;
- (d) US Census data for Latinos (and other racial/ethnic groups) in Massachusetts, and in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke from 1960 to 1990. I used these data sources to describe changes in the demographic growth and geographic concentration of Puerto Ricans and other Latinos;
- (e) Supporting documentation from the Department of Labor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. These were sporadic reports about the traffic of contract laborers between Puerto Rico and agricultural camps in Massachusetts. The reports were especially useful to link the flow of contract labor to the formation of the Puerto Rican community in Holyoke and other parts of western Massachusetts;
- (f) Primary data I gathered in interviews with various informants documenting the general history of some of the first organizational efforts by Puerto Ricans in Springfield, Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke.

2.3.2 Step 2: Defining *Colonia* and *Barrio*

Conceptually, I followed Sánchez-Korrol (1983) and defined *colonia* as a small cluster of Puerto Rican families concentrated in a small number of city blocks or streets with little or no organizational development to speak of. I defined a *barrio* as a relatively larger concentration of Puerto Ricans and other Latinos in a neighborhood(s) or a district often located near working (or manufacturing) sites, and further characterized by a relatively more complex organizational structure comprised of commercial establishments, and various types of social, cultural and political organizations.

Available US Census data and other information on the *colonias* of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke was meager because they formed between the late 1950's and the mid-1960's, and were small in size. Thus, I relied on the information provided by key informants, and on the only census datum available, the total number of Puerto Ricans in each of the cities in 1960, to create a rather "arbitrary" operational definition of a *colonia*. I coined the operational definition of a *barrio* following existing sociological research which uses direct observation of urban areas to identify the signs of a Puerto Rican and a Latino social identity (Padilla, 1987), the census tract as the key geographic unit of analysis, and the rather arbitrary "one third" Puerto Rican or Latino population threshold to show concentration (Massey and Bitterman,

1985; Massey and Denton, 1987; Santiago, 1992). In operational terms, I have defined a *colonia* and a *barrio* as follows:

- (a) *Colonia*: a group of less than 25 Puerto Rican families comprising roughly less than 150 people, concentrated in one or two streets or in one or two city blocks with little or no organizational development.
- (b) *Barrio*: an area --mainly a census tract or a group of adjacent census tracts-- whose population was or became about a third or more Puerto Rican or Latino between 1970 and 1990, and which showed the signs of a Puerto Rican and Latino social identity-- ethnic organizations, businesses and other institutions --within its geography.

2.3.3 Step 3: Identifying the Historical and Chronological Stages of *Barrio* Formation

In each case-study, I identified three historical/chronological stages of *barrio* formation in correspondence with the theoretical definitions that set forth in Chapter 1: *colonia* formation, *colonia* expansion, and *barrio* maturation. My conceptualization of these chronological stages was informed by:

- (a) Previous studies of the social and historical development of Puerto Rican barrios in urban areas of the mainland (Chenault, 1938; Hernández-Alvarez, 1967; Maldonado, 1979; Padilla, 1985, 1987; Rodríguez, 1989a; Sánchez-Korrol, 1983; Uriarte, 1988);
- (b) Historical case-studies of the development of other non-Puerto Rican Latino communities (Camarillo, 1979; García, 1981, 1989; Portes and Bach, 1985; Romo, 1983);
- (c) Historical and sociological literature on the origin and development of largely African-American and European immigrant communities in the United States (Bodnar, 1985; Gans, 1965; Gutman, 1987b; Katznelson, 1981; Wilson, 1980).

Perhaps with the exception of Sánchez-Korrol (1983) and Padilla (1987), most studies on Puerto Rican *barrios* do not concentrate on the problem of *barrio* formation as a long-term process of communal development that expands from the initial formation of a communal nucleus (*colonia*) to a more complex form of community or settlement (*barrio*). This is because most of these studies only concentrated on the origin of Puerto Rican *colonias*, they lacked a historical perspective on the matter, or to begin with they only

intended to address specific aspects of the settlement of Puerto Ricans in the mainland such as population growth, and geographic dispersion and concentration.

In each case-study, I defined the three stages, truly the overall history of the Puerto Rican/Latino community in each city, as follows:

- (1) **The Origin of the *Colonias***: Late 1950's to the Late 1960's
- (2) **From *Colonia* to *Barrio***: Late 1960's to the Mid-1980's
- (3) ***Barrio* Maturation**; Early 1980's to the Present

These stages encompass from the moment that a small cluster of Puerto Rican families form a *colonia* in a particular geographic area of each of the cities under study, to the moment when the growth and geographic expansion of the Puerto Rican (and Latino) population gives way to a *barrio* which occupies a bigger area, and that shows greater organizational complexity. Changes in the characteristics of *barrios* which illustrate the transition from one stage of the process of *barrio* formation to the other are mostly related to the process of *barrio* differentiation, discussed in Section 2.4 below.

2.3.4 **Step 3: Investigating and Making the Link Between Social Networks and *Barrio* Formation**

As a final step to operationalize this first hypothesis, I investigated whether or not the social relations and networks of migration played a key role in mediating the process of new*barrio* formation. With this, as I suggested in Chapter 1, I anchored my definition of *barrio* formation to a more sociological and structural perspective on the roots of migration and on how immigrants employ their ethnic/ communal bonds to shield themselves from social ostracism and instability.

To investigate the possible link or relationship between social networks and *barrio* formation, I analyzed both secondary and primary data. I combined the analysis of US Census data on the origins of Puerto Rican (and Latino) population moving into the cities of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke between 1970 and 1990, with qualitative evidence

gathered in open-ended interviews with long-term residents of the Puerto Rican communities of these cities, and with individuals whose families moved to these cities during that period. The US Census data I used is based on the question that asks people the place where they were living five years prior to the date of the census. That is, the question asked people in 1970, 1980 and in 1990 where they were living in 1965, 1975, and in 1985 respectively. In each of the three cities, I basically observed what was the variation between 1970, 1980, and 1990 in the percentage of Latino individuals 5 years of age or older who declared as a place of residence a house outside of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). The limitation of this data is that it does not allow to say from which SMSA individuals had moved, something I tried to address within the limited scope of the interviews I conducted.

The data I gathered in the interviews were largely grounded on the perceptions that long-term residents had about the origin-- island vs. mainland areas --and the size of the inflows. Long-term residents had an informed view about the origin and size of the flows because they were employed in jobs in social service organizations and government agencies which placed them in close contact with the incoming population. Besides, as these informants also remarked, the Puerto Rican communities in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke were small enough so that everybody knew each other, especially during the stage of *colonia* formation. I used this informed perception about the origin and size of the inflows to complement the census data, and to reaffirm my idea that part of the incoming population originated in urban areas of the Northeast that were experiencing urban and industrial restructuring.

I further gathered data in interviews with some individuals whose families had moved to any of the three cities during the period of *colonia* expansion. My objective was to establish a linkage between the geography of the migratory history of these families, the reasons for their relocation to the three cities under study, and whether or not the pulling and mediating role of ethnic and family networks played a significant role in their relocation.

2.4 Steps in operationalizing *Barrio* Differentiation

I hypothesized that *barrio* differentiation is a process of communal maturation whose main result are *barrios* exhibiting a mix of characteristics from the three types of *barrios*: **working-class barrios**, **underclass barrios** and **ethnic enclaves**. I analyzed changes in four categories of characteristics --spatial/residential; family/household; labor market; and organizational characteristics-- and how four key factors of differentiation --population dynamics; economic restructuring; urban renewal and policies; sociocultural dynamics-- are at play to produce the mix of *barrio* characteristics. As I pointed out in Chapter 1, in the first stage of *colonia* formation relative differences between the emerging communities are minimal because of their small size and the recency of the settlements. *Barrio* differentiation is likely to occur towards the second and third stages, *colonia* expansion and *barrio* maturation. I took three steps to operationalize this hypothesis.

2.4.1 Step 1: Finding and Developing Indicators for the Types of *Barrios*

In Chapter 1, I summarized the overall characteristics of the three types of *barrios* in Table 1. Table 3, lists the combination of indicators in all four categories of characteristics which I used to differentiate between these three types of *barrios*. I elaborate on the use of these indicators and data sources for each of the categories in separate sections below.

Table 3

Characteristics and Indicators of Barrio Differentiation

Spatial/Residential Characteristics	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1) Absolute number of Puerto Ricans in each city, 1960-90.2) Absolute number of Latinos (Cuban, Mexican and Other), whites, blacks and Asians in each city,1970-90.3) Percentage of Puerto Rican, Latinos (Cuban, Mexican and Other), Whites, Blacks and Asians in each city, 1970-90.4) Distribution of census tracts by share of P.R.-Latino and white populations for each city, 1970-90.5) White/Latino and white/Puerto Rican Dissimilarity Indexes for each city,1970-1990.6)Latino, white, and black Individual Poverty Rates in Massachusetts,Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke., 1969-1989.7) Latino Individual Poverty Rates per census tract with 400 or more Latinos for each city,1980-1990.8) Homeownership rates for the total and Latino populations in each city, 1980-19909) Number of Latino-Owned businesses in each city in 1987.
Family/Household Characteristics	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1) Distribution of the total and Latino populations by Household Type for each city,1970-1990.2) Male Marriageable Pool Index for the total and Latino populations for each city,1970-1990.
Labor Market Characteristics	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1) Labor Force Participation Rates of the total and Latino populations by sex for each city,1970-1990.2) Occupational distribution of the employed total and Latino populations for each city,1970-1990.3) Human resource development opportunities for Latinos in each city's manufacturing in 1990.4) Occupational Outcomes of Latinos in each city's manufacturing sector in 1990.
Organizational Characteristics	<ol style="list-style-type: none">(1) Approximate number of Puerto Rican and Latino organizations during stages of barrio formation.(2) Diversification of Puerto Rican and Latino organizations whether cultural, political, or social during colonia expansion and barrio maturation.(3) Capability of Puerto Ricans and other Latinos at building and sustaining political coalition efforts between themselves and with other racial/ethnic groups to solve community problems and to access public office and public resources.(4) Number of Latino elected officials in each city in 1990.

I confronted a number of problems to create this matrix of characteristics and indicators. First, it was difficult to find "standard" indicators that within each category could differentiate with fair precision between the three types of *barrios*, while still making justice to the theoretical characterization of the three different types. The literature and research which informs each of the individual types of *barrios* do not share a common selection of indicators. I did manage to "smooth" out this problem to some extent. For instance, the dissimilarity index to measure racial segregation, labor force participation rates to measure labor force/market attachment, and the male marriageable pool index as a measure of potential family stability (or instability) are all fairly precise in illustrating particular characteristics within each pertinent category, while preserving the theoretical particularity of each type of *barrio*. Secondly, I had to take into consideration the fact that I was investigating a rather long-term process of development in three different and rather small cities. Thus, the indicators I could devise and use were limited by: (a) the scarcity of data for some specific points in time; (b) changes in the quality of census data; (c) the availability of data for small geographic areas such as the three cities under study; and (d) the uneven and diverse quality of some data sources-- newspapers, special reports, other printed material --that were unique to each city.

2.4.1.A Spatial/Residential Characteristics, Indicators and Data

Table 3, lists the combination of indicators I used to show change and differentiation in the spatial/residential characteristics of the three types of *barrios*. In general, the indicators I employed intend to show changes and differences between *barrios* in five areas:

- (1) Demography
- (2) Homeownership
- (3) Racial/Ethnic Segregation
- (4) Latino Small-Business Activity
- (5) Poverty Status

I obtained the data for these indicators mainly from published US Census population and housing reports for Massachusetts, and for the

three cities under study for the 1970-90 period. These reports are all appropriately cited in the bibliography.

In each city, as indicators of demographic and geographic change for the 1970-90 period, I used simple measures of growth and concentration, such as the absolute number and percentage of Puerto Ricans and Latinos, their concentration relative to other racial groups in particular census tracts, and the distribution of census tracts with growing numbers of Latinos. I used those indicators to track and make comparisons on the expansion of the *colonias* and Latino settlement patterns in each city.

Also, I used the change in homeownership rates as an indicator of relative differences in the spatial/residential characteristics of **working-class *barrios***, **underclass *barrios*** and **ethnic enclaves**. Presumably, **ethnic enclaves**, and to some extent working-class *barrios*, tend show relatively higher homeownership rates than underclass *barrios*. Differences in homeownership rates can indicate greater or lesser spatial/residential stability in particular areas.

For each city under study, I calculated white/Latino and white/Puerto Rican dissimilarity indices to measure ethnic/racial segregation. I used US Census tract data between 1970 and 1990 and followed the computational formula used in Massey and Eggers (1990). The define the dissimilarity index as $D_{XY} = .5 \times \sum | (x_i / X) - (y_i / Y) |$, where x_i and y_i are the numbers of X and Y members of a group in tract i , and X and Y are their citywide totals. The index, which varies between 0 and 1, measures the extent to which two groups are evenly distributed with respect to each other. D_{XY} gives the proportion of X and Y members that would have to exchange tracts to achieve an even spatial/residential pattern. The closer the index is to 1 the greater the segregation. Conversely, the closer the index is to 0, the lesser the segregation. In **underclass *barrios*** the index comes closer to 1 than in **working-class *barrios***. In **ethnic enclaves** the index is lower than in both underclass and working-class *barrios*.

I used the approximate number of Latino-owned businesses in each of the cities as an indicator of Latino small-business activity in *barrios*. For a number of reasons I complemented the use of this particular indicator with other qualitative data. Data on these

businesses is largely unavailable for small urban areas because the US Census Survey of Minority-Owned Enterprises only reports data for areas with 100 or more Latino-owned enterprises. Thus, good data was only available for the Lawrence-Haverhill Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). Holyoke's data is aggregated with the Springfield SMSA data, which, in my opinion, distorted the number of Latino businesses in Holyoke. Up to the last survey in 1987 the number of Latino businesses in Lowell has apparently been under 100, and for that reason not reported by the survey. I complemented this dearth of the small-business data with data from four other sources:

(a) interviews with individuals which had been involved in economic and small-business development matters in the cities; (b) newspaper reports which on a regular basis paid much attention to the economic development activities of immigrants; (c) specific reports on the situation of Latino businesses commissioned by local government agencies or other groups (Lawrence); and (d) direct observations of Latino neighborhoods made in repeated trips to the cities of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke. Ethnic enclaves tend to show a higher number of Latino-owned businesses and more intense commercial activity than working-class and underclass *barrios*.

Finally, for the 1969-1989, I used indicators such as the individual poverty rate by race/ethnicity in each city, and the individual poverty rates per census tract in each city to show change and relative differences in the poverty status and in the geographic spread of poverty in the cities under study. The growth or reduction of poverty, and its concentration strongly characterizes the type of *barrios*. Underclass *barrios* tend to show higher poverty rates, and a greater spatial concentration of poverty than working-class *barrios* and ethnic enclaves.

2.4.1.B Family/Household Characteristics, Indicators and Data

The indicators I used to show changes and differences in the family/household characteristics between *barrios* focus in three areas (see Table 3):

- (1) Family/ Household Composition of the Latino Population

- (2) Family Stability of the Latino Population
- (3) Overrepresentation of Latino Female-Headed Households. and their Poverty Status

The main source of data for the family/household characteristics of *barrios* was the US Census for Massachusetts and Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke for the 1970-90 period. In specific instances, I illustrate some of the bad socioeconomic conditions which Puerto Rican and Latino families face in the *barrios* of these three cities with anecdotal evidence from the interviews that I performed with the residents and leaders of the communities under study. These broad references provided valuable information about specific problems such as housing demolition or the lack of social services which negatively affected the family life of *barrio* residents.

For each city between 1970 and 1990, I analyzed the family/household composition of the total and Latino populations to observe changes in the relative balance or distribution of distinct types of families/households. The three types of *barrios* are generally characterized by two distinct family/household patterns. The family/household distribution of **working-class *barrios*** and of **ethnic enclaves** tend to show a more balanced mix of different types of families/households. Such distribution is characterized by the dominance of married-couple family/households with a lower proportion of single-female-headed family/households. **Underclass *barrios*** tend to show the opposite. The family/household distribution of **underclass *barrios*** is characterized by the overrepresentation of single-female-headed family/households, and a lesser proportion of married-couple families/households. **Underclass *barrios***, contrary to **working-class *barrios*** and **ethnic enclaves**, have strong family formation problems that contribute to the poverty situation of these *barrios*.

Relative levels of family /household stability are key to differentiate among the three types of *barrios*. Following Wilson (1987), I used the male marriageable pool index as an indicator of changes and differences in family/household stability among the three types of *barrios*. I calculated this index for the total and Latino populations of

each city using US Census data for the 1970-90 period.¹ Wilson (1987) defined this index as the rate of employed civilian men to women of the same race/ethnicity and age-group, where "the number of women is used as the denominator in order to convey the situation of young women in the marriage market (p.83)."

This rate intends to convey how fluctuations in the proportion of economically stable men may affect family formation, and thereby family stability, within certain groups of the population. The higher the rate the better the prospects of the "marriage market", and thus of family formation and stability. Conversely, the lower the rate the worst are the prospects in the "marriage market".³ Upward or downward changes in the index can give a measure of how economic restructuring and the erosion of the job base in a particular locale may be affecting family formation and stability. In **working-class barrios** and **ethnic enclaves** the index would tend to be higher than in **underclass barrios** because of relatively more stable economic conditions.

2.4.1.C Labor Market Characteristics, Indicators and Data

The indicators I employed to show changes and differences in the labor market characteristics between *barrios* focus on three areas:

- (1) Labor Market/Force Attachment of the Total and Latino Populations.
- (2) Occupational Distribution of the Total and Latino Populations in Each City.
- (3) Human Resource Development Opportunities

¹ I could not calculate the index for the distinct age-cohorts because of data limitations that do not permit to disaggregate the Total and Latino populations into equivalent age-cohorts. Thus, I calculated the index for the 16-55 age-cohort of both populations. The figures for the employed civilian population in small geographic areas aggregates the population into a single age-cohort (16 years +). Also, in any case, the numbers of Latinos in each city in 1970 probably would have been too small to calculate the index for specific age-cohorts, or for the index to have any meaning given the small number of individuals in some age-cohorts..

³ In the case of Latinos, it could be important to take into consideration that this index maybe biased downward because of undercounting in this population, specially of Latino males. Male/Female ratios for Puerto Ricans, the lowest for all Latino subgroups, have also shown this downward bias since the early 1980's (Bean and Tienda, 1987). The undercount of young males may be a reason for this bias, although other social problems may be involved i.e. high levels of incarceration and violent death, migratory circulation, and AIDS. Also, the exclusion of males in the armed forces may affect the index. In the case of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke the number of males in the armed forces was insignificant. This index has other built-in assumptions which could make it problematic: (a) it assumes that males are necessarily the main breadwinners of households; and (b) it overlooks the possibility that men could be full-time "working poor" earning below poverty wages, which could make them equally unstable candidates for marriage.

and Outcomes for Latinos in Each City's
Manufacturing Sector.

I used two main sources of data for these indicators. First, I used US Census population and housing reports for Massachusetts and Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke for the 1970-90 period. Second, I used primary data that I gathered in interviews with human resources managers in various kinds of manufacturing establishments in the cities of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke. I provide a fuller description of these interviews and of the data I gathered further below.

I calculated labor force participation rates for the total and Latino male and female populations in each city between 1970 and 1990 to show changes and differences in the labor market/force attachment of *barrio* residents. I used US Census data to calculate these rates. The residents of **working-class barrios** and **ethnic enclaves** tend to show a stronger labor force/market attachment, and consequently higher labor force participation rates than residents in **underclass barrios**.

A key component of the labor market characteristics of *barrios* is the occupational distribution of their residents. I employed US Census data to analyze occupational changes and differences between 1970 and 1990. I obtained the 1990 occupational data from the US Census Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) File and from the US Census Summary Tape Files, Series 3. The residents of **working-class barrios** tend to be concentrated in unskilled and semiskilled occupations, giving the occupational profile of these *barrios* a greater degree of homogeneity than **ethnic enclaves**. Ethnic enclaves tend to show such a tendency as well, yet the shares of professionals, craftworkers, and technicians tend to be higher because the economic base of enclaves offers greater economic opportunities in a broad range of community-owned and community-based businesses. In **underclass barrios**, employed residents tend to concentrate in unskilled and semiskilled jobs with practically no representation in upper professional, craft, or technical occupations, very much like **working-class barrios**. However, the overall economic decay of **underclass barrios** qualifies this occupational homogeneity with severe problems of labor force/market attachment, unlike **working-class barrios**.

Finally, I analyzed the human-resource development

opportunities and outcomes for Latinos in the manufacturing sector of each city during the early 1990's. In this analysis I focused on: (a) the employment and training opportunities available to Latinos in firms; (b) their opportunity to interact with new workplace technologies; and (c) their opportunities for occupational mobility and wages.

To conduct this analysis, I obtained largely qualitative data in 19 interviews that I performed with human resource and personnel managers in various types of manufacturing (and other) firms. I selected the types of manufacturing to reflect some of the basic changes in the structure, composition and characteristics of the manufacturing base of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke within the last 20 years. I did this broad assessment using industrial and employment data for the 1967-1988 period gathered by the Department of Employment and Training (DET) of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I chose the names of the manufacturing firms "randomly" from the 1989-90 Directory of Massachusetts Manufacturers (1989). Their names, however, remained anonymous as a condition of the research.

Sixteen of these nineteen interviews were in the manufacturing sector: two were with high-tech corporations in Lowell; eight were with small and mid-size, labor-intensive manufacturing firms in Lawrence and Holyoke; and six with small and mid-size, both labor-intensive and modernizing firms in Lowell and Holyoke. The remaining three interviews were with a hospital, a gas company and a wholesale distributor respectively. I organized the data I gathered in individual "mini-cases", which, for purposes of comparison, I grouped in three separate city-based matrices. Further, for the purpose of analysis, I recombined the individual "mini-cases" by type of firm or corporation, whether high-tech, labor-intensive or modernizing. Firms in each city-matrix are identified with code letters. I summarized the data for each firm in each of the three cities in Appendixes I, II and III.

The firm-based interviews roughly covered ten topical areas: (a) the history and development of the firm, focusing on changes in corporate structure and industrial organization within the last 5-7 years; (b) any changes in market and product lines; (c) the occupational and educational profile of production workers in the firm or plant; (d) the wages in the firm or plant; (e) the technological profile of the

firm/plant focusing on the dynamics of modernization and innovation (where applicable); (f) demographic, occupational and educational characteristics of Puerto Rican and other Latino workers; (h) the educational and professional experience of human resource managers; (h) the employment and training or other types of programs available to Latino workers; (i) the relations between unions and Latinos; (j) the institutional relations of firms with unions, and with community-based or other types of organizations. I did not necessarily use all these data in the analysis of the occupational situation of Puerto Ricans and Latinos.

Most research within the underclass framework, and the literature on **working-class *barrios*** largely relies on the analysis of aggregate quantitative data which provides a fairly clear understanding of the structural constraints which Latinos and other racial/ethnic minorities confront in urban labor markets. Yet, they do not provide good insights into the micro-level roots of why, for instance, Latinos do not benefit as much as other groups from a growing economy, as was the case of Massachusetts during the 1984-88 period. The emerging patchwork of industries seeking to survive and grow uses a wide range of practices and strategies which are apparently deconstructing and recasting the conventional uses of immigrant labor, and which play a significant role on the human-resource development opportunities that Puerto Ricans and Latinos face.

2.4.1.D Organizational Characteristics, Indicators and Data

The indicators I employed to show changes and differences in the organizational characteristics of *barrios* were (see Table 3):

- (1) Number, Growth and Diversification of Latino Organizations;
- (2) Social and Political Organizing to Access Resources and to Combat Social Problems;
- (3) Number of Latino Elected Officials.

I focused on these indicators for three reasons. First, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, changes in the organizational activity of *barrios* is one of the most important features of the transition from the stage of *colonia* expansion to the stage of *barrio* maturation, when Puerto Ricans and

Latinos manage to penetrate the political and economic structures of the new host environment by electing Latino public officials. Secondly, to follow the changes and differences in the organizational activity of *barrios* is a good strategy to investigate whether or not Puerto Rican and other Latinos in new *barrios* are experiencing organizational breakdown or build-up. Finally, I noticed, in preliminary research and in my initial interviews on the history of these communities, that throughout time these activities reflected the environmental and structural pressures which communities and residents experienced. For instance, the organizational activity of the Puerto Rican community in Holyoke has largely revolved around activities and campaigns to counter the negative effects of a long and protracted process of urban renewal, which, through the years, has embroiled neighborhoods in severe cycles of disinvestment.

Organizational life in underclass *barrios* has largely broken down as a result of the social and economic polarization which occurred when the middle-class and steady working-class families left central-city neighborhoods. In working-class *barrios* and ethnic enclaves, to the contrary, organizational life is strong and rich, given the assumption that ethnic/racial groups, regardless of their poverty status, do employ their ethnic/racial bonds to resist social ostracism and instability. Gaining sense as to what characterizes *barrios* in terms of this overall process of breakdown or build-up is key to differentiate *barrios*.

I gathered primary and secondary data on the historical and organizational characteristics of *barrios* from a wide array of sources:

- (a) Reports, documents, "flyers", and other printed material from various organizations and government-related agencies such as: the Coalition for a Better Acre in Lowell; Minority Enterprise Development and Assistance Initiative (MEDAI) in Lowell; *Nueva Esperanza* Community Development Corporation in Holyoke; the Holyoke Community Coalition; *Ciudadanos Latinos Unidos por Holyoke* (CLUH); the Holyoke Employment Partnership of the Greater Holyoke Chamber of Commerce; the New England Farm Workers Council in Springfield; the Equal Opportunity Office of Lawrence; Lawrence Youth Commission; the Greater Lawrence Chamber of Commerce; the Lawrence Human Rights Commission; the Lawrence Latin Lions Club; Lawrence Neighborhood Housing Services; Lawrence's Office of Community Development; *Ministerio Alta Vision* of Lawrence; the Merrimack Valley Project in Lawrence.

- (b) Newspaper and magazine articles from: the Boston Globe; The Lowell Sun; New England Monthly; River Valley Voice; *El Mundo* (Cambridge); *Exito Latino* (Holyoke); *La Nueva Era* (Holyoke); The Lawrence Eagle-Tribune; Holyoke/Chicopee Morning Union.
- (c) Interviews which I conducted between 1990 and 1993, mainly in the cities of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke but also in Boston and Springfield.⁴

The reports and other printed sources served to investigate the development of Latino organizations, the types of activities in which these organizations engaged in, and the services they provided to their communities. The newspaper articles were key to capture the general sense of organizational activity in *barrios*, and to reconstruct the chronology of certain events e.g., political campaigns, community development initiatives, and community struggles, which deeply affected the growth and development of organizations in *barrios*. The interviews were mainly with members of the Puerto Rican, Latino and Anglo Communities regarding the formation of *barrios* and the various factors which have affected their development. Among the interviewees were a combination of businesspeople, community organizers, religious leaders, local government officials, politicians, and members of social and cultural organizations. I identified them through direct personal contact, and through references made by other members of the community. The name of the interviewees and the date in which they occurred are listed in full in a separate section of the bibliography.

The data sources were very irregular and differed substantially by city. For instance, to produce an overview of the number and diversification of Puerto Rican or Latino organizations I did not count with an integrated source of data which recorded the births and "deaths" of organizations throughout the entire process of *barrio* formation. Thus, I had to assemble this overview from a combination of interviews, newspaper reports, organizational files, and other

⁴ These interviews ranged in length from 30 to 120 minutes. Whenever possible, I recorded these interviews. They were later transcribed, and stored in Apple/Macintosh Microsoft Word files. I took extended notes when the interviews were not recorded. Some interviews were not recorded at the request of the interviewee.

printed sources.

I based my assertions about the approximate number of Puerto Rican and Latino organizations-- CBO's, churches, political groups, social, cultural, and commercial organizations --in each city at different points in time mostly on the accounts of long-term residents of these communities. Given the small size of these communities, I considered these accounts to be fairly accurate, especially during the period of *colonia* formation and expansion. These old-timers were either founders of some of these organizations, or key participants in their development and activities. In specific cases, however, I had access to the mailing lists or data bases of some organizations; this gave me an approximate idea of the number of organizations in a particular city, especially during the period of *barrio* maturation when organizations had grown both in number and in degree of organizational sophistication. In Lawrence, for instance, I had access to the roster list of organizations involved in the networking and organizing activities of the Lawrence Youth Commission within the city's Puerto Rican and Latino community. Also, such list was key to observe the diversification of Puerto Rican and Latino organizations in recent years.

To study the basic organizational characteristics of *barrios* was not an easy task. Most importantly, part of my research focused on these characteristics as part of the processes of *barrio* formation and differentiation, and not as a discrete set of "measurable" outcomes. I think that the organizational characteristics of *barrios*, as well as changes and in differences in them, are the result of the long-term accumulation of communal experiences and practices in response to a combination of structural factors or pressures. As I stated in Chapter 1, these experiences and practices, in turn, are intimately related to the ways in which the group uses ethnic and social bonds to defend itself against social ostracism and instability. Thus, for my purposes, it was not so much important to have very accurate measures of, for instance, the number of Puerto Rican or Latino organizations in a given city at any particular point in time, but rather to document and investigate how communities created organizations based upon their experiences and practices. Essentially, I wanted to investigate what was important

about the origin and expression of organizational characteristics that could explain such characteristics. This approach proved particularly fruitful to study how the organizational "backbone" and "culture" of communities evolved and changed through time.

2.4.2 Linking the Factors of *Barrio* Differentiation to Changes in the Characteristics of *Barrios*, and to the Mix of Characteristics

Case-studies are an effective research strategy when we are investigating a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, and when the boundaries between the phenomenon we are trying to study and its context are not clear, and for which there is no precise or established criteria on how to distinguish one from the other (Yin, 1987). To some extent the objective of explanatory-- as opposed to exploratory or descriptive --case-studies is to help us disentangle complex webs of relationships in order to explain or infer a series of outcomes through a logical sequence or procedure which connects the empirical data to some research questions or theoretically significant propositions formulated beforehand (Yin, 1987). Generally, the design of this logical procedure is oriented to show causal links between "dependent" and "independent" variables that cannot be easily defined, which are not linearly related, and whose variation or behavior cannot be easily measured. This does not imply, however, that the causal links we are trying to establish will be vague by definition, or that they cannot be formulated beforehand, but instead that they will be part of an effort to "build" an explanation for an overall pattern of outcomes (Yin, 1987).

In Chapter 1, Section 1.4, I mentioned a common denominator in current urban socioeconomic research on Latinos: the challenge to previous research which tends to homogenize *barrios*. I suggested further that the three types of *barrios* identifiable in the literature in a way emerge from this challenge, from the notion that communities are affected by processes of differentiation which transform their characteristics.

Also in Chapter 1, I identified a group of four factors of differentiation: (a) population dynamics; (b) economic restructuring; (c)

urban renewal and urban policies; and (d) sociocultural dynamics. Further, I described how these factors produce the general characteristics which identify **working-class *barrios*, underclass *barrios* and ethnic enclaves**. I developed my discussion around a comparison of how each of these traditions conceptualized these factors and related them to the spatial/ residential, family/household, labor market and organizational characteristics of *barrios* . That is, I attempted to characterize how each theoretical tradition conceives the process of differentiation.

Subsequently, I pinpointed a problem in much of this literature: the tendency to preserve the strict limits of this typology, not exploring the possibility that *barrios* may in fact evolve to show a mix of characteristics from the three main types of *barrios*. In the early 1990's, more recent literature on *barrios* seems to be breaking with such a limitation, and moving in a different direction by suggesting that the developmental path of *barrios* may in fact show characteristics of the various kinds of *barrios*. This theoretical shift comes from research which either incorporates into the analysis of *barrios* previously neglected factors such as urban renewal, that qualifies the impact of economic restructuring on Latinos by suggesting the need further understand how it operates at more micro levels, and that partially questions the applicability of the underclass framework to the Latino experience in the US mainland.

Oriented by this theoretical debate, the construction of my cases aimed at "building" an explanation of how *barrios* mature towards a pattern of heterogeneity which exhibits a coexisting mix of characteristics from the three types of *barrios*. The emphasis of the causal links which I attempt to establish between the factors of differentiation and the characteristics of *barrios* is to explain overall patterns of outcomes and not so much the specific behavior of one indicator vs. another. My interest was to establish the overall pattern of heterogeneity e.i. *barrios* with mixed characteristics.

I defined the four factors of differentiation as follows:

- (1) **Population Dynamics** are the flows of people into and/or out of *colonias* and *barrios*. The flows could be both related or unrelated to the process of *barrio* formation. Some non-Latino racial/ethnic groups may move in or out of a

colonia or *barrio* area for reasons which are totally independent of the main process of *barrio* formation.

- (2) **Economic Restructuring** are the patterns of industrial growth and decline responsible for changes in the economic base of cities, and the practices by firms and corporations trying to adapt to a changing economic environment.
- (3) **Urban Renewal and Policies** is the group of activities or practices by private and public agents which seeks to reshape the physical environment of urban areas through various means such as demolition, new construction, and infrastructure development.
- (4) **Sociocultural Dynamics** are relations and practices within a racial/ethnic group which in the face of social and economic instability or ostracism, seek to maintain social cohesion and the viability of the community within a new environment.

Below, I discuss how each one of these factors produces change and differentiation in the characteristics of *barrios*. In Table 4, I present these relationships schematically. Some of the factors of differentiation tend to affect the characteristics of *barrios* more directly than others, or in combination with other factors. When this occurs, the "independent" effect of a single factor on a specific group of characteristics is often difficult to disentangle. In part, this is an inherent limitation of using the case-study approach to study a real-life and complex situation that is constantly changing. The case-study approach need to be totally effective at this procedure because it tends to focus on the "frame" of interactions among variables rather than on purely isolating the effect of specific variables over others. Under each section, I introduce other problems I dealt with in linking particular factors of differentiation to changes in the characteristics of *barrios*.

Table 4

Factors of Differentiation and Barrio Characteristics

Factors of Differentiation	Characteristics
Population Dynamics	Spatial/Residential Characteristics Labor Market Characteristics Organizational Characteristics
Economic Restructuring	Labor Market Characteristics Family/Household Characteristics
Urban Renewal	Spatial/Residential Characteristics Organizational Characteristics
Sociocultural Dynamics	Organizational Characteristics

2.4.2.A Population Dynamics, the Characteristics of *Barrios*, and the Mix of Characteristics

(1) Spatial/Residential Characteristics.

Population dynamics may operate in three main ways to create changes and differentiation in the spatial/residential characteristics of *barrios*.⁵ First, the inflow or outflow of people can operate to change the spatial distribution of the Puerto Rican and Latino population, especially in combination with urban renewal. Such spatial distribution is key to *barrio* formation and differentiation since the inflows and outflows of people can significantly delay or accelerate how *colonias* expand or *barrios* mature. The key issues for *barrio* formation are those of growth and concentration. However, the key issues for *barrio* differentiation are of how and why these flows of people into or out of any particular locale can generate characteristics of working-class *barrios*, underclass *barrios* or ethnic enclaves. For instance, rapid population growth due to a large inflow of people, coupled with a protracted pace of urban renewal can destabilize already decaying neighborhoods, further exacerbating poverty and deterioration. Poverty rates may increase, and homeownership rates may decrease as a result of the instability; *barrios* may begin to profile some underclass characteristics.

Secondly, the inflow or outflow of particular racial and ethnic groups can transform the patterns of segregation. The flows, depending on their scale and timing, can lead to the replacement or displacement

⁵ Because of data limitations, I did not consider other possible ways in which population dynamics (inflows and outflows of people) may induce changes and differentiation in the spatial/residential characteristics of *barrios*, specially regarding the inflow or outflow of particular socioeconomic groups. Theoretically, the inflows or outflows of particular socioeconomic groups can affect the propensity of *barrios* to mature showing some of the spatial/residential characteristics of the distinct types of *barrios*. However, the analysis of cross-sectional US Census data at different points in time for any particular area does not allow to say whether or not increases or decreases in poverty rates can be attributed to those that came into an area, or to the further impoverishment of those that were already living in a particular area, or a combination of both. The picture can be even more complex if we are interested in knowing the possible effect that the outflow of the more affluent may have had over poverty rates. The only possible thing to do is to assemble a complex picture that combines the analysis of general population trends, with labor market/industrial changes, and other socioeconomic data of the population to make some informed inferences about the possible impact of the inflows and outflows on poverty.

of one group for another in certain neighborhoods; to neighborhoods in which no single group dominates; or to segregated neighborhoods. For instance, rapid white flight combined with large and rapid flows of Puerto Ricans and Latinos could increase racial/ethnic concentration and segregation in cities. In any particular city or area, changes in the dissimilarity index through time can show whether or not *barrios* are maturing to show characteristics of either type of *barrio*. In this case, the *barrio* would tend to show a tendency-- like underclass *barrios* --for the higher levels of segregation.

Finally, the flows of racial/ethnic groups in combination with urban renewal can affect changes in the economic base of *barrios*. Ethnic enclaves show relatively higher levels of endogenous economic activity, and larger number of Latino businesses than **working-class *barrios*** and **underclass *barrios***, which tend to exhibit low or no Latino-small-business activity. These differences may be rooted in the relative impact which urban renewal policies may have had in forestalling or encouraging small-business activities, or they may depend on the distinctive mix of Latino immigrants that move into an area and bringing with them a strong entrepreneurial culture.

(2) Labor Market Characteristics

The occupational distribution, labor force participation rates, and human resource development opportunities in **working-class, underclass *barrios***, and **ethnic enclaves** show contrasting differences. For instance, they are likely to be the result of changes the industrial mix of cities, in the geographic location of industries, in the forms of corporate and technological restructuring, and of the human resource development practices of firms. However, the sudden entry of large numbers of people into a weakening local economy can further deteriorate both the labor force participation rates and the future job prospects of the population. Inflows can also induce changes in the human resource development opportunities of *barrio* residents, especially if employers estimate that the constant inflow and abundant supply of primarily unskilled workers may be an opportunity not to implement technological changes, and better training programs, and to

improve wages.

(3) Organizational Characteristics

In underclass *barrios*, organizational life shows signs of breakdown; it is stronger and richer in working-class *barrios* and **ethnic enclaves**, granted the assumption that ethnic/racial groups, regardless of their poverty, do employ their ethnic/racial bonds to resist social ostracism and economic instability. Further, in **ethnic enclaves** much of this organizational life (chambers of commerce, merchant associations, small businesses) revolves around the formation and development of protected ethnic, labor and consumer markets.

Population dynamics contribute to this differentiation because the inflows and outflows of people from diverse racial and ethnic groups may bring in or take out valuable sources of social and political experience which influence the organizational characteristics and development of *barrios*. The newer immigrants may bring organizational experiences from their countries of origin or from other urban areas in the US which foster the formation of businesses or of new organizations to either obtain resources, resist ostracism, or fight antagonism. At the same time, the numeric growth of the community could serve as a motivation for residents to develop organizations to cope with growing social needs of the community.

2.4.2.B Economic Restructuring, the Characteristics of *Barrios*, and the Mix of Characteristics

(1) Spatial/Residential Characteristics

I investigated the influence of economic restructuring over the spatial/residential characteristics of *barrios* with several constraints or limitations in mind. First, I defined economic restructuring largely in relationship to changes which I wanted to investigate in the labor market characteristics of *barrios*, and not in the spatial/residential characteristics of *barrios*. Secondly, in the real-life context which I tackled it proved difficult to separate the "independent" effect of

economic restructuring when it truly was acting in combination with other factors. Finally, I conducted my research aware of the possibility that economic restructuring can produce "second-order" changes in the spatial/residential characteristics of *barrios* through its effect over other *barrio* characteristics, a chain of effects and relationships which is difficult to establish empirically.

As a result, in my case-studies, I do not focus on the "independent" relationship which economic restructuring may have over changes in the spatial/residential characteristics of *barrios*. Instead, I focus on its role in an ecology with other factors like population dynamics and urban renewal which triggers change and differentiation among these characteristics.

(2) Family/Household Characteristics

Economic restructuring also induces changes in the family/household characteristics of *barrios* largely through its impact on family stability. When economic restructuring results in declining employment opportunities, especially in key sectors like manufacturing which employ large numbers of immigrants, family stability may tend to decline due to a reduction in the number of people who could support a family. Declining family stability over a period of time can shift the household composition of *barrios* by increasing the share of single-female heads of households, and by reducing the share of married-couple households. The male marriageable pool index would show a steep declining trend. In such cases, *barrios* begin to evidence some underclass characteristics. By the same logic, economic restructuring can improve family stability if it contributes to improvement of employment opportunities. The male marriageable pool index, depending on the case, may show either an inclining trend or remain unchanged, leading *barrios* to evidence working-class and ethnic enclave characteristics.

(3) Labor Market Characteristics

Economic restructuring can bring about changes and

differentiation in the labor/market characteristics of *barrrios* in two main ways. First, economic restructuring can reduce or improve the labor force/market attachment of *barrrio* residents; this depends on whether or not restructuring improves or deteriorates employment opportunities. The labor force participation rates of *barrrio* residents would either tend to decline or increase over time. *Barrrios* in cities experiencing rapid economic decline could begin by showing a decline in labor force/market attachment among its residents, and subsequently exhibit some underclass labor market/force characteristics. In an opposite situation, labor market/force attachment would be higher in *barrrios* within cities experiencing economic growth and expansion, or in cities whose manufacturing industries actively seek to employ immigrants because their labor is key to the economic survival of these industries. *Barrrios*, in this kind of case, show the labor force/market characteristics of **working-class *barrrios* or ethnic enclaves** .

Secondly, economic restructuring can create either occupational diversification or homogeneity in the occupational distribution of *barrrio* residents, or can create better or worse occupational opportunities depending upon: (a) the general patterns of industrial decline or growth in a city; (b) the types of manufacturing industries which predominate in any particular city as a result of these patterns; and (c) the technological, human resource and managerial practices which firms-- especially in manufacturing --employ to cope with changes in their economic environment.

Not all cities or areas experience economic decline or growth in the same way and at the same pace because economic restructuring is a selective process which, for instance, favors some industries at the expense of others, especially in manufacturing. Also, not all firms choose the same strategies to survive in a changing economic environment because they must accommodate to different market pressures, and to their relative constraints in terms of accessing and using capital, technological and human resources. Such selectivity and choice of strategies tends to create a patchwork of growing, declining and modernizing industries that either maintain workers in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, or create opportunities for mobility into

upper occupational categories.

Economic growth in a city may be favoring the development of high-tech industries, but technological, human resource and managerial practices may not be creating better occupational opportunities. This contributes to occupational homogeneity, with a concentration in unskilled and semi-skilled occupational categories, and consequently shortened occupational opportunities. However, other firms even under a less favorable general economic environment and with lesser technological resources may be seeking to survive by encouraging more human resource development, which contributes to occupational diversification.

2.4.2.C. Urban Renewal, the Characteristics of *Barrios*, and the Mix of Characteristics

The influence or effect of urban renewal on the overall characteristics of *barrios* and the process of differentiation was most difficult to assess, yet the most interesting to understand. Hard and comprehensive evidence to analyze the influence of urban renewal on the characteristics of *barrios* and the process of their differentiation was not only difficult to find, but also very irregular throughout the years. Perhaps, such research in and of itself represents a full-blown separate project.

This created the difficult problem of how to assess the possible "independent" influence of urban renewal over the process of *barrio differentiation* and the four categories of characteristics which I was considering. Also, it seemed to me that urban renewal was a factor whose effect permeated so many spheres of social life that even having access to good data, it may have been very difficult to disentangle its "independent" effect on *barrio* characteristics. Nonetheless, informed by some of the empirical literature on urban renewal which I discussed in Chapter 1, I realized that it was possible to assemble from a combination of multiple data sources a good narrative, analytical picture of the "ecology" which urban renewal creates in certain urban areas. Thus, I proceeded to construct such a picture of each city under study.

Essentially, what I did was to assemble the irregular and disparate sources of evidence that I had located to produce a coherent history of urban renewal in each of the cities, especially in relationship to the development of *barrios*. Then, I compared those "stories" to see whether or not I could find a common set of issues that would allow me to say something meaningful beyond a pure description of urban renewal efforts in the cities. From such "explanation-building" strategy -- as opposed to a pattern-matching one --it began to emerge that the scope and pace of urban renewal were key to understand the way in which *barrios* developed, and that actually by using those two elements as criteria for comparison I could explain typological differences and heterogeneity among *barrios*.

In the cities under study, qualitative differences in how broadly and rapidly urban renewal had occurred could be associated to changes in the spatial/residential characteristics of *barrios* , and to distinct organizational responses in *barrios*.

These relationships, however, were all part of one total "ecology" in which I could not easily establish the independent effect of urban renewal. Nonetheless, what I could say was that in the case where urban renewal had been rapid, intensive, and focused community dispersal had increased, and the propensity for organizations and businesses to develop was lower than in the cases where urban renewal had been broader, slower and protracted, or non-existent. Also, it was possible to observe that-- although with lesser "certainty"--where urban renewal had been slow and protracted, poverty rates were higher, and some underclass characteristics were more dominant than in areas where renewal had been focused, rapid and terminal.

2.4.2.D Sociocultural Dynamics, the Characteristics of *Barrios*, and the Mix of Characteristics

I investigated the role of sociocultural dynamics in the process of *barrio* differentiation with some constraints and limitations in mind. All throughout my research I conceptualized and investigated the possible role of sociocultural dynamics in *barrio* differentiation

through a "narrow" lens which primarily focused on the changes that I wanted to observe in the organizational characteristics of *barrios*, and, to a lesser extent, over the spatial/residential characteristics of *barrios*. Thus, I somewhat neglected its possible influence over the family/household and labor market characteristics of *barrios*. This is one of the limitations of this research. As I moved along the research, I realized that it was impossible to ignore the interaction between sociocultural dynamics, urban renewal and population dynamics which produced changes in the organizational life or characteristics of *barrios*.

(1) Spatial Residential Characteristics

Networks act as a pulling factor which attract people to *colonias* and *barrios*. This induces changes in their demographic and geographic profiles. It is very difficult to say by how much sociocultural dynamics contribute to demographic and geographic change, yet it seems safe to assume that they accelerate population growth and concentration in certain areas, contributing thus to *colonia* expansion.⁶

(2) Organizational Characteristics

Sociocultural dynamics produce changes and differentiation in the organizational characteristics of *barrios* by either encouraging organizational growth or inducing organizational breakdown. However, in this process other factors such as urban renewal and population dynamics intervene.

Organizational growth happens when *barrio* residents withstand instability and ostracism by using their ethnic/racial bonds to form and develop organizations. Such organizational growth is often enriched by the inflow of newer residents who bring in

⁶ It is important to acknowledge that sociocultural dynamics may induce changes in the overall spatial/residential characteristics of *barrios*. However, that depends on how *barrio* organizational life takes shape around specific issues. For instance, organizational activity in *barrios* which focuses in the construction of affordable housing may contribute to increase homeownership rates in the long-run. But these relationships and their long-term manifestations are difficult to establish empirically.

organizational and entrepreneurial experience. In this case, the number of organizations tends to increase, the ability of residents to form coalitions with other groups expands, as does their ability to access resources in the new environment. "Benign" economic conditions which offer *barrio* residents a steady supply of secondary-labor-market jobs, and "benign" urban renewal, which could further strengthen organizational development, could lead *barrios* to show working-class characteristics. Ethnic enclave characteristics emerge when organizational growth revolves around economic activities which seek endogenous economic growth.

By contrast, organizational breakdown happens when *barrio* residents are unable to withstand the negative effect of factors like urban renewal whose impact-- in spite of igniting organizational responses --can dissolve the geographic base of *barrios*, so crucial to the development of businesses, organizations and political representation. Also, when rapid population growth and concentration occur together with poor economic conditions and aggressive urban renewal the end result could be heightened neighborhood instability, which weakens the organizational development of *barrios*. Under such conditions, *barrio* residents may be unable to create and sustain organizations, and *barrios* could begin to profile the organizational breakdown of underclass areas.

2.5 The Main Thrust of the Findings

2.5.1 *Barrio* Formation

In all three case-studies, the evidence suggests that among Puerto Ricans *barrio* formation is a survival strategy which constitutes a social response to an overall situation of structural instability in many urban areas of the Northeastern United States. Further, this multi-stage process seems strongly mediated by social networks. The pulling strength and the "sheltering" role of networks seemed stronger during the stages of *colonia* formation and *colonia* expansion. A combination of US Census data and qualitative data from the interviews tended to reaffirm my idea that mainland-internal migratory

streams, in part mediated by the social networks of migration, fed the population and geographic growth of the *colonias*. I discuss this further in Chapters 4 and 5.

2.5.2. *Barrio* Differentiation

Overall, there are marked differences between the *barrios* of the three cities, pointing to a common pattern of heterogeneity. *Barrios* do show a mix of coexisting characteristics of the three different types of *barrios*. I summarize the general patterns that I have observed in Table 5. These differences are largely the result of how the factors of differentiation operated in each city to affect the developmental path of *barrios*, especially during the last two stages of the process of *barrio* formation--*colonia* expansion and *barrio* maturation. I discuss in depth the changes and differences in the indicators in all four categories of characteristics during both stages of development in Chapters 5 and 6.⁷

In Table 5, it is important to notice that, although the *barrios* of three cities do share the common trait of heterogeneity, each city shows either a dominant tendency from the three types of *barrios*, or "competing" tendencies from the three types. That is, in Holyoke the tendency is for the *barrios* to show the attributes of **underclass *barrios***, while in Lawrence the attributes from all three types are strongly represented or in contention. In Lowell, the attributes of underclass and working-class *barrios* tend to dominate over the ethnic enclave ones.

⁷ For a summary of the specific changes in the characteristics of *barrios* in each city during the stages of *colonia* expansion and *barrio* maturation please refer to Tables 25 to 28 in Chapter 5 and Tables 34 to 37 in Chapter 6.

Table 5
Mix of Characteristics by City

Lowell			
	Working-Class	Underclass	Ethnic Enclave
Spatial/ Residential	X	X	X
Family/Household	X	X	
Labor Market	X		
Organizational	X		

Lawrence			
	Working-Class	Underclass	Ethnic Enclave
Spatial/ Residential	X	X	X
Family/Household	X	X	X
Labor Market	X	X	X
Organizational	X		X

Holyoke			
	Working-Class	Underclass	Ethnic Enclave
Spatial/ Residential		X	
Family/Household		X	
Labor Market	X	X	
Organizational	X		

2.6 Summary

Even during periods of sustained economic growth, as in the case of Massachusetts during the 1980's, the socioeconomic situation of a segment of the Puerto Rican population has been deteriorating. It is important to investigate the formation of new Puerto Rican *barrios* in mid-size and small cities because it appears to be a social response closely related to such a structural situation. Given the tendency of these *barrios* to continue growing, it is equally important to investigate what forces or factors will condition the development of these new *barrios*. Both things may refocus our current "planning optic" which still holds the large "central-city" environment as the main point of theoretical reference and practical experience.

In relation to the preceding, I investigated two main hypotheses using a comparative case-study methodology. The first hypothesis centered on the process of *barrio formation*; the second on the process of *barrio differentiation*. With the comparative case-study approach I highlight the mediating role of social networks in the process of *barrio formation* which is mainly a social response to instability. I used the same approach to show how *barrios* differentiate due to the intervention of four main factors: population dynamics; economic restructuring; urban renewal; and sociocultural dynamics. These factors transform *colonias* from a common pattern of homogeneity into *barrios* with a common pattern of heterogeneity which exhibits a mix of characteristics of **working-class barrios**, **underclass barrios** and **ethnic enclaves**.

I took a series of specific "steps" to operationalize each of the two hypotheses. Regarding the one on *barrio formation*, I defined first the historical conditions of *barrio formation* in Massachusetts through a comparison of the conditions of economic development and change which attracted earlier European immigrants to the state, with those which attracted Puerto Rican and Latinos. With that, I sought to anchor the process of *barrio formation* to specific and unique historical and structural conditions. Secondly, I defined *colonia* and *barrio*. Thirdly, I identified the historical and developmental stages of *barrio formation* for each of the three cities. This periodization was indispensable to

investigate *barrio* formation as a long-term process of development. Finally, I investigated the link between social networks and *barrio* formation. Establishing such a link was key to demonstrate that ethnic/racial bonds are used by immigrants to cope with situations of structural instability.

Regarding the hypothesis on *barrio* differentiation, I took three main steps. First, I identified and developed indicators to show change and differentiation in the four categories of characteristics which I wanted to analyze. The key objective of developing this matrix of indicators and characteristics was to discriminate when and how *barrios* showed characteristics of the three types. Secondly, I drew how the four main factors of differentiation operate to produce changes in the characteristics of *barrios*.

In my research I have found enough evidence to suggest that networks do play a key mediating role in the process of *barrio* formation. These networks attract Puerto Ricans to growing and expanding *colonias* as part of a survival strategy which intends to shelter them from structural dislocation and instability. Similarly, the evidence suggests that in the process of *barrio* formation factors such as population dynamics, economic restructuring, urban renewal and sociocultural dynamics intervene to transform the characteristics, and the developmental path of *barrios*. The result are *barrios* which show a mix of characteristics from working-class *barrios*, underclass *barrios* and ethnic enclaves .

**CHAPTER 3:
INDUSTRIAL CHANGE, IMMIGRATION AND
COMMUNITY FORMATION IN THREE MILL CITIES**

**3.1 Early Industrialization and Expansion, 1830-1890: Irish,
British, Germans, and French-Canadian Immigrants**

Early in the 19th century, no manufacturing cities existed in the United States. The largest cities of the Northeast-- such as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York --were largely merchant cities or government centers. Manufacturing was largely carried on in households and small mills and production was very local and "neighborhood-oriented" in scope. In 1820, about two-thirds of the clothing worn in the US was the product of household manufacture. New England was a reflection of the national picture with no division of labor in its economy: farmers combined household manufacture with their agricultural occupations, and mechanics usually combined farming with their trades. More than 90 percent of the population lived by agriculture (Bender, 1975; Keyssar, 1986; Siracusa, 1979). This panorama changed rapidly as the region entered the second quarter of the century.

New England was the birthplace of the industrial revolution and the first region to industrialize in the United States. Between 1810 and 1870, early industrialization transformed New England Yankee rural society, introducing new ideas, the factory system, and causing rapid urbanization. In Massachusetts, new mills and factory towns rapidly opened throughout the state-- textiles, woolen, and paper goods in Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River, New Bedford, Chicopee, Waltham, and Holyoke; shoes in Lynn, Brockton, Haverhill and Randolph. Lowell, chartered in 1826, became the most important and largest ante-bellum manufacturing town, where the first "integrated" factory to produce cotton cloth was built (Bender, 1975; Parker, 1940). By 1840, Lowell had a population of 20,796, and was the second largest city in the Commonwealth (Bender, 1975) . Lawrence and Holyoke, planned and built between 1845 and 1850 by the same group of industrialists which founded Lowell, also became important manufacturing centers.

This transformation, however, demanded something more than newer technologies and cities. Most important, it required abundant and steady sources of labor. During the early years of textile production, in cities like Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, millowners recruited farm girls from rural New England to work in the mills. While working at the mills, their lives were regulated by a strict moral order of "decent living" and "high intellectual activity" under the paternalist supervision of boarding houses maintained by the millowners (Dublin, 1979). But the pace of urban and industrial growth, and the resistance of the "mill girls" to deteriorating wages, excessive work and "speed-ups" encouraged industrialists to look for additional labor elsewhere.

To remedy the labor shortages, New England and Massachusetts industrialists encouraged migration to the emerging industrial enclaves in the countryside (Bender, 1975; Gitelman, 1974; Keyssar, 1986; Tager and Ifkovic, 1985). But encouraging immigration inspired social unease in the native population since it implied opening and exposing New England agrarian society to the influence of external "unruly elements." The fear of proliferating "American Manchesters" with "masses" living in the "grim and immoral" shadow of industrial cities entered in collision course with the Jeffersonian utopia of "industrial pastoralism", which underlay the founding of "rural industrial centers" such as Lowell and Lawrence (Bender, 1975). In this ideological context, immigrants were welcomed by industrialists, but heavily ostracized by natives.

In Lowell-- as in Lawrence, Holyoke and other industrial towns --the Irish were the first immigrants recruited to work in the mills. Mainly Irish women gradually replaced the mill girls, and were used to accelerate the breakdown and assimilation of resilient craft guilds, and to apply production techniques to mass-production manufacturing in textiles (Bender, 1975; Edwards, Gordon and Reich, 1982; Keyssar, 1986; Siracusa, 1979). The first Irish in the new industrial towns were males recruited by gang bosses to build the mills and the water canals that powered them. Most had been in America for a few years, either in Boston or in tiny Irish colonies along the New England coastline (Mitchell, 1988). By the mid-19th century, social networks spread the

word throughout the region that work opportunities were available in the construction gangs building the new industrial cities. Irish men were attracted and recruited by gang bosses from as far as Canada, and New York. Irish workers camped near the construction sites where eventually-- when some workers brought their families ---Irish communities developed. These "paddy camps" became a permanent feature of many cities, and gave rise to the first Irish communities (Mitchell, 1988). The building boom, however, was not large enough to generate migration directly from Ireland. Later, the Irish Potato Famine added large numbers of immigrants to the initial group of Irish, contributing to the internal differentiation of the community (Mitchell, 1988).

"Famine" Irish immigrants began arriving in large numbers to Lowell around 1846. When the 'famine immigration" subsided, the Massachusetts' state census of 1855 placed the foreign-born Irish population at 27.6 % of the general population of Lowell (Mitchell, 1988). At the mills, the Irish held unskilled jobs. Famine immigration, the opening of the mills, and economic improvement on the part of the first Irish contributed to the formation of Irish working and middle classes. The Irish middle class and the Catholic Church became the social and political mediators between the Yankee establishment and the Irish working class. By the late 1850's, Lowell had changed from a Yankee mill city to an immigrant city. The Irish were the first to experience the full lash of the nascent nativism (Mitchell, 1988).

The end of the Civil War and the triumph of the manufacturing North further accelerated industrial expansion, which required more labor. During this period of early industrialization, three other groups joined the Irish: the British, the Germans and the French-Canadians. The British and the Germans were directly recruited by millowners to staff skilled, craft jobs in the mills. British and German immigrants were experienced textile operatives who had worked in the mills and textile districts of York, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Saxony, Bavaria and Silesia (Hartford, 1990). Between 1865-90, the English were greater in number in Lawrence and Lowell while Holyoke saw fewer of them. In Lawrence and Lowell, at first, the English contingent was as large as the French-Canadian contingent until the 1890's when the

Canadians moved far ahead. In Holyoke, after the Irish, the French-Canadians were always the largest group.

The English did not establish organizations or other major institutions because they encountered no linguistic or religious conflict with the natives, at least not until the late 1880's and early 1900's when they became active in the labor struggles of many New England mill towns. The Germans, who were more numerous in Lawrence relative to other cities, established *Gymnasiums*, political and cultural discussion circles, glee clubs, schools, newspapers and several churches (Cole, 1963).

French-Canadians, in contrast to British and German immigrants, came from a rural background. They trickled down to New England through the railroad lines of the Connecticut- and Merrimack-River Valleys, pushed out by famine, poor crops and overpopulation in the St. Lawrence River Valley, or directly recruited by labor agents working for millowners. Some French-Canadians were contacted and transported from the rural areas of the province of Quebec. Direct recruitment of French-Canadians became a standard practice to meet labor shortages, but also to eliminate "restless" English operatives which millowners found "insufficiently docile" (Hartford, 1990).

In many New England mill towns French-Canadians formed "Little Canadas" in the working-class districts to meet their social and institutional needs, and to shield themselves against the general ostracism they were subjected to by the local population. For instance, in Lowell there were about ten thousand French-Canadians by 1880; they organized a French-Canadian parish, the first national parish in the history of the Boston Archdiocese (Mitchell, 1988). In Lowell, by 1890 French-Canadians outnumbered the Irish, becoming the city's largest ethnic group. In Lawrence, they grew more than any other group, except for the Irish, during the 1860-1900 period: one fifth of the immigrants living in Lawrence in 1890 were French-Canadians (Cole, 1963; Goldberg, 1989). They moved quickly to build schools, parishes, religious-based mutual aid societies, and several newspapers.

In French-Canadian communities the ideology of *la survivance* (ethnic survival) dominated, regulated and interconnected

the spheres of community, family, and work. *La survivance* was a combination of the principles of hard work, linguistic and group preservation, fervent Catholicism, and closely-knit family life. This secluded enclave life served to maintain contact with Canada and other French-Canadian communities throughout the state and New England, this was especially important since many French-Canadians would often travel back and forth between Canada and New England as a strategy to survive the seasonal fluctuations in the textile industry (Gerstle, 1990; Hartford, 1990).

The origin and development of the first immigrant communities in Massachusetts were linked to the early attempts of industrialists to create a steady and dependent waged labor force for the expanding manufacturing industries in the new industrial cities. Immigrants created communities and organizations in these cities to shield themselves against social ostracism and the instability of the new industrial structure. Nativism often flared when economic "panics" threw manufacturing industries into long spells of idleness (Keyssar, 1986).

The labor of Irish, British, German and French-Canadian workers facilitated the transition to an industrial order increasingly driven by the search for higher productivity through the progressive vertical integration of industry, the development of standardized machinery, and a stronger work discipline (Edwards, Gordon and Reich, 1982; Keyssar, 1986). Their job opportunities, however, were mainly framed by the extensive rather than by the intensive development of industry (Edwards, Gordon and Reich, 1982). Thus, skilled immigrants, like most British and German workers, by preserving their crafts and exerting control on key aspects of production were "assured" a good living and occupational stability. Also, many unskilled immigrant workers like the Irish had the ability to move up the occupational ladder, or into other sectors, because the economy was expanding, and because the intensive development of manufacturing had not "frozen" vertical mobility and skill development.

In the textile industry, the first mass-production industry, the deskilling of workers and the decomposition of crafts through

aggressive routinization and mechanization were far more advanced relative to other industries. In many smaller and independent workshops, in contrast, occupational differentiation and mobility was rather lax and fluid because standardized machinery and continuous-process technology had not fully assumed, routinized and replaced the skills of many craft workers, and because also the functions of command and control in the workplace were not clearly demarcated by a rigid division of labor which separated workers from managers, and managers from owners (Chandler, 1977; Montgomery, 1977).

As the Monopolistic Era approached, immigrants had access to a growing pool of jobs which, albeit poorly paid, at least offered a minimal degree of opportunity. Also, sectoral diversification and urban growth was offering other opportunities in government, domestic work, and construction. For example, the British and the Germans in Lowell and in Lawrence experienced occupational diversification and mobility by the 1880s, although they entered initially as more skilled workers into the mid-19th century (Cole, 1963). The Irish also experienced upward mobility. During the 1840-80 period, they were mainly construction workers, domestics, and factory workers, and by 1900 they were much better off with one in six employed professionally or in a trade. While it required only two occupations to employ two thirds of the Irish in 1880, nine occupations were necessary to account for two thirds of them in 1900 (Cole, 1963). The French-Canadians, however, showed a different pattern. While their range of occupations did diversify by 1900, they remained mainly as laborers in the mills (Cole, 1963).

3.2 Monopolistic Expansion and Early Desindustrialization, 1890-1950: Southern- and Eastern-European Immigrants.

Between 1880 and 1920, many of the small, independent factories which characterized the period of early industrialization gave way to much larger corporate entities, which, as a result of the 1893 Depression, were reconsolidated into large, multi-unit, multi-plant, powerful trusts (Hartford, 1990). An abundant supply of unskilled jobs was created by the vertical integration of monopolistic entities, the

skills fragmentation and the deskilling brought about by technological standardization, and the centralization of command and control functions in the hands of managers (Bodnar, 1985; Blewett, 1990; Chandler, 1977; Edwards, Gordon and Reich, 1985; Goldberg, 1989).

By 1910 in Lawrence, for example, the American Woolen Company, the first textile trust in the US and the city's largest employer, employed 12,000 largely unskilled operatives; by 1919 the company grew to operate 50 mills all over New England (Cole, 1963; Goldberg, 1989). The city was the world's largest producer of worsted wool, and the site of the three largest textile mills in the United States: Pacific Mills, Arlington Mills, and American Woolen Company. In Holyoke, the American Writing Paper Company of New Jersey reconsolidated sixteen independent paper producers under one major holding which included nine other paper mills in the Northeast (Green, 1939; Hartford, 1990).

This growth and restructuring created a large demand for labor which industrialists remedied by encouraging immigration. Immigrants, this time, were recruited *en masse* from the capitalist periphery of Southern- and Eastern-Europe (Bodnar, 1985). Massachusetts' mill towns, which were already major centers of immigrant concentration by the mid-19th century, extended their domination into the 1920s. In 1920, four out of the first eight cities in the US with the largest proportion of foreign-born were in Massachusetts: Fall River, number one with 47.7%; Lawrence, number three with 45.7%; Lowell, number six with 43%; and Holyoke, number eight with 41.4% (Green, 1939; Gutman, 1987b). To illustrate the nature of the immigrant inflow, Southern Europeans (Italians, Greeks and Portuguese) and Eastern Europeans (Poles, Jews, Lithuanians, Russians and Ukrainians) added 15,000 people, or an extra 25%, to Lawrence's population between 1905 and 1910 (Cole, 1963; Gutman, 1987b).

The recruitment and use of newer immigrants produced various patterns of occupational segmentation and concentration, which generally favored older, Western-European male immigrants. In the textile industry in Lowell, for instance, Irish women were squeezed out of unskilled jobs by newer immigrants hired at lower wages, and were forced into personal, domestic, and household work.

Irish men, in contrast, moved into more skilled positions in the mills, or moved into the government and service sectors (Blewett, 1990; Mitchell, 1988).

In general, the worst jobs went to the newcomers, who also experienced poor living conditions because cities were not prepared to receive such large inflows of people. For instance, Lawrence's housing stock could not absorb the massive entrance of new immigrants. Conditions in the crowded tenements deteriorated; disease, infant mortality, malnutrition, violence, and fires all increased. In 1910, Lawrence was in the top 10% among American cities in persons-per-house, had the highest mortality rate in the state, and the 6th highest in the nation (Cole, 1963).

During this period, immigrants confronted reduced opportunities for occupational mobility because the jobs being created were mainly unskilled. They derived economic progress from the abundance of jobs, the rise of industrial unionism and organized labor, and from governmental intervention through the regulation of some aspects of the employment relationship: child labor laws, unemployment insurance, accidental compensation, health codes, and working-hours regulations (Keyssar, 1986; Sabel, 1982). In Lawrence, for example, the new immigrants organized two major strikes which commanded national and international attention: the *Bread and Roses Strike* of 1912, and the strike of 1919 which gave origin to the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America. These two strikes were landmarks in the development of the American labor movement because they showed the organizational capability and political potential of immigrant workers, and influenced a broad range of public policies, including immigration policy (Cole, 1963; Goldberg, 1989).

In both of these strikes, as in many others around the nation, ethnic-based committees and communities served as the backbone for organizing labor activity. Many ethnic groups brought experiences from their countries of origin which were key to their adaptation and survival in the United States, and to the labor struggles that they waged. For example, most of the Italians who came to Lawrence were from provinces south of Rome and from Sicily. They were largely a peasant population which had struggled with landed bosses against

coerced agricultural work, and proceeded to organize their social life along strong village lines which were key in the creation of mutual-aid societies that sponsored labor activities (Goldberg, 1989; Veccoli, 1990). Similarly, Lithuanians, much like Jews, came to many industrial towns having endured severe exploitation and persecution under Polish landowners and czarist soldiers, which forced them to organize secret schools and support resistance institutions. This experience proved to be extremely important in organizing against large and often brutal employers (Goldberg, 1989).

The massive growth of manufacturing in Massachusetts, however, started faltering during the mid-1920s, when textiles and other basic manufacturing left for the South and other parts of the United States seeking a better "business climate" (Harrison, 1984; Schwartz, 1991). After a brief boom during WW I, the textile and paper industries showed the first signs of decline. During the early 1920's, Massachusetts led the nation in terms of the total value of manufactured cotton goods, the number of spindles in place, and the number of employees in the cotton industry. In 1919, 28% of the total value of cotton goods produced in the US were manufactured in Massachusetts. By 1921, Massachusetts' share declined to 24.6%, further losing its first place in cotton manufacturing to North Carolina in 1926, and yielding second place to South Carolina by 1929. In 1935, Massachusetts' cotton production accounted for only 10.7% of the country's total product. Between 1920 and the outbreak of WW II, Massachusetts lost nearly 45% of its textile production jobs (Department of Labor and Industries, 1923; Hartford, 1990). In Lowell in 1919, there were 12,000 workers in cotton manufacture; these shrank to 3,000 by 1936, a decline of 75% (Blewett, 1990). In Holyoke, the story of decline in the paper industry was not very different. The major paper company in the city, American Writing Paper Company (AWP), was originally a thirty-three-plant trust with sixteen mills in Holyoke. During the second decade of this century this "corporate monster" became increasingly difficult to manage. Competition, failure to integrate sources of raw materials, and obsolete machinery led to its demise; the gradual liquidation of its operations, culminating in final bankruptcy in 1923 (Hartford, 1990).

Industrial decline destroyed the ability of the immigrant working family to reproduce economically. Family connections at the mills were central in reproducing and ensuring the employment of future generations. Decline and elimination of jobs interrupted the linkages between families and employment; without those connections newer generations found it increasingly difficult to get employment. The family labor system and the bonds of ethnic life began to dissolve with industrial decline (Blewett, 1990).

The Great Depression dealt a heavy blow to basic manufacturing in Massachusetts. Subsequently, WW II briefly revived the textile and shoe industry of many mill towns, and, in some cases, the new war-based industries diversified their economic base. The short-term prosperity brought by the war, however, did not imply long-term prosperity for milltowns, which returned during the 1950's to their depressed status (Miller, 1988). More plants and mills closed and more jobs left the area. During the 1950's, a second phase of desindustrialization began, but it was not solely confined to low-wage industries like textiles. For instance, in Western Massachusetts, American Bosch, a Springfield-based electrical goods producer, sent 500 jobs to Mississippi, while Westinghouse-Springfield threatened with the same move (Hartford, 1990).

Some technological developments-- standardization, energy production, ventilation, and transportation --dislodged basic manufacturing industries from their natural location advantages, but state regulation and labor militancy also placed limits upon capital's ability to operate freely. This motivated many industrialists to disinvest and move away. The restrictionist policies of the 1920's also reduced immigration, and thus the ability of the sector to restructure by employing new sources of labor. In Massachusetts, it will not be until the late 1960's when basic manufacturing begins to tap into new sources of immigrant labor from Latin America, although this time to ride its decline and make possible its limited survival throughout a period of drastic restructuring.

European and French Canadian immigrants in Massachusetts entered manufacturing during its stages of growth, although an early stage of desindustrialization severely curtailed the job prospects of

many immigrants who came during the first quarter of the 20th century. The wages and living standards experienced by many of these immigrants were not high; many faced poverty, exploitation, and poor working conditions. However, in general, the growth of industry and the expansion of the economy, combined with institutional gains, offered them a basic "economic floor" from which to push their children into better opportunities. Also, they were allowed to physically preserve their communities, not threatened by urban renewal or shaken by speculation in real-estate markets, something that more recent immigrants from Latin America and Southeast Asia would have to contend with.

3.3 Industrial Restructuring, 1960-1990: Puerto Rican and Latino Immigrants

New England and Massachusetts experienced their first phase of desindustrialization long before WW II when basic manufacturing -- textiles, shoes, metal machinery -- moved to the South and other regions of the United States. After a brief revival during WW II, the region's manufacturing continued to decline. Between 1955 and 1975, business closings through actual failure were greater in New England than in most industrial states, and the manufacturing firms which remained in the area cut employment substantially. For instance, between 1967 and 1972 Massachusetts lost more than 112,000 jobs in basic manufacturing, a pattern of decline which was not reversed until 1978 (Bluestone and Harrison, 1982; Harrison, 1984).

Between the late 1950's and the mid-1970's, parallel the decline in basic manufacturing, high-tech manufacturing developed in the region. Initially, war industries, established and owned by the government, were transferred to private hands, while other existing firms and corporations-- such as General Electric, Western Electric, Pratt and Whitney, and Textron --restructured and diversified as a result of the immediate post-WW II bonanza. Subsequently, during the early and mid-1960's another wave of high-tech firms developed, largely dependent on the university-government-military complex which funnelled federal research grants into the region. In the suburbs

surrounding Boston and in some cities and towns north of Boston along Route 128, high-tech corporations-- such as Raytheon, Data General, Digital Equipment Corporation, Prime Computer and Wang --began, or greatly expanded, operations during this period. By the late 1960's, high technology had taken firm root in Massachusetts, accounting for nearly 10% of total employment (Lampe, 1988).

As the Vietnam War wound down, federal military contracts awarded in New England decreased, setting the region up for another phase of desindustrialization-- this time affecting employment in high-tech industries (Lampe, 1988). After the oil shocks of the early 1970's, defense funding increased again, and the high-tech sector began to break its dependency on defense contracts producing more for the civilian market, and the service sectors led by business services expanded (Harrison, 1984). By the end of the 1970's, the new industrial structure of Massachusetts and New England consisted of five sectors: (a) declining labor-intensive, mill-based industries employing tractable labor and old technologies; (b) surviving mill-based industries producing mainly consumption goods through a combination of product specialization, substantial mechanization, computerization, and the use of relatively cheap sources of labor; (c) subcontracting manufacturing firms making capital goods for domestic and foreign producers; (d) high-tech firms making computers and peripherals, and a wide variety of military, scientific and medical equipment; and (e) expanding service sectors (Harrison, 1984).

Aside from the 1982 recession, economic expansion continued until the late 1980's, earning Massachusetts a reputation as an "economic miracle." Between 1979 and the first quarter of 1988 more than 400,000 net new jobs were created, the value of new construction doubled, and the growth in high-tech industries was dramatic (Harrison and Kluver, 1989). The unemployment rate between 1984 and 1988 was below 4% and the state was heralded as a successful case of reindustrialization.¹

¹ The sharp declines in unemployment during the late 1970s and 1980s seemed to have been at least as much the result of lower-than-average labor force growth, including net outmigration from the state, than of unusually rapid job creation per se (Harrison and Kluver, 1989).

Since the 1920's and up until the 1960's, Massachusetts' cities and towns saw very little immigration. But during this period of decline and restructuring the Puerto Rican and Latino populations started to grow rapidly. In 1960, the US Census reported a total of 5,217 Puerto Ricans living in Massachusetts. During the 1950's and 1960's, mostly Puerto Ricans were recruited as seasonal agricultural workers to labor in the tobacco farms of Western Massachusetts and the Connecticut River Valley, in the cranberry bogs of Southeastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and in the apple orchards and vegetable fields of the Merrimack River Valley in Northeastern Massachusetts along the New Hampshire border (Borges-Méndez, 1993a). Throughout this period, some of them dropped out of the seasonal stream and established sizable communities in large cities such as Boston, Springfield, Worcester, and smaller *colonias* of less than a hundred people in smaller cities such as Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell, New Bedford, and Chelsea.

Puerto Ricans showed a tendency to concentrate in manufacturing, but in Western Massachusetts many remained as seasonal agricultural workers, or complementing agricultural work with unskilled manufacturing employment during the winter. Not all Puerto Ricans and Latinos were recruited as agricultural workers. Some were directly recruited in Puerto Rico and Latin America (particularly Colombia) by Massachusetts manufacturers to work in textile and other labor-intensive manufacturing industries. Others simply came from parts of New England attracted by some of the "opportunities" available in Massachusetts' basic manufacturing (Borges-Méndez, 1994; Glaessel-Brown, 1983; Morales, 1986; Piore, 1973). In 1970, the number of Latinos in Massachusetts increased to 64,680 and were firmly rooted in secondary, declining, and labor-intensive manufacturing firms mainly occupying unskilled and low-skill jobs (Piore, 1973). About 40% of Latinos in 1970 were Puerto Rican or of Puerto Rican descent (US Dept. of Commerce, 1972d).

Mainly a working-class population, Puerto Rican and other Latinos became involved during the late 1960s in numerous community struggles in cities such as Boston and Springfield, and in other smaller cities such as Lawrence and Holyoke (Uriarte, 1992;

Borges-Méndez,1993a). In both large and small cities alike, the general social turmoil of the period framed the collective action of Latinos, who mobilized to defend their rights and communities against racial discrimination, urban renewal and the lack of access to social and economic resources: housing, employment and training, and bilingual education.

These struggles yielded some of the first Latino organizations in these cities and, for that matter, in Massachusetts. For instance, Puerto Ricans and Latinos in Boston organized to fight the urban renewal and redevelopment plans which the Boston Redevelopment Authority had drawn for Parcel 19 (Uriarte, 1992). This struggle gave rise to the Emergency Tenants Council (ETC) and eventually to *Inquilinos Boricuas en Acción* (IBA), nationally one of the most important community-based development efforts that came out of the period (Uriarte, 1992). In Springfield, a coalition of agricultural workers, recently arrived Vietnam veterans, and union and political activists formed the New England's Farm Workers Council (NEFWC) to defend the rights of Latino agricultural workers in New England.² Today, both IBA and NEFWC are relatively large human and social-services organizations with multi-million dollar operational budgets.

The Latino population of the state more than doubled between 1970 and 1980. They grew from 64,680 to 141,043. The number of Puerto Ricans more than tripled from 24,561 in 1970 to 76,450 in 1980, representing about 54% of the state's total Latino population (see Table 6). In 1970 there was a total of six cities in Massachusetts where Latinos represented between 2 and 5.9% of the cities' total populations. By 1980 this number expanded to 20 cities. Moreover, Latinos in the cities of Chelsea and Holyoke grew to represent between 6 and 9.9% of the cities' total populations; in Lawrence Latinos became more than 15% of the total population (Borges-Méndez, 1993b).

Table 6

Massachusetts Population by Race and Latino Origin, 1960-1990

	1960		1970		1980		1990	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Total	5,148,578	100.0%	5,689,063	100.0%	5,737,037	100.0%	6,016,425	100.0%
White	5,023,144	97.6%	5,484,685	95.9%	5,294,151	92.3%	5,280,292	87.8%
Black	111,842	2.2%	173,376	3.0%	213,615	3.7%	274,464	4.6%
*Latino	N.A.		64,680	1.1%	141,043	2.5%	287,549	4.8%
** Puerto Rican	5,217		16,743	0.29%	76,450	1.3%	151,193	2.5%
Mexican	N.A.		N.A.		7,385	0.1%	12,703	0.2%
Cuban	N.A.		N.A.		6,617	0.1%	8,106	0.1%
Other Latino	N.A.		N.A.		50,591	0.9%	115,547	1.9%
Asian	N.A.		N.A.		49,501	0.9%	143,392	2.4%
Other (Native American and Other Races)	13,592	0.3%	31,002	0.5%	38,727	0.7%	30,728	0.5%

Source:

U. S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Massachusetts: General Characteristics of the Population. Census Tracts:1960. Government Printing Office. Washington D.C. 1962.

U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1970 Census of the Population. Detailed Population Characteristics: Massachusetts. Government Printing Office.1972d.

U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1980 Census of Population. Detailed Population Characteristics: Massachusetts.PC80-1-D23. Government Printing Office. Washington D.C. 1983d.

U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1990 Census of the Population and Housing. Summary Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics: Massachusetts. 1990 CPH-5-23. Government Printing Office. Washington D.C. 1992a.

* Latinos may be of any race.

** In 1960, Puerto Ricans were the only Latino group identified by the Census.

The growth of the Puerto Rican and Latino population was accompanied by a deterioration of their socioeconomic status. Between 1970 and 1980, poverty rates for Latinos increased to levels above the 35% mark in all major centers of concentration such as Boston, Springfield, Worcester, New Bedford, Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke (Meléndez, 1993). Latinos also had the highest poverty rate relative to other racial groups. This deterioration was the result not only of the convergence of such factors as rapid population growth, geographic concentration, age distribution and household composition of the Latino population, but, most importantly, of drastic changes in the industrial structure of the state which slowly built obstacles to the successful incorporation of Latinos into the labor market (Borges-Méndez, 1994; Meléndez, 1994).

Perhaps the relative concentration of Latinos in manufacturing during the 1970-80 decade, especially in certain sub-regions of the state, may have contributed to the overall deterioration of the socioeconomic welfare of the Latino community. This is particularly important since the sector at large was undergoing dramatic change and decline. In 1970 in Massachusetts, 29% of the whites and 26% of the Blacks were employed in manufacturing, while 38% of the total employed Latinos were in manufacturing. By 1980, the percentage of whites and Blacks in manufacturing as a share of each group's total employment had decreased to 26% and 23% respectively: for Latinos, the share increased to 42%. Boston aside, the concentration of Latinos in manufacturing in selected Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) was even higher. For instance, in 1980 in the Lawrence-Haverhill SMSA, 37% of the whites and 58% of the Blacks employed had manufacturing jobs; of the total number of Latinos employed, 72% were employed in manufacturing (US Dept. of Commerce, 1972d, 1983d).

The decline of manufacturing dominated the employment picture of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke during the 1967-88 period. During the same period service, jobs in the three cities expanded continually for the same period, albeit at a slower pace relative to larger cities such as Boston, Springfield and Worcester. Decline was relatively more severe in Lawrence and Holyoke than in Lowell. Lowell's local economy was more stable due to the presence of high-tech firms with

substantial job opportunities in manufacturing. However, once those jobs were accounted for the picture of employment in manufacturing was no different from the other two cities (Flynn, 1984).

The Puerto Rican and Latino populations in Massachusetts doubled in size between 1980 and 1990 (Rivera, 1992; Gastón Institute, 1992), producing an expansion of *colonias* and of older *barrios* in large cities, like Boston and Springfield, as well as in other smaller cities like Lowell, Lawrence, Holyoke, and Chelsea. Newer *colonias* formed in small cities like Leominster and Somerville. Between 1980 and 1990, the total number of cities in the Commonwealth where Latinos represented between 2 and 5.9% of the cities' total populations remained steady at around 20. A total of 5 cities climbed into the next category of concentration where Latinos represented between 6 and 9.9% of the population, bringing the total number of these cities to eight. The number of cities where Latinos represented 15% or more of the total population increased from one (Lawrence) in 1980 to four (Lawrence, Holyoke, Chelsea, and Springfield) in 1990 (Borges-Méndez, 1993b).

This growth may have increased Latino poverty, but only by complementing a preceding and long-standing situation of structural turmoil in the local economy of small manufacturing cities for which Puerto Rican and Latinos became a "good" labor "match" between tractable labor and a patchwork of modernizing, declining or downsizing manufacturing (Borges-Méndez, 1994). During the 1970s and 1980s Puerto Ricans and Latinos were either recruited or hired in manufacturing when the sector was modernizing and restructuring in order to downsize or liquidate operations. More specifically, at the firm-level, Puerto Ricans and Latinos found little entry into the high-tech firms of the region, but they became a preferred source of labor to ride the decline or to extend the life of struggling labor-intensive manufacturing, especially in small cities like Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke (Borges-Méndez, 1994). This situation largely affected their labor market outcomes in a negative way.

The "Massachusetts' Economic Miracle" of the 1980's failed to deliver a better labor market and socioeconomic standing for Puerto Ricans and other Latinos, both in small and large cities, and relative to

other racial groups in the population (Cotton, 1994; Falcón, 1994; Meléndez, 1994). During the 1980s, poverty rates remained at the high levels of the 1970s; Massachusetts became the state with the largest Latino poverty rate in the nation (Meléndez, 1993). In spite of this situation of poverty, Puerto Ricans and other Latinos continued to make institutional advances in state and local government, and in communal and political organization (Borges-Méndez, 1993a; Hardy-Fanta, 1993; Uriarte, 1992). For instance, in 1989 the first Latino (Puerto Rican), Nelson Merced, was elected to represent the 5th Suffolk District in the Massachusetts' House of Representatives. In recent years, other Latinos have been elected to public office in Holyoke, Chelsea, Amherst, Lawrence.

3.4 Summary

European and French-Canadian immigrants in Massachusetts entered manufacturing during its stages of growth, although an early stage of desindustrialization severely curtailed the job prospects of many-- French-Canadian --immigrants who came during the first quarter of the 20th century. The origin and development of the first immigrant communities in Massachusetts were linked to early attempts by industrialists to create a steady and dependent waged labor force for the expanding manufacturing industries in the new industrial cities. As the Monopolistic Era approached, immigrants had access to a growing pool of jobs which, although poorly paid, offered a minimal degree of opportunity. Sectoral diversification and urban growth were also offering other opportunities in government, domestic work, and construction.

The wages and living standards of these immigrants were not high, and many faced poverty, exploitation, and poor working conditions. However, industrial and economic expansion, and institutional gains, offered them a basic "economic floor" wherefrom to push their children into better opportunities.

Like previous immigrants, Puerto Ricans and other Latinos became part of the social and economic fabric of Massachusetts at a period of structural economic turmoil. Also, like previous immigrants,

they have struggled socially and politically to defend their communities and to "build community." However, Puerto Ricans and other Latinos, unlike previous immigrants, have contended with secular trends of irreversible decline in key manufacturing sectors, customarily a main entry-point for immigrants into the labor market. The service jobs available to them tend to pay relatively low wages and offer little opportunity for mobility or progress. Under such circumstances of structural change, the avenues for Latino economic progress and mobility have largely become dead-end streets which have led to growing poverty and a disadvantaged labor market standing (Melendez, 1993).

The long-term implications of this may be that Latinos, unlike previous immigrants, will not have the same opportunities to transfer economic mobility to future generations. The overall framework with which policy makers "evaluate" the relative "economic performance" of Latinos needs to take into account the current economic environment of rapid economic restructuring which apparently closes more opportunities than the ones that it opens. As it will be seen in the chapters that follow, however, such structural disadvantages, have not foreclosed the ability of Latinos to form permanent communities in Massachusetts' small and large cities, where their organizational and institutional base has expanded considerably.

**CHAPTER 4:
THE ORIGIN OF THE COLONIAS IN LOWELL,
LAWRENCE AND HOLYOKE: THE LATE 1950'S
TO THE LATE 1960'S.**

Puerto Rican *colonias* in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke originated in the midst of a dual situation of economic and social instability both in Puerto Rico and the United States. In Puerto Rico, the economic modernization of the island directly or indirectly displaced many rural workers, who migrated to the mainland either of their own account or urged by the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Some were attracted by employers to the mainland as seasonal workers to occupy jobs both in agriculture and manufacturing shunned by the native population. Many of these workers decided to drop out of the seasonal migratory stream, to bring their families, and to face their instability from the cities in the mainland. In their new locales, however, migrant workers and their families remained confronted by economic and communal instability due to the poor, dead-end character of job opportunities, to social ostracism and to the negative effects of urban renewal on the *colonias*. In this context of instability, the first Puerto Rican families in the cities of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke began to use their ethnic and kinship bonds mainly to defend and preserve their cultural and communal identity; this would become the foundation upon which the incipient organizational development of the *colonias* was to flourish. In each city, however, the circumstances and characteristics of urban renewal begin to differentiate the organizational development of the *colonias*, especially towards the mid- and late-1960's, when the *colonias* began to expand.

4.1 The Origin of the *Colonias* : Late 1950's to the Late 1960's

During the early 1960's, the nuclei of the Puerto Rican *colonias* in Lowell, Lawrence, and Holyoke were formed by families who predominantly came directly from Puerto Rico. Most of these families--no more than 12 to 20 families in each case --were poor, from a rural

background, little or no experience in manufacturing, and low educational attainment.¹ In 1960, according to the US Census, there were 43 Puerto Ricans in Lowell, and 28 and 99 Puerto Ricans in Lawrence and Holyoke respectively (US Dept. of Commerce, 1963).²

The first Puerto Rican families in Lowell were directly recruited by manufacturing firms which could not meet their labor demands with local labor. In Lawrence, the founding families were attracted by a combination of kinship, friendship and employer networks. In Holyoke, Puerto Rican families were attracted by agricultural recruiters, often in collaboration with the Department of Labor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. During those years, especially in Lowell and Lawrence, the demand for cheap, unskilled labor had risen as result of a long-term decline in manufacturing, which opened a pool of jobs no longer desirable to the local population.

Textile and shoe millowners openly recruited in Puerto Rico through local newspapers. The direct recruitment by firms which owned plants in Puerto Rico and in Lowell brought many Puerto Rican families to Lowell. Many of the first Puerto Rican families in Lowell were originally from the inland towns of Comerío and Barranquitas, Puerto Rico, where actually some Lowell-based manufacturing firms had plants as well.³ Angel Bermúdez, whose family moved to Lowell, although not directly from Puerto Rico, in the early 1960's explains: " the mill owners would recruit in *El Mundo* [a newspaper in Puerto Rico]... And there was a conscious effort in the late 1950's and 1960's to fill job slots in the mills, in remaining textile and shoe operations... Gray Shoe [in Lowell], was White Shoe in Puerto Rico... You know, there was a White Shoe company branch in Comerío, PR".⁴

In Lawrence, by contrast, most Puerto Rican families were

1 Interviews with Angel Bermúdez; Isabel Meléndez; and Carlos Vega.

2 No other census data exists on these families.

3 The economy of these two towns depended largely on tobacco production by small producers which barely obtained profits to sustain a family and that during period of modernization were squeezed out of business by larger American companies.

4 Interview with Angel Bermúdez.

originally from the coastal towns of Juana Díaz and Guayama in the southern part of the island.⁵ Direct recruitment by employers with multiple locales in the city and in Puerto Rico seems not to have been a factor in generating the migratory flow.⁶ The origin of the Puerto Rican *colonia* in Lawrence was the work of a combination of kinship and friendship networks. Isabel Meléndez, one of the first Puerto Ricans who arrived in Lawrence in the late 1950's, came attracted by a female cousin who had married an American Korean-War veteran from Lawrence. Several members of the Meléndez family followed her to Lawrence within five or six years of her arrival. Anecdotal and secondary evidence also suggests that some of the first Puerto Rican families in Lawrence may have originated in the flow of contract agricultural laborers hired to work in the apple orchards and vegetable fields of the Merrimack Valley located to the Northeast of Boston along New Hampshire border (Growing Up Hispanic in Lawrence, Mass., 1986).⁷

Unlike Lowell and Lawrence, the origin of the Puerto Rican *colonia* in Holyoke (and in other cities of Western Massachusetts like Springfield, Westfield and Chicopee) resulted from the importation of seasonal agricultural laborers from many parts of the island to work in the tobacco fields of the Connecticut River Valley. Their recruitment precedes WW II, yet it will not be until the early 1950's when many of these workers decided to drop off the seasonal stream, to bring their families from Puerto Rico, and settle in urban areas (Llamas, 1977).⁸

Many of these laborers were "seasoned" and reliable "repeaters" brought every year (some under contract, some without it) by independent small, independent farmers to work in the same farm every year, or, alternatively, recruited through contractual arrangements between the Shade Tobacco Growers Association and the

5 The economy of these two towns depended largely upon sugar-cane plantations and production which was being mechanized and downsized. This contributed to displace large numbers of already impoverished workers.

6 Interview with Isabel Meléndez.

7 Interview with Isabel Meléndez.

8 Interviews with Heriberto Flores; Carlos Vega; and Héctor Merced.

government of Puerto Rico to work for large farmers and companies, such as Reynolds Tobacco and Consolidated Tobacco.⁹ At the peak of any tobacco picking season some 2,000 Puerto Rican workers labored in these farms. The seasonal workers, while still "official" residents of Puerto Rico, were housed in *campamentos* of different sizes, ranging from the largest "sleeping" *campamentos*, housing anywhere between 100 and 300 workers in military-type barracks, to the smaller camps, largely located on the farms, and housing less than 20 workers. The tobacco and vegetable circuit of the Connecticut River Valley included Connecticut and Rhode Island; labor circulation during any given season went beyond the Massachusetts border line.¹⁰

In Lowell and Lawrence, the origin of the *colonia* and the life of families were intricately related to a relatively abundant supply of secondary jobs in decaying and struggling textile, shoe and other labor-intensive manufacturing. Since plants were constantly closing, these mostly were poorly paid, unskilled jobs with little prospects for permanency and mobility. In addition, working conditions in these factories were unhealthy and alienating because of the isolation Puerto Rican workers experienced. In some of these factories, the first Puerto Rican workers were subjected to heavy ostracism and arbitrariness from both native workers and managers.¹¹ Isabel Meléndez recalls: "The mills were the main source of employment ... and there were many jobs available, but they were bad jobs... I worked in several shoe factories including Lawrence Maid, Jonnelle and Jo-Gal... The smell, the noise, the cold or the heat were horrible... and the loneliness was the worst part because nobody could understand you... I remember in the early days wanting to drink water and nobody could understand me and tell me where to go. "¹²

In Holyoke, family and communal life in the Puerto Rican *colonia* were also linked to situations of relative labor instability due to

9 Interviews with Heriberto Flores and Héctor Merced.

10 Interviews with Heriberto Flores and Héctor Merced.

11 Interviews with Isabel Meléndez and Angel Bermúdez.

12 Interview with Isabel Meléndez.

the seasonality of the agricultural industry and the weakening manufacturing base of the area. Because of the lack of opportunity in Puerto Rico, and the strain of migratory circulation, many workers " instead of being migrant workers from Puerto Rico... they became kind of inner-city migrant workers. "¹³ Agricultural laborers were still working in seasonal agriculture, but they were hired as "dayholds." These were workers who lived with their families in Holyoke, for instance, and were picked-up daily by buses which also transported other migrant workers living in the labor camps to the tobacco fields.¹⁴ The "inner-city migrant" worker would endure the *tiempo muerto*¹⁵ in the cities of the Connecticut River Valley: " In the summer, when the tobacco or the vegetable season would start, they would hook up with farms ... then the winter time came down, and the six months of dead time would come... of *tiempo muerto*." Other workers matched agricultural work with unskilled manufacturing work during the winter season. They worked in firms in the greater Springfield area such as National Blank Book and American Bosch.¹⁶

During the early 1960's in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, the core group of Puerto Rican families and individuals who formed the *colonia* concentrated in the worst housing units and public housing projects in the mainly French-Canadian, Irish, and Italian neighborhoods. In Lowell, Puerto Ricans concentrated in the boundary between the historical Irish neighborhood known as the Acre and the French-Canadian *Little Canada*, both very near to the center of the city, and built around the textile mills.¹⁷ The first Puerto Ricans in Lawrence settled mainly in the Italian Newbury Street and in the Irish Lower Tower Hill neighborhoods, both in the northern part of the

13 Interview with Carlos Vega.

14 Interview with Héctor Merced.

15 Interview with Carlos Vega. The term *tiempo muerto* is used in Puerto Rico to describe the idle time between the planting and the cutting of sugar-cane crops. Socially and economically *tiempo muerto* means bad times.

16 Interviews with Heriberto Flores and Héctor Merced.

17 Interview with Angel Bermúdez.

city.¹⁸ In Holyoke, Puerto Ricans settled in a predominantly Irish neighborhood known as the Flats, and also in French-Canadian South Holyoke, both in the southern part of city.¹⁹

Puerto Ricans concentrated in these neighborhoods for a number of reasons. First, housing tended to be cheaper in these areas, and their relative proximity to the center of the city offered easy access to hospitals, churches, shops and workplaces. The housing stock in these neighborhoods was made of multi-unit buildings and tenements built at the turn of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries by companies and mill owners to house immigrant textile and paper mill workers. Second, since the late 1940's some of the housing in these neighborhoods had been vacated by previous immigrants who moved to other areas within the city, or to surrounding towns as a result of having achieved some socioeconomic mobility during the immediate post-WW II bonanza and through the educational opportunities offered by the GI bill. Third, the exit of many manufacturing jobs from these cities, combined with higher job expectations by "small town" baby-boomers, indirectly created housing vacancies. Many working-class families left in pursuit of jobs, while many of the children of the remaining white, working-class families also left their neighborhoods because better educational opportunities accessible to them had made factory work still available unappealing. Finally, especially in Lowell and Holyoke, inter-ethnic political conflict between Irish and French-Canadians created the selective neglect of certain neighborhoods. Those in control of city hall, whether Irish or French-Canadian, selectively invested in the improvement of their neighborhoods leaving others unattended. This dynamic contributed to open housing vacancies in deteriorating buildings, which newer Puerto Rican immigrants occupied.²⁰

As of the early 1960's, the *colonias* in all three cities were comprised by small and rather "invisible" clusters of Puerto Rican

18 Interviews with Isabel Meléndez and Ralph Carrero.

19 Interview with Carlos Vega.

20 Interviews with Carlos Vega; Angel Bermúdez; Isabel Meléndez; Marc Miller.

families preoccupied largely with their immediate social and economic survival. Relative differences in the spatial, organizational and social development of the *colonias* in the three cities were minimal. But the neighborhoods in which *colonias* had originally formed-- despite of their viability as residential areas --became the target of urban renewal between the mid- and the late 1960's, especially in Lowell and Holyoke. Urban renewal began to change the narrow focus of family survival, while also inducing significant differences in the spatial and organizational development of the *colonias* of the three cities.

Colonia residents began to employ their ethnic bonds to preserve their communal identity, to combat the displacement which accompanied urban renewal, and to address the lack of basic social needs within a rapidly expanding community. In that way the narrow familialism which characterized the social relations of the *colonia* gave way to greater organizational complexity. Growing organizational complexity and development, however, were distinctively shaped by urban renewal practices in each city .

Throughout the 1960's, urban renewal in Lowell was aggressive and, to a large extent, "terminal" since it prompted within a short time the absolute demolition of *Little Canada* (a fate similar to the Italian West End in Boston), and of substantial portions of the Acre. In its place, a large public housing project, the North Canal Housing Project, and governmental and educational facilities were constructed.²¹ In Lawrence, urban renewal was minimal, and operated more by way of neglecting neighborhoods and public housing units; renewal efforts focused not on demolition, but on the construction of living complexes for the Irish and Italian elderly.²² In Holyoke, urban renewal was not a sudden and terminal process, but a rather protracted one, which unraveled in three phases throughout a period of about 15 years. Urban renewal in Holyoke triggered other neighborhood *malaises* such as abandonment, intermittent, but aggressive demolition, displacement, real estate speculation, red-lining and arson

21 Interviews with Angel Bermúdez and Cecilio Hernández.

22 Interviews with Ralph Carrero and Isabel Meléndez.

(Bratt, 1989).²³

In Lowell, terminal demolition triggered the dispersal of the original nucleus of Puerto Rican families (and of French-Canadians) throughout the city. Thus, between the mid-1960's and the early 1970's Puerto Ricans were scattered throughout the city of Lowell with no real geographically concentrated base. In the words of one of the early residents of the *colonia*: " Every place that my family lived, it was usually demolished... When we went to Little Canada, it was demolished..."²⁴ Families were forced to move two or three times while urban renewal remained a key item in city hall's urban agenda. Puerto Ricans in Lowell then focused on their ability to maintain cultural continuity by organizing festivals, baseball leagues, and all of cultural activities that compensated for the lack of a geographic base.²⁵

It was not until the late 1960's when Puerto Ricans in Lowell started to concentrate in public housing due to the exit of Irish families who were moving out to other neighborhoods or towns.²⁶ Concentration in public housing, however, was not apparent until the mid-1970's, especially in the North Canal Housing Project, at the site where *Little Canada* had once stood. With a growing concentration of Puerto Ricans in public housing, the small community slowly shifted to develop social contacts with French-Canadian catholic, charitable institutions. French-Canadian religious institutions were still firmly rooted in the area where *Little Canada* once stood, and where now public housing projects with large numbers of Puerto Ricans were located. These contacts resulted in some of the first efforts to provide basic human and social services to the Puerto Rican community.²⁷ The first and only organization serving Puerto Ricans during this period was *El Centro Español* founded by French-Canadian Catholic priests of

23 Interviews with Carlos Vega; María Figueroa; and Lenore Glaser.

24 Interview with Angel Bermúdez.

25 Interviews with Cecilio Hernández and Angel Bermúdez.

26 Interviews with Angel Bermúdez and Cecilio Hernández.

27 Interview with Angel Bermúdez.

the Order of the Oblates of St. Mary Immaculate.²⁸ Apparently, no other Puerto Rican organizations existed in Lowell during this period.

In Lawrence, urban renewal, in contrast to Lowell, did not disperse the Puerto Rican *colonia*. The paucity of urban renewal and municipal neglect allowed the Puerto Rican *colonia* to plant roots in the original neighborhoods and public housing projects, albeit under heavy ostracism; this made living conditions to deteriorate as years went by. In spite of the ostracism and the neglect, the geographic concentration or base permitted social clubs to develop within the neighborhood. The *Juanadinos Ausentes* in the Newbury Street neighborhood-- the area of major Puerto Rican concentration --was formed during this period. This club, the first and only Puerto Rican social club in Lawrence at the time, was founded by people from the town of Juana Díaz, Puerto Rico, who lived in the Newbury Street neighborhood. In the 1970's this social club became *El Centro Español*, a commercial club in the Newbury Street area, which still provides entertainment to the entire Latino population of the city.²⁹

The organization of social clubs in the Newbury Street neighborhood evidences a greater concern for the cultural and social viability of the community at large, and a greater degree of organizational complexity among *colonia* residents. Yet, political organizing was fragmented and reduced to spontaneous episodes of protest regarding very specific events of police brutality, blatant discrimination, and lack of access basic services.³⁰ For instance, Isabel Meléndez of Lawrence recalls the time when Puerto Ricans picketed city hall to protest a store that held a sign that read NO PUERTO RICANS ALLOWED, and the time when they demanded that a Latino priest and religious services in Spanish be included in the program of the Holy Rosary Church, mostly served Italians. Italians strongly opposed this demand and in fact slowly abandoned the parish.³¹

28 Interview with Angel Bermúdez.

29 Interview with Isabel Meléndez.

30 Interviews with Isabel Meléndez and Ralph Carrero.

31 Interview with Isabel Meléndez.

Holyoke, compared to Lowell and Lawrence, presents a different case because of the "obstacles" city government encountered while implementing urban renewal policies, which delayed the "cleansing" effect of renewal. During an initial phase of urban renewal (mid-1960's -1970), the Irish-controlled government of the city of Holyoke developed-- under the auspices of a Model Cities grant --a Master Plan which targeted the Flats for selective "cleaning" of blighted areas. This plan sought to remove Puerto Ricans from the area by emphasizing the construction of housing complexes for the Irish elderly in the Flats, and targeting French-Canadian South Holyoke --contiguous to the Flats --as an area for industrial redevelopment (Bratt, 1989).³²

City government, however, underestimated the angry reaction which French-Canadian residents of South Holyoke would have to urban renewal, as well as the determination of Puerto Ricans to settle in Holyoke. Both, French-Canadians and Puerto Ricans became active in a long struggle against urban renewal and displacement which Puerto Ricans have kept alive until very day. In reaction to the urban renewal plans, several new organizations were formed, while older ones shifted their efforts to cope with the displacement being caused by urban renewal. Among the most visible were the Urban Ministry and the Association for the Improvement of Minorities (AIM).³³ Both organizations adopted the issue of housing displacement which threatened the viability of the Flats and of South Holyoke as residential communities. The Urban Ministry and AIM embodied the spirit of civil rights organizing of the late 1960's, in which communities sought self-determination and participation in deciding public-policy matters. These organizations were not directly founded by Puerto Ricans, but a few did participate in their organizing activities. Although incipient, the early involvement of Puerto Ricans in these organizations contributed to the awakening of organizational efforts within the *colonia* , which was rapidly growing and expanding.

32 Interview with Carlos Vega.

33 Interview with Carlos Vega.

Also, by 1965-67 many Puerto Ricans had moved to the Flats and South Holyoke from Springfield, where highway construction and selective demolition of "blighted areas" had physically destroyed the Puerto Rican community in the North End of that city.³⁴ This inflow of Puerto Ricans into the targeted neighborhoods-- besides of enlarging the community --complicated the urban renewal campaign for city government. Essentially, the inflow of Puerto Ricans represented a very important source of income for the Irish and French-Canadian elderly landlords since the incoming population were the only ones willing to rent the deteriorated tenements. Ironically, this made Puerto Ricans tenants and landlords allies against city hall. This "alliance", however, was shortlived because neighborhoods became embroiled in violent cycles of disinvestment , real estate speculation, and arson, which accelerated the exit of the non-Puerto Rican population.³⁵

4.2 Summary

The lives of the Puerto Rican families which formed the *colonias* were intricately related to unstable employment situations within a general social environment of social hardship and isolation. At first, families were largely concerned with coping with the immediate problems of migration, survival and instability. Later, the threat of urban renewal lead them to use ethnic and kinship bonds to develop cultural and social forms of defense and solidarity which sought to benefit the community-at-large. In this way, they moved to establish the first cultural and social support organizations which preserved the identity of the community in the new *colonias*. Urban renewal, however, also begins to differentiate the spatial and organizational profile of the *colonias* , especially towards the late 1960's.

In Lowell between the mid-1960s' and the early 1970's, the strong, sudden and terminal attack of urban renewal against the

34 Interviews with Carlos Vega and Heriberto Flores.

35 Interviews with Carlos Vega; Lenore Glaser; and María Figueroa.

territorial viability of the *colonia* , and the relatively larger size of Lowell compared to Holyoke and Lawrence, deepened the isolation and reduced the opportunities for social contact among *colonia* residents. The residents primarily reacted by organizing cultural activities to compensate for the lack of a geographic base. Further, when Puerto Ricans reconcentrated in public housing, they established contacts, and developed one organization in conjunction with French-Canadian Catholic institutions to satisfy some of the basic social needs of the community.

The impact of urban renewal on the Puerto Rican *colonia* in Lawrence was relatively minimal compared to Lowell and Holyoke; which allowed Puerto Ricans to plant geographic and social roots in neighborhoods which would become central in the future organizational richness and economic growth of the community. Today, the Newbury Street area has an abundance of Latino and Puerto Rican businesses, among them: a taxi service, several *bodegas* and markets, restaurants, social and night clubs.

In Holyoke, the protracted pace of urban renewal embroiled the Puerto Rican *colonia* in an early struggle to preserve the spatial and social integrity of the community. Although this early participation in political matters did not result in the founding of Puerto Rican organizations, it fostered the development of a culture of activism which would serve as an experiential base for future efforts in the upcoming stage of *colonia* expansion. Relative to Lowell and Lawrence, early participation in political matters would contribute to the formation of a stronger culture of activism within the Puerto Rican community of Holyoke.

CHAPTER 5:

FROM COLONIA TO BARRIO : LATE 1960's TO THE MID-1980's.

By the late 1960's, the Puerto Rican *colonias* of Lowell, Lawrence, and Holyoke entered a stage of rapid population growth. During a second stage of *colonia* expansion, ethnic, racial and kinship bonds continued to play a key role in the process of *barrio* formation; an even more important one than during the previous stage. In the stage of *colonia* formation, Puerto Ricans used these bonds and networks to enhance and preserve cultural continuity, and to some extent the geographic base of their community. In the stage of *colonia* expansion they would use them to attract Puerto Ricans facing structural instability all throughout the Northeast and in Puerto Rico, and to extend the spatial viability of the growing barrios.

Between the late 1960's and the early 1980's, as the *colonias* expanded in the three cities, important factors began to differentiate them. The relatively homogeneous *colonias* of the late 1950's and 1960's, although they continued to share similarities, began to profile significant differences in their spatial/residential, family/household, labor market, and organizational characteristics. In separate sections of the chapter , I examine the process of differentiation, and discuss the factors of differentiation that to some extent could help to explain the process.

5.1 Networks and *Colonia* Expansion

As Table 7 shows, between 1970 and 1980 the Latino populations of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke expanded considerably; in terms of expansion, Lawrence lead the other two cities. In Lowell, according to the US Census, the total Latino population grew from 1,079 in 1970 to 4,585 in 1980, or from 1.1% to 5.4% of the total city population; this represented an increase of almost 325%. In Lawrence, the total Latino population grew from 2,327 in 1970 to 10,296 in 1980, or from 3.5% to 16.3% of the total city population, an increase of 342.5%. In Holyoke, the total Latino population grew from 1,870 in 1970 to 6,165

Table 7

**Population of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke
by Race and Latino Origin,1970-1980***

	1970 Total	% of Total	1980 Total	% of Total	% Change 1970-1980
Lowell					
Total	94,239	100.0%	92,418	100.0%	-1.9%
White	93,062	98.8%	85,481	92.5%	-8.1%
Black	786	0.8%	1,134	1.2%	44.3%
Latino	1,079	1.1%	4,585	5.4%	324.9%
Asian/ Nat.Am./Other	n.a.		1,218	1.3%	
Lawrence					
Total	66,915	100.0%	63,175	100.0%	-5.6%
White	65,930	98.5%	51,371	81.3%	-22.1%
Black	682	1.0%	865	1.4%	26.8%
Latino	2,327	3.5%	10,296	16.3%	342.5%
Asian/ Nat.Am./Other	n.a.		643	1.0%	
Holyoke					
Total	50,112	100.0%	44,678	100.0%	-10.8%
White	48,858	97.5%	37,184	83.2%	-23.9%
Black	1,127	2.2%	1,001	2.2%	-11.2%
Latino	1,870	3.7%	6,165	13.8%	229.7%
Asian/ Nat.Am./Other	n.a.		320	0.7%	

Source:

U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1970 Census of the Population. Detailed Population Characteristics: Massachusetts. Government Printing Office. Washington DC.1972(d).

U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1980 Census of Population. Detailed Population Characteristics: Massachusetts.PC80-1-D23. Government Printing Office. Washington DC. 1983(d).

* In1970, racial/ethnic categories were not mutually exclusive.

For that reason , the sum of the racial/ethnic categories does not equal the Total Population. In 1980 racial/ethnic categories were mutually exclusive.

Table 8**Distribution of the Latino Population by Ethnic Group: Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, 1970-1990.**

Lowell						
	1970		1980		1990	
	Total	% of Latinos	Total	% of Latinos	Total	% of Latinos
Latino	723	100.0%	4,585	100.0%	10,499	100.0%
Puerto Rican	385	53.3%	3,528	76.9%	7,732	73.6%
Mexican	24	3.3%	117	2.6%	153	1.5%
Cuban	243	33.6%	91	2.0%	100	1.0%
Other	71	9.8%	849	18.5%	2,514	23.9%

Lawrence						
	1970		1980		1990	
	Total	% of Latinos	Total	% of Latinos	Total	% of Latinos
Latino	2,123	100.0%	10,296	100.0%	29,237	100.0%
Puerto Rican	1,019	48.0%	5,726	55.6%	14,661	50.1%
Mexican	0	0.0%	92	0.9%	165	0.6%
Cuban	685	32.3%	417	4.1%	463	1.6%
Other	419	19.7%	4,061	39.4%	13,948	47.7%

Holyoke						
	1970		1980		1990	
	Total	% of Latinos	Total	% of Latinos	Total	% of Latinos
Latino	1,582	100.0%	6165	100.0%	13,573	100.0%
Puerto Rican	1,496	94.6%	5764	93.5%	12,687	93.5%
Mexican	26	1.6%	48	0.8%	84	0.6%
Cuban	34	2.1%	14	0.2%	60	0.4%
Other	26	1.6%	339	5.5%	742	5.5%

Source:

U.S. Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census, 1972(a), 1972 (b) 1972(c); 1983(a), 1983(b), 1983(c); 1994 (a), 1994(b).

* In the 1970 Census, there is a discrepancy between the summation of the Latino subgroup numbers and the Total number of Latinos. The aggregate number of Latinos for each city is larger than the summation of the Latino subgroup categories. In here, the total number of Latinos being used is the smaller number, product of the summation of the Latino subgroup categories. Such discrepancy may be the result of the Census ethnic/racial classification procedures. The problem does not exist in 1980 and 1990.

in 1980, or from 3.7% to 13.8% of the total city population, an increase of almost 230%. In each of the cities Puerto Ricans were the largest Latino group in absolute and percentage terms both in 1970 and 1980, although "Other" Latinos, especially in Lawrence, were growing at a much faster pace (see Table 8).

Qualitative evidence suggests that the networks of migration played a key role in the expansion of the three *colonias*. The cases of three families which arrived to Lowell, Lawrence, and Holyoke during this period illustrate how the networks of migration enlarged the *colonias* and thus contributed to the process of *barrio* formation.

The arrival of one Puerto Rican family in Lowell was a multi-stage process involving two different generations, several households of the same extended family, and two locations (New York City and Lowell). Most migrating members of the "stem" family, originally from the Ponce/Patillas area in the Southern region of the island, had been leaving the island due to their increasing inability to make a living through subsistence agriculture. During the late 1960's, one member of the "stem" family in Puerto Rico migrated to Lowell, and another member migrated to New York City. Some members of the family remaining in Puerto Rico followed both paths by sending members to New York City and Lowell during the early 1970's; by the mid-1970's, however, all family members converged in Lowell, where they have remained since. The New York City "branch" reunified with the Lowell "branch" convinced that job opportunities for adults, and the quality of life for children, would be better in Lowell. Some members of this family have been to Puerto Rico on short vacations, but perceive themselves permanently settled in Lowell.¹

The case of the Puerto Rican family in Lawrence is more complex than the Lowell case because it involved more moves through several locations, but essentially the pattern is the same. Members of this family-- also from the Southern region of the island (Guayama) --migrated due to the decline of sugar-cane agriculture. In this case migration from Puerto Rico to the US was mediated by a long

1

Interview with Cecilio Hernández.

family history of migration to New York City dating back to the late 1940's, by the migration of some members of the family from Puerto Rico to Lawrence during the early 1960's, and by the migration from Puerto Rico to Springfield in the late 1960's. These relocations were followed by subsequent moves to Chicopee, Southbridge, Holyoke, and Boston, Massachusetts, with two brief, intervening stays in Puerto Rico. At one point or another, family relationships, and the search for jobs in manufacturing, were the key to the migratory moves which ended up in Lawrence by the early 1980's.²

The experience of a Puerto Rican family which arrived in Holyoke during this stage of *colonia expansion* is not so different to the previous two examples, although it involves alternate moves to other parts of the U.S. because of the relationship of some members of the family to military personnel. During the mid-1960's, some members of this family moved from Puerto Rico to Newark searching for better employment opportunities. But shortly after, several members of the family moved from Newark to Holyoke encouraged by relatives who were already living in Holyoke. This was not the only reason for the move. They were being displaced by urban renewal, and fleeing the 1967-68 riots in the city of Newark which destroyed most of the buildings in the Puerto Rican section where they had lived. Reunification took place by the late 1970's when the dependants of military personnel stationed in other parts of the U.S. converged in Holyoke.³

Migration and resettlement in all three cases was a multi-stage, multi-household, multi-generational, and multi-locale process which subsumed the functioning of kinship and ethnic networks within the process of *barrio* formation. As a strategic response to structural change and turmoil both in Puerto Rico and in urban areas in the Northeastern of the United States, the networks were active in attracting family members into areas that promised a newer set of opportunities. The networks, while attracting families and individuals

2 Interview with Alvilda Martínez.

3 Interview with María Figueroa.

directly from Puerto Rico, were also drawing people from other urban areas in the mainland which were experiencing economic and communal displacement due to lack of jobs , urban renewal, and the difficulties of raising children in large, central-city neighborhoods. The networks and social relations of migration seem to have played a central role in the regionalization of Puerto Rican settlements. Both, this anecdotal evidence--- gathered through interviews with several informants --and US Census data support our contention that this migratory history was not an idiosyncratic response of three isolated families, but rather a fairly generalized one.

In all three cities, the share of Latino individuals 5 years of age or older who reported living in a different house outside the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) five years prior to the census increased substantially between the 1970 and 1980 Censuses. Meanwhile, in all three cities, the share of Latino individuals 5 years of age or older who reported living abroad five years prior to the census declined, although, in absolute terms, the number of individuals who reported having been living abroad increased between 1970 and 1980.

Tables 9, 10, and 11 document these changes. In Lowell, the share of individuals 5 years of age or older who reported living in a different house outside the SMSA five years prior to the census increased from 6.5% in 1970 to almost 13% in 1980, and the share of those reporting prior residence abroad declined from 31.1% in 1970 to 25.4% in 1980 (see Table 9). Similarly, in Lawrence the share of individuals 5 years of age or older who reported having being living in a different house outside the SMSA five years prior to the census increased from 7.9% in 1970 to 17.4% in 1980; the share of those reporting prior residence abroad declined from 42% to 17.4% (see Table 10). Holyoke is no different, although the increase was smaller perhaps due to the large inflow of people from Springfield, which is the largest urban center within the SMSA, (unlike Lowell and Lawrence which are themselves the largest centers of their SMSA's). In Holyoke, the share of individuals 5+ from outside the SMSA increased from 15.8% in 1970 to 18.8% in 1980, and the share of those reporting residence abroad declined from almost 45% in 1970 to 15.2% in 1980 (see Table 11).

Table 9

Place of Residence of Latinos Prior to the Census: Lowell, 1970-1990.

	1970 Census	1980 Census	1990 Census
Total of Persons 5 +years	939	3,596	8,619
(% of Latino Pop.)	87%	78.4%	82.1%
Same House as in			
Previous Five Years	277	856	2,062
(% of Latinos 5+)	29.5%	23.8%	23.9%
Different House in			
Previous Five Years	316	1,828	4,619
(% of Latinos 5+)	33.7%	50.8%	53.6%
Central City of			
this SMSA	156	1,354	3,032
(% of Latinos 5+)	16.6%	37.7%	35.2%
Remainder of			
this SMSA	103	11	254
(% of Latinos 5+)	11.0%	0.3%	2.9%
Outside of			
the SMSA	61	463	1,262
(% of Latinos 5+)	6.5%	12.9%	14.6%
Abroad	292	912	1,938
(% of Latinos 5+)	31.1%	25.4%	22.5%

Source:

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. 1970 Census of the Population and Housing. Census Tracts; Lowell, Mass.-N.H. SMSA. PHC(1)-119
Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C. 1972(a).

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. 1980 Census of the Population and Housing. Census Tracts; Lowell, Mass.-N.H. SMSA. PHC80-2-228.
Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C. 1983(a).

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. 1990 Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts and Block Numbering Areas. Boston-Lawrence-Salem, MA-NH SMSA. Lowell, MA-NH PMSA.
1990 CHP-3-95D. Government Printing Office. Washington DC. 1994(a).

Table 10**Place of Residence of Latinos Prior to the Census: Lawrence, 1970-1990**

	1970 Census	1980 Census	1990 Census
Total of Latino Persons 5+ years	1,890	7,667	25,423
(% of Latino Pop.)	81.2%	74.4%	87.0%
Same House as in			
Previous Five Years	151	2,378	6,669
(% of Latinos 5+)	8.0%	31.0%	26.2%
Different House in			
Previous Five Years	809	3,968	12,731
(% of Latinos 5+)	42.8%	51.8%	50.1%
Central City of			
this SMSA	632	2,589	8,517
(% of Latinos 5+)	33.4%	33.8%	33.5%
Remainder of			
this SMSA	27	47	724
(% of Latinos 5+)	1.4%	2.5%	2.8%
Outside of			
the SMSA	150	1,332	3,450
(% of Latinos 5+)	7.9%	17.4%	13.6%
Abroad	793	1,321	6,023
(% of Latinos 5+)	42.0%	17.2%	23.7%

Source:

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. 1970 Census of the Population and Housing. Census Tracts; Lawrence-Haverhill, Mass.-N.H. SMSA.PHC(1)109 Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C. 1972(b).

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. 1980 Census of the Population and Housing. Census Tracts; Lawrence-Haverhill, Mass.-N.H. SMSA.PHC80-2-216 Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C. 1983(b).

U.S. Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. 1990 Census of Population and Housing. Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts and Block Numbering Areas. Boston-Lawrence-Salem, MA-NH. SMSA (Part) Government Printing Office. Washington DC 1990 CPH-3-95C.1994(a).

Table 11**Place of Residence of Latinos Prior to the Census: Holyoke, 1970-1990.**

	1970 Census	1980 Census	1990 Census
Total of Latino Persons 5 + years (% of Latino Pop.)	1477 79%	5098 82.7%	10895 80.3%
Same House as in Previous Five Years (% of Latinos 5+)	214 14.5%	1497 29.4%	2607 23.9%
Different House in Previous Five Years (% of Latinos 5+)	570 38.6%	2828 55.5%	5382 49.4%
Central City of this SMSA (% of Latinos 5+)	319 21.6%	1846 36.2%	3772 34.6%
Remainder of this SMSA (% of Latinos 5+)	17 1.2%	23 0.5%	153 1.4%
Outside of the SMSA (% of Latinos 5+)	234 15.8%	959 18.8%	1337 12.3%
Abroad (% of Latinos 5+)	663 44.9%	773 15.2%	2906 26.7%

Source:

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. 1970 Census of the Population and Housing. Census Tracts; Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke, Mass.-Conn. SMSA. PHC (1)-205. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C. 1972(c).

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. 1980 Census of the Population and Housing. Census Tracts; Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke, Mass.-Conn. SMSA. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C. 1983(c).

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. 1990 Census of Population and Housing. Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts and Block Numbering Areas. Springfield, MA, MSA .1990 CPH-3-312. Government Printing Office. Washington DC. 1994 (b).

According to various informants, changes in the mix of the incoming population are more apparent towards the mid-1970's. Puerto Ricans from New York City, Newark, Boston, Springfield and Hartford showed a strong presence in the growing *colonias*. Angel Bermúdez, a long term-resident of Lowell, said about this phenomenon:

there was a change from the early to mid-1970's in that the majority of Puerto Ricans were not directly from Puerto Rico. They were from New York, Bridgeport, Hartford, Springfield, New Jersey... There were more families coming from those areas [than from Puerto Rico].⁴

Isabel Meléndez and Ralph Carrero, long-term residents of Lawrence, and Carlos Vega and María Figueroa, long-term residents of Holyoke, also confirmed this trend:

Lawrence filled-up with New York... The growth was weekly. Every day I had new people coming to this office [Greater Lawrence Community Action Council] saying they had arrived from New Jersey, Chicago, Pennsylvania...⁵

I would say that back in the 1970's the people that were coming [to Lawrence] were from New York City... and they weren't people that had just been spending a year in NYC. I think they were people that were there for a good number of years ... I would say 3 to 5 years...⁶

I don't have anything to base this on... but my sense is from being around ... all of a sudden more people started coming from New York... In the early 1970's, there is when people started coming in from New York...⁷

4 Interview with Angel Bermúdez.

5 Interview with Isabel Meléndez.

6 Interview with Isabel Meléndez.

7 Interview with Carlos Vega.

Some [referring to Puerto Ricans that lived in her building] had come from New York. I knew a lady on the 4th floor that had come from New York, and also the one from the second floor , some were from New Jersey. Actually, most of the people that lived in those buildings had lived in the States for a while already.⁸

Besides enlarging the *colonias* --turning them into *barrios* -- these migratory inflows, together with the other factors, began to change and differentiate the characteristics of barrios.

5.2 *Colonia* Expansion and Differentiation: The Role of Population Dynamics

As described at the beginning of this chapter, the *colonias* of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke expanded considerably between the late 1960's and 1980. In all the three cities, this expansion was characterized by the large inflow of mostly Puerto Ricans, although the number of "Other" Latinos were growing rapidly, especially in Lawrence. These inflows and expansion, however, coincided with relative differences in the magnitude of the white flight and with the insignificant growth, and even decline, of the African-American population. These circumstance had important consequences for the relative spatial/residential development of the homogeneous *colonias* which, by now, had been forming for almost a decade. Differentiation between the *colonias* in the three cities began to profile much more clearly during this period, especially in terms of the processes of population concentration and segregation taking place in each of them. These differences notwithstanding, they do share comparable increases in their poverty rates.

Also, such population dynamics, together with industrial restructuring urban renewal, and sociocultural dynamics , will have an indirect influence over changes in the labor market, family/ household and organizational characteristics of *barrios*. Regarding these indirect

effects, the inflows may have played a role in two ways. On the one hand, the large inflow of Puerto Ricans and Latinos overlapped with a period of drastic industrial decline and restructuring which may have further constrained the labor market opportunities of the incoming population. Simply put, the local labor markets of the three cities were not generating enough jobs to absorb the oversupply of labor created by the inflows; existing mostly unskilled jobs in declining manufacturing industries-- textiles, garments, paper, and other light manufacturing -- were disappearing rapidly. The inflows combined with economic decline may help explain declines in the Latino labor force participation rates, and in family/household stability by reducing the wage-earning opportunities of families. On the other hand, the large inflows overlapped with processes of urban renewal-- or the lack thereof --which destabilized neighborhoods, but which also sparked important organizational activities to counteract such destabilizing effects; contributing to change the organizational characteristics of the *colonias*. I discuss these indirect effects and changes in separate sections further down where I consider the more direct effect of the other factors of differentiation over *barrio* characteristics.

Between 1970 and 1980, the Latino population of Lowell grew mostly Puerto Rican, managed to preserve a foothold in public housing, but also began to recolonize, albeit slowly, parts of the Acre where the Puerto Rican families originally settled and wherefrom they had been previously displaced.⁹ Still the Puerto Rican community remained small, scattered throughout the city, and rather "invisible", especially since Lowell is geographically a bigger city and experienced a smaller white flight --relative to Lawrence and Holyoke-- during the 1970-80 period. The rather slow and "filtered" pattern of concentration of Puerto Ricans and Latinos which holds during the decade also contributes to a decline in the levels of residential segregation. Also, as mentioned before, the terminal and drastic pace of urban renewal in the city played a key role in slowing the consolidation of a concentrated Puerto Rican community.

9

Interviews with Angel Bermúdez and Cecilio Hernández.

Between 1970 and 1980, Lowell's total population declined only by 2% while the white population declined by 8.1% (see Table 7). In general, the city's population also showed relative stability at the neighborhood level; most census tracts remained predominantly white (see Table 12). No census tract showed any major population drain. In 1970, the white population represented 80% or more of the population in all of the 25 census tracts of the city. This picture remained largely unchanged by 1980, except for one census tract in which whites decreased in proportion, and became between 60% and 79.9% of the population (see Table 12).

Accordingly, the pattern of Latino concentration was very much the inverted mirror-image of the white pattern. In 1970, Puerto Rican and Latinos represented less than 19.9% of the population in all of the city's 25 census tracts, a situation which changed very little by 1980. In 1980, Puerto Rican/Latinos were more than 20% of the population in only one census tract (see Table 12). The largest cluster of tracts in which Puerto Ricans and Latinos represented less than 19.9% of the population conformed one square mile near the central district of the city: the Acre, where Puerto Rican (and Latinos) were beginning to replace whites at a slow pace. Since 1970, the Latino population in Lowell was greater than the black population, which during the decade grew at a very slow pace, and became scattered throughout the city with some concentrations in public housing.¹⁰ The small growth of the black population apparently had no impact over the pattern of Puerto Rican/Latino concentration.

As Table 13 shows, in terms of residential segregation, both the white/Latino and the white/Puerto Rican dissimilarity indexes declined between 1970 and 1980. The white/Latino index declined from .49 in 1970 to .47 in 1980 and the white/Puerto Rican index declined from .54 to .48 for the same period, the decline being perhaps attributed to the rather small decline in the total population, the spatial/residential stability of the white population, and the slow process of reconcentration evidenced by the Puerto Rican population.

10

Interviews with Angel Bermúdez and Cecilio Hernández.

Table 12
Distribution of Census Tracts by Share of P.R.-Latino and White Populations,1970-1990.

	Lowell				Lawrence				Holyoke		
	1970	1980	1990		1970	1980	1990		1970	1980	1990
% White				% White				% White			
80-100%	25	24	9	80-100%	18	11	2	80-100%	8	5	3
60-79.9%		1	9	60-79.9%		6	3	60-79.9%		1	2
40-59.9%			5	40-59.9%		1	5	40-59.9%		2	1
20-39.9%			1	20-39.9%			7	20-39.9%			1
0-19.9%				0-19.9%			1	0-19.9%			2
Total Tracts	25	25	24	Total Tracts	18	18	18	Total Tracts	8	8	9
	1970	1980	1990		1970	1980	1990		1970	1980	1990
% Latino				% Latino				% Latino			
80-100%				80-100%			1	80-100%			1
60-79.9%				60-79.9%			5	60-79.9%			2
40-59.9%			1	40-59.9%		3	5	40-59.9%		2	1
20-39.9%		1	4	20-39.9%		7	5	20-39.9%		1	1
0-19.9%	25	24	19	0-19.9%	18	8	2	0-19.9%	8	5	4
Total Tracts	25	25	24	Total Tracts	18	18	18	Total Tracts	8	8	9

Source:

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census,1972(a),1972(b),1972(c);
 1983(a),1983(b);1983(c);1994 (a),1994(b).

Table 13

**White/Latino an White/Puerto Rican Dissimilarity Indexes
Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke: 1970-1990**

	1970	1980	1990
Lowell			
White/Latino	0.49	0.47	0.41
White/Puerto Rican	0.54	0.48	0.36
Lawrence			
White/Latino	0.36	0.53	0.43
White/Puerto Rican	0.64	0.57	0.47
Holyoke			
White/Latino	0.48	0.67	0.63
White/Puerto Rican	0.63	0.7	0.65

Derived from :

US Dept. of Commerce.U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1972(a),1972(b),1972(c);
1983(a),1983(b),1983(c);1994.

In Lawrence, the inflow of Puerto Ricans and Latinos was much larger than in Lowell and overlapped with a larger drop in the population of the city, an even larger white flight, and an insignificant growth of the black population. Also, although Puerto Ricans remained the largest Latino subgroup in the city, the inflow and growth of "Other" Latinos, mostly from the Dominican Republic, was much larger. During the decade, Lawrence grew "less" Puerto Rican relative to Lowell (and to Holyoke). In Lawrence, the larger population drop and white flight (relative to Lowell) substantially affected the composition of neighborhoods during the decade, and to some extent helps to explain the increase in residential segregation between whites and Latinos. The level of residential segregation between whites and Puerto Ricans apparently declined between 1970 and 1980, but that may have been the result of the "numerical spread" of the Puerto Rican population, induced by the large inflow of "Other" Latinos. Contrary to Lowell, the relative absence of urban renewal during the decade also facilitated the intensive pattern of concentration in the original neighborhoods, although at the expense of severe neighborhood neglect and decay.

Between 1970 and 1980, the total city population declined by 5.6% and the white population declined by 22.1% (see Table 7). In 1970, the white population represented 80% or more of the population in all of the 18 census tracts of the city. By 1980, however, the white population represented 80% or more of the population in 11 of these 18 census tracts; in 6 census tracts whites declined to represent between 60% and 79.9% of the population; and in one tract they became between 40% and 59.9% of the population (see Table 12).

These dynamics enabled the spatial concentration of Puerto Ricans and Latinos in the original neighborhoods of the 1960's, while opening to the incoming Latino population other neighborhoods left vacant by large-scale white flight. While in 1970 Latinos represented less than 19.9% of the population in all 18 census tract of the city, in 1980 they had moved "up the ladder" becoming between 20% and 39.9% of the population in 7 census tracts, and between 40% and 59.9% of the population in three other census tracts (see Table 12). Essentially, Puerto Ricans and Latinos grew in the original *colonias* in which they

had been concentrated a decade earlier in the Newbury Street and Lower Tower Hill, and Arlington Street neighborhoods. Further, they clustered in the census tracts which make up the Northern part of the city by replacing whites at a fast pace. In 1970, there were already less blacks than Latinos and, as in Lowell, this apparently had no impact on the patterns of Puerto Rican/Latino concentration.

As a result of the intense and rapid pattern of Puerto Rican/Latino concentration taking place in the city, the white/ Latino dissimilarity index, as it shows in Table 16, increased drastically from .36 in 1970 to .53 in 1980. The white/Puerto Rican dissimilarity index declined from .64 to .57 for the same period (see Table 13). As already mentioned, the heavy inflow of "Other" Latinos into predominantly Puerto Rican areas may account for this decline, rather than an actual decline in segregation.

In Holyoke, Puerto Ricans were practically the only Latino subgroup since 1970. They preserved their standing by 1980, and became even more concentrated in the Southern part of the city. Other factors like as urban renewal would also contribute to the process of spatial/residential change. Holyoke, like Lowell and Lawrence, also experienced simultaneous population decline and white flight, but at a relatively much faster pace, especially when compared to Lowell. In a smaller city, both in population and geography, these population dynamics would have a much more "visible" impact on the spatial/residential characteristics of the emerging *barrios*, mainly by increasing the level of residential segregation.

In Holyoke, the total population declined by almost 11 % between 1970 and 1980 (see Table 7). Undoubtedly, this decline was caused by the rapid white flight, especially from South Holyoke where Puerto Ricans had settled during the 1960's, and where an active, city-sponsored building demolition campaign had been implemented since the early 1970's.¹¹ The white population declined by almost 24% between 1970 and 1980 (see Table 7). The rapid white flight combined with the rapid inflow of Puerto Ricans were clearly felt at the census

¹¹ The nature and impact of the city-sponsored building demolition on barrios is discussed further below.

tract/neighborhood level. While in 1970 the white population represented 80% or more of the population in all of the city's 8 census tracts, by 1980 they represented 80% or more in 5 of these census tracts; in another census tract, they declined to represent between 60% and 79.9% of the population; in the 2 remaining tracts they became between 40% and 59.9% of the population (see Table 12).¹² The concentration pattern of Puerto Ricans was the reverse relative to that of whites. In 1970, Puerto Ricans represented less than 19.9% of the population in all of the city's 8 census tracts, but by 1980 this number had declined to 5; in another census tract they represented between 20% and 39.9%; and in the remaining 2 census tracts they were between 40% and 59.9% of the population. The number of blacks in the city declined between 1970 and 1980 (see Table 7). As Table 13 shows, the levels of residential segregation increased. The white/Latino dissimilarity index increased from .48 in 1970 to .67 in 1980 and the white/Puerto Rican dissimilarity index increased from .63 to .70 for the same period.

The rapid inflows of Puerto Ricans and Latinos into each of the cities, combined with relative differences in the patterns of population decline and white flight began to profile contrasting spatial/residential characteristics in the *colonias*. However, they may have also contributed to preserve some degree of homogeneity in the expanding *colonias*. During the decade, individual Latino poverty rates in the cities of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke more than doubled, contrary to the poverty rates for whites and, to some extent , for blacks which remained almost constant-- or declined --for the same period (see Table 14).

¹² Actually, in 1970 94% of the population in seven out of the eight census tracts in the city was white.

Table 14

**Percentage of Latino Individuals in Massachusetts, Lowell,
Lawrence and Holyoke Below the Federal Poverty Line
1969-1989***

	1969	1979	1989
Massachusetts			
Latinos	22.4	37.6	36.7
Whites	8.0	8.4	7.0
Blacks	25.6	25.3	23.0
Lowell			
Latinos	22.0	47.9	45.5
Whites	11.6	12.5	12.0
Blacks	39.5	24.7	28.9
Lawrence			
Latinos	20.4	45.4	45.5
Whites	11.4	15.6	18.5
Blacks	19.7	21.5	33.0
Holyoke			
Latinos	27.3	59.9	59.1
Whites	14.7	13.1	13.7
Blacks	28.4	43.5	42.8

*Latinos may be of any race.

Source:

U. S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1970 Census of the Population.
Detailed Population Characteristics: Massachusetts.
Government Printing Office. 1972(d).

U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1980 Census of the Population.
Detailed Population Characteristics: Massachusetts . PC80-1-D23.
Government Printing Office. 1983(d).

U. Bureau of the Census . 1990 Census of the Population and Housing.
Summary Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics: Massachusetts.
1990CPH-5-23. Government Printing Office. Washington, DC1992(a).

In 1969, the state's individual Latino poverty rate roughly approached each of the cities' individual Latino poverty rates. In 1970 the state's Latino poverty rate was actually above Lawrence's Latino citywide rate. By 1979, however, the Latino poverty rate for each city significantly outpaced the state's Latino poverty rate (see Table 14). In Holyoke, for instance, the individual Latino poverty rate increased from the already high 27.3% in 1969 to almost 60% in 1980, becoming by far the poorest of all the three cities (see Table 14).

It is unlikely that the inflows of Puerto Ricans and Latinos would have been sufficient to cause such drastic increases in the Latino individual poverty rates. However, as suggested earlier in the chapter, it seems that a significant share of the incoming population was moving into these three cities attracted by social networks, and as a result of previous experiences of social and economic dislocation either in bigger cities of the Northeast, or the island. That is, a segment of the incoming population may have already been experiencing poverty by the time they moved into the three cities. The possibility that some "negative selectivity" may have been occurring, however, needs further investigation because the incoming population into the three cities may have confronted other labor market and economic problems which which triggered and exacerbated their poverty situation.

On the surface, it appears that during this period of *colonia* growth and expansion a common set of population dynamics had the same effect upon the spatial/residential characteristics of each of the growing barrios. To a large extent, however, that was not the case since in each context relative differences in the magnitude of the population declines and white flight sparked distinct processes of Puerto Rican/Latino concentration and segregation. The inflows may indeed have had a common effect on the increase in poverty rates.

In Lowell, the process of concentration in comparison to Lawrence and Lowell was much slower resulting in lower segregation. By the end of the 1970's, the city's Puerto Rican/Latino population was fairly spread throughout the city, although it had started to reconcentrate in the original areas of settlement. Upon a further stage of *barrio* maturation, this slower pace of concentration and lesser segregation will be key in the development of a distinct mix of *barrio*

characteristics. Lowell, in contrast to Lawrence and Holyoke, will be less characterized by the spatial/residential characteristics of **underclass barrios** and more by working-class characteristics, although poverty rates will remain high.

In Lawrence and Holyoke, the processes of concentration were faster and more intense, not only because these two cities were smaller than Lowell in population and geography and because the Puerto Rican/Latino inflows had been larger in absolute terms, but also because the population drops and the magnitude of the white flight had been more drastic. This led, in both cases, to increases in segregation.

In Lawrence, Puerto Ricans and Latinos concentrated further in the original settlements, and clustered in tracts surrounding the Northern part of the city, where they were replacing whites at a fast pace. Upon a further stage of **barrio maturation**, this rapid pace and intense concentration combined with the increasing poverty to set the scenario for some of the underclass characteristics to emerge strongly. The inflow of "Other" Latinos was especially important in this process of concentration since in the further stage of **barrio maturation** it will permit some of the spatial/residential characteristics of **ethnic enclaves** to develop.

In Holyoke, the processes of concentration and segregation were even stronger than in Lawrence, since the population drop and white flight were stronger; and accompanied by a more disruptive process of urban renewal. These factors, combined with the dramatic rise in poverty rates set the stage for strong underclass characteristics to emerge during the further stage of **barrio maturation**. Distinct patterns of industrial restructuring and urban renewal, as well as the sociocultural dynamics of the developing **barrios** in each of the cities would also combine with these population dynamics and come to play an important role in the unfolding process of differentiation.

5.3 *Colonia* Expansion and Differentiation: The Role of Economic Restructuring

Between 1970 and 1980, the impact of economic restructuring on the *barrios* of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke can best be gauged through changes in the labor market and, to some extent, in the family/household characteristics of *barrios*, especially in terms of labor force participation rates, occupational diversification and family stability. The sustained decline of the manufacturing in all three cities, as well as the relative growth of services industries, was perhaps one of the most important forces behind these changes. At first glance, economic restructuring seemed to have had a common impact on the labor market and family/household characteristics of the *barrios* in all three cities, yet a more detailed analysis reveals different process of change operating within each city. Relative differences in the magnitude of the decline in manufacturing, and in the growth of the service industries were key to the process of differentiation affecting each city. The impact of these relative differences began to pave the road for a distinct mix of *barrio* characteristics to emerge in each city.

Between 1967 and 1980, Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke were characterized by deteriorating local economies mainly because of the rapid decline in manufacturing employment, historically the most important source of employment. Apparently, the ensuing expansion in service jobs was not enough to upset this decline. Despite small increases in employment during 1967-1971 in Lowell and Lawrence, the three cities loose manufacturing jobs throughout the entire decade. In Lowell, job losses in manufacturing between 1967 and 1980 were not as drastic as they were in Lawrence and Holyoke (see Chart 1). Total employment in the manufacturing sector in Lowell between 1967 and 1980 was not so much in decline as stagnant; it only grew by 5.6% during the period (DET, 1990). In Lawrence and in Holyoke, however, the declines in total employment in manufacturing for the period were drastic (see Charts 2 and 3). In Lawrence, total employment in the sector declined by 17.8%; in Holyoke it declined by 25.0% (DET, 1990).

Chart 1 Manufacturing and Services: Lowell, 1967-1988.

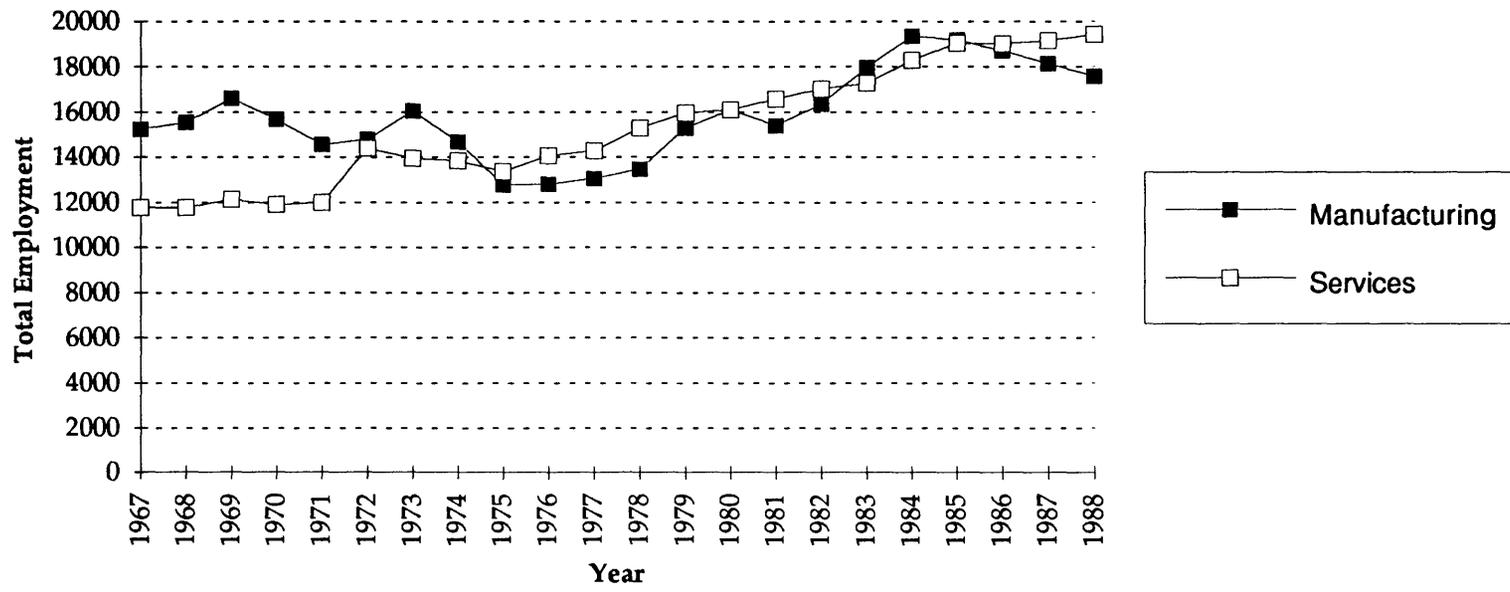


Chart 2 Manufacturing and Services: Lawrence, 1967-1988.

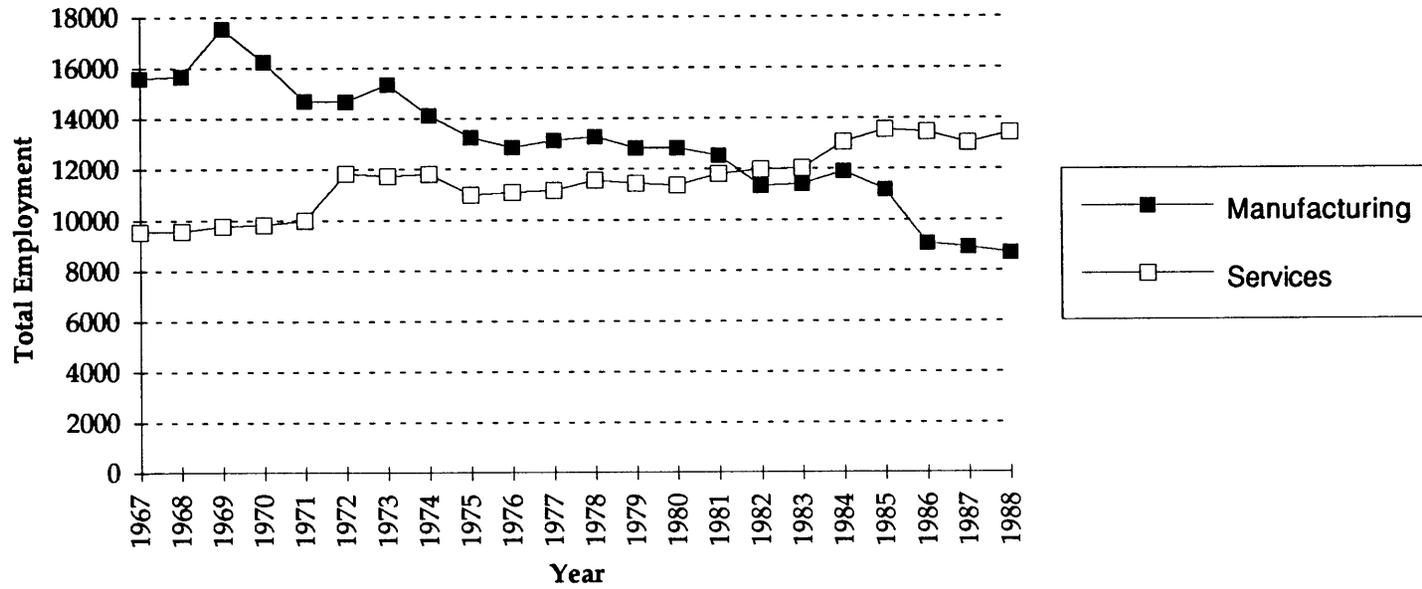
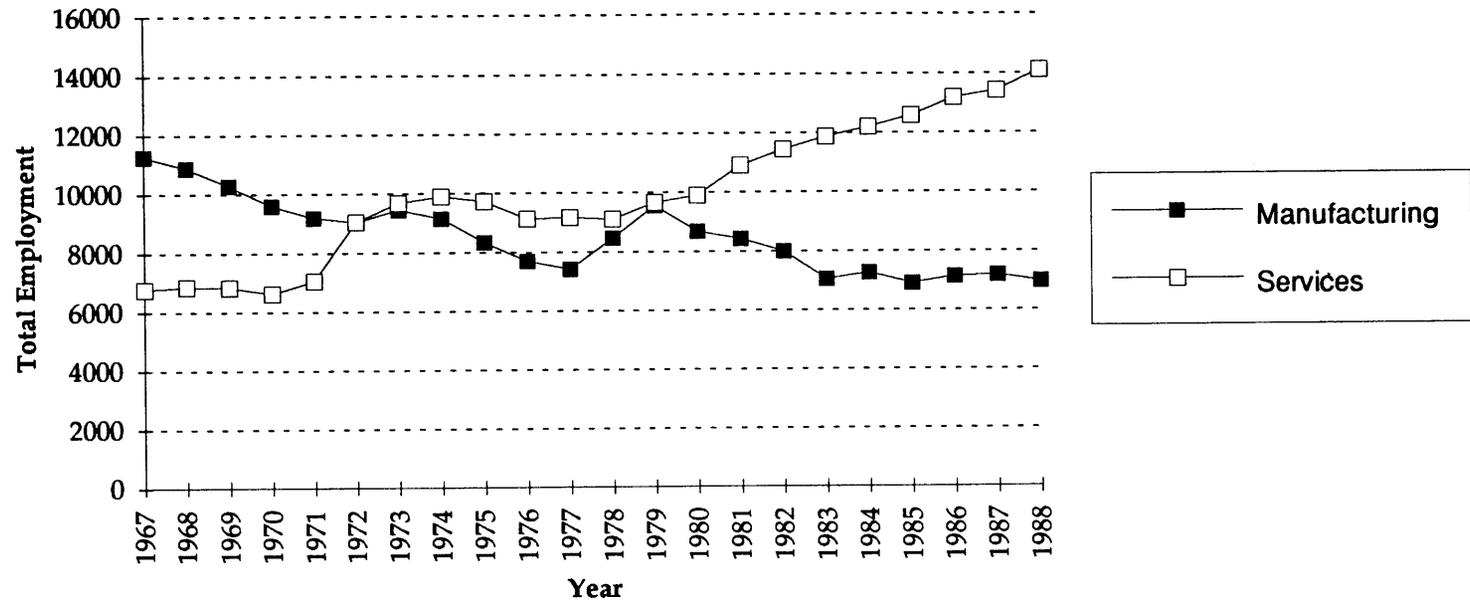


Chart 3 Manufacturing and Services: Holyoke, 1967-1988.



In terms of growth in employment in the service industries (Wholesale and Retail; Finance, Insurance and Real Estate; and Other Services), all three cities registered substantial growth for the 1967-1980 period. In Lowell, employment in services grew by 37.5% between 1967 and 1980. In Lawrence and Holyoke, employment in services grew by 19.2% and 46.2% respectively for the time period (DET, 1990). These relative differences in the magnitude of the decline, as well as in the growth of service industries, help us to put in perspective the relative differences in the evolving labor market, and, to some extent, in the family/household characteristics of barrios.

For Latinos, historically concentrated in the manufacturing sector, these declines translated into a deteriorating labor market situation characterized by declining labor force participation rates, and by the lack of occupational diversification, perhaps also due to the relative lack of access to service jobs.

In terms of family/household characteristics, the job losses translated into a drastic decline in Latino male marriageable pool indexes (MMPI), which in turn may have contributed to change the distribution of the Latino population by household type. Declining indexes could be interpreted as signs of growing problems in family formation which might have contributed to a decrease in the share of married-couple households and to the increase in the number of single-female headed households. The expanding *colonias* of each these three cities experienced the decline in different degrees.

5.3.1 Labor Market Characteristics

Between 1970 and 1980, the LFPR in Lowell for Latino males declined from 79.4% to 71.0%, and the Latino female rate declined from 50.9% to 46.9% (see Table 15). In Lowell, such decline was larger relative to the decline in the LFPR for males in the total population, although the female LFPR in the total population increased. The LFPR's for males in total population declined from 77.6% to 74.6%, but the female LFPR in the total population increased from 47.2% to 51.8% (see Table 15).¹³

Relative to Lowell, in Lawrence, for the same period, the decline in the Latino LFPR's was much more drastic. The Latino male LFPR declined from 90.7% to 77.7%, and the Latino female rate went down from 61.7% to 41.8% (see Table 16). The declines in the LFPR's for males and females in the total population were also considerable, especially for females, yet not as drastic as the declines experienced by all Latinos. The LFPR for males in the total population declined from 76.3% in 1970 to 71.9% in 1980, while the female LFPR declined from 50.6% to 37.1% (see Table 16). By 1980, in spite of the decline, Latinos still had higher LFPR's than the total population (see Table 16).

The decline in the LFPR's for Latinos in Holyoke resembled the decline in Lawrence, although in Holyoke the decline happened from already lower levels in 1970, and was even steeper relative to Lawrence. In Holyoke the LFPR for Latino males declined from 82.8% in 1970 to 59.3% in 1980; the Latino female LFPR declined from the already low 27.4% to 25.8% (see Table 17). In Holyoke, the LFPR for males in the total population also declined between 1970 and 1980 from 76.3% to 69.6%, not nearly as much as among Latinos (see Table 17). The female LFPR in the total population, in contrast, increased from 42.1% to 44.3% (see Table 17).

In 1970, the labor force participation rates for both Latino males and females in all three cities (with the exception of Latino females in Holyoke) were high and above the male and female rates in the total population. By 1980, however, the Latino rates not only dropped but did so to levels relatively below those observed in the total population, with the exception of Lawrence where Latino males and females, in spite of the drastic drop, still had higher labor force participation rates than the rest of the total population. In overall terms, Latinos in all three cities experienced a drastic decline in their LFPR's. Relative to Lowell, the declines were more severe in Lawrence and Holyoke, the two cities with stronger decline in manufacturing employment, and with the larger inflows of Latinos. Also, the relative young age of the Latino population and the lack of educational-- mainly language --

13 The negative relationship between industrial change and declining labor force participation rates among Puerto Ricans males and females has been documented and tested in DeFreitas, (1991); Melendez, (1991); Melendez & Figueroa (1992); Melendez, (1993).

skills further blocked their access to the new opportunities opening up in the expanding service industries (Meléndez, 1993). In the context of a deteriorating labor market situation, Holyoke began to profile greater problems with labor market attachment among Latinos relative to Lowell and Lawrence. Lowell and Lawrence, although presenting a deteriorating situation, would tend to show working-class characteristics given a stronger pattern of labor force attachment.

The differential pattern of economic restructuring may have also induced important changes in the occupational distribution of the Latino population in each city between 1970 and 1980. In this process of occupational change two issues are relevant, the pattern of the decline in manufacturing and the relative growth in service industries. In Lowell, the relative stability of the manufacturing sector, and the rather strong expansion of service employment apparently lead between 1970 and 1980 to diminishing occupational diversification among employed Latinos 16 years of age or older. Paradoxically, and in contrast to Lowell, in Lawrence the pattern of decline and the relatively weaker expansion of service jobs may have resulted in greater occupational diversification. In Holyoke, the pattern of drastic decline in manufacturing employment and the strong expansion in service employment, relative to Lowell and Lawrence, produced a pattern of occupational diversification which resembled Lawrence's. In Holyoke, unlike Lowell and Lawrence, the occupational history of Latinos in farm-related occupations figured very much prominently in the process of occupational change between 1970 and 1980.

In Lowell the occupational distribution of the Latino population became less diversified between 1970 and 1980. Two features dominated the change: (a) diminished Latino representation in upper-level occupational categories (Professionals, Technicians, Managers and Administrators; Craftsmen and Foremen); and (b) a diverging pattern of concentration within the lower-level occupational categories characterized, on the one hand, by increased representation in operatives, laborers, clerical and sales occupations, and, on the other, by diminished representation in personal and private household occupations.

Table 15

**Employment Status of the Total and Latino Populations
16 Years Old and Over by Sex:
Lowell, 1970-1990**

	1970		1980		1990	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total Population	44,658	49,671	43,724	48,694	50,296	53,143
Latino Population	508	571	2,228	2,357	5,074	5,425
Total Pop. 16+	30,482	35,896	32,484	37,767	37,765	40,980
Latino Pop. 16+	320	344	1,220	1,376	2,973	3,156
Total Pop. Civilian Labor Force	23,659	16,956	24,230	19,570	28,086	23,333
Latino Civilian Labor Force	254	175	866	646	2,188	1,566
Total Pop. Labor Force Participation Rate	77.6	47.2	74.6	51.8	74.4	57.0
Latino Labor Force Participation Rate	79.4	50.9	71.0	46.9	73.6	49.6

Source:

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census, 1972(a),1983(a),1994(a).

Table 16

**Employment Status of the Total and Latino Population
16 Years Old and Over by Sex:
Lawrence, 1970-1990**

	1970		1980		q	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total Population	31,441	35,474	29,361	33,814	33,472	36,735
Latino Population	1,156	1,171	4,870	5,426	14,166	15,071
Total Pop. 16+	22,229	26,343	21,150	25,978	23,162	26,843
Latino Pop. 16+	591	673	2,565	3,295	8,011	9,424
Total Pop. Civilian Labor Force	16,949	13,334	15,206	12,533	16,181	13,993
Latino Civilian Labor Force	536	412	1,990	1,376	5,843	4,806
Total Pop. Labor Force Participation Rate	76.3	50.6	71.9	37.1	69.9	52.1
Latino Labor Force Participation Rate	90.7	61.2	77.6	41.8	72.9	51.0

Source:

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. 1972(b); 1983(b); 1994(a).

Table 17

**Employment Status of the Total and Latino Populations
16 Years Old and Over by Sex:
Holyoke, 1970-1990.**

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total Population	23,198	26,914	20,407	24,271	19,964	23,740
Latino Population	960	910	2,926	3,239	6,431	7,142
Total Pop. 16+	15,845	19,992	14,977	18,948	14,320	18,060
Latino Pop. 16+	471	430	1,348	1,731	3,201	3,072
Total Pop. Civilian Labor Force	12,088	8,416	10,428	8,385	9,615	8,675
Latino Civilian Labor Force	390	118	800	447	1,827	1,292
Total Pop. Labor Force Participation Rate	76.3	42.1	69.6	44.3	67.1	48
Latino Labor Force Participation Rate	82.8	27.4	59.3	25.8	57.1	42.1

Source: US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census, 1972(c), 1983(c); 1994(b).

In 1970, Latinos in Lowell were employed in upper-level professional, managerial, technical and administrative occupations in an almost equivalent proportion relative to the total population, although representation in the craftsmen and foremen occupations was lower relative to the total population. By 1980, however, that was no longer the case. In 1970, 20.5% of employed Latinos 16 years of age or older were in upper-level professional, managerial, technical and administrative occupational categories compared to 19.9% in the total population. By 1980, the proportion of Latinos in these kinds of occupations diminished to 6.9%, while it only decreased to 16.6% in the total population. The same situation developed in craftsmen and foremen occupations in which both Latinos and the total population lost representation. Latino representation decreased from 9.8% in 1970 to 8.0% in 1980; in the total population it decreased from 14.3% to 12.8% (see Table 18).

During the decade there was a decrease in the absolute number of workers in the total population who were in upper-level occupations; this may have been caused by a number of reasons such as job elimination or sparse new job creation. In any case, such decrease did not translate into significant representational losses in the occupational distribution of the total population. Even though the absolute number of Latinos in those kinds of occupations increased--albeit minimally--their share in these occupations diminished substantially. Latinos lost their proportional representation in upper-level occupational categories relative to the total population.

The second feature of the change had two dimensions. On the one hand, the share of Latinos in lower-level occupational categories (Operatives, Transport, Laborers, Clerical and Sales) increased between 1970 and 1980. On the other hand, the share of Latinos employed in personal and private household occupations decreased. In 1970, Latinos were already heavily concentrated in lower-level occupational categories such as operative and laborers. Such concentration was proportionately higher relative to the total population, except in clerical and sales occupations; 41.7% of Latinos were employed as operatives and laborers compared to 29.3% of the total population who were employed in those occupations.

Table 18

**Occupational Distribution of the Employed Total and Latino Populations
16 Years Old and Over:
Lowell, 1970-1990.**

	1970		1980		1990	
		%		%		%
Prof.; Tech.;Managers Administrators						
Total Population	7,673	19.9%	6,921	16.6%	13,615	26.8%
Latino	84	20.5%	89	6.9%	354	10.0%
Clerical and Sales						
Total Population	8,839	23.0%	11,680	28.1%	12,803	25.2%
Latino	47	11.5%	222	17.2%	576	16.2%
Craftmen;Foremen						
Total Population	5,506	14.3%	5,324	12.8%	7,018	13.8%
Latino	40	9.8%	104	8.0%	480	13.5%
Operatives;Transport; Laborers (except Farm)						
Total Population	11,261	29.3%	11,868	28.5%	9,425	18.5%
Latino	171	41.7%	756	58.4%	1,223	34.4%
Farm Workers						
Total Population	66	0.0%	241	0.6%	276	0.5%
Latino	8	2.0%	14	1.1%	17	0.5%
Service and Private Household Workers						
Total Population	5,120	13.3%	5,587	13.4%	7,705	15.2%
Latino	60	14.6%	109	8.4%	904	25.4%
Total Employed Pop. 16+	38,465	100.0%	41,621	100.0%	50,842	100.0%
Latino Employed 16+	410	100.0%	1,294	100.0%	3,554	100.0%

Source: Dept. of Commerce.US Bureau of the Census, 1972(a);1983(b);1994(a).

By 1980, while the concentration for the total population decreased, Latinos increased their representation in those categories even further. Of the total employed Latino population 58.4% were employed as operatives and laborers relative to 28.5% in the total population (see Table 18).

Throughout the decade, as the total population, Latinos also increased their representation in lower-level clerical and sales. The proportion of Latinos employed in these occupations, however, remained lower than for the rest of the population. In 1970, 11.5% of employed Latinos were in clerical and sales occupations, but by 1980 the share of Latinos in these occupations had increased to 17.2%. For the total population representation in clerical and sales occupations had increased from 23.0% in 1970 to 28.1% in 1980. Latino representation in personal and private household occupations decreased during the decade from 14.6% in 1970 to 8.4% in 1980 while the shares for the total population remained the same (see Table 18).

Apparently, the relative stability of manufacturing employment in Lowell, accompanied by the strong growth in service employment, did not open upper-level occupational opportunities for Latinos, and further strengthened a tendency towards growing concentration into lower-level occupational categories. Latinos, as it will be seen in the next chapter, were moving in the lower-level occupations in declining, but still surviving, labor-intensive industries such as shoes and textiles, as well as into the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations of the expanding high-tech industries.

The occupational distribution of the Latino population in Lawrence, in relative contrast to Lowell, became more diversified between 1970 and 1980. Three features characterized the change and the contrast: (a) increased Latino representation in upper-level occupational categories (Professionals, Technicians, Managers and Administrators; Craftsmen and Foremen); (b) declining concentration in lower-level occupational categories, such as operatives and laborers; and (c) increased concentration in lower-level clerical and sales occupations, and in service and private household occupations.

In 1970, Latinos in Lawrence, in contrast to Lowell, were marginally employed in upper-level occupations relative to the total population. By 1980, however, the situation had changed substantially. The share of Latinos employed in those kinds of occupations increased. In 1970, 4.5% of employed Latinos 16 years of age or older were in upper-level professional, managerial, technical and administrative occupational categories, compared to 16.2% in the total population (see Table 19). By 1980, the proportion of Latinos in those kinds of occupations increased to 7.0% while it decreased to 14.3% in the total population. The same situation developed in craftsmen and foremen occupations, in which Latinos increased their representation from 5.9% in 1970 to 15.9% in 1980. Between 1970 and 1980, such increase was also true for the total population, although not as large as for Latinos. In that time period, the share in the total population who were employed in craftsmen and foremen occupations increased from 12.1% to 13.5%. During the decade Latinos improved their proportional representation in upper-level occupational categories relative to the total population, especially in craftsmen and foremen occupations (see Table 19).

Table 19

**Occupational Distribution of the Employed Total and Latino Populations
16 Years Old and Over:
Lawrence, 1970-1990**

	1970		1980		1990	
		%		%		%
Prof.; Tech.;Managers Administrators						
Total Population	4,667	16.2%	3,678	14.3%	6,134	20.9%
Latino	40	4.5%	208	7.0%	935	9.4%
Clerical and Sales						
Total Population	6,378	22.1%	6,863	26.6%	6,836	23.3%
Latino	25	2.8%	340	11.4%	1,662	16.8%
Craftmen;Foremen						
Total Population	3,498	12.1%	3,475	13.5%	4,020	13.7%
Latino	53	5.9%	473	15.9%	1,353	13.6%
Operatives;Transport; Laborers (except Farm)						
Total Population	10,726	37.2%	8,525	33.1%	7,432	25.3%
Latino	738	82.6%	1,767	59.5%	3,841	38.7%
Farm Workers						
Total Population	13	0.0%	108	0.4%	201	0.7%
Latino	0	0.0%	12	0.4%	30	0.3%
Service and Private Household Workers						
Total Population	3,537	12.3%	3,133	12.2%	4,714	16.1%
Latino	38	4.3%	170	5.7%	2,093	21.1%
Total Employed Pop. 16+	28,819	100.0%	25,782	100.0%	29,337	100.0%
Latino Employed 16+	894	100.0%	2,970	100.0%	9,914	100.0%

Source: Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census,1972(b), 1980(b),1994(b).

The second feature of the change was the declining concentration of Latinos in lower-level occupational categories (Operatives, Transport, Laborers) between 1970 and 1980, although the absolute number of Latinos in these occupations more than doubled during the decade. In 1970, Latinos were already heavily concentrated in lower-level occupational categories such as operative and laborers. Such concentration was proportionately much higher relative to the total population. While 82.6% of Latinos were employed as operatives and laborers, 37.2% in the total population were in those occupations. By 1980, however, Latinos like the total population decreased their representation in those categories. Of the total employed Latino population 59.5% were employed as operatives and laborers relative to 33.1% in the total population (see Table 19).

The third feature of this change was increased representation of Latinos in clerical and sales occupations, more so relative to the total population, which also increased but to a lesser extent: the situation was comparable in personal service and private household occupations. The proportion of Latinos employed in these occupations, however, remained lower than for the rest of the population. In 1970, only 2.8% of employed Latinos were in clerical and sales occupations, but by 1980 the share of Latinos in these occupations increased to 11.4%. Representation in clerical and sales occupations for the total population increased from 22.1% in 1970 to 26.6% in 1980. Latino representation in personal service and private household occupations had increased from 4.3% in 1970 to 5.7% in 1980, contrary to the total population in which the shares remained almost unchanged during the decade (see Table 19).

In Lawrence, a rapidly declining manufacturing sector and a slowly expanding service economy combined to diversify the occupational distribution of the Latino population between 1970 and 1980. It is important to emphasize, however, that in Lawrence, relative to Lowell such diversification may have also been related to the large white flight experienced by the city and the large inflow of Latinos. In the context of decline and rapid population change, it seemed that employers were using Latinos to replace an older white working-class in some of the declining manufacturing industries and in the service

industries which were beginning to cater to the new populations.

In Holyoke, the occupational distribution of the Latino population became more diversified, especially in comparison to Lowell. Some of the occupational changes present in Lowell and in Lawrence were also apparent in Holyoke, although important differences also emerged which were related to the farm-working history of the Latino population, the relatively stronger pattern of decline in manufacturing, and the stronger growth in service industries. The strong growth in service employment in Holyoke relative to Lowell and Lawrence, at least during this decade, seemed not to have provided important avenues for occupational diversification among Latinos.

Four features characterized the changes that took place in Holyoke: (a) decreased or stagnant Latino representation in upper-level occupational categories; (b) declining concentration in lower-level occupational categories; (c) a minimal increase in concentration in lower-level clerical and sales occupations; and (d) increased concentration in farm, personal service and private household occupations.

In 1970, relative to the total population, Latinos in Holyoke were marginally employed in upper-level occupations. By 1980 the Latino share of employment in those kinds of occupations decreased further or remained unchanged, even when the absolute number of Latinos in these occupations increased slightly during the decade. Declining representation in those occupations was also apparent within the total population. In 1970, 9.2% of employed Latinos 16 years of age or older were in upper-level professional, managerial, technical and administrative occupational categories compared to 20.6% in the total population. By 1980, the proportion of Latinos in those occupations decreased to 7.2% while it decreased to 20.4% in the total population (see Table 20). In craftsmen and foremen occupations, Latino representation remained stagnant between 1970 and 1980 moving only from 8.5% to 8.4%. Such decrease was also true for the total population. In that time period, the share in the total population who were employed in craftsmen and foremen occupations decreased from 12.7% to 11.1%. In Holyoke, the representation of Latinos in

Table 20

**Occupational Distribution of the Employed Total and Latino Populations
16 Years Old and Over:
Holyoke, 1970-1980**

	1970		1980		1990	
		%		%		%
Prof.; Tech.;Managers Administrators						
Total Population	3,946	20.6%	3,553	20.4%	4612	28.0%
Latino	41	9.2%	72	7.2%	341	15.0%
Clerical and Sales						
Total Population	4,506	23.5%	4,989	28.6%	4079	24.8%
Latino	42	9.4%	127	12.7%	386	17.0%
Craftmen;Foremen						
Total Population	2,437	12.7%	1,938	11.1%	1831	11.1%
Latino	38	8.5%	84	8.4%	179	7.9%
Operatives;Transport; Laborers (except Farm)						
Total Population	5,469	28.5%	4,005	23.0%	3023	18.4%
Latino	269	60.4%	511	51.2%	814	35.8%
Farm Workers						
Total Population	87	0.0%	98	0.6%	115	0.9%
Latino	26	5.8%	62	6.2%	39	1.7%
Service and Private Household Workers						
Total Population	2,752	14.3%	2,863	16.4%	2786	16.9%
Latino	29	6.5%	142	14.2%	515	22.6%
Total Employed Pop. 16+	19,197	100.0%	17,446	100.0%	16446	100.0%
Latino Employed 16+	445	100.0%	998	100.0%	2274	100.0%

Source:

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census., 1972(c);1983(c);1994(b).

upper-level occupational categories deteriorated, although not as much as in Lowell (see Table 20).

The second feature of the change was the declining concentration of Latinos in lower-level occupational categories between 1970 and 1980, although the absolute number of Latinos in these occupations almost doubled during the decade. In 1970, Latinos were already heavily concentrated in lower-level occupational categories. Such concentration was proportionately much higher relative to the total population. While 60.4% of Latinos were employed as operatives and laborers, 28.5% in the total population were in those occupations. By 1980, however, Latinos like the total population decreased their representation in these categories. Of the total employed Latino population 51.2% were employed as operatives and laborers relative to 23.0% in the total population (see Table 20).

The third feature of the change was the relative small increase in the representation of Latinos in clerical and sales occupations. The change was also small within the total population. In 1970, only 9.4% of employed Latinos were in clerical and sales occupations but by 1980 the share of Latinos in these occupations had increased to only 12.7%, a smaller increase relative to the total population, and also a smaller increase relative to the increase which Latinos experienced in Lowell and Lawrence. For the total population, representation in clerical and sales occupations increased from 23.5% in 1970 to 28.6% in 1980 (see Table 20).

The fourth feature of the change, present neither in Lowell nor in Lawrence, was the increased representation of Latinos in farm-related occupations, and the large increase in the share of Latinos in personal services and household occupations. In 1970, Lowell and Lawrence did not have a significant share of Latinos employed in farm-related occupations. That continued to be the case in 1980. In Holyoke, by contrast, the share of Latinos employed in farm-related occupations increased from 5.8% in 1970 to 6.2% in 1980. In Holyoke, unlike in Lowell and Lawrence, Latinos substantially increased their representation in personal services and private household occupations, from 6.5% in 1970 to 14.2% in 1980 (see Table 20).

In Holyoke, a rapidly declining manufacturing sector and a rapidly expanding service economy combined to diversify the occupational distribution of the Latino population between 1970 and 1980. It is important to emphasize, however, that in Holyoke, as in Lawrence, such diversification may have also been related to the large white flight experienced by the city and the large inflow of Latinos. In the context of decline and rapid population change, it is likely that occupational diversification was associated to a deteriorating labor market picture plagued by a shrinking manufacturing base and blocked access to service jobs.

At first glance, the occupational distributions of the Latino population in all three cities hides the process differentiation taking place in each city between 1970 and 1980, and which would become more pronounced in the next stage of maturation. In a way, it could be said that in all three cities the occupational distributions of the Latino population during the stage of *colonia formation* were converging into a common pattern of diversification.

In 1970, Latinos were marginally represented in upper-level occupational categories relative to the total population, with the exception of Lowell where Latino representation in these occupational categories was largely comparable to that of the total population. But by 1980, the occupational representation of Latinos in all three cities and in these categories seemed converging towards the same level. In overall terms, the same thing could be said of the Latino representation in lower-level occupational categories. In 1970, Latinos in all three cities were heavily represented in lower-level occupational categories, in strong contrast to the total population. Among the cities, Latinos in Lawrence showed greater representation in these categories than Latinos in Lowell and Holyoke, in that order. By 1980, Latinos continued to be heavily represented in these occupational categories with all three converging towards comparable levels of representation.

A second look, however, reveals that the convergence was led by distinct economic/occupational trends operating within each city, and likely to be associated to the differential pattern of decline in manufacturing and of service expansion which dominated each city. In Lowell, on the one hand, the relative stability of the manufacturing

sector may have led to the declining occupational representation of Latinos in upper-level categories by creating a viable niche in lower-level occupational categories in the surviving and expanding high-tech manufacturing sector. Also, the relatively smaller white flight and smaller inflow of Latinos may have contributed to the lack of opportunities at upper-level occupational categories. That is, white flight did not create a vacuum which employers may have filled with incoming Latinos. Besides, these jobs may not have been perceived as dead-end jobs since manufacturing still remained a viable alternative of employment for the local non-Latino population. On the other hand, Latinos may have not benefitted from the expansion in the service industries, and from the access to newer occupational opportunities because they may not have had some of the human capital attributes demanded by the industry, especially if they were service occupations that were developing within, or around the expanding high-technology industries.

In Lawrence, in contrast, the diversification was led by the increasing representation of Latinos in upper-level occupations, diminished representation in lower-level occupations, and by their increased representation in lower-level service-related occupations. On the one hand, the decline in manufacturing parallel to the heavy white flight may have enabled Latinos to occupy some occupational opportunities at upper-levels, especially in manufacturing establishments in which Latinos were becoming the "matching" labor to ride the economic decline. This issue will be further explored in the next chapter. On the other hand, declining representation in the operatives and laborer occupations could have been associated to outflat job elimination especially in light of the pattern of sustained decline in manufacturing. In terms of the increased representation in lower-level service occupations, it could have been a response on the part of employers to an emerging large Latino community which constituted a viable and an important market for products and services, especially in the retail and food industries.

In Holyoke, the pattern of occupational diversification was led by decreasing representation of Latinos in upper-level occupations, by a minimal increase of representation in lower-level occupations, and by

an increasing representation in farm-related occupations. Of all three cities, Holyoke's manufacturing base experienced the most deterioration during the period; service expansion was likely to be concentrated in the retail industries beginning to develop in the outskirts of the city and consolidated in shopping malls. Thus, the diversification was plainly linked to job elimination and blocked access to services jobs. Apparently, this forced Latinos to return or to gravitate to farm-related occupations, or towards other lower-level personal service or private household occupations.

In Lowell and in Lawrence, the labor market characteristics taking shape in the expanding *colonias* were more similar to those in working-class *barrios*, at least in terms of labor market attachment. This is not to deny that labor market attachment in these two cities was also in decline. In Holyoke, however, labor market attachment showed a very defined pattern of deterioration much like underclass barrios. In terms of occupational diversification, the patterns were not as clear. Lowell showed a tendency towards lesser diversification than Lawrence and Holyoke, which showed a tendency towards greater occupational diversification. Distinct processes of economic change, qualified the development of these tendencies or patterns. In Holyoke and Lawrence, that is, diversification was more the product of decline rather than economic stability. In this sense, they cannot be interpreted in isolation, nor as a clear "match-up" of the labor market characteristics of any one type of *barrio*. Still, however, they highlighted important dimensions of the unfolding tendencies in the expanding *colonias*; that by focusing on the process of *barrio differentiation* we may be able to understand how distinct and contradictory tendencies coexist within barrios.

5.3.2 Family/Household Characteristics

The impact of economic restructuring was also significant in terms of changing the family/household characteristics of the expanding *colonias* since it may have contributed to the drastic decline in the male marriageable pool index (MMPI) of all the three cities, and indirectly to changes in the distribution of the Latino

population by household type. This index is the rate of employed civilian men to women of the same race/ethnicity and age-group and intends to convey problems with family formation (Wilson, 1987).

In 1970, the Latino MMPI in all three cities was higher relative to the total population's, implying a situation of relative stability within the Latino family (see Table 21). By 1980, however, the situation had changed dramatically in all three cities: the Latino MMPI's in all three cities had dropped by more than 20 percentage points in even the best of cases. The decline was larger in Holyoke, which in 1970 had the highest index of the three cities, followed by Lowell and Lawrence (see Table 21). In all three cases, the indexes also declined for the total population, but not nearly as much. In a way, this indicated the disproportional impact of deteriorating employment conditions on the family formation prospects of the Latino population.

Table 21

**Male Marriageable Pool Index
for the Total and Latino Populations
Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, 1970-1990**

	1970	1980	1990
Lowell			
Total	62.5	60.6	60.5
Latino	68.3	46.4	53.3
Lawrence			
Total	69.8	54.3	50.7
Latino	73.6	53.9	46.6
Holyoke			
Total	57.1	50.5	48.2
Latino	87.7	38.8	34.4

Derived from:

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census,
1972(a),1972(b),1972(c);1983(a), 1983(b),1983(c);
1994(a),1994(b).

Such declines in Latino family stability may have influenced changes in the distribution of the Latino population by household type. Especially important were the declines in the shares of married-couple households, and the increases in the shares of single-female-headed households among Latinos. In 1970, the share of married-couple households dominated the distribution of the Latino population by household type in all three cities. The share of Latino married-couple households was even higher than in the total population in each city. By 1980, the distribution of the Latino population by household type changed substantially due to an increase in the share of Latino single-female-headed households, despite of the fact that married-couple households still predominated. The Latino shares of married-couple households, however, were no longer higher relative to the shares of the total population of each city, even when the latter also decreased considerably. In both years, the shares of Latino single-female headed households were higher relative to the total population.

In Lowell in 1970, 74.9% of Latino households were married-couple headed households relative to 59.8% in the total population. By 1980, however, 41.9% of Latino households were headed by married couples relative 50.5% in the total population. The share of Latino single-female-headed households increased from 14.8% in 1970 to 33.6% in 1980 (see Table 22).

In Lawrence in 1970, 68.1% of Latino households were married-headed households relative to 58.2% in the total population. By 1980, the shares were 45.0% for Latinos and 47.5% for the total population. The share of Latino single-female-headed households increased from 13.5% in 1970 to 36.5% in 1980 (see Table 23).

Table 22

**Total and Latino Populations by Household Type:
Lowell, 1970-1990**

	1970 %		1980 %		1990 %	
All Households						
Total	30,044	100.0%	32,691	100.0%	37,290	100.0%
Latino	291	100.0%	1,266	100.0%	3,078	100.0%
Married Couple Families, with and without related children						
Total	17,953	59.8%	16,494	50.5%	16,995	45.6%
Latino	218	74.9%	531	41.9%	1,232	40.0%
Male Householder, no wife present, with and without related children						
Total	982	3.3%	1,030	3.2%	1,657	4.4%
Latino	0	.0%	70	5.5%	160	5.2%
*Female Householder, no husband present, with related children below 18 years of age or younger						
Total	1,684	5.6%	2,991	9.1%	3,918	10.5%
Latino	43	14.8%	390	30.8%	953	31.0%
Female Householder, no husband present, no related children						
Total	2,071	6.9%	2,005	6.1%	2,351	6.3%
Latino	N.A.	N.A.	36	2.8%	106	3.4%
**Other						
Total	7,354	24.5%	10,171	31.1%	12,369	33.2%
Latino	30	10.3%	239	18.9%	627	20.4%

Source:

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census, 1972(a);1983(a);1994(a).

* In 1970 the female householder household type was a single category

** "Other" includes householder living alone and households of unrelated individuals.

Table 23

**Total and Latino Populations by Household Type:
Lawrence, 1970-1990.**

	1970 %		1980 %		1990 %	
All Households						
Total	23,229	100.0%	23,798	100.0%	24,057	100.0%
Latino	599	100.0%	2,879	100.0%	7,781	100.0%
Married Couple Families, with and without related children						
Total	13,510	58.2%	11,309	47.5%	10,280	42.7%
Latino	408	68.1%	1,296	45.0%	2,870	36.9%
Male Householder, no wife present, with and without related children						
Total	759	3.3%	821	3.4%	1,101	4.6%
Latino	25	4.2%	151	5.2%	536	6.9%
*Female Householder, no husband present, with related children below 18 years of age or younger						
Total	1,234	5.3%	2,575	10.8%	4,049	16.8%
Latino	81	13.5%	912	31.7%	2,897	37.2%
Female Householder, no husband present, no related children						
Total	1,491	6.4%	1,475	6.2%	1,509	6.3%
Latino	N.A.	N.A.	139	4.8%	490	6.3%
**Other						
Total	6,235	26.8%	3,395	14.3%	7,118	29.6%
Latino	85	14.2%	381	13.2%	951	12.2%

Source:

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census, 1972(a); 1983(a); 1994(a).

* In 1970 the female householder household type was a single category

** "Other" includes householder living alone and households of unrelated individuals

Table 24

**Total and Latino Populations by Household Type:
Holyoke, 1970-1990.**

	1970 %		1980 %		1990 %	
All Households						
Total	17,111	100.0%	16,615	100.0%	10,888	100.0%
Latino	457	100.0%	1,593	100.0%	3,539	100.0%
Married Couple Families, with and without related children						
Total	9,674	56.5%	8,062	48.5%	6,892	63.3%
Latino	273	59.7%	662	41.6%	1,127	31.8%
Male Householder, no wife present, with and without related children						
Total	515	3.0%	492	3.0%	539	5.0%
Latino	31	6.8%	87	5.5%	197	5.6%
*Female Householder, no husband present, with related children below 18 years of age or younger						
Total	1,045	6.1%	1,667	10.0%	2,449	22.5%
Latino	87	19.0%	580	36.4%	1,543	43.6%
Female Householder, no husband present, no related children						
Total	1,167	6.8%	967	5.8%	1,008	9.3%
Latino	N.A.	N.A.	62	3.9%	227	6.4%
**Other						
Total	4,710	27.5%	5,427	32.7%	4,983	45.8%
Latino	66	14.4%	202	12.7%	445	12.6%

Source:

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. 1972(c);1983(c);1994(b).

* In 1970 the female householder household type was a single category

** "Other" includes householder living alone and households of unrelated individuals

In Holyoke in 1970, 59.7% of Latino households were married-couple households relative to 56.5% for the total population. By 1980, the share of Latino married-couple households was 41.6%, while for the total population it reached 48.5%. The share of Latino single-female headed households increased from 19.0% in 1970 to 40.3% in 1980 (see Table 24).

In terms of family stability, the steep decline in the Latino MMPI's of all three cities shows no differentiation between the cities; all three Latino indexes declined dramatically between 1970 and 1980. The same thing could be said of the changes which took place in the distribution of the Latino population by household type: in all three cities the distribution moved in the same direction between 1970 and 1980. However, by ranking the three cities in terms of the degree of deterioration shown by the index in each city, as well as by the changes in the relative levels of representation of Latino married-couple households and single-female headed households in the distributions, it is possible to ascertain some differentiation taking place. The possible impact of economic restructuring on family/household characteristics through differentiation seemed more defined or advanced in Holyoke than in Lowell and Lawrence. Holyoke began to profile stronger underclass characteristics, while Lowell and Lawrence exhibited a mix of tendencies peculiar to either working-class or underclass characteristics.

In Lowell, the signs of change point in contradictory directions. On the one hand, Lowell showed the healthier labor market from among all three cities but placed second to Holyoke in terms of the decline of the index. On the other hand, these contradictory signs were exacerbated by the fact that the Latino household distribution showed the highest share of Latino married-couple households and the lowest share of Latino single-female-headed households of all three cities by 1980. But the drop of 32.5 percentage points in the share of the former type of households was the sharpest of all three cities, especially taking into consideration that in 1970 Lowell had the highest share of Latino married-couple households of all three cities. Further, the increase of 16 percentage points in the share of Latino single-female-headed households was the lowest of all three cities between 1970 and 1980.

These contradictory signs point to mixed tendencies in terms of the evolving family/household characteristics of the expanding *colonia*. In Lowell, Latino family/household characteristics were more akin to those of working-class *barrios* in the sense that, relative to the other cities in 1980, there was a higher share of married-couple households and a lower share of single-female-headed households. However, the telltale signs of underclass characteristics were still present, as shown by the sharp decline in the index as well as by the drop in the share of Latino married-couple households between 1970 and 1980.

In Lawrence, as in Lowell, the changes also moved in contradictory directions. On the one hand, as a result of a less healthier economy and of a deteriorating labor market, the drop in the index, albeit large, was smaller than Lowell's and Holyoke's. On the other hand, the change in the distribution of Latino households by type showed a relatively stronger tendency of the household distribution to be dominated by single-female-headed households and less by married-couple households. In Lawrence, the drop of 23.1 percentage points in the share of Latino married-couple households between 1970 and 1980 placed second highest to Lowell. Also, the increase of 18.2 percentage points in the share of Latino single-female-headed households was the second highest of all three cities during the same period. As in Lowell, these contradictory signs point to the development of a mix of working-class and underclass tendencies in the evolving family/household characteristics of the expanding *colonia*.

Between 1970 and 1980, relative to Lowell and Lawrence, the decline of the index was much steeper in Holyoke pointing to a deeper problem in family formation in that city. The family formation problem among Latinos was also evident in a relatively stronger tendency of the household distribution to be dominated by single-female heads of households, and less by married-couple households. Both of these changes were concomitant with the strong deterioration of labor market conditions in Holyoke, the most economically depressed city of all three. In Holyoke, the 18.1 percentage points drop in the share of married-couple households was the lowest drop of all three cities between 1970 and 1980. However, this drop only intensified happened an already relatively lower share of those households in

1970. Between 1970 and 1980, the increase of 21.3 percentage points in the share of Latino single-female-headed households ranked as the largest increase of all three cities, from an already higher share of those households in 1970. In Holyoke, in a way this change points to the development of underclass characteristics in a more defined fashion relative to Lowell and Lawrence.¹⁴

5.4 *Colonia* Expansion and Differentiation: The Role of Urban Renewal and Sociocultural Dynamics

Urban renewal-- or the lack thereof --and sociocultural dynamics, in the context of these three relatively small cities, tended to operate synergistically with other factors of differentiation, permeating many spheres of life. Within this complex ecology it is difficult to distinguishing "sharply" their differentiating effect on the characteristics of barrios. However, by comparing the three cases it is possible to identify certain tendencies in terms of the evolving *barrios* in each city. Between 1970 and 1980, urban renewal and sociocultural dynamics in all three cities did work together to produce some degree of differentiation in the organizational characteristics of the Puerto Rican/ Latino community, as well as in the spatial/residential characteristics. An examination of the individual cases illustrates the process of differentiation which had begun during this stage of *colonia* expansion.

5.4.1 Lowell

Between the late 1960's and the mid-1970's, a private-public partnership began a major effort to revitalize the downtown commercial areas of the city of Lowell. This effort became known as the "Lowell Plan" and was "based on the ability of the local and congressional leadership to attract a tremendous amount of public

¹⁴ In the overall literature on the development of the underclass, the increase in the share of single female-headed households is not the sole indicator of a forming underclass. As discussed in the Chapter 1 other important sociological and economic factors are involved in the development of the underclass.

investment dollars to the city... in the form of Community Development Block Grants (CDBG) Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG)... ".¹⁵ The partnership sponsored several economic development viability studies to prepare the city for economic rebirth, and a competition to select a plan to turn the old mills in the center of the city --nearby the Acre neighborhood-- into a historic, national urban park (Economic Development Administration, 1972; Traynor and Benítez,n.d.).

The design competition served as the basis to file federal legislation and to find financial support to underwrite the national urban park and to carry other urban renewal projects. The national urban park project was funded by Congress in the late 1970's, becoming the first national park this side of Mississippi River (Lowell Historic District Canal Commission,1977; United States Congress House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs,1978).At the same time, under the Plan, the city aggressively marketed old mill space and empty land in the outskirts of the city which served to attract the national headquarters of Wang Laboratories and other high-tech manufacturers, such as Textron and Raytheon, being supported by the military-educational-industrial establishment. But as the city progressed in the late 1970's, it announced plans to subject the Acre to another round of urban renewal, largely as an extension of the "beautifying" that started with the "Lowell Plan" and with the making of the national urban park (Trayner and Benítez, n.d.).

The new round of urban renewal promised the displacement of Latinos (mostly Puerto Rican) and the few Asians that lived in the Acre (Spencer, 1990; Traynor and Benítez, n.d.). The looming threat of urban renewal over the Acre, however, generated one of the most important organizational efforts of the Puerto Rican community in the city --the formation of the Coalition for a Better Acre (Traynor and Benítez, n.d.). The development of this organization will take place largely from the mid-1980's onward during the stage when *barrios* begin to mature.

Up to this point, little organizational and institutional development had taken place in the Puerto Rican community of Lowell, although the Catholic and Pentecostal churches had been active providing basic human support to families within the neighborhoods.¹⁶ Teniel Spanish Christian Church, Assemble of God was incorporated in 1973 with a congregation of about 200 members. The church was financially self-sufficient and drew all of its support from within the Puerto Rican community.¹⁷ UNITAS, which was founded by Latinos in 1974 as a social service agency sponsored by the catholic church, became the most visible organizational effort preceding CBA.¹⁸ But communal instability, fragmented and transient leadership, the lack of resources, and conservative church doctrine forestalled organizational development:

the original [Puerto Rican] leaders in the city --cultural leaders--organized festivals, baseball leagues, this and that... and they tended to dominate... the *caciques* [political bosses] of the town ...very dominant... but a lot of inconsistencies occurred because they would become leaders and then take off to Puerto Rico so any kind of consistent movement would drop off. It [organizational development] didn't occur until the late 1970's and 1980's that you know needed representation from a cultural, religious, and political background started to come out in a consistent manner... Also, what happened in the 1970's --because of the social welfare needs of the community-- government agencies would recruit people to work as social workers, etc.... local people with minimal qualifications because there was no time to look for people with Masters degree and they got involved in different health care agencies, social welfare agencies, non-profits and the they became sort of leaders with their own followings but not with a cohesive campaign... So it was a very fragmented type of leadership. But it did exist.¹⁹

16 Interviews with Cecilio Hernández and Angel Bermúdez.

17 Interview with Cecilio Hernández.

18 Interview with Angel Bermúdez.

The Spanish Pentecostal church has played a minimal role in terms of building the community... I think that perhaps the Catholic church has probably done a little bit more to build leadership in the community... the Pentecostal church is very conservative and the concept of the ministry that has come from Lowell has been one focused inside the church --inside the four walls-- and how the involvement in the community and in government is not one thing that is part of the mission of the church. Some ministers were very, very, very conservative... they would call that a sin and therefore since is not holy we were not supposed to get in touch with the sins of the world...²⁰

UNITAS operated for about 10 years until it was forced to close because of cutbacks, changes in government policies and the failure to adapt to the new political environment of less governmental support during the 1980s.²¹ But the Pentecostal church, according to Cecilio Hernández --a pastor and community activist-- notwithstanding the prevalence of its basic philosophy of non-involvement in community affairs began to change and to build relations with organizations working for community empowerment like CBA.²²

Puerto Ricans in Lowell during the stage of *colonia* expansion were coping with the pressures of integral urban renewal against the spatial integrity of the growing *barrio*, although they found little access to the new manufacturing jobs in high-tech. As high-tech was expanding in Lowell, Latinos and Puerto Ricans became a preferred labor force in labor intensive and declining manufacturing (Borges-Méndez, 1993b). These were jobs in factories which were constantly closing and offered little mobility: "My family ... we worked at different textiles, and they were closed up... whatever shop, shoe shops, until they closed down... it was always from job to job... with very little

19 Interview with Angel Bermúdez.

20 Interview with Cecilio Hernández.

21 Interview with Angel Bermúdez.

22 Interview with Cecilio Hernández.

opportunity for mobility, very little opportunity for permanency, very limited wage growth...".²³ This situation would continue into the 1980's when the *barrios* of Lowell began to mature. As Angel Bermúdez, put it " a whole community got swept up by high-tech [referring to Lowell]... It didn't happen here [referring to the Puerto Rican community]".²⁴ Both issues, the further development of organizational efforts and the labor market situation of Puerto Ricans in Lowell are analyzed in the following chapter.

5.4.2 Lawrence

Lawrence, unlike Lowell, was unable to manufacture a "high-tech" boom or even to benefit from the regional high-tech build-up along Route 128. As mentioned before, the city lost sustainedly lost manufacturing jobs between 1970 and 1980, and the lost jobs were only partially replaced by service jobs. Since the 1950's, political and business leaders had attempted unsuccessfully to produce initiatives to revert this decline and to redirect the economic development priorities of the city (Greater Lawrence Citizen's Commission for Industrial Development, Minutes, 1950-59).²⁵ This decline and the lack of industrial leadership was devastating to the industrial base of the city that was built and depended on labor-intensive manufacturing (textiles, garments, shoes), and left the city without any alternative strategies of redevelopment.²⁶ The absence of redevelopment strategies led to a patchwork of misdirected urban policies very much a reflection of patronage politics and arrangements.²⁷ In this situation of irreversible decline, Puerto Ricans and other Latinos became a labor "match" for the declining labor intensive industries of the city which narrowed the economic opportunities of this population.

23 Interview with Angel Bermúdez.

24 Interview with Angel Bermúdez.

25 Interview with Peter Vanier.

26 Interview with Peter Vanier.

27 Interview with Ralph Carrero and Peter Vanier.

The simultaneous effect of industrial decline, white flight, the absence of adequate urban policies, and the growing racial tensions between whites and Latinos product of the ethnic/racial switch the city was undergoing exacerbated the poor status of old working class neighborhoods and housing projects. Isabel Meléndez, commenting about this period, said : "the Latino community was very frustrated and felt trapped by this whole situation... because politicians weren't doing anything..., and there was no [Latino] representation...".²⁸ The network of Latino and Puerto Rican social clubs, cultural and religious organizations, like the *Festival Hispano, Los Trinitarios*, the Lawrence Latin Lions Club, *La Voz de Lawrence* (radio program), grew rapidly during this period of *colonia* expansion.²⁹ However, Puerto Ricans and other Latinos were unable to organize a common political front which reproduced the lack of political representation and prevented access to municipal resources.

The factors outlined above in combination with the lack of political cohesion contributed to the explosion of two days of racial riots in a hot night of August 1984 (Durán,1985).Ralph Carrero, a long-term Lawrence resident and the first Latino elected official in the history of the city, described what happened:

through that whole process [of population change]... you know, government has priorities, and the priority wasn't to keep up and maintain those housing developments [where the riots started], and when you don't maintain something it get deplorable and as a result you had some of the problems that existed back in the early 1980's... where life got so unbearable for people in the community that at any given point on a hot summer night things could happen... And I think that's what happened... the community was going through a transition and we weren't keeping to that transition.³⁰

The riots, although many government officials insisted in that it was just a "big brawl", "marked an opportunity to assail the city for

28 Interview with Isabel Meléndez.

29 Interviews with Isabel Meléndez and Ralph Carrero.

30 Interview with Ralph Carrero.

its failure to move forward on social and economic integration. They [Latinos] spoke of inclusion, of a need for jobs, for housing and for security."³¹

In the aftermath of the riots, the city responded to the plight of Latinos with a number of policy measures that marked the beginning of a more open --although uneasy-- sociopolitical relationship between Latinos and Anglos. Municipal and state authorities moved to: (a) create the Lawrence's Human Rights Commission; (b) subcontract with *Inquilinos Boricuas en Acción* in Boston to create a social multi-service agency (*Centro Panamericano*); (c) build a recreational area in the Oxford St. area where the riots happened; (d) rehabilitate the housing project located in the area; (e) opened a Neighborhood Housing Services office in the Lower Tower Hill neighborhood; (f) step-up efforts to employ Latinos in municipal jobs (public administration, housing, police) (Durán,1985; Lawrence Equal Employment Opportunity, 1988; Paz-Martínez,1987).³²

During the stage of *colonia expansion*, the large influx of Puerto Ricans and Latinos combined with general neglect contributed to entrap Lawrence's Latino neighborhoods into poverty and deterioration. However, unlike Lowell, the relative absence of large scale urban spatial displacement permitted the proliferation of Puerto Rican-led and other cultural Latino organizations, and later on the development of strong multi-ethnic merchant class. In the 1980s, Lawrence will become "less" Puerto Rican as newer immigrants from the Dominican Republic joined Cubans and other South and Central Americans to form a Latino community. Both, the efforts of multi-cultural coalitions and the development of this merchant-class will enable political empowerment and the development of a strong Latino small business establishment during the stage of *barrio maturation*, although poverty will not subside.

31 Paz-Martínez, 1987.

32 Interview with Isabel Meléndez.

5.4.3 Holyoke

Since the late 1960's the city of Holyoke had been making claims on South Holyoke as an area that it wanted for industrial redevelopment. These claims were formalized in a plan that the city unveiled in 1968 and that called for the rapid industrial redevelopment of South Holyoke (Bratt,1989; Candeub, Flessing and Associates,1968).³³ The plan, and further redevelopment efforts, would accomplish little to revert the long-term trend of desindustrialization. This plan ignited the first sparks of activism of the Puerto Rican (and French-Canadian) community during the 1960's, actually managing to amend the plan (Bratt,1989).³⁴

But by the time the plan was amended, the neighborhoods of South Holyoke had been red-lined by banks, destined to suffer from heavy physical deterioration because of arson, absenteeism and municipal neglect. Carlos Vega, a long-term resident of the city and an experienced community activist, characterized the period:

In South Holyoke the owners who lived and worked in their apartments, they sold out... and who they sold out the buildings to, they didn't maintain them, and sold them out again. And all of a sudden you would have a couple of those cycles but by the time, in ten years, this neighborhood [South Holyoke] had just gone into this incredible tailspin. The buildings were in such bad shape --and I lived here throughout the 1970's and just the changes that occurred were incredible-- the number of buildings tore down by the city... the number of fires and so forth...³⁵

In this environment, the city put in place and sponsored an aggressive, building-code enforcement and demolition campaign. The city justified this campaign as a necessary condition for its future prosperity (Bratt,1989). Urban renewal, in a second (1970-75) and a third

33 Interview with Carlos Vega.

34 Interview with Carlos Vega.

35 Interview with Carlos Vega.

(1975-early-1980's) phase, continued under the Workable Program for Community Improvement and under the Community Development Block Grant Program both administered by the Housing and Urban Development Administration (HUD) through the city of Holyoke (Rabin to author,1990). Between 1969 and 1983, city government enforced the demolition of about 4,200 housing units wiping out over a third of the city's total rental housing supply and over half of the total rental units in the four census tracts that make South Holyoke, where Puerto Ricans were --and continue--concentrated (Rabin to author,1990).³⁶

The pace of this destruction and deterioration caused a massive white flight but it did not manage to "extirpate" the growing *barrios* of South Holyoke. Puerto Ricans stayed in South Holyoke and resisted deplorable living conditions. María Figueroa, a Puerto Rican community activist, commented about those living conditions:

We didn't have any oil in our boiler, so that meant no hot water... but it was August and we didn't care, we made a point to survive. But when the winter got very cold there was no hot water so the pipes froze and broke. Then we did not have any water at all. [And during that time] my husband had also gone out to training in the air force and when he left I was pregnant...What most of the families did --those that did not have a place to go, either to another family member, or lived to far away, or whatever-- they would bring water in milk gallons and they would use the bathrooms and poured water in... but of course there was no pressure so it started backing up in the first floor. I used to live in the first floor and I know that. One day I came from work and the whole kitchen was full of dirty water from the bathrooms...³⁷

These conditions became so widespread that Puerto Ricans began to confront the city with its failure to force landlords to comply with housing sanitary codes, and with City Hall's slow and haphazard

36 In addition, interview with Lenore Glaser.

37 Interview with María Figueroa.

response to another pressing and threatening issue resulting from the cycle of abandonment: arson.

Since the mid-1970's, arson activity in South Holyoke had had been rising simultaneous to the aggressive demolition campaign. Puerto Rican, Anglo, and other Latino activists tried to focus the city's attention on the problem but the city flatly denied that any systematic pattern existed which required policy intervention. Carlos Vega commented:

We went to a conference in Brooklyn on this whole issue of arson, we paid our way over there... we had made some connections with people over there... when we came back we started an anti-arson campaign and at first the city was denying it and said that there was no arson problem here... we know its kids with matches and that type of stuff. But in three or four years there were an incredible amount of fires and not only in South Holyoke but in other parts of the city.³⁸

In the meantime the *barrios* became embroiled in a wave of arson. Vega added about the "air" of the period: " One building... two buildings a night... there was so much tension in this neighborhoods that people didn't know if their buildings were going to go up in flames that night ... yeah... it was really a lot of tension".³⁹ Between 1976 and 1981, thirty one people died in fires attributed to arson, and between 1980 and 1982 seventy six major fires left more than six hundred people homeless (Bertsche, 1985; Bratt,1989; O'Hare,1984).⁴⁰ "*La época de los fuegos* ", as the period is popularly known, peaked on August, 1981 when 7 people died in a fire on South Bridge St. (O'Hare,1984).⁴¹

That fire served to galvanize political organizing not only around the arson problem but around other broader issues of

38 Interview with Carlos Vega.

39 Interview with Carlos Vega.

40 Interview with Carlos Vega.

41 *La Época de los fuegos* "means the "epoch of the fires". Interview with María Figueroa.

communal development, health, racism and political representation. The pace of communal deterioration was affecting not only the built environment of Puerto Rican neighborhoods in South Holyoke but it was also beginning to cause a serious deterioration of the overall welfare of the community. The problem became more than apparent in 1982 when the Massachusetts Department of Public Health announced its findings on infant mortality rates across the state. Holyoke was the city with the highest infant mortality rate in the Commonwealth, and it was not surprising that the problem was particularly acute among Puerto Ricans.⁴² Latino and Anglo health professionals concerned with the health of the Puerto Rican community moved to "take over" the recently formed Infant Mortality Task Force away from the the medical and hospital establishment of the city. Public authorities adopted a defensive posture on the matter by not accepting responsibility for the disastrous public health outcomes. This became but the beginning of a number of organizational efforts that will strengthen the organizational base of the community during the following stage of *barrio* maturation.

The simultaneous campaigns to combat arson and infant mortality converged to produce an organizing drive that would last about one year and that comprised of several marches, several instances of civil disobedience, and mobilizing people to go to public hearings.⁴³ The organizing drive, at first, did not produce an immediate outcome in terms of concrete results. But the constant criticism directed from the community towards City Hall and health care providers made the community increasingly aware of itself and its ability to put political issues in the front burner. Whereas during the 1960's people and families were not very much interested on community issues, now they were increasingly participating in the efforts. All throughout the 1970's, Puerto Ricans and Latinos were successful at changing some of the politics of the city, but they were not successful at maintaining an organization because of the lack of resources, or because organizing always unfolded from City-Hall

42 Interview with Orlando Isaza.

43 Interviews with Rosalina Meléndez; María Figueroa; Carlos Vega; and Orlando Isaza.

funded organizations which the city eliminated when it disliked.⁴⁴ The arson terror stopped by 1983 and shortly after the founding of Nueva Esperanza Development Corporation took place. The formation of the Coalition of Spanish Speaking Human Service Providers also took place to combat infant mortality and to improve health outcomes among Latinos. The further development of these two organizational efforts and other political campaigns will be discussed in the following chapter.

The number of Puerto Rican and Latino organizations increased in all three cases, and the communities achieved greater organizational complexity from the previous stage, mainly as organized responses against urban renewal and other forms of social ostracism. During this stage none of the cities produced any Puerto Rican/ Latino elected officials.

Holyoke's Puerto Rican community to some extent evidenced greater organizational capability than Lowell's and Lawrence's, although in Lawrence the number of organizations was higher than in Lowell and Holyoke. In Holyoke, the community was able to develop and sustain community-wide campaigns against a series of socioeconomic and social problems earlier than Lowell and Lawrence, which were unable to do so until the early 1980's. Between the early 1970's and the mid-1980's, the Puerto Rican community in Holyoke was able to stop the violence of the arson era set in motion by the urban redevelopment initiatives of the city in earlier years and moved rapidly with the help of health professionals to curb infant mortality. The result of this community organizing was the formation of several institutions to counteract the situation of poverty, and the development of a strong culture of activism. Institution-building and the strong culture of activism will be central to the future political empowerment of the community during *barrio maturation* in the 1980s.

Prior to the early 1980's, the Puerto Rican/Latino community in Lawrence and Lowell mostly generated short-lived and fragmented

attempts at organizing. The growing Puerto Rican and Latino community in Lowell managed to resist the second wave of urban renewal brought about by the city initiatives but that was a very focalized development which would take several years to become the organizational backbone of the community. In Lawrence, economic decline came accompanied by municipal inaction and ostracism towards Puerto Ricans and Latinos, the absence of urban renewal, and the physical neglect of becoming Puerto Rican neighborhoods. This ended-up in the 1984 riots. Ironically, the lack of urban renewal permitted Puerto Ricans and Latinos to preserve the spatial and social base of their community, albeit in the midst of urban neglect. This would be key to the development of the community in the next stage of *barrio* maturation.

Holyoke began to profile the organizational characteristics of working-class *barrios* and not the pattern of communal/organizational breakdown of underclass barrios. In Lowell and Lawrence no definite pattern of characteristics was apparent, although underclass characteristics were strongly present given the inability to produce no more than short-lived organizational efforts.

5.5 Summary

By combining qualitative evidence with US Census data we have been able to infer that through the process of *barrio* formation the networks of migration were a key force in *colonia* expansion. Networks attracted newer residents to the cities of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke. Moreover, these newer residents were apparently moving into these cities trying to cope with socioeconomic dislocation in Puerto Rico or in other cities of the Northeast which were experiencing drastic processes of urban and economic restructuring or turmoil.

As part of this process of *barrio* formation, however, a number of factors of differentiation-- population dynamics, economic restructuring, urban renewal and sociocultural dynamics --began to change the rather homogeneous characteristics of *colonias* in the three cities. The changes which took place in the spatial/residential,

family/household, labor market and organizational characteristics of the expanding *colonias* are schematically summarized in Tables 25 a-c, 26 a-c, 27 a-c, and 28.

In overall terms, the influence of these factors on the characteristics of the expanding *colonias* points to a process of differentiation which: (a) already by this stage of *colonia* expansion clearly distinguished cities from one another in terms of the evolving characteristics of the *colonias*; (b) induced cities into one pattern of development which more or less "matched" up with one of the three types of barrios; (c) lay the foundation for the coexistence within the same city of a mix of characteristics from the distinct types *barrios*.

More specifically, population dynamics induced differential patterns in the spatial/residential characteristics (concentration, segregation, poverty) of expanding *colonias* in each city such that Holyoke began to evidence underclass characteristics, while Lowell and Lawrence evidenced a mix of working-class and underclass characteristics.

The second factor of differentiation, economic restructuring, induced differential patterns in the labor market characteristics (labor force attachment and occupational distribution) of the *colonias* in each city such that Holyoke began to evidence mainly underclass characteristics, particularly in terms of labor market attachment, while Lowell and Lawrence began to evidence a combination of underclass and working-class characteristics. Also, economic restructuring likely influenced family/household characteristics (family stability and household distribution) such that Holyoke began to evidence strong underclass characteristics while Lowell and Lawrence evidenced a mix of working-class and underclass characteristics.

The third and fourth factors of differentiation, urban renewal and sociocultural dynamics, induced differentiation in the spatial/residential and organizational characteristics of *colonias* by reinforcing underclass spatial/residential characteristics in Holyoke, combined with working-class organizational characteristics; by enhancing predominantly underclass spatial/residential and organizational characteristics in Lawrence; and by delaying or preventing the surge of working-class organizational characteristics in

Lowell. It is important to notice that by this stage none of the ethnic enclave characteristics had emerged, except for those which that type of *barrio* shares with **working-class *barrios***. It would take the transition into the next stage for some ethnic enclave characteristics to surface.

Table 25a

**Spatial/Residential Characteristics:
Colonia Expansion, Late 1960's to Mid-1980's**

Lowell

Spatial/Residential Characteristics

1) Absolute Growth of P.R. and Latino Populations, 1970-80.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •PR and Latinos increased but less relative to Lawrence and Holyoke. •PR increased more than other Latinos, as in Lawrence and Holyoke .
2) Absolute Growth of White,Black, and Asian Populations, 1970-80.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Whites decreased but less relative to Lawrence and Holyoke. •Blacks increased little like in Lawrence, and more than in Holyoke. •In 1980, a larger number of Asians relative to Lawrence and Holyoke.
3) Relative Growth of Puerto Rican, Latino, White,Black and Asian Populations,1970-80.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •PR-From .4% of Total Population in 1970 to 3.8% in 1980. •Latinos (including PR)-From 1.1% of Total in 1970 to 5.4% in 1980. •PR were 35.7% of Latinos in 1970 and 77% in 1980. •Whites decreased from 98.8% of Total Pop. in 1970 to 92.5% in 1980. •Blacks increased from .8% of Total Pop. in 1970 to 1.2% in 1980. •Asians were 1.3% of Total Pop. in 1980. (Share N.A. in 1970).
4) Distribution of census tracts (CT) by share of PR-Latino and White Populations,1970-80.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In 1970, all 25 CT of the city were between 80-100% White. •In 1970, all 25 CT of the city were between 0-19.9% Latino. •In 1980, 24 CT were 80-100% White and 1 CT was between 60-79.9% White •In 1980, 24 CT were between 0-19.9% Latino and 1 CT was 20-39.9% Latino
5) Dissimilarity Indexes: White/Latino; White/P.R., 1970-80.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •White/Latino index decreased from .49 in 1970 to .47 in 1980. •White/PR index decreased .54 in 1970 to .48 in 1980. •Except for the White/Latino index in 1970, indexes in 1970 and 1980 are lower relative to Lawrence and Holyoke.
6) Individual Poverty Rates for Latinos, Whites, and Blacks,1969-79.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Latinos- rate increased from 22% in 1969 to 47.9% in 1979. •Whites- rate increased from 11.6% in 1969 to 12.5% in 1979. •Blacks- rate decreased from 39.5% in 1969 to 24.7% in 1979. •Comparable Latino Poverty rate with Lawrence, but lower relative to Holyoke.

Table 25b

**Spatial/Residential Characteristics:
Colonia Expansion, Late-1960's to Mid-1980's.**

Lawrence

Spatial/Residential Characteristics

1) Absolute Growth of P.R. and Latino Populations, 1970-80.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •PR and Latinos increased but more relative to Lowell and Holyoke. •PR increased more than other Latinos, as in Lowell and Holyoke.
2) Absolute Growth of White,Black, and Asian Populations, 1970-80.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Whites decreased more relative to Lowell and Holyoke. •Blacks increased little like in Lowell. •In 1980, a smaller number of Asians relative to Lowell but a larger number relative to Holyoke.
3) Relative Growth of Puerto Rican, Latino, White,Black and Asian Populations,1970-80.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •PR-From 1.5% of Total pop. in 1970 to 9.1% in 1980. •Latinos (including PR)-From 3.5% of Total Pop. in 1970 to 16.3% in 1980. •PR were 43.6% of Latinos in 1970 and 55.6% in 1980. •Whites decreased from 98.5% of Total Pop. in 1970 to 81.3% in 1980. •Blacks increased from 1% of Total Pop. in 1970 to 1.4% in 1980. •Asians were 1% of Total Pop. in 1980. (Share N.A. in 1970).
4) Distribution of census tracts (CT) by share of PR-Latino and White Populations,1970-80.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In 1970, all 18 CT of the city were between 80-100% White. •In 1970, all 18 CT of the city were between 0-19.9% Latino. •In 1980, 11 CT were 80-100% White; 5 CT were 60-79.9% White; 1 CT was 40-59.9% White. •In 1980, 8 CT were 0-19.9% Latino; 7 CT were 20-39.9% Latino; 3CT were 40-59.9% Latino.
5) Dissimilarity Indexes: White/Latino; White/P.R., 1970-80.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •White/Latino index increased from .36 in 1970 to .53 in 1980. •White/PR index decreased from .64 in 1970 to .57 in 1980, but remained higher relative to Lowell, although not to Holyoke. •Indexes were higher relative to Lowell but lower relative to Holyoke.
6) Individual Poverty Rates for Latinos, Whites, and Blacks,1969-79.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Latinos- rate increased from 20.4% in 1969 to 45.4% in 1979. •Whites- rate increased from 11.4% in 1969 to 15.6% in 1979. •Blacks- rate increased from 19.7% in 1969 to 21.5% in 1979. •Comparable Latino Poverty rate with Lowell, but lower relative to Holyoke

Table 25c

**Spatial/Residential Characteristics:
Colonia Expansion, Late 1960's to Mid-1980's.**

Holyoke

Spatial/Residential Characteristics

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Absolute Growth of P.R. and Latino Populations, 1970-80. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •PR and Latinos increased relative to Lowell but less relative to Lawrence. •PR increased more than other Latinos, as in Lowell and Lawrence. |
| 2) Absolute Growth of White, Black, and Asian Populations, 1970-80. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Whites decreased relative Lowell but less relative to Lawrence. •Blacks remained almost unchanged. •In 1980, a smaller number of Asians relative to Lowell and Lawrence. |
| 3) Relative Growth of Puerto Rican, Latino, White, Black and Asian Populations, 1970-80. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •PR-From 3% of Total Pop. in 1970 to 13% in 1980. •Latinos (including PR)-From 3.7% of the Total Pop. in 1970 to 13.8% in 1980. •PR were 80% of Latinos in 1970 and 93.5% in 1980. •Whites decreased from 97.5% of Total Pop. in 1970 to 83.2% in 1980. •Blacks remained at 2.2% of the Total Pop. between 1970 and 1980. •Asians were .7% of Total Pop. in 1980. (Share N.A. in 1970). |
| 4) Distribution of census tracts (CT) by share of PR-Latino and White Populations, 1970-80. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In 1970, all 8 CT of the city were between 80-100% White. •In 1970, all 8 CT of the city were between 0-19.9% Latino. •In 1980, 5 CT were 80-100% White; 1 CT was 60-79.9% White; 2 CT were 40-59.9% White. •In 1980, 5 CT were 0-19.9% Latino; 1 CT was 20-39.9% Latino; 2 CT were 40-50.9% Latino. |
| 5) Dissimilarity Indexes: White/Latino; White/P.R., 1970-80. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •White/Latino index increased from .48 in 1970 to .67 in 1980. •White/PR index increased from .63 in 1970 to .70 in 1980. •Except for the White/Latino index in 1970, indexes were higher relative to Lowell and Lawrence. |
| 6) Individual Poverty Rates for Latinos, Whites, and Blacks, 1969-79. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Latinos- rate increased from 27.3% in 1969 to 59.9% in 1979. •Whites- rate decreased from 14.7% in 1969 to 13.1% in 1979. •Blacks- rate increased from 28.4% in 1969 to 43.5% in 1979. •Higher Latino Poverty rates relative to Lowell and Lawrence. |

Table 26a

**Family/Household Characteristics:
Colonia Expansion, Late-1960's to Mid-1980's.**

Lowell

Family/Household Characteristics

1) Distribution of the Total and Latino populations by Household Type, 1970-80.

- In 1970, the % of Latino MCHH* was higher relative to the Total pop.; 74.9% of Latino households were MCHH while 59.8% of the Total pop. were MCHH.
- By 1980, the % of Latino MCHH declined below the Total pop., which declined but by much less; 41.9% of Latino households were MCHH while 50.5% of the Total pop. were MCHH.
- In 1970, the % of Latino SFHH** was higher relative to the Total pop.; 14.8% of Latino households were SFHH while 5.6% of the Total pop. were SFHH.
- By 1980, the % of Latino SFHH doubled, a much bigger increase relative to the Total pop.; 30.8% of Latino households were SFHH while 9.1% in the Total pop. were SFHH.
- In 1970, the % Latino MCHH was higher than the % of Latino SFHH.
- In 1980, the % of Latino MCHH was higher than the % of Latino SFHH.
- In 1970, the % of Latino MCHH was higher relative to the % of Latino MCHH in Lawrence and Holyoke.
- By 1980, the % of Latino MCHH was lower relative to Lawrence and slightly higher relative to Holyoke.
- In 1970, the % of Latino SFHH was higher relative to % of Latino SFHH in Lawrence but lower relative to Holyoke.
- In 1980, the % of Latino SFHH was lower relative to the % of Latino SFHH in Lawrence and Holyoke.

2) Male Marriageable Pool Index (MMPI), 1970-1980.

- In 1970, the Latino MMPI was higher relative to the Total pop. MMPI: the Latino MMPI was 68.3 while the Total pop. MMPI was 62.5.
- By 1980, both the Latino and Total MMPI declined and the Latino MMPI moved below the Total pop. MMPI: the Latino MMPI was 46.4 while the Total pop. was 60.6.
- In 1970, the Latino MMPI was lower relative to the Latino MMPI in Lawrence and Holyoke.
- In 1980, the Latino MMPI was lower relative to Latino MMPI in Lawrence, but higher relative to Holyoke.

* MCHH= Married-Couple Headed Households

** SFHH= Single-Female Headed Households

Table 26b

**Family/Household Characteristics:
Colonia Expansion, Late-1960's to Mid-1980's.**

Lawrence

Family/Household Characteristics

- 1) Distribution of the Total and Latino populations by Household Type, 1970-80.
- In 1970, the % of Latino MCHH was higher relative to the Total pop.; 68.1% of Latino households were MCHH while 58.2% of Total pop. were MCHH.
 - By 1980, the % of Latino MCHH declined below the Total pop., which declined but by less; 45% of Latino households were MCHH while 47.5% of the Total pop. were MCHH.

 - In 1970, the % of Latino SFHH was higher relative to the Total pop.; 13.5% of Latino households were SFHH while 5.3% of Total pop. were SFHH.
 - By 1980, the % of Latino SFHH more than doubled, as in the Total pop.: 31.7% of Latino households were SFHH while 10.8% in the Total pop. were SFHH.

 - In 1970, the % Latino MCHH was higher than the % of Latino SFHH.
 - In 1980, the % of Latino MCHH was higher than the % of Latino SFHH.

 - In 1970, the % of Latino MCHH was higher relative to the % of Latino MCHH in Holyoke but lower relative to Lowell.
 - By 1980, the % of Latino MCHH was higher relative to the % of Latino MCHH in Lowell and Holyoke.

 - In 1970, the % of Latino SFHH was lower relative to the % of Latino SFHH in Lowell and Holyoke.
 - In 1980, the % of Latino SFHH was higher relative to the % of Latino SFHH in Lowell but lower relative to Holyoke.
- 2) Male Marriageable Pool Index (MMPI), 1970-80.
- In 1970, the Latino MMPI was higher relative to the Total pop. MMPI: the Latino MMPI was 73.6 while the Total pop. MMPI was 69.8.
 - By 1980, both the Latino and Total pop. MMPI declined and the Latino MMPI moved below the Total pop. MMPI: the Latino MMPI was 53.9 while the Total pop. MMPI was 54.3.

 - In 1970, the Latino MMPI was higher relative to Latino MMPI in Lowell but lower relative to Holyoke.
 - In 1980, the Latino MMPI was higher relative to the Latino MMPI in Lowell and Holyoke.

* MCHH= Married-Couple Headed Households

** SFHH= Single-Female Headed Households

Table 26c

**Family/Household Characteristics:
Colonia Expansion, Late 1960's to Mid-1980's.**

Holyoke

Family/Household Characteristics

1) Distribution of the Total and Latino
populatinos by Household Type, 1970-80.

- In 1970, the % of Latino MCHH was higher relative to the Total pop.;
- 59.7% of Latino households were MCHH while 56.5% of Total pop. were MCHH.
- By 1980, the % of Latino MCHH declined below the Total pop., which declined but less; 41.6% of Latino households were MCHH while 48.5% of the Total pop. were MCHH.

- In 1970, the % of Latino SFHH was higher relative to the Total pop.;
- 19% of Latino households were SFHH while 6.1% of Total pop. were SFHH.
- By 1980, the % of Latino SFHH almost doubled, and in the Total pop. increased but by less: 36.4% of Latino households were SFHH while 10% in the Total pop. were SFHH.

- In 1970, the % Latino MCHH was higher than the % of Latino SFHH.
- In 1980, the % of Latino MCHH was higher than the % of Latino SFHH.

- In 1970, the % of Latino MCHH was lower relative to the % of Latino MCHH in Lowell and Lawrence.
- By 1980, the % of Latino MCHH was slightly lower relative to the % of Latino MCHH in Lowell and Lawrence.

- In 1970, the % of Latino SFHH was higher relative to % of Latino SFHH in Lowell and Lawrence.
- In 1980, the % of Latino SFHH was higher relative to the % of Latino SFHH in Lowell and Lawrence.

2) Male Marriageable Pool Index (MMPI),
1970-1980.

- In 1970, the Latino MMPI was higher relative to the Total pop. MMPI: the Latino MMPI was 87.7 while the Total pop. MMPI was 57.1.
- By 1980, both the Latino and Total MMPI declined and the Latino MMPI moved below the Total pop. MMPI: the Latino MMPI was 38.8 while the Total pop. MMPI was 50.5.

- In 1970, the Latino MMPI was higher relative to the Latino MMPI in Lowell and Lawrence.

- In 1980, the Latino MMPI was lower relative to the Latino MMPI in Lowell and Lawrence..

* MCHH= Married-Couple Headed Households

** SFHH= Single-Female Headed Households

Table 27a

**Labor Market Characteristics:
Colonia Expansion, Late 1960's to Mid-1980's.**

Lowell

Labor Market Characteristics

- 1) Labor Force Participation Rates for the Total and Latino Populations; Men and Women, 1970-80.
- In 1970, Latino Male and Female LFPR's were higher relative to the Male and Female LFPR's in the Total pop.
 - By 1980, Latino Male and Female LFPR's declined and were lower relative to the Male and Female LFPR's in the Total pop.
 - In 1970, the Latino Male LFPR was lower relative to the Latino Male LFPR in Lawrence and in Holyoke.
 - In 1970, the Latino Female LFPR was lower relative to the Latino Female LFPR in Lawrence and higher relative to Latino Female LFPR in Holyoke.
 - In 1980, the Latino Male LFPR was lower relative to the Latino Male LFPR in Lawrence and higher relative to the Latino Male LFPR in Holyoke.
 - In 1980, the Latino Female LFPR was higher relative to the Latino Female LFPR in Lawrence and in Holyoke.
- 2) Occupational Distribution of Latino and Total Populations, 1970-80.
- In 1970, Latinos showed a greater concentration in upper-level occup. categories (Prof. and Craft) relative to the Total pop.
 - By 1980, Latinos decreased in upper-level occup. categories relative to the Total population.
 - In 1970, Latinos were heavily concentrated in lower-level occup. categories (Operatives, etc.) relative to the Total pop.
 - By 1980, Latinos increased their concentration in lower-level occup. categories relative to the Total pop. that decreased.

Table 27b

**Labor Market Characteristics:
Colonia Expansion, Late-1960's to Mid-1980's.**

Lawrence

Labor Market Characteristics

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1) Labor Force Participation Rates for the Total and Latino Populations; Men and Women, 1970-80.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1970, Latino Male and Female LFPR's were higher relative to the Male and Female LFPR's in the Total pop. • By 1980, Latino Male and Female LFPR's declined but remained higher relative to the Male and Female LFPR's in the Total pop., which also declined. • In 1970, the Latino Male LFPR was higher relative to the Latino Male LFPR in Lowell and in Holyoke. • In 1970, the Latino Female LFPR was higher relative to the Latino Female LFPR in Lowell and in Holyoke. • In 1980, the Latino Male LFPR was higher relative to the Latino Male LFPR in Lowell and in Holyoke. • In 1980, the Latino Female LFPR was lower relative to the Latino Female LFPR in Lowell but higher relative to the Latino Female LFPR in Holyoke. |
| <p>2) Occupational Distribution of Latino and Total Populations, 1970-1980.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1970, Latinos showed a much lower concentration in upper-level occup. categories (Prof. and Craft) relative to the Total pop. • By 1980, Latinos increased in upper-level occup. categories relative to the Total population. • In 1970, Latinos were heavily concentrated in lower-level occup. categories (Operatives, etc.) relative to the Total pop. • By 1980, Latinos decreased their high concentration in lower-level occup. categories relative to the Total pop. that also decreased. |

Table 27c

**Labor Market Characteristics:
Colonia Expansion, Late 1960's to Mid-1980's.**

Holyoke

Labor Market Characteristics

- 1) Labor Force Participation Rates for the Total and Latino Populations; Men and Women, 1970-80.
- In 1970, Latino Male LFPR was higher relative to the Male LFPR in the Total pop.; Latino Female LFPR was substantially below the Female LFPR in the Total pop.
 - By 1980, the Latino Male LFPR declined below the Male LFPR in the Total pop., which also declined; the Latino Female LFPR declined from a low level even further relative to the Female Total LFPR which increased.
 - In 1970, the Latino Male LFPR was higher relative to the Latino Male LFPR in Lowell but not relative to the Latino Male LFPR in Lawrence.
 - In 1970, the Latino Female LFPR was substantially lower relative to the Latino Female LFPR in Lowell and Lawrence.
 - In 1980, the Latino Male LFPR was lower relative to the Latino Male LFPR in Lowell and in Lawrence.
 - In 1980, the Latino Female LFPR was lower relative to the Latino Female LFPR in Lowell and in Lawrence.
- 2) Occupational Distribution of Latino and Total Populations, 1970-80.
- In 1970, Latinos showed a much lower concentration in upper-level occup. categories (Prof. and Craft) relative to the Total pop.
 - By 1980, Latinos decreased in upper-level occup. categories relative to the Total pop.
 - In 1970, Latinos were heavily concentrated in lower-level occup. categories (Operatives, etc.) relative to the Total pop.
 - By 1980, Latinos decreased their high concentration in lower-level occup. categories relative to the Total pop. that also decreased.

Table 28

**Organizational Characteristics:
Colonia Expansion, Late-1960's to Mid-1980's.**

Lowell

Organizational Characteristics

- | | |
|---|---|
| a) Approximate number of Puerto Rican/Latino organizations,1960-80. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Late 1950's to late 1960's: 1 church-sponsored center to provide support to Puerto Rican immigrants. •Late 1960's to mid 80's: 3-4 sports and cultural groups that sponsored a Puerto Rican baseball league and festivals; 1 community-based org.; 3 pentecostal churches. |
| b) Organizational Capability,1960-80. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Late 1950's to late 1960's: Weak and short-lived organizing against specific problems. |
| c) Puerto Rican and Latino Elected Officials. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Late 1960's to mid 1980's: Weak and short-lived organizing against specific problems. • No Latinos elected to public office . |

Lawrence

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Approximate number of Puerto Rican/Latino organizations,1960-80. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Late 1950's to late 1960's: 2-3 Social/cultural clubs •Late 1960's to mid1980's: 10-12 Social/cultural groups from various Latin American countries. |
| 2) Organizational Capability,1960-80. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Late 1950's to late1960's: Weak and short-lived organizing against specific problems. |
| 3) Puerto Rican and Latino Elected Officials. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Late 1960's to mid1980's: Fragmented organizing through many social/cultural organizations with little political results. Organizing around issues of access to public jobs and housing rehabilitation increased, and became more coherent after the 1984 riots. • No Latinos elected to public office . |

Holyoke

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Approximate number of Puerto Rican/Latino organizations,1960-80. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Late 1950's to late 1960's: None truly Latino, but 2 organizations in which P.R's participated. •Late 1960's to mid1980's: 2-3 small organizations created by the Catholic church or city hall to provide services and mediate with government. |
| 2) Organizational Capability,1960-80. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Late 1950's to late1960's: Weak and short-lived organizing against specific problems. |
| 3) Puerto Rican and Latino Elected Officials. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Late 1960's to mid 1980's: Increased capability to organize and sustain community-wide campaigns against arson and demolition, and high infant mortality. Two formal organizations were founded: 1 CDC and a health/community coalition. • No Latinos elected to public office . |

CHAPTER 6:

BARRIOS MATURE AND DIFFERENTIATE: EARLY 1980'S TO THE PRESENT

Perhaps the most salient aspect of this stage of *barrio* maturation is that in spite of poverty, segregation, and unexistent resources, *barrio* residents did set out to institutionalize in their communities, and with relative effectiveness, some of the political and social gains obtained from the turmoil of the period of *colonia* expansion. This is most apparent in Holyoke and Lawrence, two of the most economically depressed cities in the Commonwealth. In Lawrence, the gains are evident in the development of a strong merchant class; in Holyoke, in the building of political coalitions to access City Hall. In Lowell, organizational efforts are more "focalized" since they aim at preserving control over the Acre, this time by slowly bridging into the large Asian community.

6.1 Growth, Networks and *Barrio* Maturation

Between 1980 and 1990 the Latino population of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke continued to grow. Lawrence continued to lead the other two cities in terms of expansion. In all three cities, the Latino population more than doubled, although the percentage increases were not as high as in the previous decade. In Lowell, according to the U.S. Census, the total Latino population grew from 4,585 in 1980 to 10,499 in 1990, or from 5.4% to 10.1% of the total city population, representing an increase of 129.0%. In Lawrence, the total Latino population grew from 10,296 in 1980 to 29,237, or from 16.3% to 41.6% of the total city population, representing an increase of 184%. In Holyoke, the total Latino population grew from 6,165 in 1980 to 13,573, or from 13.8% to 31.1% of the total city population, representing an increase of 120.2% (see Table 29).

Throughout the decade, Puerto Ricans remained the largest Latino group in all three cities, but important changes were taking place. In Lowell, Puerto Ricans decreased, albeit minimally, as a share of the total Latino population, although the city's Latino community

Table 29**Population of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke by Race
and Latino Origin, 1980-1990.**

	1980		1990		1980-1990
	Total	%	Total	%	% Change
Lowell					
Total	92,418	100.0%	103,439	100.0%	11.9%
White	85,481	92.5%	79,165	76.5%	-7.4%
Black	1,134	1.2%	2,093	2.0%	84.6%
Latino	4,585	5.4%	10,499	10.1%	129.0%
Asian/ Nat.Am./Other	1,218	1.3%	11,682	11.3%	859.1%
Lawrence					
Total	63,175	100.0%	70,207	100.0%	11.1%
White	51,371	81.3%	38,401	54.7%	-25.2%
Black	865	1.4%	1,195	1.7%	38.2%
Latino	10,296	16.3%	29,237	41.6%	184.0%
Asian/ Nat.Am./Other	643	1.0%	1,374	2.0%	113.7%
Holyoke					
Total	44,678	100.0%	43,704	100.0%	-2.2%
White	37,184	83.2%	28,519	65.3%	-23.3%
Black	1,001	2.2%	1,145	2.6%	14.4%
Latino	6,165	13.8%	13,573	31.1%	120.2%
Asian/ Nat.Am./Other	320	0.7%	467	1.1%	45.9%

Source:

U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1980 Census of Population.
Detailed Population Characteristics: Massachusetts. PC80-1-D23. Government
Printing Office. Washington D.C. 1981

U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1990 Census of the Population and Housing.
Summary Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics: Massachusetts. 1990 CPH-5-23.
Government Printing Office. Washington D.C. 1992.

In 1980 and 1990 racial/ethnic categories were mutually exclusive.

remained largely Puerto Rican (see Table 29). A key development in Lowell was the massive growth of the Asian population, which surpassed the Latino population in size. Lawrence, in contrast to Lowell and Holyoke, became "less" Puerto Rican since "Other" Latinos practically matched Puerto Ricans as a share of the Latino population. In Holyoke, Puerto Ricans practically remained the sole Latino group in the city, and at a much higher proportion than Lowell; it was also the only minority group with any significant representation within the total population of the city (see Table 29).

Indirectly, the growth of the Puerto Rican population suggests that the networks of migration did continue to attract newer Puerto Rican residents into each of the cities. Except in Lowell, the networks of migration, seem to have reconcentrated their activity into attracting people directly from Puerto Rico rather than from other US cities through internal migration.

In Lawrence and Holyoke, the share of Latino individuals 5 years of age or older who reported living in a different house outside the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) five years prior to the census decreased between the 1980 and 1990 Censuses. Also, the share of Latino individuals 5 years of age or older who reported living abroad five years prior to the census declined; in Lowell, the reverse pattern was true.

In the latter, the share of individuals 5 years of age or older who reported living in a different house outside the SMSA five years prior to the census increased from almost 13% in 1980 to 14.6% in 1990; the share of those reporting prior residence abroad declined from 25.4% in 1980 to 22.5% in 1990 (see Table 9). In Lawrence, the share of individuals 5 years of age or older who reported having been living in a different house outside the SMSA five years prior to the census decreased from 17.4% in 1980 to 13.6% in 1990; the share of those reporting prior residence abroad increased from 17.2% in 1980 to 23.7% in 1990 (see Table 10). In Holyoke, like in Lawrence, the share of individuals 5+ from outside the SMSA decreased from 18.8% in 1980 to 12.3% in 1990, and the share of those reporting residence abroad increased from 15.2% in 1980 to 26.7% (see Table 11).

Such changes may have been the result of many factors such as

changes in the migratory patterns of the entire Puerto Rican population, and changes in the economic, social and political conditions of other sending locales. However, they also point to the possibility that while networks continued fulfilling their "natural" or most traditional role of attracting people from Puerto Rico, they also refocused their attention on dealing with problems or issues related to the internal and organizational development of barrios. That is, networks may have become incrementally oriented to deal with the social, political, and economic problems which the communities were facing during this stage of maturation, especially in building social and political relationships with some of the newer racial and ethnic groups which kept arriving during the decade. This issue will be addressed farther in the chapter, along with aspects of the organizational development of barrios.

6.2 *Barrio* Maturation and Differentiation: **The Role of Population Dynamics**

As I mentioned before, during this stage of *barrio* maturation the Puerto Rican/Latino communities of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke expanded considerably. However, the growth of the Puerto Rican population relative to the previous stage was slower and circumscribed by other population and social dynamics which were not issues during the stage of *colonia* expansion, e.g., as the astronomical growth of the Asian population in Lowell, and the rapid growth of the "Other" Latino population in Lawrence. Both phenomena affected the maturation of *barrios*, and their spatial/residential and organizational characteristics. Also, with respect to the population dynamics emphasized in the previous chapter, although there were some changes in terms of population growth, no really significant changes occurred, especially in terms of the relative pattern of white flight in each city.

The influence of newer population dynamics, in conjunction with the ones emphasized in the previous chapter, are discussed in terms of whether or not they altered the spatial/residential characteristics already in place since the previous stage. As in the

previous stage, population dynamics will change the characteristics of *barrrios* together with economic restructuring and sociocultural dynamics also as part of a complex "ecology".

Between 1980 and 1990, Lowell's total population increased by almost 12% in contrast to the previous decade wherein it had increased by just 2%. This growth is in part attributed to slower white flight. The white population continued to decline but to a lesser degree than the previous decade. While it had declined by 8.1% in the previous decade, between 1980 and 1990 it declined by 7.4 %. Population growth, however, was mostly due to the inflows of Latinos and especially Asians.¹ As mentioned before, the Latino population of Lowell more than doubled in size and remained largely Puerto Rican. The increase of the Asian population was huge: from less than 1.0% of the total population in 1980 to 11.1% in 1990; they surpass Latinos in size. Continuing the trend of the previous decade, the Latino population in Lowell continued to be larger than the black population, which grew very little during the 1980-90 decade (see Table 29) .

During this decade, these population dynamics accompanied by greater economic prosperity and greater organizational capability on lead to a dual pattern of geographic concentration. On the one hand, the small but continuous white flight and the relative economic prosperity of the city slowly opened housing opportunities and allowed a segment of the Puerto Rican population (professionals and non-professionals) to reside in other working-class and more middle-class neighborhoods away from the Acre, thus preserving some of the "scatteredness" of the previous stage. On the other hand, Latinos and Puerto Ricans further reconsolidated their foothold in public housing, particularly in the North Canal Housing Project in the central district of the city and near the Acre, and grew firmly established in the Acre, which they had recolonized during the previous stage of *colonia* expansion. This dual pattern is reflected by census data at the tract level.

¹ The growth of the Asian community was only partly associated to the relative economic prosperity of the city. A combination of specific resettlement programs sponsored by the U.S. government and Catholic institutions, and the pulling force of Buddhist racial/ethnic networks. For Cambodians and Laotians, the main Asian groups in Lowell, this religious linkage exerted a strong pulling force. This point was conveyed to the author by Peter Kiang who has carried extensive research among Asians in Lowell.

In 1980, except for one census tract in which whites were between 60% and 79.9% of the population, in all other 24 tracts the white population represented 80% or more of the population. By 1990, whites represented 80% or more of the population in only 9 census tracts; between 60% and 79.9% in other 9 tracts; between 40% and 59.9% in another 5 tracts; and between 20% and 39.9% of the population in one remaining tract (see Table 12). That is, an easing pattern of white concentration allowed a scattering pattern of Latino concentration to develop; a continuation from the previous stage.

In 1980, in contrast, Puerto Rican/Latinos represented less than 19.9% of the population in 24 census tracts of the city, a situation which remained largely unchanged by 1990. In 1990, Puerto Rican/Latinos still represented less than 19.9% of the population in 19 census tracts; between 20% and 39.9% in 4 census tracts; and between 40% and 59.9% in one census tract (see Table 12). The tracts with the higher concentrations of Puerto Ricans/Latinos remained largely contained in one square mile near the central district of the city: the Acre area.

This dual pattern of geographic concentration puts into perspective the relatively small changes shown by the white/Latino and white/Puerto Rican dissimilarity indexes between 1980 and 1990. The white/Latino index declined minimally from .47 in 1980 to .41 in 1990; the white/Puerto Rican index declined from .48 in 1980 to .36 in 1990 (see Table 13). Apparently, simultaneous processes of dispersion and concentration sparked by the population dynamics did not alter citywide segregation.

Collated with this dual process of spatial change was a small increase in the Latino homeownership rates. This rate increased from 10.5% in 1980 to 12.6% in 1990 (see Table 30). Such an increase could have been the result of the city's economic prosperity which attracted a few Latino professionals who became homeowners in the city. The struggles against urban renewal which the community had waged during the mid-1980's were institutionalized in Coalition for a Better Acre whose main goal was to develop affordable housing.

Table 30

Tenure of the Householder: Total and Latino Populations, 1980-1990

	1980		Latino %		1990		Latino %	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Lowell								
Owner-Occupied	13,801	42.2%	133	10.5%	15,127	44.5%	381	12.6%
Renter-Occupied	18,890	57.8%	1,133	89.5%	18,872	55.5%	2,639	87.4%
Total	32,691	100.0%	1,266	100.0%	33,999	100.0%	3,020	100.0%
Lawrence								
Owner-Occupied	7,668	32.2%	252	8.8%	6,850	41.3%	926	12.0%
Renter-Occupied	16,130	67.8%	2,627	91.2%	9,721	58.7%	6,773	88.0%
Total	23,798	100.0%	2,879	100.0%	16,571	100.0%	7,699	100.0%
Holyoke								
Owner-Occupied	6,301	37.9%	70	4.4%	5,986	49.0%	187	5.2%
Renter-Occupied	10,314	62.1%	1,523	95.6%	6,235	51.0%	3,442	94.8%
Total	16,615	100.0%	1,593	100.0%	12,221	100.0%	3,629	100.0%

Source:

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census, 1983(a), 1983(b), 1983 (c); 1994(a), 1994(b).

In Lawrence, population dynamics deepened tendencies already apparent in the earlier stage of *colonia* expansion. First, Latinos continued to grow at a very rapid pace, they triple in size, to the point of reversing the negative population growth that the city had experienced during the previous decade. Between 1970 and 1980, the city's population declined by 5.6%, but between 1980 and 1990 the city's population increased by 11.1%. Second, white flight continued, even at a faster pace. In the 1970-1980 decade, the white population had declined by 22.1%; it declined by 25.2% in the 1980-90 decade. Third, although Puerto Ricans remained the largest Latino subgroup of the city, the inflow and growth of "Other" Latinos, mostly from the Dominican Republic, was equally large. This last tendency would have important implications in that it would set the stage for some ethnic enclave characteristics to develop. Finally, as in prior decades, the size and growth of the black population was minimal (Table 29).

Latino growth and the white flight combined to definitely tilt the balance of neighborhoods, turning them into areas in which Latinos represented the overwhelming majority of the population. It also opened other neighborhoods to Latinos, especially in the southern part of the city in which Latinos had not ventured during the previous decade.

This is reflected in the distribution of census tracts by levels of concentration of both the white and Latino population. In 1980, the white population represented 80% or more of the population in 11 of the city's census tracts; in 6 census tracts they declined to represent between 60% and 79.9% of the population; and in the remaining tract they became between 40% and 59.9% of the population. By 1990, the pattern was even more pronounced. Whites represented more than 80% of the population in only 2 census tracts; in 3 tracts they represented between 60% and 79.9%; in 5 between 40% and 59.9%; in 7 they dropped to represent between 20% and 39.9%; they were less than 20% in the remaining tract (see Table 12).

Accordingly, the census tract distribution of the Latino population reflected the "spreading" of the intense pattern of replacement and concentration taking place. In 1980, Latinos were less than 19.9% in 8 census tracts; between 20% and 39.9% of the population

in 7 census tracts; and between 40% and 59.9% of the population in three other census tracts. By 1990, they further "climbed the ladder" and became more than 80% in one census tract; between 60% and 79.9% in 5 census tracts; between 20% and 39.9% in five census tracts; and less 19.9% in one tract (see Table 12). Essentially, Latinos consolidated almost the entire Northern part of the city into one large district whose nuclei were the original *colonias* in the Newbury Street, Lower Tower Hill, and Arlington Street neighborhoods. Paradoxically, both the white/Latino and white/Puerto Rican dissimilarity indexes declined between 1980 and 1990, although not by much (see Table 13).

In addition to the above effects, the population dynamics taking place may have played a role in improving Latino homeownership rates, as well as contributing to foster the development of Latino businesses. The Latino homeownership rates increased from 8.8% in 1980 to 12.0% in 1990. In 1987, an (informal) survey conducted by the Massachusetts Executive Office of Economic Affairs found more than 120 Latino-owned businesses (Carras, 1990). In 1987, the U.S. Dept. of Commerce also counted 207 Latino-owned businesses in the Lawrence-Haverhill SMSA. Latinos in Lawrence, relative to Lowell and Holyoke, registered a bigger increase in homeownership rates during this decade, and neither Lowell nor Holyoke had more than 100 Latino-owned businesses.

In Lawrence, both characteristics may be associated to the joint effect produced by the absence of urban renewal and the heavy inflow of "Other" Latinos, mostly from the Dominican Republic and other Latin American countries. On the one hand, the relative absence of urban renewal throughout the stage of *colonia expansion* permitted Puerto Ricans and other Latinos to remain in their neighborhoods, which in turn created the conditions for businesses to take root, develop and offer relative stability to the area. On the other hand, this process was reinforced by the inflow of "Other" Latinos who tended to be more "middle-class", and have tended to show a strong entrepreneurial culture. The development of this culture in Lawrence became a key feature of the organizational profile of the community.

In Holyoke, as in Lawrence, the population dynamics already apparent in the earlier stage of *colonia expansion* continued during the

stage of maturation. First, Latinos --fundamentally Puerto Ricans-- continued to grow at a fast pace. The city's Latino population, as in the previous decade, was above 90% Puerto Rican. Second, the city, in spite of the Latino inflow, continued to have negative population growth, although lower than the previous decade. The total population of the city declined by almost 11% during the 1970-1980 decade, but only by 2.2% between 1980 and 1990. Third, white flight continued basically at the same pace. The white population declined by almost 24% during the 1970-1980 decade and by 23.3% percent during the 1980-1990 decade. As in prior decades, the black population remained small (see Table 29).

At the neighborhood/census tract level, the continuity of trends did no more than continue or enhance the patterns of concentration and segregation already well established during the stage of *colonia* expansion, on a wider and more intensive scale. This is apparent when the distribution of census tracts by levels of concentration of both the white and Latino populations, and the dissimilarity indexes are examined.

In 1980, whites represented 80% or more in 5 census tracts; in 1 census tract they represented between 60% and 79.9% of the population; in 2 tracts they were between 40% and 59.9%. By 1990, whites represented more than 80% of the population in 3 census tracts; between 60% and 79.9% in 2 census tracts; between 40% and 59.9% in one census tract; between 20% and 39.9% in another census tract; and less than 19.9% in 2 census tracts (see Table 12).

The pattern of concentration for Puerto Ricans reflected the countertendency of the white pattern. In 1980, the city did not show any census tract with more than 59.9% Puerto Rican population. Puerto Ricans represented between 40% and 59.9% in 2 census tracts; between 20% and 39.9% in one census tract; and less than 19.9% of the population in 5 census tracts. By 1990, however, Puerto Rican represented between 80% and 100% of the population in one census tract; between 60% and 79.9% in 2 census tracts; between 40% and 59.9% in one census tract; and less than 19.9% in 4 census tracts (see Table 12).

Concomitant with the above changes, the levels of residential segregation, as can be seen in Table 13, remained practically unchanged

between 1980 and 1990. The white/Latino dissimilarity index moved from .67 in 1980 to .63 in 1990; the white/Puerto Rican dissimilarity index moved from .70 to .65 during same time period. In Holyoke, the Latino homeownership rates were negligible both in 1980 and 1990, and the lowest for all three cities. Between 1980 and 1990 the rate increased from 4.4% to 5.2% (see Table 30).

In terms of the individual poverty rates of the Latino populations in the three cities, population dynamics could have played a similar role of preserving or enhancing previous trends. The statewide poverty rate for Latino individuals declined slightly from 37.6% in 1979 to 36.7% in 1989, as well as for whites and blacks (Table 14). Latinos, however, were still the poorest group of the population (Meléndez, 1993). Latino, black and white poverty rates in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke remained almost steady during the decade. Latinos, relative to the other groups, continued to be the poorest group in these cities, with Holyoke's Latinos experiencing the highest rate at 59.1%, followed by Lawrence and Lowell (see Table 14).

The poverty rates of Latino individuals at the neighborhood/census tract level in all of the three cities portrays an even more extreme situation. In 1979, census tract data for Latinos in Lowell was available for three out of twenty six census tracts— those tracts with 400 or more Latinos. All three tracts had Latino poverty rates higher than the 47.5% citywide Latino poverty rate in 1979 (see Tables 31 and Table 14). By 1989, the number of census tracts with 400 or more Latinos increased to ten. In five of those ten tracts, the Latino poverty rate was above the citywide and statewide Latino poverty rates. The Latino poverty rate in the remaining five tracts were also high, and ranged between the Latino statewide and citywide rates. Between 1979 and 1989, the Latino poverty rate decreased in the three census tracts for which there is comparable decennial data (see Table 31).

Table 31

**Poverty Rates for Individuals of Latino Origin
per Census Tracts with 400 or More Latinos:
Lowell, 1979-1989.**

Tract*	1979	1989
	% Below Poverty	% Below Poverty
3101	N.A.	36.6
3104	N.A.	58.0
3110	N.A.	54.3
3111	68.0	46.7
3112	N.A.	47.0
3118	N.A.	33.9
3119	62.2	39.8
3120	N.A.	37.4
3122	73.9	70.7
3124	N.A.	40.0

Source:

US Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. 1980 Census of the Population and Housing. Census Tracts; Lowell, Mass.-N.H. SMSA.PHC80-2-228. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C. 1983(a).

U.S. Dept. of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. 1990 Census of the Population and Housing. Summary Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics: Massachusetts. 1990 CPH-5-23. Government Printing Office. Washington D.C. 1992.

* In 1989 only three tracts had 400 or more Latinos.

Relative to Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke represent an even more extreme situation of neighborhood poverty. In Lawrence, eleven of eighteen census tracts had 400 or more Latinos in 1979. The Latino poverty rate in six of those eleven tracts was higher than the 45.4% Latino citywide rate (see Table 32). By 1989, all eighteen census tracts in the city had 400 or more Latinos. In half of these eighteen tracts --mostly those in the Northern part of the city-- the Latino individual poverty rate was above the 45.5% Latino citywide individual poverty rate (see Table 14). Between 1979 and 1989, the Latino poverty rate increased in six of the eleven census tracts for which there is comparable decennial data (Table 32).

In Holyoke, four of eight census tracts had 400 or more Latinos in 1979. In three of those four tracts the Latino individual poverty rate was higher than the 59.9% Latino citywide rate. By 1989, all eight census tracts in the city had 400 or more Latinos. Except for two tracts with Latino poverty rates of 35.1% and 38.2%, the remaining six tracts had Latino poverty rates greater than 40%, and in three of those six tracts the Latino poverty rate was above the 59.1% Latino citywide poverty rate (Table 33). Between 1979 and 1989, the Latino poverty rate increased in two of the four census tracts for which there is comparable decennial data. In the other two tracts, the Latino poverty rates decreased but stayed substantially above the 1989 statewide Latino poverty rate of 36.7% (see Table 33).

Table 32

**Poverty Rates for Individuals of Latino Origin
per Census Tracts with 400 or More Latinos:
Lawrence, 1979-1989.**

Tract*	1979	1989
	% Below Poverty	% Below Poverty
2501	N.A.	38.0
2502	N.A.	43.7
2503	45.7	47.7
2504	48.2	52.2
2505	68.7	39.8
2506	N.A.	36.5
2507	44.1	37.6
2508	N.A.	23.4
2509	35.5	45.7
2510	27.4	61.3
2511	45.8	35.4
2512	24.2	56.6
2513	63.7	63.3
2514	64.3	54.3
2515	34.7	47.3
2516	N.A.	45.1
2517	N.A.	53.4
2518	N.A.	0

Source:

U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1980 Census of Population and Housing. Census Tracts: Lawrence-Haverhill, Mass.-N.H., SMSA. PHC80-2-216. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C. 1983(b).

U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1990 Census of the Population and Housing. Summary Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics: Massachusetts. 1990 CPH-5-23. Government Printing Office. Washington D.C. 1992.

*In 1980 eleven Census tracts had 400 or more Latinos

Table 33

**Poverty Rates for Individuals of Latino Origin
per Census Tract with 400 or more Latinos:
Holyoke, 1979-1989.**

Tract*	1980	1990
	% Below Poverty	% Below Poverty
8114	51	57.8
8115	68.7	65.7
8116	62.1	63.6
8117	77.2	50.7
8118	N.A.	64.5
8120	N.A.	35.1
8121.02	N.A.	38.2

Source:

U. S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1980 Census of the Population and Housing. Census Tracts; Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke, Mass.-Conn. SMSA. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C. 1983(c).

U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1990 Census of the Population and Housing. Summary Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics: Massachusetts. 1990 CPH-5-23. Government Printing Office. Washington D.C. 1992.

* In 1980 four Census tracts had 400 or more Latinos

During the stage of *barrio* maturation, the steady inflow of Puerto Ricans and Latinos into each of the cities basically enhanced and intensified tendencies in place during the stage of *colonia* expansion:

- In Lowell, the process of differentiation seemed to reinforce a dual pattern of concentration strongly bearing the characteristics of underclass barrios: strong concentration with high poverty rates; steadily high residential segregation; and a likely tendency of spatial polarization with the more "affluent" Latino residents living away from the concentrated poor Latino core *barrio* in the Acre. The increases in Latino homeownership rates may warrant an assertion that some working-class characteristics were emerging in Lowell, but the increase was perhaps too small to assert this with certainty.
- In Lawrence, as in Lowell, underclass characteristics seemed also to be taking root very deeply. First, a strong pattern of Latino concentration took place. Unlike Lowell, this pattern of concentration was both extensive and intensive in that it encompassed a larger section of the city in which Latinos were a very large segment of the population. Secondly, poverty remained steady and very concentrated. Thirdly, the high residential segregation remained unchanged. As in Lowell, Latino homeownership rates improved slightly during the decade, perhaps enough to suggest that some working-class characteristics would emerge. Unlike Lowell and Holyoke, the inflow of "Other" Latinos seemed to have contributed to the development of some ethnic-enclave characteristics in that the number of Latino owned-businesses in Lawrence was higher.
- In Holyoke, underclass characteristics became firmly rooted, even more so than in the other two cities. First, concentrated neighborhood poverty predominated. Second, high residential segregation remained steady. Third, Latino homeownership rates were negligible, and relative to Lawrence and Lowell, much lower.

The process of differentiation in the stage of *barrio* maturation, with respect to the previous stage of *colonia* expansion, seemed pushing the spatial/residential characteristics of *barrios* into the common ground of underclass barrios. Except that it could be argued that differentiation was producing a "ranking" in terms of the intensity at which these characteristics were taking root. In this ranking, Holyoke would be at the "top" of the scale in terms of the predominance of underclass characteristics, followed by Lowell and then Lawrence, which showed signs of other working-class and ethnic enclave characteristics.

6.3 *Barrio* Maturation and Differentiation: The Role of Economic Restructuring.

As stressed before, the impact of economic restructuring can be seen through changes in the labor market characteristics and, to some extent, in the family/household characteristics of *barríos*, especially in terms of labor force participation rates, occupational diversification and potential family stability. Again, the relative patterns of industrial decline are played as a key factor behind the changes that took place. In the stage of *barrio* maturation, however, other important aspects of how the process of economic restructuring in the manufacturing sector affects labor market outcomes were considered. These mostly attend to how distinct types of manufacturing firms (high-tech, labor-intensive, modernizing) in any particular city employ certain technological, human resource and managerial practices which in turn affect the labor market outcomes for some workers. As in the stage of *colonia* expansion, at first glance, economic restructuring seemed to have had a common impact on *barrio* characteristics, yet a more detailed analysis revealed different processes of change operating in each city. These differences consolidated distinct patterns in terms of labor market, and to some extent, family/household characteristics.

Between 1980 and 1988, Lowell moved up the road of economic prosperity, contrary to Lawrence and Holyoke which remained largely depressed and experiencing a sustained loss in manufacturing employment (See Charts 1, 2 and 3). As in the previous decade, job growth in services, although high, did not translate into significant change in the overall economic situation of the two cities. Total employment in the manufacturing sector in Lowell increased by 9.1% between 1980 and 1988, while in Lawrence and in Holyoke it declined by 30.5% and 19.7% respectively (DET, 1990). This represents a change with respect to the 1967-1980 period only in that growth was larger in Lowell, and Lawrence and Holyoke switched positions in terms of their relative pattern of decline. In the prior period the decline was steeper in Holyoke; during this period, the decline was stronger in Lawrence.

It is important to remark that during the last 10 to 15 years, Lowell's manufacturing has redeveloped and restructured around the

creation and maturation of a corporate core composed of high-tech, Fortune 500, multinational corporations whose origin in the region date back to the 1950s and 1960s. Many of these corporations, often headquartered in Massachusetts and New England, have several plant divisions in the area, employing about 400 workers per plant, and use a vast net of subcontractors from which they buy components, materials, and services.²

In contrast, restructuring and decline left Lawrence and Holyoke's manufacturing sector practically unchanged due to the relative lack of industrial redevelopment. Manufacturing largely remained a labor-intensive sector composed mainly of small and midsize firms employing between 75 and 500 employees affected by continuous decline. Most firms in Lawrence and Holyoke are owned by local-- often family-based --private interests, or are plant divisions of some relatively small corporations with limited operations in the Northeast, Puerto Rico, and other regions of the United States. They produce both final and intermediate, durable and nondurable goods (textiles and fabrics; shoes; computer components; food and kindred products; toys; paper and paper-related products) for consumer markets, other basic manufacturing and some high-tech industries. In Holyoke, paper production and converting, as well as paper-related industries which produce office and school supplies still dominate the city's manufacturing activity.³

As in the 1967-1980 period, in terms of the employment growth in the service industries (Wholesale and Retail; Finance, Insurance and Real Estate; Other Services), all three cities experienced substantial growth in the 1980-88 period. In Lowell, employment in services grew by 20.6%, and in Lawrence and Holyoke it grew by 18.2% and 42.3%. This represents a change with respect to the 1967-1980 period only to the extent that growth in service employment was substantially lower

² This characterization of Lowell's industrial structure is product of combination of data sources: industrial data from the Department of Employment and Training; interviews with human resource managers in the city; secondary literature.

³ This characterization of Lawrence's and Holyoke's industrial structure is product of combination of data sources: industrial data from the Department of Employment and Training; interviews with human resource managers in the city; secondary literature.

in Lowell (DET, 1990).

6.3.1 Labor Market Characteristics

Between 1980 and 1990, the LFPR for Latino males in Lowell increased from 71% to 73.6% and the Latino female rate increased from 46.9% to 49.6% (see Table 15). In Lowell, such changes moved very much along with the total population. The LFPR's for males in the total population did not change between 1980 and 1990 but the female LFPR in the total population increased from 51.8% to 57% (see Table 15). For both Latino males and females these increases represented a change with respect to the 1970-1980 period in which both had declined.

In Lawrence, for the same time period, the Latino male LFPR declined from 77.6% to 72.9% and the Latino female rate increased from 41.8% to 51% (see Table 16). The LFPR for males in the total population declined modestly from 71.9% in 1980 to 69.9% in 1990 while the female LFPR increased substantially from 37.1% to 52.1%. By 1990, in spite of the changes in both rates for Latino males and females they still had comparable LFPR's with the total population (see Table 16). The declining trend of the previous 1970-80 decade in the LFPR for Latino males did not reverse as it did for females.

In Holyoke, the LFPR for Latino males declined from 59.3% in 1980 to 57.1% in 1990, and the Latino female LFPR increased strongly from 25.8% to 42.1% (see Table 17). In Holyoke, the LFPR for males in the total population also declined modestly between 1980 and 1990, from 69.6% to 67.1%. The female LFPR in the total population, by contrast, increased from 44.3% to 48.0% (see Table 17). In Holyoke, more than in the other two cities, the Latino rates were fairly distant from the rates of the total population. Also, as in Lawrence, the declining trend of the previous 1970-80 decade in the LFPR for Latino males did not reverse as it did for females.

In 1980, except in Lawrence, the Latino labor force participation rates in the three cities were lower relative to the rest of the total population. By 1990, that remained the case. The Latino male LFPR in Lawrence, in spite of a further (albeit small) decline, still remained higher relative to males in the total population. In overall terms,

Latinos in all three cities did not experience the decline in their LFPR's which they had experienced during the 1970-80 decade. In Lowell, the increases in both Latino rates reversed the trend of decline from the previous decade, while in Lawrence and Holyoke the reversal did not happen for Latino males although it did for females.

In the context of a deteriorating labor market situation, Holyoke preserved greater problems with labor market attachment among Latinos relative to Lowell and Lawrence, although the situation improved substantially for Latino females. Still, in Holyoke the Latino LFPR's during the 1980-1990 decade did not gain the distance they lost relative to the total population during the 1970-1980 decade. In Lawrence, the reversal from the previous decade was only partial. It seems as if males in Lawrence and Holyoke were being disproportionately affected by the decline. In these two cities, the improvement in the female rates could be explained in part by intensive use of female labor in subsisting, garment and light labor-intensive manufacturing industries, as well as by service industries. Both of these industries have traditionally used women as one of their main sources of labor. In Lowell, both rates improved suggesting a reversal of the labor force attachment problems which might have been taking place during the previous decade.

The differential patterns of economic restructuring may also have induced important changes in the occupational distribution of the Latino population in each city between 1980 and 1990, as it did in the prior decade. In this process of occupational change several issues are relevant: the pattern of the decline in manufacturing and the relative growth in service industries; the types or mix of manufacturing industries (high-tech, labor-intensive; modernizing small- and mid-size firms) which dominate or which subsist in each city as a result of the processes of restructuring that took place during the decade; and some of the technological, human resource and managerial practices in these industries.

In Lowell, the occupational distribution of the Latino population became more diversified between 1980 and 1990. Two features dominated the change: (a) increased Latino representation in upper-level occupational categories; and (b) a diverging pattern of

concentration within the lower-level occupational categories characterized, on the one hand, by decreasing representation in operatives, laborers, clerical and sales occupations, and, on the other, by a strong increase in representation in personal and private household occupations.

In 1980, Latinos in Lowell were underrepresented in upper-level professional, managerial, technical and administrative occupations relative to the total population: 6.9% of Latinos were employed in those occupational categories compared to 16.9% of the total employed population. Representation in the craftsmen and foremen occupations was roughly comparable to the total population's, but still lower; 8.0% of Latinos were employed in those occupations relative to 12.8% in the total population (see Table 18). By 1990, however, the share of Latinos in both groups of occupations increased, although not as much as in the total population. The growth in representation closed the gap between Latinos and the total population in crafts and foremen categories, although it did not in the other categories because of the large growth in representation registered by the total population (see Table 18).

During the decade there was an increase in the absolute number of workers in the total population who were in upper-level occupations; this was probably the result of job creation around the high-tech industries which developed in the Lowell area throughout the decade, as well as by other surviving traditional manufacturing and modernizing small- and mid-size firms. Latinos seem to have benefitted especially from openings created by the movement of Anglo workers from traditional manufacturing into better paid and more promising jobs in high-tech, or by the demand for flexible labor which existed in order to deal with the new processes of production in modernizing small- and mid-size firms. The access of Latinos to employment in high-tech industries seemed to have been fairly limited. Both of these trends appeared in data gathered in interviews performed in some of those different types of manufacturing industries in the Lowell area (see Appendix I).

Although a few exceptions did exist, between the early 1970s and late 1980s, very few Puerto Ricans and Latinos seem to have been

employed in Lowell's high-tech corporate core; most of those employed were concentrated in low-skill, low-wage occupations. Latinos were largely employed in nondurable manufacturing. By the early 1990s, the Latinos employed in two large corporations that were interviewed comprised no more than 3 percent of the total labor force of any of the particular plants, and they were concentrated in low-skill, low-wage occupational categories such as material handlers, unskilled operatives, and general help, commanding wages no higher than \$6.50 per hour.⁴ These jobs also seemed to offer little opportunities for mobility, general training and development.

The marginal use Puerto Rican and Latinos in Lowell's high-tech core may have developed due to a combination of forces, some related to the dynamics of the restructuring of the sector, others to the technological strategies and human resource practices pursued by corporations while adapting to market changes and volatility. One informant familiar with the employment of Latino workers in high-tech industries also stressed that good jobs in the sector were difficult to access because training and apprenticeship programs were heavily guarded by Anglo-dominated crafts unions which directly connected their membership in declining industries to job openings in high-tech.⁵ It seems that the few Latino (mostly Puerto Rican) workers who gained access to high-tech manufacturing during the 1970s did so through several federally-funded employment and training programs which created a limited amount of subsidized employment slots among defense contractors in the area.⁶

In Lowell's high-tech corporate core the marginal use of Puerto Rican and Latino labor was the result of a process of corporate restructuring and maturation in which the abundance of cheap and tractable labor became relatively unimportant to improving profitability, at least when weighted against other corporate needs such as market diversification and rapid technological innovation. The need

4 Firms C and D in Appendix I.

5 Interview with Angel Bermúdez.

6 Interview with Peter Vanier.

for that kind of labor was reduced or phased-out through modernization and vertical disintegration; the remaining entry-level positions were isolated as expendable positions which could be easily downsized or eliminated. Thus, Puerto Ricans and Latinos have not only fared poorly in this segment of the manufacturing sector, but have also seen their opportunities diminish even further.

By contrast, Puerto Ricans and Latinos were better represented in some of Lowell's labor-intensive firms, and its modernizing firms.⁷ Latinos in these firms were employed in a broad range of occupations. Puerto Ricans and Latinos represented between 10 and 40 percent of the workers employed by the firms interviewed, and held not only unskilled and semiskilled entry-level positions, but also mid-level technical, mechanical and supervisory positions commanding wages that ranged from \$6.50 to \$9.00 per hour for entry-level positions and up to \$15.00 per hour for other positions. Relatively better labor market outcomes for Puerto Ricans and Latinos in these firms have been the result of a combination of factors related to the technological and human resource strategies these firms have adopted in their restructuring.

Both kinds of firms encouraged training and job development at all levels of the occupational ladder, which has resulted in better employment prospects for Puerto Ricans and Latinos. In a labor-intensive firm in Lowell, for instance, while Puerto Ricans and Latinos have limited opportunities to interact with new technologies, they have been offered generous tuition reimbursement plans which can be used at a range of educational settings for either ESL, basic skills, GED training or other college-level education, and vocational training.⁸ After the training, workers are encouraged through meetings with plant and human resource managers to develop their own ideas and plans as to how their newly-acquired skills can be put to use in the workplace.

In a modernizing small firm, the use of new technologies and

7 Firms F and G in Appendix I

8 Firm G in Appendix I.

of new production processes (computer-aided flexible machinery; just-in-time systems; quality-control circles; better management groups) has demanded greater workers' independence and self-management, which, in turn, has required an improvement in the numerical, language and communication/interaction skills of both workers and managers.⁹ Puerto Rican and Latino workers in the new environment are expected to plan, schedule and record production activities, which requires more personal interaction among workers and between managers and workers, more calculation and estimation of the materials and labor to be used in production runs, and greater knowledge of the entire production process since job rotation is commonly encouraged. Also, the technological innovations taking place in modernizing firms, has required occupational reclassification, and resulted in the relaxation of occupational categories.¹⁰ This process has apparently improved the opportunities for occupational mobility for Puerto Ricans and Latinos.

In summary, some labor-intensive firms and modernizing firms in Lowell tend to rely more on Puerto Rican and Latino labor for their entire operation. It is possible to assert that, to some extent, many of these firms have assumed Puerto Rican and Latinos as a main supply of labor, thus making at least nominal commitments to improving their relative position within the firm. At these firms, Puerto Rican and Latinos have tended to be more evenly spread across the different occupations in production and have been also significantly represented in some skilled and supervisory positions.

The second feature of the change had two dimensions. On the one hand, the share of Latinos in lower-level occupational categories decreased between 1980 and 1990. In 1980, of the total employed Latino population 58.4% were employed as operatives and laborers and 17.2% were in clerical and sales occupations. In that year, Latinos' representation in the operative and laborers occupational categories was much higher than for the total population; in clerical, and sales the

9 Firm F in Appendix I

10 Firm F in Appendix I.

opposite was true. By 1990, however, of the total employed Latino population 34.4% were operatives and laborers and 16.2% were in clerical and sales occupations. Corresponding declines were also registered within the total population. On the other hand, the share of Latinos employed in personal and private household occupations increased heavily, even surpassing the level of representation of the total population; going from 8.4% in 1980 to 25.4% in 1990 (see Table 18).

Illustrations of the weakening Latino representation in the operatives and laborers categories, and in the clerical and sales categories, were apparent in some of the interviews performed in a declining labor-intensive manufacturing firm, in two high-tech corporations --as mentioned above-- and in an utilities company.¹¹ In the labor-intensive firm the weakening position in the operatives category was due to the plain decline and technological obsolescence of the firm, which was forcing its shut-down. In the high-tech firms it was due to large-scale processes of rationalization. In the utilities company, the weakening Latino representation in clerical jobs appeared to be attributable to the firm's poor effort to hire Latinos. In sum, the relative stability and turmoil within the manufacturing sector in Lowell, in conjunction with the strong growth in service employment did open upper-level occupational opportunities for Latinos, while simultaneously strengthenig and weakening their representation in selected lower-level occupational categories.

The change which occurred in upper-level occupational categories between 1980 and 1990 constituted a full reversal of the trend which had dominated the occupational composition of the Latino population during the 1970-1980 period. The second set of changes constituted a partial reversal mainly due to the sustained decline of employment in the operatives, laborer, clerical and sales categories, and the large increase in the personal service and private household categories.

Between 1980 and 1990, the occupational distribution of the

11

Firms A, C, D, and E in Appendix I.

Latino population in Lawrence continued to diversify very much along the same lines as in the previous decade. Three features characterized the trends : (a) partial improvement in representation in upper-level occupational categories; and (b) declining concentration in lower-level occupational categories; and (c) increased concentration in lower-level clerical and sales, and in service and private household occupations.

In 1980, 7.0% of Latinos were in upper-level professional, technical and administrative occupational categories compared to 14.3% of the total population. Latinos were better represented in craftsmen and foremen occupations relative to the total population (see Table 19). By 1990, Latinos increased their representation to 9.4% in the former group of categories. Representation also increased to 20.9% for the total population. The relative levels of representation in the craftsmen and foremen categories of the two populations converged at 13.7% due to a decline in representation among Latinos, and stagnation within the total population.

Both, the increase and the decrease in these two occupational categories could be explained by some of the dynamics taking place inside some of Lawrence's manufacturing establishments. Since the early 1970s the simultaneous decline of the manufacturing sector and the heavy growth of the Latino population in Lawrence has provided firms with the necessary cheap labor to "ride" the decline (which often ended in plant closings), or permitted firms to continue operating without any major investments in technology, job training or development. Latinos represented between 30% and 80% of the total labor force of some labor-intensive manufacturing firms interviewed in early 1990s.¹² These workers were concentrated in entry-level, unskilled, or semiskilled positions with little or no opportunities for training, advancement, or job development. However, due to the deep entrenchment of Latinos in manufacturing and their strong participation in some local unions they also went to occupy skilled and supervisory positions.¹³ The other side of the coin to such a situation

12 Firms I,J,K,M in Appendix II.

13 Firms I,J in Appendix II.

was that this growing representation in upper-level categories was happening in industries which were being "milked" and slated for shutdown, or which offered little prospects for professional development.¹⁴ Such process of decline also serves to contextualized the second feature which characterized the occupational distribution of the Latino population.

The second feature of the change was the declining concentration of Latinos in lower-level occupational categories between 1980 and 1990. In 1980, Latinos were heavily concentrated in lower-level occupational categories such as operative and laborers. Such concentration was proportionately much higher relative to the total population. While 59.5% of Latinos were employed as operatives and laborers, 33.1% in the total population were in those occupations. By 1990, however, Latinos decreased their representation in those categories, just as the total population did. Of the total employed Latino population 38.7% were employed as operatives and laborers relative to 25.3% in the total population (see Table 19).

The third feature of the change was the increased representation of Latinos in clerical and sales occupations, and in personal service and private household occupations, where the increase was dramatic. In 1980, 11.4 % of employed Latinos were in clerical and sales occupations. By 1990 the share of Latinos in these occupations increased to 16.8%. Representation in clerical and sales occupations for the total population decreased from 26.6% in 1980 to 23.3% in 1990. Latino representation in personal service and private household occupations increased from 5.7% in 1980 to 21.1%. Representation in that category also increased in the total population but not as impressively (see Table 19).

In Lawrence, in continuity with the previous decade, a rapidly declining manufacturing sector, and a rapidly expanding service economy combined to diversify the occupational distribution of the Latino population between 1980 and 1990. In addition, the growth of Latino businesses might have contributed to this diversification.

Four features characterized the changes which took place in Holyoke: (a) partial improvements in Latino representation in upper-level occupational categories; (b) declining concentration in lower-level occupational categories such as operatives and laborers; (c) a very significant increase in concentration in lower-level clerical and sales occupations and in personal service and private household occupations; and (d) decreased representation in farm-related occupations.

The share of Latinos in professional, technical and administrative occupations increased from 7.2% in 1980 to 15% in 1990. Such increase also materialized for the total population. In craftsmen and foremen occupations, Latino representation declined from 8.4% in 1980 and to 7.9% in 1990. This decrease was also true for the total population. Within that timeframe, the share of the total population who were employed in craftsmen and foremen occupations decreased from 23.0% to 18.4% (see Table 20).

The second feature of the change was the declining concentration of Latinos in lower-level occupational categories. In 1980, Latinos were already heavily concentrated in lower-level occupational categories. Such concentration was proportionately much higher relative to the total population's. While 51.2% of Latinos were employed as operatives and laborers, 23.0% in the total population were in those occupations. By 1990, however, Latinos decreased their representation in such categories, just as the total population, but the drop for Latinos was rather violent (see Table 20).

The third feature of the change was the relative increase in the share of Latinos in clerical and sales occupations, and in personal services and private household occupations, which declined or remained stagnant for the total population. The share of Latinos in clerical and sales increased from 12.7% in 1980 to 17% in 1990, and the share in personal and private household occupations increased from 14.2% in 1980 to 22.6% in 1990. The fourth feature of the changes in the occupational composition of the Latino population in the prior decade had been the increase in farm-related activities. Such representation practically disappeared between 1980 and 1990, declining from 6.8% to 1.7% (see Table 20).

In Holyoke, improved representation of Puerto Ricans and Latinos in upper-level occupational categories and in clerical and service occupations could be explained, as in the other two cities, by some of the managerial and human resource development practices implemented by firms. Among them we can point the "cropping" and careful selection of the best Puerto Rican and Latino workers available through specific arrangements between community-based organizations which offer employment and training, and recruitment programs organized by local businesses.¹⁵ Substantial Latino recruitment for Holyoke's modernizing firms was conducted by some Latino community-based organization under agreement with the Holyoke Employment Partnership, a program of the Greater Holyoke Chamber of Commerce. The program started in 1987 and in 1988 it was expanded with seed monies from a Community Development Block Grant and organizational help from the local Private Industry Council (PIC). It was a relatively small operation with a full-time Latino coordinator working out of an office at the Chamber of Commerce. In 1988-89, the program placed 123 individuals in full-time, private sector, mainly manufacturing jobs in Holyoke. In 1989-90, the program placed 151 individuals with a greater emphasis on clerical jobs. During the first two years, about 70 percent of the placements were Puerto Rican and Latino workers from Holyoke.¹⁶

Also, some of the training opportunities offered to Latino and Puerto Rican workers in modernizing firms seemed important. For instance, a synthetic textile firm replaced the water-jet looms conventional in the industry with high-speed, computer-aided air-jet looms which permit rapid shifts between different product lines, making customization easier without major calibration and tuning. Loom operators, mechanics and supervisors, among them some Puerto Ricans, were sent to Belgium, where the looms are manufactured, to be trained to use and maintain the new technology. Trained workers then developed workshops to train other workers on the new aspects of

15 Firms N,P, and S in Appendix III.

16 Interview with Hiram Quiñones.

production.¹⁷ In a second case, a stationary firm has hired a full-time educational consultant to assess the educational needs of its non-English speaking labor force, Puerto Ricans and Latinos included, and to develop an integrated ESL, GED and basic skills, work-based curriculum to facilitate the adjustment of the workers and the firm to the new "just-in-time" inventory systems, quality-control circles, and teamwork production arrangements.¹⁹ The effectiveness of the new methods was being seriously affected by problems of miscommunication and lack of workplace coordination.

In Holyoke, some of the changes which took place in the 1980-90 decade represented a reversal of some of the tendencies which dominated the occupational distribution of Latinos during the previous decade. Particularly salient was the reversal of the declining trend in representation in upper-level occupational categories, especially among professional, technical and administrative occupations, and of the inclining trend in representation in farm-related occupations. There was some continuity, however, in the increasing representation of Latinos in clerical and sales occupations, as well as in personal and private household occupations.

In all three cities diversification came largely through the growing representation in upper-level occupational categories, decreasing representation in the operatives and laborers category, and a dramatic increase in the personal services and private household occupational categories. As in the previous decade, at first glance it seems that the occupational distributions of the Latino population in the three cities converged into a similar pattern showing common levels of representation in practically all the occupational categories. All three cities, in some sense, and together with the reversal in the labor market attachment problems of the previous decade, were showing strong-working class characteristics.

From that vantage point, it would very much seem that the relative patterns of economic decline or prosperity which characterized

17 Firm N in Appendix III.

18 Firm P in Appendix III

each city were irrelevant to understand changes in the pattern of occupational distribution characteristic of each city, and that no differentiation was taking place. However, as it was apparent in some of the qualitative data gathered in the interviews, the trends within the individual occupational categories for each city were strongly conditioned by practices at the level of the firm which could be hiding important aspects of the process of occupational diversification and broader differentiation taking place in each city.

In that way, for instance, it becomes possible to explain the decreasing share of Latinos in the operatives category in Lowell, as an outcome of the modernization processes of the high-tech firms, or to explain the increasing share of Latinos in upper-level occupational categories in Lawrence and Holyoke, cities experiencing the most economic decline. In Lawrence, the increases were an outcome of the deep penetration of Latinos into declining, labor-intensive manufacturing, and in some of Holyoke's firms the increases were attributed to the need of meeting a demand for flexible labor to deploy the new production processes being deployed.

During the last decade in Massachusetts, much attention was devoted to praising the macroeconomic benefits of industrial redevelopment, while little attention was given to the microeconomic and firm-based changes that affected the employment situation of the Puerto Rican and Latino population. In the manufacturing firms of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, Puerto Ricans and Latinos remain largely concentrated in unskilled, low-paying jobs in peripheral firms. However, their opportunities are improving in some of Lowell's small and mid-size, labor-intensive firms that are seeking to enhance their competitive survival through human-resource development and by encouraging of job stability. In these firms, while little technological development takes place, the emphasis on improving the quality of the workforce has benefitted the employment outlook for Puerto Ricans and Latinos. In small and mid-size modernizing firms in Lowell and Holyoke, Puerto Rican and Latinos are also seeing better occupational outcomes. It is important to acknowledge, however, that the number of jobs in some of these small firms is limited. Conversely, in Lowell's high-tech, corporate core, and in Lawrence's and Holyoke's labor-

intensive segment of the manufacturing sector, Puerto Rican and Latinos were not faring well. Whether in decline or in prosperity, this highlights the need to further explore how the practices at the level of the firm are playing a role in affecting the occupational structures of communities, which remain hidden when research just looks at aggregate data.

6.3.2 Family/Household Characteristics

Between 1980 and 1990, the Latino male marriageable pool index in Lawrence and Holyoke declined-- although not in Lowell (see Table 21) . In Lawrence and Holyoke, this followed the trend established in the previous decade; in this Lowell was an exception. In Lawrence and Holyoke, the indexes in the total population also declined and in Lowell it remained steady.

These changes in potential Latino family stability were concomitant with changes in the distribution of the Latino population by household type. Among Latinos in Lawrence and in Holyoke, the shares of married-couple households decreased with corresponding increases in the shares of single- female headed households among Latinos. Actually, in both cities the share of Latino single-female-headed households surpassed the share of Latino married-couple households in the distributions. That did not happen among Latinos in Lowell, where distribution barely changed between 1980 and 1990, and where married-couple households still represented the dominant type of household within the distribution, although not by a wide margin.

In terms of family stability, the decline in the Latino MMPI's in Lawrence and Holyoke relative to Lowell shows differentiation between the cities. The same thing could be said in terms of the changes which took place in the distribution of the Latino population by household type. The possible impact of economic restructuring in the process of differentiating the family/household characteristics seemed to have reinforced underclass tendencies already at work in Holyoke as well as in Lawrence during the stage of *colonia* expansion. In Lowell, working-class characteristics seemed to be holding their ground.

In the *barrios* of the three cities, individual poverty rates were accompanied by increasing proportions of single-female-headed households, particularly in Lawrence and Holyoke. These increases were concomitant with statewide and national ones. In Massachusetts, the share of Latino single-female-headed households increased from 27.9% of all Latino households in 1980 to 33% in 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992). Between 1980 and 1990, the largest share of Latino households were married-couple families although their proportion among Latino households declined from 46.4% to 37.4% in 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992). These trends were apparent within the entire population, but they were not as pronounced as among Puerto Ricans and Latinos (and blacks). Nationally, except for blacks, Puerto Ricans in 1980 had the highest percentage of both males and females who had never married and had separated, and the highest percentage of females who had divorced (Bean and Tienda, 1987). Puerto Rican women aged 15 to 64 years old also showed the highest age standardized percentages of marital instability relative to non-Latino whites and other Latino subgroups for the 1960-80 (Bean and Tienda, 1987). For the same period, Puerto Ricans had a higher percentage of single-female-headed households relative to all other Latino subgroups and racial groups (Bean and Tienda, 1987). The trend continued during the 1980's, although not as pronounced as in the 1970's (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992).

What induces growth in the share of single-female-headed households among minority populations is currently the object of heated debate, although a number of factors such as welfare dependency, weak work ethic, lack of marriageable males have been identified (Wilson, 1987). Still, public discourse on the poverty situation of minorities in urban areas in the United States has continually emphasized the negative sociocultural and socioeconomic implications of the growth in the share of single-female-headed households for the overall health of communities.

6.4 *Barrio* Maturation and Differentiation: The Role of Sociocultural Dynamics

During the mid-1980's the threat of urban renewal largely dispelled, and the community became organized around other issues such as education, community development, and health. The Puerto Rican and Latino communities of each city turned "inwardly", so to speak, to reconsolidate or expand the institutional gains of the previous stage. In all three cases the Puerto Rican and Latino community do show an increasing capability to sustain organizing efforts, to establish new organizations, and to penetrate the political structure of the cities. Still, important differences arose depending on the issues which each of those communities adopted in order to advance their socioeconomic situation.

6.4.1 Lowell

The institutional backbone of the Puerto Rican and Latino community in Lowell took shape around the struggles to avoid the displacement that would have resulted from the aggressive urban renewal policies of the city. In the early 1980's, the city openly stated its intention to subject the Acre neighborhood --the Puerto Rican neighborhood --to another round of urban renewal. A multi-racial, multi-ethnic coalition with Puerto Ricans at the center took shape to combat the plan (Traynor and Benítez, n.d.). This organizational activity evolved into the Coalition for a Better Acre (CBA).¹⁹

CBA managed to stop urban renewal plans through an active campaign which included legal proceedings, community organizing , and protests. Further, it began a housing preservation and an affordable development campaign. Through small projects, CBA helped to build community awareness about the need to defend the spatial and social integrity of the area.²⁰ Topping CBA's campaign in 1991, jointly with

19 Interview with Cecilio Hernández.

20 Interview with Cecilio Hernández.

the North Canal Tenant Council and after seven years of work and negotiations, was the buying and renovation of the North Canal Housing Project (Adams,1990; Canellos,1989; Costello,1989; Spencer,1990). This 265 housing unit project, built during the late 1960's at the site of what was Little Canada, had fallen into oblivion with severe structural problems and poor living conditions (Traynor and Benítez, n.d.; Bratt,1989). Tenants, in coalition with CBA, bought the project from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). With a consortium of 12 local banks they put together a \$15-million reconstruction mortgage to make the project a reality. The North Canal housing complex became the first public housing project in the country sold to a coalition of residents and a community group (McMurtrie, 1992).¹⁹

After the North Canal Project, CBA has developed other community development initiatives aimed at extending the economic viability of the Acre neighborhood and to cope with the social, and racial changes that have taken place. CBA, first, has created the Minority Enterprise Development and Assistance Initiative (MEDAI) with funding from Theodore Edson Parker Foundation. This is a three year plan "designed to spark an array of new and improved community-based enterprises such as self-employment ventures, microenterprises and traditional small businesses among underemployed and unemployed Acre residents"(Moss to author, 1991). Over the next three years, MEDAI will cost about \$500,000 including a revolving loan fund of \$20,000, a peer group loan pool capitalized at \$30,000, and a business incubator (Moss to author, 1991). Also, CBA spun the Hispanic Empowerment and Leadership Project, the Urban Neighborhood Intervention Teams for Youth Project, and the Southeast Asians Organizing Project which are designed to "strengthen intra-community ties and support residents working to increase local control over the Acre's development" (McMurtrie,1992).²²

21 Interview with Cecilio Hernández.

22 McMurtrie,1992. p.4.

CBA's personnel, board, and coalition efforts reflect the accumulation of changes and experiences of the process of *barrio formation*. Children of the *colonia* that participate in CBA's board of directors derive the need to preserve community and to develop a long-term political vision from their vivid experiences of communal displacement and of public housing life created by previous waves of urban renewal in the city. Community residents and manufacturing workers that came during the early 1970's from various cities in the Northeast and Puerto Rico, and that either work in the organization or that participate in its Board, brought their experience of preserving community through the founding of religious and cultural organizations while coping with the dispersal caused by urban renewal. Newer residents, either as staff or a community residents, expand coalition-building efforts with Southeast Asians, today also an important component of the community.

Despite the organizational maturity of the Puerto Rican *barrio* in the Acre in Lowell, organizational growth in the *barrio* has been unable to yield a strong entry into political and economic structure of the city. On the hand, the Puerto Rican and Latino community in the city remains very poor. On the other hand, organizational growth has focused upon preserving and strengthening the immediate spatial and social integration of the *barrio*. There are no Latino elected officials in the city because the community on its own does not have the numbers to achieve political office, and political coalition efforts with the Anglo and Southeast Asian communities have just commenced (Kiang,1990,1993).²³ The Puerto Rican *barrio* --in the midst of its poverty-- has begun to profile characteristics of **working-class barrios** , and most recently it has begun to show a little endogenous economic development as in **ethnic enclaves** . Recently, CBA moved into a new locale to serve as an anchor landlord to several Southeast Asian and Latinos businesses, in addition to a few others that existed previously.

6.4.2 Lawrence

In Lawrence, by contrast, Puerto Ricans increasingly shared their geographic space with Latinos from other places but mostly from the Dominican Republic. The origin of the Dominican community in Lawrence dates back to the early 1960's, but the rapid growth of this community happened during the 1980's. Dominicans joined Cubans, the other large Latino subgroup in the city. A significant Cuban community existed in Lawrence since the mid-1960's and it expanded heavily as result of the Mariel Boatlift of the early 1980's (Eagle-Tribune, 1982; Eagle-Tribune, 1984; Yankee Magazine, 1968). According to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) about a 1000 Mariel refugees registered their would-be residence as Lawrence, Massachusetts. The Lawrence Project, a Cuban-led refugee resettlement program coordinated these efforts, and reported that about 300-400 of the 1000 refugees stayed in Lawrence (Eagle-Tribune, 1982; Eagle-Tribune, 1984). The share of Cubans among Latinos, however, has been declining (U.S. Census, 1990). Other Latin Americans from Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela are well represented in Lawrence.²⁴

In this stage of maturation, the organizational efforts of Lawrence's Puerto Rican and Latino *barrios* has been shaped by the easing of tensions between Anglos and Latinos after the chilling effect of the riots, the development of positive intra-Latino relations, and the continuous fragmentation of urban redevelopment policies. These three factors created conditions that enabled Latinos to penetrate the political and economic structure of the city. More specifically, Latinos started running as candidates to local office and increased their representation in public administration jobs, built social advocacy and business organizations that involved the participation of the various Latino subgroups, and were forced to develop a strong culture of business self-sufficiency in the absence of citywide economic redevelopment strategies.

After the riots, local politicians and the Anglo community begun accepting --albeit reluctantly-- the fact that the Puerto Rican and Latino community was becoming a permanent community in Lawrence.²⁵ And although social relations between Anglos and Latinos remained tense, institutional communication between the two groups became more fluid. The city recognized the contribution of Latinos to the local economy and the civic fabric and moved to produce more direct efforts of inclusion in City Hall jobs and activities (Paz-Martínez,1987; Lawrence Equal Opportunity Office,1988; Van Odsol, 1987). Led by the office of affirmative action created in the aftermath of the riots, the number of Latinos employed by the city increased modestly from 12 out of 637 city positions in 1986 to 77 out 936 in 1987 (Paz-Martínez,1987; Lawrence Eagle -Tribune,1987). Also, extra funding was allocated to bilingual education programs and a modest amount of federal funds from the Gateway Cities Program was allocated to help developing affordable housing for recently arrived immigrants (Paz-Martínez,1988).

Parallel to this modest sociopolitical opening, Latino candidates started running for public office, although unsuccessfully (Durán,1985). Daniel O'Neill run for a seat in the School Committee in 1981 and became the first Latino (Puerto Rican) to win a primary election in the city (Lawrence Equal Opportunity Office,1987). It was not until 1985, however, when Lawrence replaced the alderman system to elect the city council for one with six district councilors, three-at-large councilors and mayor, that Latinos could opt for better political opportunities. That same year, Modesto Maldonado, a local Latino leader and educator, survived the primaries with a good chance of winning a district city council seat, but he was defeated in the election (Paz-Martínez, 1987). In 1991, three Latino candidates run in city council elections.²⁶ None of them won but Ralph Carrero was elected to the School Committee, becoming the first Latino (Dominican) elected

25 Interviews with Isabel Meléndez and Ralph Carrero.

26 Interview with Ralph Carrero.

official in the history of the city.²⁷

The election of Carrero to public office marked a very important moment in the political and organizational development of the Latino community. For one, his election was an at-large victory which meant that both Anglos and Latinos from various nationalities voted for him. About his election he commented:

I was able to obtain, thanks to the Lord, the most votes of any Hispanic who has ever run for public office in the city of Lawrence. The community of Lawrence accepted me... the affluent community, the Hispanic community... I would say that the majority of the votes came from the Anglo community simply because of the number of Hispanic registered voters are not there...²⁸

For another, his election was an indication that intra-Latino animosity was less of an obstacle to political and economic empowerment.²⁹ This animosity had been building-up since large numbers of non-Latino Puerto Ricans were making Lawrence their residence. His campaign and victory rested upon developing a wide political and social platform that demonstrated that all Latinos and Anglos could find common ground on certain issues, in this case education. Carrero said about this dynamic:

My candidacy and my campaign were run very strategically in that this was going to be a campaign of bridging a community, and I stuck to that. Despite of the fact that I knew I was going to have some in the Hispanic community upset at me. But if you look at it from the strategic point of view, to put votes is what puts you in office and you've got to go to the voters and those voters happened to be predominantly Anglo and the majority. And the message to them [Hispanics and Anglos] was very clear ...that my candidacy was

27 Interview with Raph Carrero.

28 Interview with Ralph Carrero.

29 Interview with Rubén Nieves.

about education and that I had the qualifications and the credentials to make a positive contribution to our education system, which happened to be predominantly Hispanic... But my candidacy wasn't a Hispanic campaign, it was a campaign about hope and about the future of our community...³⁰

This "spirit" spread into other community-based initiatives and has served to institutionalize concrete programs and activities, especially those that involved intra-Latino cooperation.

Intra-Latino cooperation has been a key component of the organizational development of *barrios* in recent years, although animosity continues to exist.³¹ This dual dynamic of animosity and cooperation is the inevitable outcome of Latinos and Puerto Ricans sharing the same social and physical space, and of facing a common set of problems. In the area of education and small business development, however, Puerto Ricans and other Latinos have established a close working relationship to overcome critical deficiencies in the city's policies and programs.

In education, Puerto Ricans and other Latinos, together with the Lawrence Youth Commission, have developed the Parent Mobilization Project. The project intends to increase parental involvement in city schools to curb an alarming school dropout problem, teenage pregnancy, and youth violence. The project gathers Latino parents in discussion groups to air the issues and problems, and has organized several conferences where parents, policy makers and school administrators attempt reconciling cultural and political differences.³²

In the area of small business development, Latinos have collaborated to create the Minority Business Council, the Minority Relations Committee of the Greater Lawrence Chamber of Commerce.³³ Throughout the stage of *colonia* expansion, the absence

30 Interview with Ralph Carrero.

31 Interviews with Ralph Carrero; Isabel Meléndez; and Rubén Nieves.

32 Interview with Alvilda Martínez.

of urban renewal permitted Puerto Ricans and Latinos to remain in the neighborhoods, which allowed businesses to take root and develop. In 1987, the Massachusetts Executive Office of Economic Affairs conducted an unscientific survey and found more than 120 Hispanic businesses in Lawrence (Carras,1989). This was ratified by the U.S. Dept. of Commerce in 1987 which found 207 Latino owned businesses in the Lawrence-Haverhill SMSA with some \$12.5 million in total sales and receipts (U.S. Dept. of Commerce,1991). Further, as result of the lack of economic redevelopment strategies within the city, Latino businesses have been forced to coalesce into forming an organizational network to address their own development needs (Athey,1991; Carras,1990; Hartnett, 1992a, 1992c; Smith,1987). The Minority Business Council "is like a multi-ethnic Hispanic chamber of commerce..." said Rubén Nieves, president of the Council.³⁴ Its basic mission has been to find working capital for Latino businesses. In 1991, the Council put together a list of 240 Latino businesses and mediated with Lawrence Savings Bank the establishment of a \$100,000 loan pool that went into 31 loans to Latino small businesses.³⁵

These examples are but just a few of a wide array of organizations currently active in Lawrence's Puerto Rican and Latino *barrios* . An informal count indicates some 60 or 70 of these organizations (churches, social clubs, civic clubs, cultural organizations) (Martínez to author,1992). This organizational density points to a relatively high degree of social integration in *barrios* , in spite of their deep poverty. *Barrio* organizational development seems not breaking down but actively confronting the social and economic problems facing *barrios* (Hartnett,1992a,1992b, 1992c,1992d). Like **ethnic enclaves** , Lawrence's *barrios* also show a unique strength in their Latino business/ merchant class, which seems further attracting professionals (Equal Opportunity Office,1988; Hartnett,1992c). In the opinion of many leaders, however, the challenge of the Puerto Rican

33 Interview with Rubén Nieves.

34 Interview with Rubén Nieves.

35 Interview with Rubén Nieves.

and Latino community in Lawrence still remains to connect the social, economic and political spheres of organizational activity into a coherent agenda of community development. Only then organizational activity and economic power could yield a much stronger entry into City Hall.

6.4.3 Holyoke

In the last ten years, it has become clear that "the Hispanic community is in the process of inheriting Holyoke" said Kenneth Cote, former city solicitor of the city of Holyoke.³⁶ But he also added that " it isn't happening smoothly, it isn't happening happily. I think that the community [Latino] has to deal with a lot of problems that are imposed upon it ... and a lot of problems that are imposed upon by itself ".³⁷ During this stage of maturation, and in the midst of extreme poverty and lacking economic opportunities, the organizational backbone of Holyoke's Puerto Rican community contends with how to institutionalize the culture of activism that resulted from the struggles against removal and communal deterioration.

Throughout the stage of *colonia* of expansion, City Hall funded several organizations which intended to serve and even represent the Latino community of the city. But these organizations were palliatives to quell protest and anger and to buy the political favors of the Latino community, rather than real efforts at coping with problems of poverty, housing redevelopment, and communal deterioration.³⁸ They were "top-down" organizational efforts without any roots in the community or for that matter community support. This was the case with Casa Latina and its successor the South Holyoke Development Corporation.

In the early 1970's, the city used Community Development

36 Interview with Kenneth Cote.

37 Interview with Kenneth Cote.

38 Interview with Carlos Vega.

Block Grant (CDBG) monies to establish Casa Latina, a City Hall-based attempt to establish a referral agency for Latinos. The agency, however, was mostly an effort to buy the vote of the growing Latino population of the city. Carlos Vega comments:

I remember attending a couple of meetings at the old Model Cities buildings in the Flats --neighborhood people-- and listening what is it that the people wanted and the people kept saying we needed help in translating and interpreting services... We needed transportation, we needed those basic types of things... So they [the city] came up with this idea of setting up this Casa Latina. ... [It] was started in the early 1970's with the assistance of CDBG monies when Mayor Proulx [Ernest] was elected in his first term... but he needed votes to assure his re-election...³⁹

The City "dissolved" Casa Latina in the late 1970's when Latino personnel in the agency used it to organize around issues of racial discrimination in the City. The city went on to establish the South Holyoke Development Corporation which subsequently also dissolved in disarray during the height of the arson crisis of the early 1980's.

In the early 1980's, the organizational drive of the Puerto Rican community against the wave of arson, the city-sponsored demolition campaign in South Holyoke, and the high infant mortality rates among Puerto Ricans gave rise to Nueva Esperanza Development Corporation and to the Coalition of Spanish Speaking Providers. The development of these two organizations represented a break with that cycle of organizational dependency which for many years thwarted institutional growth within the community. The city, as the only source of funding and given the great need for such resources within the Puerto Rican *barrios*, was effective in undermining organizational activity by forcing community activists and leaders to face the dilemma of compromising for silence, inaction, or funding.³⁹

Nueva Esperanza Development Corporation was product of a grassroots organizing effort which drew energy from the drive against

arson, from legal actions filed by community residents against the city and the federal government, and from the determination of community residents to build a permanent institutional base independent from City Hall "development" efforts in South Holyoke (Bratt,1989; Collins, n.d.).⁴⁰ In one of these legal actions, seven Puerto Rican women filed a class action suit against HUD charging the agency and the city, among other things, for discrimination, the illegal use of CDBG funds for demolition, and for the failure to relocate displaced residents (Bratt,1989).⁴¹ The case will be seen in the Federal Courts in 1994 (Glaser to author, 1993). Throughout the late 1980's and early 1990's, Nueva Esperanza has focused on establishing a solid record in housing redevelopment in South Holyoke by building or rehabilitating some 110 affordable housing units.⁴²

The Coalition of Spanish Speaking Providers, unlike Nueva Esperanza, was not the result of a "conventional" grassroots process of organizing, yet it moved quickly to establish contact with community residents and to develop strategies and programs to curb infant mortality. The Coalition evolved out concern with high infant mortality rates and the "disastrous toll that the benefit system... the Welfare Dept. and others was having on the [Puerto Rican] community".⁴³ According to Orlando Isaza, a health professional in Holyoke during the time, the problem with high infant mortality rates was intimately related to the problem of family disintegration product of the social, political and psychological disenfranchisement that in turn was related to policies that "forced a community and individuals in those communities to live double lives".⁴⁴ He said further about the problem:

40 Interviews with María Figueroa; Carlos Vega; Rosalina Meléndez; and Lenore Glaser.

41 Interview with María Figueroa and Lenore Glaser.

42 Interview with María Figueroa.

43 Interview with Orlando Isaza.

44 Interview with Orlando Isaza.

And I talk about --sometimes jokingly but extremely seriously the phantom males in our communities ... we have, as a system, we have forced people to become phantasmagoric and that has serious psychological and social implications to our community... Don't make yourself to visible, don't talk to people about things that might become the knowledge of the Welfare Dept. You are not supposed to be in the home, you are not supposed to do that, [you are] supposed to be sick , not supposed to be well. Those kinds of things --I think-- that kind of double life situation makes very difficult for the expression of political will...⁴⁵

The Coalition, thus, moved to develop programs that addressed the issue of empowerment to create political will, and that enabled community residents to confront the health establishment. They also fostered the creation of culturally sensitive programs that reduced apathy towards using social benefits and health services, and that break with the isolation induced by welfare and service delivery systems.⁴⁶ The Coalition continues to be active and in 1992 changed its name to the Holyoke Latino Community Coalition (H.L.C.C., n.d; La Nueva Era,1993).

These two organizations responded to immediate needs within the Puerto Rican community but they were more important in beginning a process of institutional maturation that resulted in the election of Betty Medina to the Holyoke School Committee in 1987, and of Diosdado López as alderman for Ward 2 of the City of Holyoke in 1992. ⁴⁷ Puerto Ricans were using their organizations effectively to penetrate the political structure of the city and to "negotiate" their way into City Hall. This was most evident in the political discussions and the process of "negotiation" that led to the election of López. Elaine Pluta, who vacated the seat won by López to run for an at-large seat, said about the political process:

45 Interview with Orlando Isaza.

46 Interview with Orlando Isaza.

47 Interview with Orlando Isaza.

Diosdado started organizing because he wanted to get in... And I could understand... I've seen the way the ward was growing with the increasing amount of Latino people in the ward. I thought I could help them a lot but they wouldn't work with me, because they didn't want me to look good. I guess they wanted a Latino... I had to force myself into everything, which wasn't good ... they wanted someone of their own. And in a way they were right and in a way they were wrong... But anyway... I decided that rather than to fight it with Diosdado --because he ran against me the first time and I think I would have felt bad to beat him again, although I don't know if I would have this time-- Well, I thought that if I got to be an at-large officer and Diosdado got to be the Ward alderman we could work together and get stuff done... We talked, Diosdado and I talked and we did go over everything, all the different angles. But he didn't try to influence me and I didn't try to influence him either when it came down to make our decisions.⁴⁸

The Puerto Rican community has continued expanding its political participation in local and regional politics by closely collaborating in the election of John Olver to the U.S. House of Representatives.⁴⁹

The Puerto Rican *barrios* and community of Holyoke have contended with ferocious poverty rates during the last 20 years (Hernández,1992). Still, a strong culture of activism took root in the *barrios* and served to create organizations that have contributed to the political empowerment of the community. The challenge remains to connect political gains to enable desperately needed economic relief since the city continues to be affected by an almost permanent status of economic decline (*Exito Latino*,1992).

Organizationally, none of the Puerto Rican and Latino communities in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke show the signs of breakdown that characterizes underclass *barrios*. All three cities show strong working-class characteristics. Lawrence is the only one that shows ethnic enclave characteristics. Also, Lowell shows incipient

48 Interview with Elaine Pluta.

49 Interview with Orlando Isaza.

characteristics of **ethnic enclaves** as evidence by the business initiatives of the Coalition for a Better Acre.

6.5 Summary

In the stage of *barrio* maturation some important changes took place with respect to the previous stage of *colonia* expansion. These changes are schematically summarized in Tables 34 a-c, 35 a-c, 36 a-c, and 37.

Lowell, to some degree reversed some of its underclass spatial/residential and family/household characteristics; preserved its working-class, labor market characteristics; and strengthened its organizational, working-class characteristics. It also began to show some incipient ethnic enclave characteristics.

Lawrence preserved strong spatial/residential, labor market and family/household underclass characteristics, but also developed strong organizational, working-class characteristics. It was the only one of the three cities which showed strong ethnic enclave, spatial/residential and organizational characteristics.

Holyoke basically matured deeper into underclass spatial/residential, and family/household characteristics, and to some extent into underclass labor market characteristics. In terms of its organizational characteristics, the community managed to preserve and reconsolidate previous institutional gains leading to working-class characteristics.

Table 34a

**Spatial/Residential Characteristics:
Barrio Maturation, Early 1980's to the Present.**

Lowell

Spatial/Residential Characteristics

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Absolute Growth of P.R. and Latino Populations, 1980-90. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PR and Latinos increased but less relative to Lawrence and to Holyoke. • PR increased more than other Latinos, as in Holyoke although not Lawrence. |
| 2) Absolute Growth of White, Black, and Asian Populations, 1980-90. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whites decreased but less relative to Lawrence and to Holyoke. • Blacks increased little like in Lawrence, and more relative to Holyoke. • Between 1980 and 1990, the number of Asians surpassed Latinos. More Asians than in Lawrence and Holyoke. |
| 3) Relative Growth of Puerto Rican, Latino, White, Black and Asian Populations, 1980-90. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PR-From 3.8% of Total Population in 1980 to 6.8% in 1990. • Latinos (including PR)-From 5.4% of Total Pop. in 1980 to 10.2% in 1990. • PR were 77% of Latinos in 1980 and 67% in 1990. • Whites decreased from 92.5% of Total Pop. in 1980 to 76.5% in 1990. • Blacks increased from 1.2% of Total Pop. in 1980 to 2% in 1990. • Asians increased from 1.3% of Total Pop. in 1980 to 11.3% in 1990. |
| 4) Distribution of census tracts (CT) by share of PR-Latino and White Populations, 1980-90. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1980, 24 CT were 80-100% White and 1 was between 60-79.9% White. • In 1980, 24 CT were between 0-19.9% Latino and 1 was between 20-39.9% Latino. • In 1990, 9 CT were 80-100% White; 9 CT were 60-79.9% White; 5 CT were 20-39.9% White; 1 CT was 20-39.9% White. • In 1990, 19 CT were between 0-19.9% Latino; 4 CT were between 20-39.9% Latino; 1 CT was between 40-59.9% Latino. |
| 5) Dissimilarity Indexes: White/Latino; White/P.R., 1980-90. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White/Latino index decreased from .47 in 1980 to .41 in 1990. • White/PR index decreased .48 in 1980 to .36 in 1990. • Indexes in 1980 and 1990 were lower relative to Lawrence and to Holyoke. |
| 6) Individual Poverty Rates for Latinos, Whites, and Blacks, 1979-89. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Latinos- rate decreased slightly from 47.9% in 1979 to 45.5% in 1989. • Whites- rate decreased slightly from 12.5% in 1979 to 12% in 1989. • Blacks- rate increased from 24.7% in 1979 to 28.9% in 1989. • Same Latino Poverty rate as Lawrence, but lower relative to Holyoke. |
| 7) Individual Poverty Rates for Latinos by census tract (CT) with 400 + Latinos, 1980-90. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1980, the Latino poverty rate in the three 400 + Latino CT was higher than the Latino citywide poverty rate. • In 1990, the Latino poverty rate in 5 of 10 400+ CT was higher than the Latino citywide rate. • In three CT with 1980-90 comparable data, the Latino poverty rate decreased. |
| 8) Homeownership rates for the Total and Latino Populations, 1980-90. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1980 and 1990, the Latino homeownership rate was lower relative to the homeownership rate of the Total population of the city. • The Latino homeownership rate increased from 10.5% in 1980 to 12.6% in 1990. • In 1980, the Latino homeownership rate was higher relative to the Latino homeownership rate in Lawrence and in Holyoke. • In 1990, the Latino homeownership rate was higher relative to the Latino homeownership rate in Lawrence and Holyoke. |
| 9) Latino-Owned Businesses in 1987. | Less than 100 in 1987. |

Table 34b

**Spatial/Residential Characteristics:
Barrio Maturation, Early 1980's to the Present.**

Lawrence

Spatial/Residential Characteristics

1) Absolute Growth of P.R. and Latino Populations, 1980-90.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PR and Latinos increased more relative to Lowell and to Holyoke. • PR increased but less than other Latinos, unlike Lowell and Holyoke.
2) Absolute Growth of White, Black, and Asian Populations, 1980-90.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whites decreased more relative to Lowell and to Holyoke. • Blacks increased little like in Lowell and Holyoke. • In 1980, a smaller number of Asians relative to Lowell but larger relative to Holyoke.
3) Relative Growth of Puerto Rican, Latino, White, Black and Asian Populations, 1980-90.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PR-From 9.1% of Total Population in 1980 to 18.3% in 1990. • Latinos (including PR)-From 16.3% of Total Pop. in 1980 to 41.6% in 1990. • PR were 55.6% of Latinos in 1980 and 43.9% in 1990. • Whites decreased from 81.3% of Total Pop. in 1980 to 54.7% in 1990. • Blacks increased from 1.4% of Total Pop. in 1980 to 1.7% in 1990. • Asians increased from 1% of Total Pop. in 1980 to 2% in 1990.
4) Distribution of census tracts (CT) by share of PR-Latino and White Populations, 1980-90.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1980, 11 CT were 80-100% White; 5 CT were 60-79.9% White; 1 CT was 40-59.9% White. • In 1980, 8 CT were 0-19.9% Latino; 7 CT were 20-39.9% Latino; 3 CT were 40-59.9% Latino. • In 1990, 2 CT were 80-100% White; 3 CT were 60-79.9% White; 5 CT were 40-59.9% White; 7 CT were 20-39.9% White; 1 was 0-19.9% White. • In 1990, 2 CT were 0-19.9% Latino; 5 CT were 20-39.9% Latino; 5 CT were 40-59.9% Latino; 5 CT were 60.-79.9% Latino; 1 CT was 80-100% Latino.
5) Dissimilarity Indexes: White/Latino; White/P.R., 1980-90.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White/Latino index decreased from .53 in 1980 to .43 in 1990. • White/PR index decreased from .57 in 1980 to .47 in 1990, but remained higher relative to Lowell, although not to Holyoke. • Indexes were higher relative to Lowell but lower relative to Holyoke.
6) Individual Poverty Rates for Latinos, Whites, and Blacks, 1979-89.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Latinos- rate remained unchanged; 45.4% in 1979 and 45.5% in 1989 . • Whites- rate increased 15.6% in 1979 to 18.5% in 1989. • Blacks- rate increased from 21.5% in 1979 to 33% in 1989. • Same Latino Poverty rate as Lowell, but lower relative to Holyoke.
7) Individual Poverty Rates for Latinos by census tract (CT) with 400 + Latinos, 1980-90.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1980, the Latino poverty rate in 6 of 11 400+ CT was higher than the Latino citywide poverty rate. • In 1990, the Latino poverty rate in 5 of 17 400+ CT was higher than the Latino citywide poverty rate. • In 6 of 11 CT with 1980-90 comparable data, the Latino poverty rate decreased.
8) Homeownership rates for the Total and Latino Populations, 1980-90.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1980 and 1990, the Latino homeownership rate was lower relative to the homeownership rate of the Total population of the city. • The Latino homeownership rate increased from 8.8% in 1980 to 12% in 1990. • In 1980, the Latino homeownership rate was lower relative to the Latino homeownership rate in Lowell, although not lower relative to Holyoke. • In 1990, the Latino homeownership rate was lower relative to the Latino homeownership rate in Lowell, although not lower relative to Holyoke.
9) Latino-Owned Businesses in 1987.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 207 Latino-owned businesses.

Table 34c

**Spatial/Residential Characteristics:
Barrio Maturation, Early, 1980's to the Present.**

Holyoke

Spatial/Residential Characteristics

<p>1) Absolute Growth of P.R. and Latino Populations, 1980-90.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •PR and Latinos increased more relative to Lowell but less relative to Lawrence. •PR increased more than other Latinos,as in Lowell although not in Lawrence.
<p>2) Absolute Growth of White,Black, and Asian Populations, 1980-90.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Whites decreased more relative to Lowell but less relative to Lawrence. •Blacks increased little like in Lowell and in Lawrence. •In 1980, a smaller number of Asians relative to Lowell and to Lawrence.
<p>3) Relative Growth of Puerto Rican, Latino, White,Black and Asian Populations,1980-90.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •PR-From 13% of Total Population in 1980 to 28.2% in 1990. •Latinos (including PR)-From 13.8% of the Total Pop. in 1980 to 31.1% in 1990. •PR were 93.5% of Latinos in 1980 and 90.9% in 1990. •Whites decreased from 83.2% of the Total Pop. in 1980 to 65.3% in 1990. •Blacks increased from 2.2% of the Total Pop. in 1980 to 2.6% in 1990. •Asians increased from .7% of Total Pop. in 1980 to 1.1% in 1990.
<p>4) Distribution of census tracts (CT) by share of PR-Latino and White Populations,1980-90.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In 1980, 5 CT were 80-100% White; 1 CT was 60-79.9% White; 2 CT were 40-59.9% White. •In 1980, 5 CT were 0-19.9% Latino; 1 CT was 20-39.9% Latino; 2 CT were 40-59.9% Latino. •In 1990, 3 CT were 80-100% were White;2 CT were 60-79.9%; 1 CT was 40-59.9%; 1 CT was 20-39.9%; 2 CT were 0-19.9% White. • In 1990, 4 CT were 0-19.9% Latino; 1 CT 20-39.9%; 1 CT was 40-59.9 Latino; 2 CT were 60-79.9%; 1 was CT 80-100% Latino.
<p>5) Dissimilarity Indexes: White/Latino; White/P.R., 1980-90.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •White/Latino index decreased slightly from .67 in 1980 to .63 in 1990. •White/PR index decreased slightly from .70 in 1980 to .65 in 1990. •In 1980 and 1990, indexes were higher relative to Lowell and to Lawrence.
<p>6) Individual Poverty Rates for Latinos, Whites, and Blacks,1979-89.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Latinos- rate decreased minimally from to 59.9% in 1979 to 59.1% in 1990. •Whites- rate increased from 13.1% in 1979 to 13.7% in 1990. •Blacks- rate decreased from 43.5% in 1979 to 42.8% in 1989. •Higher Latino poverty rates relative to Lowell and to Lawrence.
<p>7) Individual Poverty Rates for Latinos by census tract (CT) with 400 + Latinos, 1980-90.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In 1980, the Latino poverty rate in all four 400+ Latino CT was higher than the Latino citywide rate. • In 1990, the Latino poverty rate in 4 of 8 400+ Latino CT was higher than the citywide Latino poverty rate. •In 2 of 4 CT with 1980-90 comparable data, the Latino poverty rate increased.
<p>8) Homeownership rates for the Total and Latino Populations, 1980-90.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1980 and 1990, the Latino homeownership rate was lower relative to the homeownership rate of the Total population of the city. • The Latino rate increased from 4.4% in 1980 to 5.2% in 1990. • In 1980, the Latino homeownership rate was lower relative to the Latino homeownership rate in Lowell and Lawrence. • In 1990, the Latino homeownership rate was lower relative to the Latino homeownership rate in Lowell and Lawrence.
<p>9) Latino-Owned Businesses in 1987.</p>	<p>Less than 100 in 1987.</p>

Table 35a

**Family/Household Characteristics:
Barrio Maturation, Early 1980's to the Present.**

Lowell

Family/Household Characteristics

1) Distribution of the Total and Latino populations by Household Type, 1980-90.

- In 1980, the % of Latino *MCHH was lower relative to the Total pop.; 41.9% of Latino households were MCHH while 50.5% of Total pop. were MCHH.
- By 1990, the % of Latino MCHH declined as in the Total pop.; 40% of Latino households were MCHH while 45.6% of the Total pop. were MCHH.

- In 1980, the % of Latino **SFHH was higher relative to the Total pop.; 30.8% of Latino households were SFHH while 9.1% of Total pop. were SFHH.
- By 1990, the % of Latino SFHH increased little relative to the Total pop.; 31% of Latino households were SFHH while 10.5% in the Total pop. were SFHH.

- In 1980, the % Latino MCHH was higher than the % of Latino SFHH.
- In 1990, the % of Latino MCHH was higher than the % of Latino SFHH.

- In 1980, the % of Latino MCHH was lower relative to the % of Latino MCHH in Lawrence and slightly higher relative to Holyoke.
- By 1990, the % of Latino MCHH was higher relative to the % of Latino MCHH in Lawrence and in Holyoke.
- In 1980, the % of Latino SFHH was lower relative to the % of Latino SFHH in Lawrence and Holyoke.
- In 1990, the % of Latino SFHH was lower relative to the % of Latino SFHH in Lawrence and Holyoke.

2) Male Marriageable Pool Index (MMPI), 1980-1990.

- In 1980, the Latino MMPI was lower relative to the Total pop. MMPI: the Latino MMPI was 46.4 while the Total pop. MMPI was 60.6.
- By 1990, the Latino MMPI increased and the Total MMPI remained steady. The Latino MMPI remained below the Total pop. MMPI: the Latino MMPI was 53.3 while the Total pop. was 60.5.
- In 1980, the Latino MMPI was lower relative to the Latino MMPI in Lawrence, but not relative to the Latino MMPI in Holyoke.
- In 1990, the Latino MMPI was higher relative to the Latino MMPI in Lawrence and in Holyoke.

* MCHH= Married-Couple Headed Households

** SFHH= Single-Female Headed Households

Table 35b

**Family/Household Characteristics:
Barrio Maturation, Early 1980's to the Present.**

Lawrence

Family/Household Characteristics

1) Distribution of the Total and Latino populations by Household Type, 1980-90.

- In 1980, the % of Latino MCHH was lower relative to the Total pop.; 45% of Latino households were MCHH while 47.5% of Total pop. were MCHH.
- By 1990, the % of Latino MCHH declined as the % of MCHH in the Total pop. and remained below such %; 36.9% of Latino households were MCHH while 42.7% of the Total pop. were MCHH.

- In 1980, the % of Latino SFHH was higher relative to the Total pop.; 31.7% of Latino households were SFHH while 10.8% of Total pop. were SFHH.
- By 1990, the % of Latino SFHH increased, as in the Total pop.: 37.2% of Latino households were SFHH while 16.8% in the Total pop. were SFHH.

- In 1980, the % Latino MCHH was higher than the % of Latino SFHH.
- In 1990, the % of Latino MCHH was lower than the % of Latino SFHH.

- In 1980, the % of Latino MCHH was higher relative to the % of Latino MCHH in Lowell and in Holyoke.
- By 1990, the % of Latino MCHH was lower relative to the % of Latino MCHH in Lowell but not relative to Holyoke.

2) Male Marriageable Pool Index (MMPI), 1980-1990.

- In 1980, the Latino MMPI was lower relative to the Total pop. MMPI: the Latino MMPI was 53.9 while the Total pop. MMPI was 54.3.
- By 1990, both the Latino and Total MMPI declined and the Latino MMPI stayed below the Total pop. MMPI: the Latino MMPI was 46.6 while the Total pop. MMPI was 50.7.

- In 1980, the Latino MMPI was higher relative to the Latino MMPI in Lowell and in Holyoke.
- In 1990, the Latino MMPI was lower relative to the Latino MMPI in Lowell but not relative to Holyoke.

* MCHH= Married-Couple Headed Households
** SFHH= Single-Female Headed Households

Table 35c

**Family/ Household Characteristics:
Barrio Maturation, Early 1980's to the Present.**

Holyoke

Family/Household Characteristics

1) Distribution of the Total and Latino populations by Household Type, 1980-90.

- In 1980, the % of Latino MCHH was lower relative to the Total pop.;
- 41.6% of Latino households were MCHH while 48.5% of Total pop. were MCHH.
- By 1990, the % of Latino MCHH declined further relative the Total pop., which increased;
- 31.8% of Latino households were MCHH while 63.3% of the Total pop. were MCHH.

- In 1980, the % of Latino SFHH was higher relative to the Total pop.;
- 36.4% of Latino households were SFHH while 10% of Total pop. were SFHH.
- By 1990, both the % of Latino SFHH and in the Total pop. increased;
- 43.6% of Latino households were SFHH while 22.5% in the Total pop. were SFHH.

- In 1980, the % of Latino MCHH was higher than the % of Latino SFHH.
- In 1990, the % of Latino MCHH was lower than the % of Latino SFHH.

- In 1980, the % of Latino MCHH was slightly lower relative to the % of Latino MCHH in Lowell and in Lawrence.
- By 1990, the % of Latino MCHH was lower relative to % of Latino MCHH in Lowell and in Lawrence.

- In 1980, the % of Latino SFHH was higher relative to the % of Latino SFHH in Lowell and Lawrence.
- In 1990, the % of Latino SFHH was higher relative to the % of Latino SFHH in Lowell and in Lawrence.

2) Male Marriageable Pool Index (MMPI), 1980-1990.

- In 1980, the Latino MMPI was lower relative the Total pop. MMPI: the Latino MMPI was 38.8 while the Total pop. MMPI was 50.5.
- By 1990, both the Latino and Total MMPI declined and the Latino MMPI stayed below the Total pop. MMPI: the Latino MMPI was 34.4 while the Total pop. MMPI was 48.2.

- In 1980, the Latino MMPI was lower relative to the Latino MMPI in Lowell and in Lawrence.
- In 1990, the Latino MMPI was lower relative to the Latino MMPI in Lowell and in Lawrence.

* MCHH= Married-Couple Headed Households

** SFHH= Single-Female Headed Households

Table 36a

**Labor Market Characteristics:
Barrio Maturation, Early 1980's to the Present.**

Lowell

Labor Market Characteristics

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1) Labor Force Participation Rates for the Total and Latino Populations; Men and Women, 1980-90. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1980, Latino Male and Female LFPR's were lower relative to the Male and Female LFPR's in the Total pop. • By 1990, Latino Male and Female LFPR's increased but stayed lower relative to the Male and Female LFPR's in the Total pop. • In 1980, the Latino Male LFPR was lower relative to the Latino Male LFPR in Lawrence, but not relative to Holyoke. • In 1980, the Latino Female LFPR was higher relative to the Latino Female LFPR in Lawrence and Holyoke. • In 1990, the Latino Male LFPR was higher relative to Lawrence and Holyoke. • In 1990, the Latino Female LFPR was lower relative to Lawrence but not to Holyoke. |
| 2) Occupational Distribution of Latino and Total Populations, 1980-90. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1980, Latinos showed a lower concentration in upper occup. categories (Prof. and Craft) relative to the Total pop. • By 1990, Latinos increased their concentration in upper occup. categories relative to the Total pop. which also increased. • In 1980, Latinos were heavily concentrated in lower-level occup. categories (operatives, etc.) relative to the Total pop. • By 1990, Latinos decreased their concentration in lower occup. categories relative to the Total pop. that also decreased. |
| 3) Human resource development opportunities (HRDO) for Latinos in each city's manufacturing in 1990. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Latinos in high-tech had little HRDO; they were concentrated in semi- and unskilled occup. with low wages and little prospects for upward mobility. • Latinos in labor-intensive had relatively better HRDO; they were concentrated in low skill occupations but with better educational and training opportunities; stronger representation in supervisory positions; better wages relative to labor-intensive manufacturing. • Latinos in modernizing firms had even better HRDO: well diversified within the occupational ladder; good education and training opportunities with new technologies; supervisory opportunities; better wages than in high-tech and labor-intensive. |
| 4) Occupational outcomes for Latinos in each city's manufacturing in 1990. | |

Table 36b

**Labor Market Characteristics:
Barrio Maturation, Early-1980's to the Present.**

Lawrence

Labor Market Market Characteristics

1) Labor Force Participation Rates for the Total and Latino Populations; Men and Women, 1980-1990.

- In 1980, Latino Male and Female LFPR's were higher relative to the Male and Female LFPR's in the Total pop.
- By 1990, Latino Male and Female LFPR's declined. Latino Male LFPR remained higher relative to Male LFPR in the Total pop., which also declined. The Latino Female LFPR increased.

- In 1980, the Latino Male LFPR was higher relative to the Latino Male LFPR in Lowell and Holyoke.
- In 1980, the Latino Female LFPR was lower relative the Latino Female LFPR in Lowell but not relative to Holyoke.
- In 1990, the Latino Male LFPR was lower relative to Lowell but not relative to Holyoke.
- In 1990, the Latino Female LFPR was higher relative to Lowell and Holyoke.

2) Occupational Distribution of Latino and Total Populations, 1980-1990.

- In 1980, Latinos showed lower concentration in upper-level occup. categories (Prof. and craft) relative to the Total pop.
- By 1990, Latinos increased in upper-level occup. categories relative to the Total pop..
- In 1980, Latinos were heavily concentrated in lower-level occup. categories (operatives) relative to the Total pop.
- By 1990, Latinos decreased their high concentration in lower-level occup. categories relative to the Total pop. that also decreased.

3) Human resource development opportunities (HRDO) for Latinos in each city's manufacturing in 1990.

- [High-Tech industries are relatively unimportant in Lawrence.]
- Latinos in labor-intensive firms had little HRDO: they were concentrated in semi- and unskilled occup. with practically no education and training opportunities; low wages.

4) Occupational outcomes for Latinos in each city's manufacturing in 1990.

- [I could not access modernizing firms in Lawrence, which seem to be very few of them.]

Table 36c

**Labor Market Characteristics:
Barrio Maturation, Early 1980's to the Present.**

Holyoke

Labor Market Market Characteristics

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1) Labor Force Participation Rates for the Total and Latino Populations; Men and Women, 1980-90</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1980, the Latino Male and Female LFPR's were lower relative to the Total pop. • By 1990, the Latino Male LFPR declined as the Male LFPR in the Total pop.; the Latino Female LFPR increased relative to the Female Total LFPR which increased but by much less. • In 1980, the Latino Male LFPR was lower relative to the Latino Male LFPR in Lowell and Lawrence. • In 1980, the Latino Female LFPR was substantially lower relative to the Latino Female LFPR in Lowell and Lawrence. • In 1990, the Latino Male LFPR was lower relative to the Latino Male LFPR in Lowell and Lawrence. • In 1990, the Latino Female LFPR was lower relative to the Latino Female LFPR in Lowell and Lawrence. |
| <p>2) Occupational Distribution of Latino and Total Populations, 1980-90.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1980, Latinos much lower concentration in upper-level occup. categories (Prof. and craft) relative to the Total pop. • By 1990, Latinos increased their concentration in upper-level occup. categories as in the Total population. • In 1980, Latinos were heavily concentrated in lower-level occup. categories (operatives, etc.) relative to the Total pop. • By 1990, Latinos decreased their high concentration in lower-occup. categories relative to the Total pop. that also increased. |
| <p>3) Human resource development opportunities (HRDO) for Latinos in each city's manufacturing in 1990.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [No large High-Tech firms in Holyoke.] • Latinos in labor-intensive firms had little HRDO: they were concentrated in semi- and unskilled occupations; no education and training opportunities; and low wages. |
| <p>4) Occupational outcomes for Latinos in each city's manufacturing in 1990.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Latinos in modernizing firms had better HRDO: well diversified within the occupational ladder; good education and training opportunities with new tech.; supervisory opportunities; better wages than in labor-intensive. |

Table 37

**Organizational Characteristics:
Barrio Maturation, Early-1980's to the Present.**

Lowell

Organizational Characteristics

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Approximate number of Puerto Rican/Latino organizations,1980-90. | • One CDC; one parents' organization to support bilingual education; 2 additional pentecostal churches. |
| 2) Organizational Capability,1980-90. | •Effective organizing and coalition-building with Anglos in one neighborhood against urban renewal and displacement.
Further coalition-building with Cambodians/Laotians to preserve bilingual education in public schools and to develop small businesses and housing. |
| 3) Puerto Rican and Latino Elected Officials | •No Puerto Rican/Latino elected officials. |

Lawrence

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Approximate number of Puerto Rican/Latino organizations,1980-90. | •20-25 social clubs, churches, business organizations, and political organizations. |
| 2) Organizational Capability,1980-90. | •Strong organizing around the formation of merchant and commercial organizations. Also, strong organizing to elect Latino school committee and city council representatives. |
| 3) Puerto Rican and Latino Elected Officials | •One Latino elected to the school committee with an Anglo/Puerto Rican/Dominican coalition. |

Holyoke

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Approximate number of Puerto Rican/Latino organizations,1980-90. | •3 political organizations which are offsprings of older organizations; 3-4 pentecostal churches. |
| 2) Organizational Capability,1980-90. | • Older organizations spin various initiatives that help organizing to elect Puerto Rican and Latinos to the school committee and the board of aldermen. |
| 3) Puerto Rican and Latino Elected Officials | • One Puerto Rican is elected to the school committee; one Puerto Rican elected as alderman |

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation I investigated two main questions or hypotheses. The first regarded the process of *barrio* formation. Is *barrio* formation among Puerto Ricans a survival strategy, a social response to an overall situation of structural instability induced by urban and economic restructuring in the Northeast of the United States? The second regarded the process of *barrio* differentiation. Are all new *barrios* the same, or is there some combination of factors that invest *barrios* with distinct developmental tendencies and characteristics?

7.1 *Barrio* Formation

Regarding the first question, I reached to a major conclusion: that forming or evolving Puerto Rican communities in the US --at least in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke-- can be better analyzed as part of a multi-stage developmental process in which both structural forces and human agency play a key role. The origin of Puerto Rican *colonias* in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke was largely related to a dual situation of employment instability in Puerto Rico and the United States. Puerto Ricans were attracted by employers to occupy unstable jobs unwanted by the native population. Many of these workers decided to drop from the seasonal migratory stream, to bring their families, and to face their instability from the cities in which they located. During the origin of the *colonias*, Puerto Ricans used ethnic bonds mainly to preserve cultural and social continuity against unstable job and communal situations. In this stage of *barrio* formation, ethnic bonds were mostly oriented inwardly, aiming at the immediate reproduction of the family and the *colonias*, which were experiencing the negative effects of urban neglect, urban renewal, and social ostracism.

Subsequently, and in part related to the diminishing economic and spatial viability of *barrios* in traditional centers of concentration, due to the urban and economic restructuring of large cities such as New York City and Chicago, these *colonias* expanded rapidly. Migration continued from Puerto Rico, but the *colonias* expanded

when networks turned outwardly and also began to attract families which were experiencing dislocation or bad communal conditions in the Northeast. Puerto Ricans employed the social relations and networks of migration to form *barrios* in newer locations, mostly in smaller cities of the Northeast, as a strategy of survival. In this sense, *barrio* formation is more than the outcome of structural processes but also the product of human agency.

In all three cases, a combination of various sources of data supported the hypothesis that networks were key to *barrio* formation: they were attracting people to the growing *barrios*. Most important, this response also indicated that attracting people to the new *barrios* was part of a conscious attempt on the part of the ethnic community to use ethnic and kinship bonds to cope with structural instability.

In line with previous sociological research on *barrios*, this finding reaffirmed the notion that *barrios* or the communal structure of immigrant communities are resilient entities which endure through time to fulfill important political, cultural, social and economic functions in the collective and individual life of immigrants. In particular, *barrios* have shielded Puerto Rican immigrants from the hardships of migration and have contributed to their adaptation in the new, and often hostile, environment.

7.2 *Barrio* Differentiation

Barrios undergo significant change through time. Current sociological literature has argued that change can lead to three fundamental trajectories or types of *barrios*: **working-class *barrios***, **underclass *barrios***, and **ethnic enclaves**. However, a strand of that literature has begun to explore the possibility that *barrios* may develop not necessarily to match any of those three types, but rather to show a mix of characteristics from these three types. If this is the case, it is important to ask how the process happens and what factors are involved in the process of change. Are all new *barrios* the same, or is there some combination of factors that invest *barrios* with a distinct mix of developmental tendencies that result in a mix of characteristics from the three types?

To answer this question I attempted to relate the possible effect of four factors of differentiation --population dynamics, economic restructuring, urban renewal, and sociocultural dynamics-- to changes characteristics of *barrios* --spatial/residential, family/household, labor market and organizational characteristics. In overall terms, I found a significant process of differentiation taking place in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, and that this process resulted into *barrios* with a mix of characteristics from the three main types. The research , however, also opened the possibility that this mix, at one point of time or another, could become tilted or dominated by a central tendency which could outweigh or evolve to overshadow others. The overall mix of characteristics towards which *barrios* have matured in the three cities is summarized in Table 38.

I found that the process of differentiation was rather incipient during the stage of *colonia* formation, essentially because of the relative small size of the communities and their general degree of homogeneity. The process of differentiation seemed to begin catching "speed" in the transition to a bigger and more complex community during the stage of *colonia* expansion. The changes in characteristics of the communities began to profile much clearly during this stage.

Table 38
Mix of Characteristics by City

Lowell			
	Working-Class	Underclass	Ethnic Enclave
Spatial/ Residential	X	X	X
Family/Household	X	X	
Labor Market	X		
Organizational	X		

Lawrence			
	Working-Class	Underclass	Ethnic Enclave
Spatial/ Residential	X	X	X
Family/Household	X	X	X
Labor Market	X	X	X
Organizational	X		X

Holyoke			
	Working-Class	Underclass	Ethnic Enclave
Spatial/ Residential		X	
Family/Household		X	
Labor Market	X	X	
Organizational	X		

7.2.1 *Colonia* Expansion, Differentiation and the Mix of Characteristics

Population Dynamics and Spatial/Residential Characteristics

More specifically, I found that population dynamics induced differential patterns in the spatial/residential characteristics (concentration, segregation, poverty) of expanding *colonias* in each city. In Holyoke, the rapid process of white flight which took place, simultaneous to the large inflow of Puerto Ricans, and in the context of economic decline and protracted urban renewal policies induced the expanding *colonia* into evidencing underclass characteristics, as shown by a strong process of concentration accompanied with increasing segregation and impoverishment. In Lawrence, the situation was very much similar to Holyoke, although the lack of urban renewal also played a role in this concentration. In Lowell, however, the substantially smaller white flight, relative to Holyoke and Lawrence, (a larger city), as well as the smaller inflow of Puerto Ricans, (and the terminal character of urban renewal) produced less of a strong tendency towards concentration with lower segregation. These patterns, however, were accompanied with the high poverty rates of the other two cities. In this sense, Lowell showed more working-class characteristics than the other two.

Economic Restructuring, Labor Market and Family/Household Characteristics

In terms of the impact of economic restructuring on the labor market and family/household characteristics of *barrios*, I found that differentiation between the cities also took place, although all three cities experienced drastic declines in labor force attachment. In Holyoke, economic decline generated stronger problems with labor force attachment accompanied by a "perverse" pattern of increasing occupational diversification characterized by job loss in upper-level occupational categories, in some low-level occupational categories, and

indications of a blocked access to service occupations. Also, such diversification was characterized by increasing representation in agricultural jobs, which was absent in the other two cities. This overall situation points to a reinforcement of underclass characteristics.

In Lawrence, the decline generated general trends analogous to Holyoke, yet by far less intensive than in Holyoke. The problems with labor force attachment were less pronounced and occupational diversification did not happen through job loss in some upper-level occupational categories, or because of blocked access to the growing pool of service occupations. In this sense, Lawrence showed a tendency to a mix underclass and working-class characteristics.

In Lowell, the situation was somewhat different to Holyoke and Lawrence. The relative stability of the manufacturing sector apparently did prevent labor force attachment problems from developing. In terms of occupational diversification, the relative stability of manufacturing may have been responsible for inducing less diversification and more concentration in lower-level occupational categories, although this is not a negative development in terms of having preserved labor market stability among Latinos. As such, Lowell evidenced a tendency towards working class characteristics.

The possible differential effect of economic restructuring on the family/household characteristics of *barrios* was also investigated, and some relative differences between cities were also apparent. Holyoke's family/household characteristics showed a definite trend towards "underclassing". This was evident in the strong decline in the male marriageable pool index, which in turn could help explain the strong rise in single-female-headed households, and the strong decline in married-couple households. Lawrence, as it would have been expected, in spite of its economic decline did not evidence the same characteristics as Holyoke's. Relative to Holyoke and Lowell, the index did not decline as much, the rise in single-female-headed households was more benign, as well as the decline in married-couple households, which remained a strong component of the household distribution of the Latino population. In that way, Lawrence showed a "struggle" between underclass and working-class tendencies. Unexpectedly, Lowell, although in a better economic standing relative to the other

two cities, ranked behind Holyoke in terms of its problems with potential family stability, although it did show a solid core of married-couple households and a relatively lower share of single-female-headed households. Lowell, as Lawrence, thus showed the same "struggle" between underclass and working class tendencies in their changing characteristics.

Urban Renewal and Sociocultural Dynamics

The scale and scope, or rather the styles, of urban renewal practices in each city did combine with the sociocultural dynamics of *barrios* to generate an interesting contrast between cities, as well as in the types of organizational characteristics that each city developed. In Holyoke, the long and protracted process of urban renewal and other social problems, from early on in the stage of *colonia expansion*, interacted with the "resistance" efforts of the community to generate a strong culture of activism that focused its attention on stopping an aggressive housing demolition campaign, arson and other social problems. This organizational efforts would serve as the basis for other important political campaigns to take place in the next stage of maturation. Holyoke did not show the organizational breakdown or fragmentation of underclass *barrios*.

In Lawrence and Lowell, in contrast, the interaction of urban renewal and sociocultural dynamics produced different characteristics, more of a mix of working-class and underclass characteristics. In Lawrence, the "looming" threat of urban renewal was never a factor which did contribute to galvanize organizing efforts. The absence of this factor perhaps fed into a fragmented community leadership which, in spite of having founded a significant number of organizations, it was never able to sustain long-lived organizing efforts. That is no reason to argue that the expanding *colonia* evidenced underclass breakdown, but certainly points to a disarticulated organizing base. In Lowell, the continuous threat of urban renewal did manage to galvanize organizing efforts within the community in order to fight the possible displacement from the Acre, the area that Puerto Ricans had been recolonizing after terminal urban renewal in the period of

colonia formation. This would give origin to one important organization. Aside from it, other existing organizations were weak or simply were concentrated with the affairs of their concrete groups of constituents --church members or clients.

On balance, Holyoke would emerge from the stage of *colonia* expansion showing mainly evidence of underclass characteristics, except for its relatively strong organizational culture, and Lowell and Lawrence a mix of underclass and working class characteristics. It is important to notice that by this stage none of the ethnic enclave characteristics had emerged. It would take the transition into the next stage for some ethnic enclave characteristics to begin surfacing in barrios.

7.2.2 *Barrio* Maturation, Differentiation and the Mix of Characteristics

Population Dynamics and Spatial/Residential Characteristics

During the stage of *barrio* maturation, the inflows of Puerto Ricans and Latinos into each of the cities basically enhanced and intensified tendencies that were in place during the stage of *colonia* expansion. In Lowell, the process of differentiation seemed reinforcing a dual pattern of concentration bearing the characteristics of underclass barrios: strong concentration with high poverty rates; steadily (high) residential segregation; and a tendency towards spatial polarization with some Latino residents living away from the concentrated poor Latino core barrio. The Latino homeownership rates in Lowell increased, but the increase was small, and not enough to assert that it constituted a strong sign of working-class characteristics. It was, however, the highest rate of all three cities.

In Lawrence, as in Lowell, underclass characteristics seemed firmly established. Firstly, a strong pattern of Latino concentration took place. Unlike Lowell, this pattern of concentration was both relatively

more extensive and intensive because it encompassed a larger section of the city in which Latinos were a very high proportion of the population. Secondly, poverty remained steady and very concentrated. Thirdly, the high residential segregation basically remained unchanged through the transition. As in Lowell, Latino homeownership rates improved slightly during the decade, but perhaps not enough to suggest that some working-class characteristics were emerging. Unlike Lowell and Holyoke, the inflow of "Other" Latinos seemed to have contributed to the development of some ethnic-enclave characteristics. In Lawrence, the number of these businesses was higher relative to Lowell and Holyoke.

In Holyoke, underclass characteristics became firmly rooted, even more so than in the other two cities. Firstly, concentrated neighborhood poverty predominated. Secondly, high residential segregation was steady. Thirdly, Latino homeownership rates were negligible, and lower relative to Lawrence and Lowell.

Economic Restructuring, Labor Market and Family/Household Characteristics

Economic restructuring seems to have led all three cities into a common pattern of growing occupational diversification; growing representation in upper-level occupational categories, decreasing representation in the operatives and laborers category, and a dramatic increase in the personal services and private household occupational categories. Such diversification pointed to working class characteristics taking root in all three cities. This convergence, however, tends to hide workplace and firm-base aspects of employment which can explain how the occupational distribution of Latinos in each city did look the same, albeit situated in the middle of very different contexts of economic development.

In terms of family/household characteristics, marked differentiation occurred. Lawrence and Holyoke showed strong underclass characteristics with steadily declining male marriageable pool indexes, and heavy increases in the share of single-female-headed households within the Latino household distribution. Actually in this

stage, single-female-headed households surpassed the share of married-couple households in Lawrence and Holyoke. In Lowell, working-class characteristics seemed stronger.

Sociocultural Dynamics and Organizational Characteristics

In the *barrios* of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke I found Puerto Ricans and Latinos developing a rich organizational life and a strong institutional base. Overall, this strong organizational and institutional base was a response to conditions of inequity and subordination. The collapse of institutional life seemed not a social problem in these *barrios*, in spite of poverty. However, important differences existed regarding the focus, and the relative strength of these institutions in the three cities.

In Lowell, the organizational and institutional development of the *barrio* has been rather narrow, although very effective in accomplishing the stability of the Acre neighborhood. Organizational development has centered in preserving the immediate spatial viability of the community. Just recently, organizational development has begun to bridge into other racial communities to affect political outcomes in the city. Organizational development has not yielded a strong entry into the political structure of the city.

In Lawrence, the absence of urban renewal and the lack of redevelopment strategies allowed all sorts of Latino multi-ethnic organizations to take root in the neighborhoods, to begin penetrating the political structure of the city, and opened a niche for Puerto Rican and Latino businesses to flourish. Puerto Rican *barrios* in Lawrence do show the characteristics of working-class *barrios*, and, in contrast to Lowell and Holyoke, of ethnic enclaves. In Lowell, organizational efforts in the Acre are creating a small business development program for Latinos and minorities, yet nothing compared to the business capability in evidence in Lawrence. There was one Latino elected official in Lawrence.

Finally, Puerto Rican *barrios* in Holyoke, in spite of deep poverty, have developed the strongest culture of activism of all three cities. This culture has been instrumental to penetrate the political

structure of the city. There were two Latino elected officials in Holyoke. In this sense, *barrios* show the institutional build-up that characterizes working-class *barrios*.

7.3 *Barrio* Formation and Differentiation, and Policy Planning

The overall findings of this thesis can inform planning practice along three general dimensions:

- They can improve the ability of policies to outreach populations experiencing drastic socioeconomic change;
- They can serve as a bounded frame of reference to accomplish better policy complementarity in *barrios*;
- They call our attention to the value of horizontal relations in *barrios* when designing or planning policies and programs.

Those three general dimensions are discussed below. Also, the relevance of the findings is discussed in relation to other more concrete policy areas or topics: statewide and local economic development policies targeting Latinos; program development in the philanthropic sector; local human-resource development; leadership development programs; neighborhood stabilization; and Latino small-business development.

7.3.1 *Barrio* Formation and Improving Policy Outreach

Understanding *barrio* formation both as a survival strategy and as multi-stage process of communal development can improve the ability of policies to better outreach the Puerto Rican/Latino populations in need. That is, by understanding what induces Puerto Ricans to move, resettle, and to form new communities is key to inform policies which intend to outreach our population in order to deal with any particular social or economic problem. In recent years, the demand for better outreach and targeting strategies has increased because of shrinking fiscal resources and the institutional "inertia" towards decentralized planning. Yet, we still have a very shallow pool

of "behavioral" and cultural knowledge as to what motivates groups and individuals to behave or act in any particular way, which is key to make planning operate effectively. This state of misinformation has important implications for local planning.

In recent years, much attention has been given in the media and policy circles to the fact that the poor have been increasingly concentrating in the central-city of large urban areas. As planners, by "overfocusing" on this phenomenon, we have neglected the increasing dispersal and further reconcentration of a segment of the Puerto Rican population, and of other minorities, into smaller cities. These cities can muster far less resources, have underdeveloped social and human service infrastructures, and tend to be less culturally/socially tolerant than larger cities regarding newer racially and ethnically diverse populations. Consequently, they cannot deal with the social and economic needs of the new incoming populations.

In these smaller cities, due to the lack of resources and because policies have bypassed the "behavioral" and mobility patterns of the "target" population, what were already big social and economic needs turned into further entrenched problems, with an even larger cost for society in the long-run. This has been precisely the case of cities like Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke but also of cities like Chelsea and Bridgeport (CT) which within a relatively short period of time, have experienced a dramatic "urban racial/ethnic switch" which they were not prepared to handle effectively. Their educational systems, housing stock, jobs base, municipal finances and basic services have been simply incapable of coping with the inflows of newcomers and their needs. Such problems might have been mitigated if we had informed our policy practices with a clearer view of how different populations "socially organize" and geographically move in response to a changing environment.

7.3.2 *Barrio* Formation and Differentiation and Policy Complementarity

The processes of *barrio* formation and *barrio* differentiation as two analytical constructs which identify how structural factors affect

Puerto Rican communities, and how people in them experience change and react to it, can serve as a bounded frame of reference to inform policy complementarity in community-development strategies. Achieving policy complementarity is key to the effective design of local community development strategies. In today's urban environment, communities confront multiple and simultaneous needs which cannot be tackled by any one particular policy, but rather by a combination of them. Such policy complementarity within a community development strategy, however, should not just be guided by a purely "technical" approach, but also by an analytical approach which takes into consideration the developmental trajectories or peculiarities of communities.

In more specific terms, the design and implementation of urban redevelopment programs or strategies could be more effective on issues of neighborhood stabilization if they understood or took into consideration how *barrios* form and differentiate within the urban environment. Policies or strategies which "objectify" communities as a "static" profile of numbers without a history and a time horizon might not succeed in reverting firmly settled tendencies of decline in urban communities.

7.3.3 *Barrio* Formation and Differentiation and Horizontal Relations

As a result of the processes of *barrio* formation and differentiation, the interaction between structural forces and human agency in *barrios* has yielded organizational efforts and institutions which possess a "natural" learning curve for horizontality. That is, they are organizations and institutions which are good at learning and growing through networking, by building horizontal relations within their own environment in order to confront a wide array of problems. From these newer organizations, more adapted to the new environment, as community development planners we could learn a great deal about how to reshape and maintain the institutional viability of our communities.

Many of the Puerto Rican and other Latino organizations which formed in new *barrios* within the last ten years did so with little state or any other kind of external institutional support, and within a conservative fiscal and administrative environment which advocated and enforced decentralization and privatization without any safeguards against their foreseeable negative impact upon communities. In the midst of that environment, the new organizations had no option but to draw from their own experience by building bridges within their own community, and by reaching to new interlocutors in the non-profit and private sectors. For a number of reasons, very much beyond the scope of this discussion, older community based organizations which originated in the War-on-Poverty years have grown increasingly distant from their homebase communities, and are now trying to be back in touch with their homebase. Also, their organizational connections were heavily oriented to deal with the state as their main interlocutor. However, both their homebase communities and their environment have changed dramatically, thus making their reconnecting with the community a difficult and uphill process. The learning and experience of newer organizations represents a wealth of knowledge on how to reconnect with the community and on how to develop networks beyond governmental structures.

7.3.4 Statewide Economic Development Policies: Reaching out to Puerto Ricans and Latinos and Building Horizontality.

The ability of statewide economic development policies in Massachusetts to reach out to Puerto Rican and Latinos must account for their unconventional pattern of geographic distribution and communal formation in the state: In Massachusetts, although the largest Latino and Puerto Rican communities are located in large cities such as Boston, Springfield, and Worcester the largest share of Puerto Rican and Latinos are spread throughout, and concentrated in what we may call the "secondary system of cities" --Lowell, Lawrence, Holyoke, Chelsea, Taunton, Leominster, Lynn, Waltham, and Brockton, among

others.

These smaller cities present an ample variety economic and social scenarios which defy the ability of policies imposed "from above" to operate effectively; it also makes policy coordination a difficult process to manage. Besides, throughout the years, some of these cities have participated unevenly in economic growth or decline. To reach Puerto Ricans and Latinos in these diverse scenarios requires the development of close contacts within these communities and to build policies from within these communities, especially making better use of the experience and learning embedded within their institutional backbone. The institutions of some of these *barrrios* have proven to be successful at coping quite effectively with some of their social and economic problems.

The recently formed Latino Economic Development Center funded with a grant from the Executive Office of Economic Affairs and housed at the Mauricio Gaston Institute for Latino Community Development and Public Policy at the University of Massachusetts represents a step in that direction. The Center will have eight statewide offices working around a coalition of Latino community-based organizations and other agencies which have a common interest in small-business and community economic development in cities such as Worcester, Lowell, Lawrence, Holyoke, Springfield, Chelsea (The Gaston Institute Report, 1994).

7.3.5 Program Development in the Philanthropic Sector, Puerto Rican and Latino Organizations: Growing Organizations.

This research, can inform foundations and other nonprofit agents on how to redirect programmatic areas to maintain and expand the adaptive capacity of Puerto Rican/Latino organizations in newly formed *barrrios*. This support, in addition to providing much needed funding, could prevent these organizations from turning into passive "service providers" without competencies for adaptation. Although many Puerto Rican and Latino organizations in small cities such as Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke did emerge as effective agents of

change in the middle of the broader institutional vacuum of the 1980's, they do need support to continue their work. By themselves they cannot cope with the entire spectrum of problems which continue to affect the *barrios* in which they are located: poverty, family instability, unemployment, lack of affordable housing, domestic violence, etc. Throughout the process of *barrio* formation and differentiation some of these organizations did develop some key competencies (organizing, networking, fundraising), but at the same time they also built-in important deficiencies such as lacking social diagnostic and evaluation capabilities which may hinder their future development. Addressing these deficiencies is key for these organizations to keep abreast with the developmental changes taking place in their communities. Those competencies are key to planning new programs, adapting old ones and charting new areas of intervention.

7.3.6 Human Resource Development and Horizontal Community Relations

Finding about the employment situation of Puerto Ricans and Latinos within various types of manufacturing firms became an important aspect of understanding how economic restructuring and managerial practices contribute to mixed and seemingly contradictory occupational outcomes in certain locales. In more specific terms, research within the firms permitted an explanation of how, for instance, some Puerto Ricans in Holyoke are gaining access to better occupational opportunities within a fairly depressed economic environment, and how --as in the case of Lowell-- they are not gaining access to better opportunities within a healthier economic environment. The research, further led to uncovering that the positive occupational outcomes in a generally depressed economic environment such as Holyoke were in part attributable to a small human resource development program within the city which connected various social actors into a horizontal compact with solid linkages to the institutional structure of the Puerto Rican community of the city.

In Holyoke, positive outcomes have been possible because of a

program which rests on strong horizontal relations between community groups, the local Chamber of Commerce, employers, and the Private Industry Council. The Holyoke Employment Partnership, although a small program with a limited impact on general employment trends, has been placing workers in firms have been creating quality jobs that offer opportunities for mobility. The emphasis of the program is not just on expanding the number of placements, but on having first-hand contact with human resource managers and owners mainly in small- and mid-size manufacturing firms which are modernizing their production facilities. That is, the program --to a large extent--"targets" firms according to where the good job opportunities are being created, and further mediates the placement of workers generally referred to the program by the adult education programs in Latino community-based organizations.

This type of horizontal compact for human resource development at the local level is effective in opening new occupational avenues for Puerto Ricans because it focuses not only on the quality placements, but also on the horizontal network of community-based organizations and programs active within the community. The program reinforces the decentralized allocative structure of the Job Training and Partnership Act (JTPA) programs with horizontal relations at the local level. This mutual reinforcement "grounds" programmatic design and objectives to local social relations and prerogatives. In sum, human resource development strategies or programs can be improved if they link the existing decentralized policy structure to horizontal networks at the local level, and are informed about what is happening within firms through the direct contact with human resource managers or small- and mid-size firm owners.

7.3.7 Leadership Development, Horizontal Strength and Growth.

The election of Puerto Rican and Latino public officials in Holyoke and Lawrence resulted from the accumulation of experience and from the organizational growth which came about through the process of *barrio* formation and differentiation. Access to those posts is

a sign of maturity grounded in the ability of the institutional backbone of the community to act against the negative effects of structural pressures. The question for public policy and other types of programs remains how to further enhance such capability by allowing that accumulation to continue and to be passed onto others, since institutional development, as shown in the cases, is part of a long term process. Designing leadership development programs that use this history and convey it to upcoming generations in these *barrios*, as well as in other cities, may be a way to ensure that experience is not lost and that it continues to feed back into the institutional development of barrios. These leadership development programs can be an important source of stability within the *barrios* by involving youth in actual matters of institutional development, in addition to create the sense of community attachment and self-awareness which is central to community development strategies. The programs simply would be teaching the history of *barrio* formation combined with other "community-building " skills to make a collective "role model" of the barrio.

The curriculum for these leadership programs can be designed with some of the same historiographic materials which were employed in this thesis, and available, among other places, from Lowell Historic Preservation Commission, the Lawrence Immigrant City Archives, and the Gaston Institute at UMass/Boston. The funding for the programs could be assembled from a variety of sources. For instance, the Lowell Historic Preservation Commission funds arts, oral history, and documentary projects which rescue the history of the various immigrant communities who have lived in Lowell; also many museums and regional arts councils sponsor these types of projects.

7.3.8 Neighborhood Stabilization: Concentration with Horizontal Relations.

To a greater or lesser extent, in all three cases, the process of the *barrio* formation and differentiation lead to the concentration of the Puerto Rican population in specific geographic areas which bear a mix of characteristics. In some cities, like Lawrence and Lowell, the mix of

characteristics seemed very much in contention with each other in some of the specific categories. That is, underclass and working-class spatial/residential characteristics were both present and "competing" within the same space. The contention seemed product of the interaction between more structural forces and human agency. While structural forces were pushing the Acre neighborhood to evidence underclass characteristics, community residents were organizing the neighborhood to preserve it. This originated the Coalition for a Better Acre. This organization turned into the "anchor institution" from which other initiatives have grown to combat neighborhood decay and deterioration with housing construction and economic development.

What is the lesson for policy making and design? The answer is that concentration with horizontal development around institutions anchored within the neighborhood can significantly turn around the negative effects of some greater structural pressures. Geographic concentration need not be a negative force because, as long as it is combined with institutional development and the strengthening of horizontal relations, it can become a source of stability within the barrio. Neighborhood stabilization policies and strategies structured around this insight are likely to be more successful because of their connection to organizational structure of the barrio than policies implanted from "above" .

7.3.9 Small-Business Development and Horizontal Relations

In Lawrence, unlike in the other two cities, **ethnic enclaves** characteristics were strongly present, and that happened not because of state or other kind of institutional support. The reasons for it lie in (a) the inflows of immigrants that have brought with them a strong entrepreneurial culture, (b) the relative absence of urban renewal, which allowed businesses to take root in the decaying neighborhoods, and (c) the accumulation of years of communal experience in coping with all sorts of social and economic problems through various types of organizational efforts and activities. In other words, ethnic enclave characteristics took shape around the ability of residents to build horizontal relationships to confront their own problems. These

horizontal relationships around small-business activities have been institutionalized in various small-business associations and initiatives which has allowed Latino small-business owners to access capital and other resources previously out of their reach. It is key for community economic planners to value and further use the strength of these horizontal networks in their development strategies because they are firmly rooted in the institutional development of neighborhoods, something which continually feeds into the overall stability of barrios.

7.4 Puerto Rican Exceptionalism, *Barrio* Formation and Differentiation

The search for conformity in scientific inquiry generally drives scientists to ignore the analytic value of exceptions, and even less to consider how any particular set of theoretical principles generates exceptional outcomes. This has deep implications for the social sciences because exceptions are an intricate part of social reality; in society not everything or everybody conforms to a common rule or pattern. But "creating" exceptions in social life is a more complex problem which goes beyond the logical procedures of scientific inquiry. By creating "social exceptions" we contribute to cast the social, economic, political and cultural position of groups in society.

Puerto Ricans, and their experience in the mainland, has been recurrently cast by the social scientific and public discourse in "exceptional" terms, e.g., as "unmeltable" or as the "paradox" of assimilation. Is Puerto Rican "exceptionalism" product of our attributes or of the terms of scientific inquiry and analysis which, seeking conformity, simply add to and reinforce such exceptionalism? As a research strategy, I could have chosen to study barrios seeking to explain how they conformed to either one of the three main types of barrios which dominate the literature. Further, I could have attempted to explain any typological mismatches or differences as the result of some stylized facts. Foreseeably, I could have chosen to exact differentiation out of my inquiry by studying the formation of new Puerto Rican barrios as an exception to previously defined types. Yet, I adopted a strategy which, to contrary, incorporated differentiation

between and within barrios as a way of creating a framework capable of explaining exceptions, not as the exclusionary outcome of existing types but as the outcome of unaccounted social, economic and cultural processes, and of theoretical insufficiencies in the literature.

Within such framework the value of studying several previously unaccounted social phenomena proved a fruitful approach to characterize what happens to and in our barrios. The impact of urban renewal, the quality of ongoing population dynamics, the processes of economic restructuring within firms, and the interaction between human agency and broader structural forces cannot be left out of any framework meant to understand changes in Puerto Rican barrios; we are in need of our own framework built upon reinterpreting our own experience of communal development.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, L. J. (1990, October 30). Success of North Canal renovations hailed. *The Lowell Sun*. Lowell, MA.
- Alicea, M. (1990, September). Dual home bases: A reconceptualization of Puerto Rican Migration. *Latino Studies Journal*, 78-98.
- Arizpe, L. (1983). Relay migration and the survival of the peasant household. In Jorge Balan (Ed.), *Why People Move*. UNESCO.
- ASPIRA. (1991, Fall). U. S. Puerto Ricans becoming less "big-city." *ASPIRA News*.
- Asher, R., & Stephenson, C. (Eds.). (1990). *Labor Divided: Race & Ethnicity in United States Labor Struggles, 1835-1960*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Athey, L. E. (1991, February). *Community Development in Puerto Rican Neighborhoods*. Washington, DC: National Puerto Rican Coalition, Inc.
- Backstrand, J. R., & Scensul, S. (1982). Co-evolution in an outlying ethnic community: The Puerto Ricans of Hartford, Connecticut. *Urban Anthropology*, 11 (1), 9-37.
- Bailey, T. (1986). *Immigrant and Native Workers: Contrasts and Competition*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Barrera, M. (1980). *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality*. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press.
- Bean, F. D., & Tienda, M. (1987). *The Hispanic Population of the United States*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Bender, T. (1975). *Toward an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century America*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky.
- Berger, S., & Piore, M. J. (1980). *Dualism and Discontinuity in Industrial Societies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bertsche, R. A. (1985, November). High street. *New England Monthly*.

- Blauner, R. (1972). Racial Oppression in America. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Blewett, M. (Ed.). (1990). The Last Generation: Work and Life in the Textile Mills of Lowell, Mass., 1910-60. Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press.
- Bluestone, B., & Harrison, B. (1982). The Deindustrialization of America. New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc.
- Bodnar, J. (1985). The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in America. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Bonilla, F., & Campos, R. (1986a). Evolving patterns of Puerto Rican migration. In Industry and Idleness. New York, NY: Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College of the City University of New York.
- Bonilla, F., & Campos, R. (1986b). Ethnic orbits: The circulation of peoples and capital. In Industry and Idleness. New York, NY: Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College of the City University of New York.
- Borges-Méndez, R. F. (1993a, May). Migration, social networks, poverty and the regionalization of Puerto Rican settlements: *Barrio* formation in Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, Massachusetts. Latino Studies Journal, 4, (2), 3-21.
- Borges-Méndez, R. F. (1993b, June 9). Demographic change and Latinos in Massachusetts. Testimony presented to the Governor's Commission on Hispanic Affairs.
- Borges-Méndez, R. F. (1994). The use of immigrant labor in Massachusetts manufacturing: Evidence from Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke. In E. Meléndez, & M. Uriarte (Eds.), Latino Poverty and Economic Development in Massachusetts. Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press and Mauricio Gastón Institute.
- Boston Society of Architects (Chapter of the American Institute of Architects). (1990, July 13-16). Lawrence Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team. Lawrence, MA.
- Boyd, M. (1989, Fall). Family and personal networks in international migration: Recent developments and new agendas. International Migration Review, 23, (3), 638-670.

- Bratt, R. G. (1989). Rebuilding Low-Income Housing Policy. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Browning, H. L., & Rodríguez, N. (1985). The migration of Mexican *indocumentados* as a settlement process: Implications for work. In G. Borjas & M. Tienda (Eds.), Hispanics in the U.S. Economy. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Camarillo, A. (1979). Chicanos in a Changing Society. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Candeub, F., & Associates. (1968). Master Plan for the City of Holyoke, Massachusetts. Holyoke, MA: City Planning Board.
- Canellos, P. S. (1989, November 15). HUD accepts tenants' bid to buy, operate Lowell housing project. Boston Globe.
- Carras Associates. (1990, January). Financing Minority-Owned Businesses in Lawrence: Issues and Opportunities. Boston, MA: Author.
- Chandler, A. D., Jr. (1977). The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in America. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cole, D. B. (1963). Immigrant City: Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1845-1921. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Collins, C. (n.d.). Nueva Esperanza: New hope and housing for Holyoke. River Valley Voice. Massachusetts.
- Comunidad dominicana de Lawrence celebra fecha de su independencia. [Dominican community of Lawrence celebrates the anniversary of its independence]. (1987, March 4). El Mundo. Cambridge, MA.
- Cookson, N. J. (1977, July 5). Puerto Ricans Come to Lawrence: A Study of Puerto Rico, Lawrence, Mass. and Puerto Rican Migration (Unpublished monograph). Salem, MA: Salem State College.
- Costello, N. (1989, November 15). Tenants take over housing. The Lowell Sun. Lowell, MA.
- Cotton, J. (1994). A comparative analysis of the labor market outcomes of latinos, blacks and whites in Boston, Massachusetts and New England, 1983-1991. In E. Meléndez, & M. Uriarte (Eds.),

- Latino Poverty and Economic Development in Massachusetts. Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press and Mauricio Gastón Institute.
- Crummet, M. de los A. (1987). Rural women and migration in Latin America. In C. D. Deere, & M. León (Eds.), Rural Women and State Policy. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Cuciti, P., & Franklin, J. (1990, February). A comparison of black and Hispanic poverty in large cities of the Southwest. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 12, (1), 50-75.
- Cumbler, J. (1990). Immigration, ethnicity and the American working-class community: Fall River, 1850-1900. In R. Asher & C. Stephenson (Eds.). Labor Divided: Race & Ethnicity in United States Labor Struggles, 1835-1960. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- DeFreitas, G. (1991). Inequality at Work: Hispanics in the U.S. Labor Force. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Department of Labor and Industries, Commonwealth of Massachusetts. (1923). Report of a Special Investigation into Conditions in the Textile Industry in Massachusetts and Southern States. Boston, MA.
- Department of Employment and Training, Commonwealth of Massachusetts. (1990). Employment and Wages in Massachusetts' Cities and Towns, 1980-1989. Boston, MA.
- Department of Employment and Training, Commonwealth of Massachusetts. (N.D.). Employment and Wages, Cities and Towns, 1967-1979. Boston, MA.
- Diosdado López. Exito Latino. [Diosdado López: Latino succes]. (1992, April 15-May 15). Exito Latino. Holyoke, MA.
- Doeringer, P. B., Christensen, K., Flynn, P. M., Hall, D.T., Katz, H. C., Keefe, J. H., Ruhm, C. J., Sum, A. M., & Useem, M.. (1991). Turbulence in the American Workplace. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Doeringer, P. B., & Piore, M. J. (1971). Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis. Lexington, MA: Heath & Co.

- Dublin, T. (1979). Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826-1860. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Durán, J. D. (1985, June). The 1984 Riots: Lawrence, Massachusetts. MCP Thesis. Department of Urban Studies and Planning. M.I.T.
- Edwards, R., Gordon, D.M., & Reich, R. (1982). Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Work in the U.S. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Equal Opportunity Office. (1988, July). Hispanic Impact In Lawrence. Lawrence, MA: Author.
- Falcón, Luis. (Feb.1990) Migration and Development: The Case of Puerto Rico. Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development. Working Paper No.18. .
- Falcón, Luis & Charles Hirschman. (Feb,1992) Trends in Labor Market Position for Puerto Ricans on the Mainland:1970-1987. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*. 14, 1. 16-51.
- Falcón, Luis. (1994). Economic Growth and Increased Inequality: Hispanics in Boston Labor Market. In Edwin Meléndez & Miren Uriarte (Eds.), Latino Poverty and Economic Development in Massachusetts. University of Massachusetts Press and Mauricio Gastón Institute. Boston, MA.
- Fainstein, Norman I. & Susan S. Fainstein. (1987). Economic Restructuring and the Politics of Land Use Planning in New York City. *American Planning Association Journal*. Spring 1987. p 237-248.
- Fernández-Kelly, María Patricia (1983). Mexican Border Industrialization, Female Labor Force Participation, and Migration. In June Nash & María Patricia Fernández Kelly (Eds.) Women, Men and the International Division of Labor. State University of New York Press. Albany. N.Y.1983.
- Flynn, Patricia M. (1988). Lowell: A High Tech Success Story. (First Published in 1984). In David Lampe (Ed.) The Massachusetts Miracle: High Technology and Economic Revitalization. MIT Press. Cambridge, MA.1988.

- Frieden, Bernard J. & Marshall Kaplan (1975). The Politics of Urban Neglect: Urban Aid from Model Cities to Revenue Sharing. MIT Press. Cambridge, MA.
- García, Mario T. (1989) Mexican-Americans: Leadership, Ideology, & Identity, 1930-1960. Yale University Press. New Haven, CT.
- García, Mario T. (1981). Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920. Yale University Press. New Haven, CT.
- Gastón, Mauricio & Marie Kennedy. (1987). Capital Investment or Community Development? The Struggle for Control of Turf by Boston's Black Community. *Antipode* 19, no. 2. September 1987. 178-209.
- Gastón Institute. (1992). Data Sheets: Latinos in the U.S. 1990 Census. Mauricio Gastón Institute for Latino Community Development and Public Policy. UMass/Boston.
- Gastón Institute Report. (1994, Spring). Latino Economic Development Center Grant Awarded. Newsletter. Spring, 1994. University of Massachusetts at Boston. Boston. MA.
- Gerstle, Gary. (1990). Catholic Corporatism, French-Canadian Workers, and Industrial Unionism in Rhode Island, 1938-1956. In Robert Asher & Charles Stephenson (Eds.). Labor Divided: Race & Ethnicity in United States Labor Struggles, 1835-1960. State University of New York Press. Albany, N.Y. 1990.
- Gitelman, Howard (1974). Workingmen of Waltham: Mobility in American Urban Industrial Development, 1850-1890. Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore, MD.
- Glaser, Lenore. Letter to author, March 25, 1993.
- Glazer, Nathan & Daniel P. Moynihan (1970). Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews and Italians and Irish of New York City. MIT Press. Cambridge, MA.
- Glaessel-Brown, Eleanor. (1984). Immigration Policy and Colombian Textile Workers in New England: A Case Study in Political Demography. Ph.D. Dissertation. Dept. of Political Science. MIT.
- Goldberg, David. (1989). A Tale of Three Cities: Labor Organization and Protest in Paterson, Passaic and Lawrence, 1916-1921. Rutgers

- University Press. New Brunswick, N.J.
- González, Juan D. The Turbulent Progress of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia. *CENTRO*. II, 2. Winter 1987-88.
- Gordon, Milton. (1964). Assimilation in American Life. Oxford University Press. New York. N.Y.
- Greater Lawrence Citizen's Commission for Industrial Development. Minutes, 1950-1959. Immigrant City Archives. Lawrence, MA.
- Green, Constance M (1968). Holyoke, Massachusetts: A Case History of the Industrial Revolution in America. Archon Books. (First published by Yale University Press. 1939).
- Greenwood, Michael (1981). Migration and Economic Growth in the United States. Academic Press. New York, N.Y.
- Grenier Guillermo J.; Stepick, Alex; Draznin, Debbie; LaBorwitt, Aileen; Morris, Steve. (1992). On Machines and Bureaucracy: Controlling Ethnic Interaction in Miami's Apparel and Construction Industries. In Louise Lamphere (Ed.), Structuring Diversity: Ethnographic Perspectives on the New Immigration. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, Ill. 1992.
- Gutman, Herbert. (1987a) . A Note on Immigration History, 'Breakdown Models', and the Rewriting of the History of Immigrant Working-Class Peoples. In Herbert Gutman, (Ira Berlin, ed.) Power & Culture: Essays on the American Working Class. Pantheon Books. N.Y., N.Y. 1987a.
- Gutman, Herbert & Ira Berlin.(1987b). Class Composition and the Development of the American Working Class, 1840-1890. In Herbert Gutman, (Ira Berlin, ed.) Power & Culture: Essays on the American Working Class. Pantheon Books. N.Y., N.Y. 1987b.
- Handlin, Oscar. (1951). The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People. Little, Brown. Boston, MA.
- Hardy-Fanta, Carol. (1993). Latina Politics, Latino Politics: Gender, Culture and Political Participation in Boston. Temple University Press. Philadelphia, PA.
- Harrison, Bennett. (1984). Regional Restructuring and Good Business Climates: The Economic Transformation of New England Since

- W.W.II. In Sunbelt/Snowbelt. Larry Sawers & William K. Tabb, (Eds.). Oxford University Press Inc. New York,N.Y.
- Harrison, Bennett; Kluver, Jean. (1989). Re-assessing the Massachusetts Miracle. Deindustrialization and Regional Economic Transformation. Lloyd Rodwin & Hidehiko Sazanami (Eds.). Unwin and Hyman. Boston. Mass. 1989
- Hartford, William F. (1990). Working People of Holyoke: Class and Ethnicity in a Massachusetts Mill Town,1850-1960. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick, N.J.
- Hartnett, Hilde. (1992a). For Latinos, a dynamic future. Part One of Coming into Our Own: Latinos in Lawrence. Sunday Lawrence Eagle-Tribune. Lawrence, MA. Sept. 20,1992.
- Hartnett, Hilde (1992b). Vibrant good works accompany prayers. Part Two of Coming into Our Own: Latinos in Lawrence.Lawrence Eagle-Tribune. Lawrence, MA. Sept. 21,1992.
- Hartnett, Hilde (1992c). Latino Businessmen deliver the goods. Part Three of Coming into Our Own: Latinos in Lawrence.Lawrence Eagle-Tribune. Lawrence, MA. Sept. 22,1992.
- Hartnett, Hilde. (1992d). Artists celebrate today's pain and tomorrow's hope. Part Four of Coming into Our Own: Latinos in Lawrence. Lawrence Eagle-Tribune. Lawrence, MA. Sept. 22,1992.
- Hecksher, Charles. (1988). The New Unionism. Basic Books. New York, N.Y.
- Hernández-Alvarez, J. (1967). The Movement and Settlement of Puerto Rican Migrants Within the United States,1950-1960. International Migration Review. 2. 1. Fall,1967, 40-51.
- Hernández Jr. , Efraín. (1992).Puerto Ricans battling poverty. Boston Globe. Boston, MA. Aug.11,1992.
- Hinojosa, Raúl; Martin Carnoy & Hugh Daley.(1989). Latinos in a Changing U.S. Economy. Inter University Program for Latino Affairs.N.Y., N.Y.
- History Task Force, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños. (1979). Labor Migration Under Capitalism: The Puerto Rican Experience. Monthly Review Press. New York, N.Y.

Holyoke Latino Community Coalition. Introducing The Holyoke Latino Community Coalition. Author. n.d.

Jargowsky, Paul A. & Mary Jo Bane. (1991). Ghetto Poverty and in the United States, 1970-1980. In The Urban Underclass. Christopher Jencks & Paul Peterson (Eds.) The Brookings Institution. Washington D.C. 1991.

Jencks, Christopher. (1991). Is the American Underclass Growing. In The Urban Underclass. Christopher Jencks & Paul Peterson (Eds.) The Brookings Institution. Washington D.C. 1991.

Kasarda, John D. (1989). Urban Industrial Transition and the Underclass. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 501. January 1989. 26-47.

Katz, Harry C. & Jeffrey H. Keefe. (1991). Industrial Restructuring and Human Resource Preparedness. In Turbulence in the American Workplace. Peter B. Doeringer, et. al. Oxford University Press. New York, N.Y. 1991.

Katznelson, Ira. (1981). City Trenches: Urban Politics and the Patterning of Class in the United States. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, Ill.

Kelley, Maryellen R.(1990). New Process Technology, Job Design and Work Organization: A Contingency Model. *American Sociological Review*., 55, 2. April, 1990, 191-208.

Keyssar, Alexander. (1986). Out of Work: The First Century of Unemployment in Massachusetts. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, England.

Kiang, Peter. (1990). Southeast Asian Parent Empowerment: The Challenge of Changing Demographics in Lowell, Massachusetts. Monograph No.1. Massachusetts Bilingual Education,1990.

Kiang, Peter K.(1993). Education and Community Development Among Nineteenth-Century Irish and Contemporary Cambodians in Lowell, Massachusetts. *New England Journal of Public Policy*. 9, 1. Spring/Summer 1993. 51-63.

Kirschenman, Joleen & Kathryn M. Neckerman. (1991). 'We'd Love to Hire Them, But...': The Meaning of Race for Employers. In Jencks, Christopher & Paul Peterson (Eds.). The Urban Underclass (Eds.). The Brookings Institution. Washington D.C. 1991.

- Kochan, Thomas A.; Harry C. Katz & Robert B. McKersie.(1986). The Transformation of American Industrial Relations. Basic Books. N.Y., N.Y. 1986.
- La Nueva Era. La Coalicion de la Comunidad Latina de Holyoke. La Nueva Era. Holyoke,MA. Feb.17-March 2, 1993.
- Lampe, David (Ed.)(1988). The Massachusetts Miracle: High Technology and Economic Revival. MIT Press. Camb., Mass.
- Lawrence High School/Phillips Academy Urban Studies Institute. Growing Up Hispanic in Lawrence, Massachusetts. Mimeo. Lawrence, MA. October 1986.
- Lawrence Eagle-Tribune.Minority hiring up five fold. Lawrence-Eagle Tribune. Lawrence, MA. June 29,1987.
- Lawrence Eagle-Tribune.31 Cubans Resettled by the International Institute. Lawrence Eagle-Tribune. Feb. 9,1982.
- Lewis, Oscar. (1966). La Vida. Vintage Books. N.Y.N.Y.
- Llamas, Frank R. (1977). Puerto Rican Migrant Farmworkers in Massachusetts and Connecticut: A Case Study of Perceived Training and Service Needs. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Massachusetts/Amherst. Sept.1977.
- Long, Larry.(1988). Migration and Residential Mobility in the United States. Russell Sage Foundation. New York, N.Y.
- Lopéz, Adalberto. (1974).The Puerto Rican Diaspora: A Survey. In Puerto Ricans: Studies in History and Society. Adalberto López & James Petras, (Eds.) Schenkman Publishing Co., Inc.,Cambridge, Mass. 1974.
- Lowell Historic District Canal Commission. (1977). Report of the Lowell Historic District Canal Commission. U.S. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C. 1977.
- MacDonald John S. & Leatrice D. MacDonald. (1974).Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation, and Social Networks. In An Urban World. Charles Tilly (Ed.). Little, Brown and Co. Inc. Boston, MA. 1974.

- Maldonado-Dennis, Manuel.(1980). The Emigration Dialectic. International Publishers, New York, N.Y. (First English Language Edition),1980.
- Maldonado, Edwin. (1979). Contract Labor and the Origins of Puerto Rican Communities in the United States. International Migration Review 13, 1, 103-121.(1979).
- Manchester, Alfred D. Escape. Yankee Magazine. May 1968.
- Martínez, Alvilda. Letter to author May 28,1991.
- Massey, Douglas S.; Alarcon, Rafael; Durand, Jorge; González Humberto. (1987). Return to Aztlan. University of California Press. Berkley, CA.
- Massey, Douglas S. & Bitterman, Brooks. (1985). Explaining the Paradox of Puerto Rican Segregation. Social Forces, 64, 306-31.1985.
- Massey, Douglas S. & Nancy A.Denton. (1987). Trends in Residential Segregation of Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians: 1970-1980. American Sociological Review, 52, 802-825.(1987, December)
- Massey, Douglas S. & Nancy A. Denton.(1989). Hypersegregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Black and Hispanic Segregation Along Five Dimensions. Demography, 26, 3, 373-391.(1989, August).
- Massey, Douglas S. (1990). American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of th Underclass. American Journal of Sociology, 96, 2, 329-57.(1990, September).
- Massey, Douglas S. & Eggers, Mitchell L. (1989). The Ecology of Inequality: Minorities and the Concentration of Poverty, 1970-1980. American Journal of Sociology, 95,5, 1153-88.(1990, March).
- McMurtrie, Beth. (1992). Coalition for a Better Acre: Fighting Disinvestment in the Inner City. Communities and Banking. Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, 3, 2.(1992, Spring,).
- Meléndez, Edwin; Clara Rodríguez & Janis Barry-Figueroa.(1991a). Hispanics in the Labor Force: An Introduction to Issues and Approaches.In Hispanics in the Labor Force. Edwin Meléndez, Clara Rodríguez & Janis Barry-Figueroa, (Eds.). Plenum Press. N.Y. N.Y. 1991(a).

- Meléndez, Edwin. (1991b). Labor Market Structure and Wage Differences in New Yoirk City: A Comparative Analysis of Hispanics and Non-Hispanic Blacks and Whites. In Hispanics in the Labor Force. Edwin Meléndez, Clara Rodríguez & Janis Barry-Figueroa, (Eds.). Plenum Press. N.Y. N.Y. 1991(b).
- Meléndez, Edwin. (1992). Los que se van, los que regresan: Puerto Rican Migration To and From the United States, 1982-88. Paper Presented at Conference, Puerto Rican Poverty and Migration. May 1,1992. New School for Social Research. N.Y.N.Y.
- Meléndez, Edwin & Figueroa, Janis. (1992). The Effects of Local Labor Market Conditions on Labor Force Participation of Puerto Rican, White and Black Women. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 14(1), 76-90.
- Meléndez, Edwin. (1993). Understanding Latino Poverty. *Sage Race Relations Abstracts*. Volume 18. No.2.May 1993. 3-42.
- Meléndez, Edwin. (1994). Latino Poverty in Massachusetts. In Latino Poverty and Economic Development in Massachusetts. Edwin Meléndez & Miren Uriarte (Eds.). University of Massachusetts Press and Mauricio Gastón Institute. Boston, MA.
- Miller, Marc Scott.(1988). The Irony of Victory: W.W.II and Lowell, Mass. University of Illinois Press. Urbana and Chicago.
- Mitchell, Brian C. (1988). The Paddy Camps: The Irish of Lowell, 1821-61. University of Illinois Press. Chicago, Ill.
- Mollenkopf, John.(1983). The Contested City. Princeton University Press. Princeton, N.J.
- Montgomery, David. (1977). Immigrant Workers and Managerial Reform. In Richard L. Ehrlich (Ed.), Immigrants in Industrial America,1850-1920. University Press of Virginia. Charlottesville, Virginia. 1977.
- Moore, Joan. (1989). Is there a Hispanic Underclass?" *Social Science Quarterly*, Volume 70, No.2. June, 1989.
- Moore, Joan & Raquel Pinderhughes. (1993). Introduction. In In the Barrios: Latinos and the Underclass Debate. Moore, Joan and Raquel Pinderhughes (Eds.) Russell Sage Foundation. N.Y.N.Y. 1993.

Morales, Rebecca. (1983). Transitional Labor; Undocumented Workers in the Los Angeles Automobile Industry. *International Migration Review*: N° 17. 1983, 570-596.

Moss, Daniel. Letter to author, July 12, 1991.

Muller, Charles. (1982). The Economics of Labor Migration. Academic Press. New York. N.Y.

Noyelle, Thierry & Thomas M. Stanback. (1983). The Economic Transformation of American Cities. Rowman & Allenheld. Totowa, N.J.

O'Hare, Kevin. (1984). Arson City Tag is Erased, Proulx Says. Holyoke/Chicopee Morning Union. Sept. 6.1984.

Omi, Michael & Howard Winant. (1984). Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960's to the 1980's. Routledge and Kegan Paul. N.Y., N.Y.

Ong, Paul & Research Group. (1989). The Widening Divide: Income Inequality and Poverty in L.A. The Research Group on the Los Angeles Economy. Mimeo. Los Angeles, CA.

Oral History Task Force.(1986). Extended Roots: From Hawaii to New York. Centro De Estudios Puertorriquenos. Hunter College, City University of New York.

Ortiz, Vilma.(1986). Changes in the Characteristics of Puerto Rican Migrants from 1955-1980. *International Migration Review*. Volume XX,No.3. Fall, 1986 612-628.

Ortiz, Vilma. (1992). Circular Migration and Employment Among Puerto Rican Women. Paper Presented at Conference Puerto Rican Poverty and Migration. May 1,1992. New School for Social Research. N.Y.N.Y.

Osterman, Paul. (1988). Employment Futures. Oxford University Press. New York, N.Y.

Osterman, Paul. (1989). The Underside of Full Employment: Poverty In Boston. Paper Prepared for the Social Science Research Council Conference on the Truly Disadvantaged, Chicago, October 1989.

- Padilla, Félix. (1985). Latino Ethnic Consciousness: The Case of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago. University of Notre Dame Press. Notre Dame, IN.
- Padilla, Félix.(1987). Puerto Rican Chicago. University of Notre Dame Press. Notre Dame, IN.
- Papademetriou, Demetrious G., et. al. (1989). The Effects of Immigration on the U.S. Economy and Labor Market. U.S. Dept. of Labor. Immigration Policy and Research Report 1.
- Parker, Margaret T.(1970). Lowell: A Study of Industrial Development. Kennikat Press. Port Washington, N.Y. 1970. (First Published in 1940).
- Paz-Martínez, Eduardo. (1987). Hispanics ready to emerge in Lawrence. Boston Globe. March 16,1987.
- Paz-Martínez, Eduardo. (1988). Lawrence residents say immigrants should be the focus of state funds. Boston Globe. Boston, MA. 1988.
- Piore, Michael J. (1973). The Role of Immigration in Industrial Growth: A Case Study of the Origins and Character of Puerto Rican Migration to Boston. Working Paper Number 112a. Department of Economics. M.I.T. May 1973.
- Piore, Michael J. (1979). Birds of Passage. Cambridge University Press. New York, N.Y.
- Piore, Michael J. (1986). The Shifting Grounds for Immigration. ANNALS, APSS, 485. May, 1986, 23-33.
- Policy Research Project. (1991). The Economy of the Urban Ethnic Enclave. The University of Texas at Austin. Policy Research Project Report. Number 97. Austin, TX.
- Portes, Alejandro & Richard Bach.(1985). Latin Journey. University of California Press. Berkeley, CA.
- Portes, Alejandro & Ruben G. Rumbaut. (1990). Immigrant America: A Portrait. University of California Press. Berkeley, CA.
- Rabin, Yale. Letter to author, December, 11,1990.

- Ricketts, Erol & Isabel V. Sawhill. (1986). Defining and Measuring the Underclass. The Urban Institute. Washington D.C.. Discussion Paper. 1986.
- Ricketts, Erol & Robert Mincy. (1988). Growth of the Underclass: 1970-1980. The Urban Institute. Washington D.C.. Discussion Paper.
- Rivera, Eugenio. The Puerto Rican Colony of Lorain, Ohio. CENTRO (2)2. 1987-88. 11-23.
- Rivera, Ralph. (1992). Latinos in Massachusetts: Growth and Geographical Distribution. New England Journal of Public Policy, 8, 2, 51-65.(1992, Fall/Winter).
- Rodríguez, Clara. (1979). Economic Factors Affecting Puerto Ricans in the U.S. In Labor Migration Under Capitalism: The Puerto Rican Experience. History Task Force, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños.Monthly Review Press. New York,N.Y.. 1979.
- Rodríguez, Clara.(1989a). Puerto Ricans: Born in the U.S.A. Unwin Hyman. Boston, Mass.
- Rodríguez, Clara (1989b). Puerto Ricans and the Circular Migration Thesis. Journal of Hispanic Politics. N°3, 1989, 5-9.
- Romo, R.(1983). East Los Angeles. University of Texas Press. Austin, TX.
- Sabel, Charles F. (1982). Work and Politics: The Division of Labor in Industry. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, England.
- Sabel, Charles & Michael Piore. (1984). The Second Industrial Divide. Basic Books. Boston, MA.
- Sánchez-Korrol, Virginia. (1983). From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1917-1948. Greenwood Press. Westport, Conn.
- Sánchez, José Ramón.(1986). Residual Work and Residual Shelter: Housing Puerto Rican Labor in New York City from W.W.II to 1983. In Critical Perspectives on Housing. Rachel G.Bratt, Chester Hartman & Ann Meyerson (Eds.). Temple University Press. Philadelphia.PA. 1986.

- Santiago, Anne M.(1992). Patterns of Puerto Rican Segregation and Mobility. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 14, 1, 107-133.(1992, February).
- Sassen, Saskia. (1988). The Mobility of Labor and Capital. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge,U.K.
- Sassen, Saskia. (1991). The Global City: New York, Tokyo and London. Princeton University Press. Princeton, N.J.
- Schwartz, Alan M.(1991). The Federal Government and the Decline of the New England Wool Textile Industry, 1917-1957. Masters Thesis. Dept. of History. Harvard University.
- Scott, Allen J. & Michael Storper (Eds.). (1986). Production, Work and Territory: The Geographical Anatomy of Industrial Capitalism. Allen & Unwin. Boston, MA.
- Siracusa, Carl.(1979). A Mechanical People: Perceptions of the Industrial Order in Massachusetts,1815-1880. Wesleyan University Press. Middletown, CT.
- Smith, M. Brenda. (1987). Waking up Lawrence's sleeping giant. *Lawrence-Eagle Tribune*. Lawrence, MA. June 12,1987.
- Spencer, Rick. (1990). Bending the rules works in Lowell. *Boston Sunday Globe*. *NorthWest Weekly*. Nov. 18, 1990.
- Sullivan, Mercer. (1993). Puerto Ricans in Sunset Park, Brooklyn: Poverty Amidst Ethnic and Economic Diversity. In In the Barrios: Latinos and the Underclass Debate. Joan Moore & Raquel Pinderhughes (Eds.).(1993). Russell Sage Foundation. N.Y.N.Y.
- Tager, Jack & John W. Ifkovic (Eds.).(1985). Massachusetts in the Guilded Age. The University of Massachusetts Press. Amherst, Mass.
- Teaford, Jon C.(1990). The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940-1985. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore, MD.
- Tilly, Charles & C. Harold Brown. (1974). On Uprooting, Kinship and the Auspices of Migration. In An Urban World. Charles Tilly (Ed.). Little, Brown and Co. Inc. Boston, MA.

- Tienda, Marta. (1988). Puerto Ricans and the Underclass Debate: Evidence for Structural Explanations of Labor Market Performance. Discussion Paper Series 88-9. University of Chicago Population Research Center/NORC. June 1988.
- Tienda, Marta. (1989). Puerto Ricans and the Underclass Debate. ANNALS, AAPSS, 501. January 1989, 105-119.
- Tienda, Marta & William A, Díaz. (1987). Puerto Ricans' Special Problems. New York Times. N.Y., N.Y. Aug. 28, 1987.
- Traynor, Bill & Benítez, Mara. (n.d). Strategies for Preserving Affordable Housing: The Campaign to Save North Canal. Coalition For A Better Acre. Lowell, MA. n.d.
- Torres, Andrés & Clara Rodríguez.(1991). Latino Research and Policy: The Puerto Rican Case. In Hispanics in the Labor Force. Edwin Meléndez, Clara Rodríguez & Janis Barry-Figueroa, (Eds.). Plenum Press. N.Y. N.Y. 1991.
- Uriarte-Gastón, Miren.(1988). Organizing for Survival: The Emergence of a Puerto Rican Community. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Boston University.
- Uriarte, Miren.(1992). Contra Viento y Marea (Against All Odds): Latinos Build Community in Boston. In Boston Foundation (ed). Latinos in Boston: Confronting Poverty, Building Community. Boston Foundation. Boston, MA. March,1992.
- Uriarte, Miren & Perez-Stable, Marifeli. (1993). Cubans and the Changing Economy of Miami. In Rebecca Morales & Frank Bonilla (Eds.) Latinos in a Changing U.S. Economy. Sage Publications. New York, N.Y. 1993.
- US Commission on Civil Rights. (1976). Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States: An Uncertain Future. Washington D.C. Oct.
- US Congress. House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs. (1978). Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development. Task Force on Community Investment. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C.
- US Department of Commerce. Economic Development Administration. (1972). Pilot Project Extension for Economic Development in Lowell. Washington, D.C.

US Department of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census.(1953). US Census of the Population: 1950, Vol.IV, Special Reports, Part 3, Chapter D, Puerto Ricans in the Continental US. US Government Printing Office. Washington, DC.

US Department of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. (1963). US Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Puerto Ricans in the United States. Final Report. PC (2)-1D. US Government Printing Office. Washington, DC.

US Department of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census.(1962). Massachusetts: General Characteristics of the Population. Census Tracts: 1960. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C.

US Department of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. (1972a). 1970 Census of Population and Housing. Census Tracts: Lowell,Mass.-N.H. SMSA. PHC(1)-119. Government Printing Office. Washington D.C.

US Department of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census.(1972b) 1970 Census of Population and Housing. Census Tracts: Lawrence-Haverhill, Mass.-N.H. SMSA. PHC(1)109. Government Printing Office. Washington. D.C.

US Department of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census. (1972c). 1970 Census of Population and Housing. Census Tracts: Springfield-Chicopee- Holyoke, Mass.-Conn. SMSA. PHC (1)-205. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C.

US Department of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census.(1972d). 1970 Census of Population. Detailed Population Characteristics: Massachusetts. Government Printing Office. Washington D.C.

US Department of Commerce.(1973). US Bureau of the Census. Subject Reports. Puerto Ricans in the United States. PC (2). Government Printing Office.

US Department of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census.(1983a). 1980 Census of Population and Housing. Census Tracts: Lowell,Mass.-N.H. SMSA. PHC80-2-228. Government Printing Office. Washington D.C.

US Department of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census.(1983b). 1980 Census of Population and Housing. Census Tracts: Lawrence-Haverhill, Mass.-N.H. SMSA. PHC80-2-216. Government Printing Office. Washington. D.C.

US Department of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census.(1983c). 1980 Census of Population and Housing. Census Tracts: Springfield-Chicopee- Holyoke, Mass.-Conn. SMSA. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C.

US Department of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census.(1983d). 1980 Census of Population. Detailed Population Characteristics: Massachusetts. PC80-1-D23. Government Printing Office. Washington D.C.

US Department of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census.(1990). 1987 Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises: Hispanic. MB87-2. Government Printing Office. Washington D.C.

US Department of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census.(1992). 1990 Census of the Population and Housing. Summary Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics: Massachusetts. 1990 CPH-5-23. Government Printing Office. Washington D.C.

US Department of Commerce. US Bureau of the Census.(1993). 1990 Census of the Population and Housing. United States Summary: Urbanized Areas and Their Components. CD 90-3C-2. Data User Services Division. Washington, D.C.

Van Edsol, Paul. (1987). O'Neill has plan to show Hispanics city programs. Lawrence-Eagle Tribune. Lawrence, MA. June 15, 1987.

Veccoli, Rudolph J. (1990). Anthony Capraro and the Lawrence Strike of 1919. In Robert Asher & Charles Stephenson (Eds.).(1990). Labor Divided: Race & Ethnicity in United States Labor Struggles, 1835-1960. State University of New York Press. Albany, N.Y.

Vega, Bernardo.(1984). Memoirs of Bernardo Vega: A Contribution to the History of the Puerto Rican Community in New York. Monthly Review Press. New York, N.Y.

Waldinger, Roger. (1986). Through the Eye of the Needle: Immigrants and Enterprise in New York's Garment Trades. New York University Press. New York, N.Y.

- Waldinger, Roger. (1987). Changing Ladders and Musical Chairs: Ethnicity and opportunity in Post-Industrial New York. *Politics and Society*. N°15. 1987, 369-402.
- Waldinger, Roger. (1988). Integration and Urban Change prepared for the Annual Review of Sociology. September, 1988.
- Waldinger, Roger & Thomas Baily.(1991). The Changing Ethnic/Racial Division of Labor. In The Dual City: Restructuring New York. Russell Sage Foundation. New York, N.Y. 1991.
- Wallock, Leonard. (1987). Work and the Workplace in the City: Toward a Synthesis of the 'New' Labor and Urban History. In Howard Gillette, Jr. & Zane L. Miller (Eds.), American Urbanism: A Historiographical Review. Greenwood Press. Westport, CN. 1987.
- Wilson, James Q. (Ed.).(1966). Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy. MIT Press. Cambridge, MA.
- Wilson, William Julius. (1980). The Declining Significance of Race. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, Ill.
- Wilson, William Julius. (1987). The Truly Disadvantaged. The University of Chicago Press.

INTERVIEWS

A. COMMUNITY INTERVIEWS

- Bermúdez, Angel. Interview with author. Lowell, MA. March 13, 1992.
- Carrero, Ralph. Interview with author. Lawrence, MA. April 14, 1992.
- Figuroa, María. Interview with author. Holyoke, MA. July 8, 1991.
- Flores, Heriberto. Interview with author. Springfield, MA. April 17, 1992.
- Galdston, Ken. Interview with author. Lawrence, MA. August 8, 1991.
- Glaser, Lenore. Interview with author. Boston, MA. Jan. 11, 1991.
- Hernández, Cecilio. Interview with author. Lowell, MA. Jan. 8, 1991.
- Isaza, Orlando. Interview with author. Holyoke, MA. April 17, 1992.
- Kote, Kenneth. Interview with author. Holyoke, MA. April 24, 1992.
- Martínez, Alvilda. Interview with author. Lawrence, MA. May 28, 1991.
- Meléndez, Isabel. Interview with author. Lawrence, MA. August 27, 1992.

Meléndez, Rosalina. Interview with author. Boston, MA. March 8, 1992.
 Merced, Héctor. Interview with author. Boston, MA. April 4, 1991.
 Miller, Marc. Interview with author. Boston, MA. May 23, 1991.
 Nieves, Rubén. Interview with author. Lawrence, MA. August 27, 1992.
 Pluta, Elaine. Interview with author. Holyoke, MA. April 24, 1992.
 Quiñones, Hiram. Interview with author. Holyoke, MA. July 8, 1992.
 Stonecipher, Terry. Interview with author. Lawrence, MA. May 8, 1991.
 Vanier, Peter. Interview with author. Lawrence, MA. May 28, 1991.
 Vega, Carlos. Interview with author. Holyoke, MA. April 17, 1992.

B. EMPLOYER INTERVIEWS

Firm A. Interview with author. Lowell, MA. March 6, 1991.
 Firm B. Interview with author. Lowell, MA. June 18, 1991.
 Firm C. Interview with author. Lowell, MA. June 10, 1991.
 Firm D. Interview with author. Lowell, MA. June 4, 1991.
 Firm E. Interview with author. Lowell, MA. June 25, 1991.
 Firm F. Interview with author. Lowell, MA. June 18, 1991.
 Firm G. Interview with author. Lowell, MA. May 13, 1991.
 Firm H. Interview with author. Lawrence, MA. May 5, 1991.
 Firm I. Interview with author. Lawrence, MA. May 20, 1991.
 Firm J. Interview with author. Lawrence, MA. June 5, 1991.
 Firm K. Interview with author. Lawrence, MA. June 5, 1991.
 Firm L. Interview with author. Lawrence MA. June 4, 1991.
 Firm M. Interview with author. Lawrence, MA. June 4, 1991.
 Firm N. Interview with author. Holyoke, MA. June 13, 1991.
 Firm O. Interview with author. Holyoke, MA. June 13, 1991.
 Firm P. Interview with author. Holyoke, MA. June 26, 1991.
 Firm Q. Mail interview with author. Holyoke, MA. May 1, 1991.
 Firm R. Interview with author. Holyoke, MA. August 6, 1991.
 Firm S. Interview with author. Holyoke, MA. August 6, 1991.

**Appendix I
Lowell's Firms**

	SIC	Type of Product	Ownership	Year Founded	Number of Employees	Gross Annual Sales	Main Market
Firm A	3357	Wire of Various Kinds	Private Single Plant	Founded in 1987, previous plant of Fortune 500 Corp.	100, and 225 at peak	\$30 mill., but losing money.	US appliance industry
Firm B	2098	Dry Pasta	Plant Division of a Fortune 500 Corporation	Originally founded in 1912 and bought by Fortune 500 in 1987.	40K worldwide 380 in Plant division	Withheld, but plant is making good profits.	East Coast Wholesalers and Retailers
Firm C	3291, 3999	Silicon and Carbon Fibers and other high-tech materials.	Fortune 500 Plant division	Parent corp. founded in the 1950's.	54K worldwide 400 in Plant division	Parent Corp.- \$283 mill. (46% of revenues from aerospace division for which this plant produced.)	U.S. Dept. of Defense; Civilian market worldwide.
Firm D	7374	Computers and Peripherals but changing complete line.	Fortune 500	Mid-1950's	10K in US and 15-18K Worldwide	\$ 2 Bill., but losing money	Worldwide Civilian
Firm E	4923, 7394	Natural Gas Distribution	Public Utility	Mid-1800's	600	\$150mill.	Merrimack Valley and Cape Cod
Firm F	2299	Textile Goods	Private, limited partnership with European conglomerate two plants in Mass.	1951	650 in US; 250 in Lowell.	Withheld	US and the Far East
Firm G	3842	Adhesive tapes for high-tech manuf.	Branch of a small US company	Originally founded in 1956 and sold twice since then.	125 in Lowell	\$26-28 mill.	US and Europe

Appendix I Continued
Lowell's Firms

	% of Workers who were Latino	Position of Latino Workers	Number of Latino Superv.	% White Collar and Prof. in the Firm	Basic Job Categories in Production	Entry-Level Wages in Production
Firm A	2%-in slowdowns 12%-at peak times	Material Handlers and Low- to Mid-Level Operators	None	10%	Material Handler; Low Skill Operator; Semi- Skilled Operator; Skilled Operator; Electrician/Machinist.	\$9.00 ph
Firm B	3.6%-Latino 24.6%-Minority	Of the 3.6% most were semi-skilled; 1 lead mechanic; 1 electrician.	None	15%	Unskilled general help; Semi-skilled; Skilled/ Craft.	\$8.87 ph
Firm C	3.25% in this plant.	Of the 3.25%: 90% were entry-level unskilled operatives; 1 clerical	None	53%-clerical (85 engineers "floating" in various projects).	Unskilled entry-level; Unskilled senior-level production; Skilled/Craft; Technicians.	\$6.05ph-\$8.02 ph (After 18 months) In the second shift, 10% more than above hourly rate and 15% in the the third shift.
Firm D	3% of 10K in US Could not say in Lowell's plants	Most in manufacturing operations.	None	Numbers not available	Not available	\$6.50 in Entry-level manufacturing. (no other info. provided).
Firm E	3 Latinos in the in the whole firm.	All were administrative personnel.	Systems Management	60% were white collar (10-15% part- time).	Witheld because of ongoing union negotiations.	Witheld because of ongoing union negotiations.
Firm F	14% of the Lowell plant.	They were not concentrated in any occupational category	None	20% white-collar	(No unskilled, entry-level jobs). Semi-skilled; Skilled- craft;Mechanics; Electricians.	\$7.50 ph
Firm G	44% of the plant in Lowell.	Concentratred in production	2	54% white-collar	Unskilled entry-level; mid- level operatives; mechanics and electricians.	\$6.50 ph

**Appendix I Continued
Lowell's Firms**

	Top-Level Wages in Production	Recruitment	Unions	New Technologies and Methods	Type of Training	Special Programs
Firm A	\$12.40 ph	News Adds; Dept. of Employment and Training; Internal bidding; word-of-mouth.	United Electrical Radio, and Machine Workers of America	None	In-house, on-the-job.	None
Firm B	\$15.10 ph	News Adds; Dept. of Employment and Training; word-of mouth.	Two firm-based independent unions.	More automatization and Computer Aided Machines	In-house, on-the-job	None
Firm C	\$15.21ph	In-house employee referral; News Adds; Temporary agencies.	None in this plant.	New fiber production facility is fully automated,continuous-process.	In-house, on-the-job	Educational aid program that covers part of the tuition for language and basic skills training.
Firm D	Interviewee did not know.	News adds; radio.	None	arranging production that require team-work and multi-task assignments; less mass-production oriented.	on-the-job.	to technician" program to upgrade skills.
Firm E	Witheld because of ongoing union negotiations.	News adds; Walk-ins; Temporary agencies; word-of-mouth.	United Steel Workers of America	Not applicable	On-the-job; 70% of white-collar workers have college degrees	None
Firm F	\$15.00 ph	News Adds; Dept. of Employment and Trainng.	None	Upgraded technology: new production lines were installed with "versatile" high-speed looms.	In-house, on-the-job.	ESL at four levels. Courses were taught in-house in partnership with a Community College
Firm G	\$13.00-14.00 ph (supervisor)	News Adds;word-of-mouth Dept. of Employment and Training ; job fairs.	None	Retooling to reduce waste; Small computerization.	In-house, on-the-job	Tuition Reimbursement Plan.

**Appendix I Continued
Lowell's Firms**

	Contact with Community Groups	Years of Experience of Personnel Manager	Impact of 1989-92 Recession
Firm A	Past contact with UNITAS, a defunct Latino org.	3 yrs.	50% reduction in the labor force.
Firm B	None	10 yrs.	Production has expanded.
Firm C	None	10 yrs.	Defense contract reductions has caused small lay-offs.
Firm D	Previous relations with UNITAS and GLEEN (Latino) and the Asian Mutual Aid Association.	10 yrs.	Before the recession, the corp. was phasing-out assembly operations and outsourcing; streamlining personnel by 50%.
Firm E	None	9 yrs.	None
Firm F	None	5 yrs.	None
Firm G	Cambodian Mutual Association	14 yrs.	Small reductions in employment coinciding with the recession, but not associated to it.

Appendix II
Lawrence's Firms

	SIC	Type of Product	Ownership	Year Founded	Number of Employees	Gross Annual Sale	Main Market	% of Workers who were Latino
Firm H	8062	Health Services	Private	1875	1200	Withheld	Lawrence	4.2%
Firm I	3625	Auto parts	Private	Founded in 1941 and was in Chapter 11 when bought by larger out-of-state corp.	200-300 depending on demand.	\$20 mill.	US car and truck manufacturers	80%
Firm J	3542	Men's Clothing	Private	1929	510-525	Withheld	US high-quality market.	38%
Firm K	2259	Shoe Cartons, Boxes and Labels.	Plant Division of a private out-of-state medium size corporation (700-800 empl. and 7 US plants).	1901 Bought by present corp. in 1982.	75-100	Withheld	New England	33%
Firm L	2026	Collection and Processing of Surplus Milk.	Owned by a farmer's coop.	Firm founded in 1980 Coop founded in the 1920's.	200 in N.Engl. 50-Law. \Methuen 50-Springfield	\$445 mill.	New England	0.5% (2 Latinos)
Firm M	3674	Silicon Diodes (Semi-conductors)	Private	1986 Spin-off from closed operations of a large corporation.	100	\$6 mill.	US Electronics and Defense Industry.	30%

Appendix II Continued

Lawrence's Firms

	Position of Latino Workers	Number of Latino Superv.	% White Collar and Prof. in the Firm	Basic Job Categories in Production	Entry-Level Wages in Production	Top-Level Wages in Production
Firm H	Of the 4.2% Latino: 17.4%-Managerial; 13%-Technicians 17.4%-Office/Clerical 2%-Laborers 43.5%-Support Services	N/A	40%full-time 60%part-time	Entry-Lev.Support Services; Office/Clerical; Semi-Prof.; Professional.	\$7.50ph-Supp.Serv. \$8.50-Office\Cler.	Supp. Serv. and Office\Cler.: \$10.00-12.00 ph based upon seniority.
Firm I	They were well represented in all positions: entry-level; semi-skilled; machinists; mechanics and supervisors.	4	20% management and support staff.	Entry-level production; semi-skilled; machinists; skilled-crafts; supervisors.	\$7.50ph plus \$.50-2.00 per hour for piece rate.	\$15.00-17.00ph
Firm J	Of the 38%; 97% were in production. There were 2 Latino managers; 1 mechanic; 1 general operator; 1 clerk	2	17% office\clerical	Entry-level; semi-skilled; skilled; general operator; machinist; mechanic; supervisor/manager.	No experience entry-level training\6-week trial period-\$5.00 ph. After trial period \$.50 extra ph plus piece rate.	Top-quality stitchers earn \$16.00 ph with piece rate. Skilled mechanic, general operator and super.-- \$15.00 ph.
Firm K	Of the 33%: 90% were entry- level unskilled, and 10% semi-skilled.	None	5% office\clerical	Entry-level unskilled-- about 80% of jobs; semi- semi-skilled assistants; printers; mechanics supervisors.	\$4.50	\$7.00 ph top in production \$12.00 ph skilled.
Firm L	1-clerical 1-production	None	66% white collar 33% prod.	Except for sanitation plants are fully automated. Most personnel is in quality control or are plant operators.	Could not tell because of ample differentiation.	Could not tell because of ample differentiation.
Firm M	90% unskilled assemblers 2-technicians and 1 machinist.	None	10% w\collar 2-engineers	Entry-level unskilled assemblers; semi-skilled (very few); machinist.	\$6.00 ph	\$14.00-15.00 ph for machinists.

**Appendix II Continued
Lawrence's Firms**

	Recruitment	Unions	New Technologies and Methods	Type of Training	Special Programs	Contact with Community Groups
Firm H	News Adds; Postings; Job Fairs; Personal Contacts	Massachusetts Nurses Assoc.; Service Employees International Union.	Specialized equipment that requires prof. training.	External semi-prof. and prof. training	New ESL program combined with external semi-prof. training; Certification program for minority doctors.	Cham. of Commerce (Minority Relations Committee); Assoc. of Latin American Professionals.
Firm I	News Adds; Active file of walk-ins.	Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union	On-the-spot quality control; team-work.	Specific, on-the-job training; Voc.Ed.	None	International Institute of Lawrence and the local Private Industry Council.
Firm J	Job Training with Greater Lawrence Action Council; Vocational School; Dept. of Public Welfare; Dept. of Employment and Training; Word-of-mouth.	Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Work. Union	Automation of coloring and pressing; Computer-aided cutting machine which can process batches of 40 suits of different sizes.	Specific, on-the-job training.	ESL; GED; State/Employer subsidized childcare center. (All were recently cut.)	Chamber of Commerce (Minority Relations Committee); Private Industry Council.
Firm K	Unskilled jobs—through personal reference exclusively.	Teamsters; Two small craft unions of printers and machinists.	None. The firm survives buying old machinery. All of the equipment and machinery is 20 + years old.	The little training done is on-the-job.	None	None
Firm L	News Adds; Dept. of Employment and Training; Temporary agencies.	None	Automation of plants.	Long in-house, on-the-job training due to the sophisticated equipment .	None	None
Firm M	News Adds; Word-of-mouth; Personal reference	None	Computers are used to quality test parts. (Low-tech operation).	Informal, in-house, on-the-job training.	None	None

**Appendix II Continued
Lawrence's Firms**

	Years of Experience of Personnel Manager	Impact of 1989-92 Recession
Firm H	16 yrs.	Financial reorganization not necessarily related to recession. Streamlining in 1988 has caused two major lay-offs.
Firm I	8 yrs.	Reduced production and parent corp. has decided to close the plant.
Firm J	9 yrs.	12% wage and benefits cutback. Clerical workers took the paycut. Production workers went on strike.
Firm K	15 yrs.	Small lay-off end of 1990. All hired back in one month.
Firm L	10 yrs.	None
Firm M	3 yrs.	Two lay-offs, about that add to 10-15% of the labor force due to cuts in defense contracts. Most were hired back.

**Appendix III
Holyoke's Firms**

	SIC	Type of Product	Ownership	Year Founded	Number of Employees	Gross Annual Sales	Main Market
Firm N	2262	Synthetic Textiles	Private, single-plant with sales office in garment district in N.Y. City.	1926	190	Witheld	New York City
Firm O	2672	Carton and paper packages	Private, single-plant	1926	176	\$40-50 mill.	US
Firm P	2679	Office and school supplies.	Private, multi-plant operation. (Chicoppee, Holyoke, Springfield).	1881 Two mergers in the last 3 years: 1989 and 1990.	875: (450-Chicoppee 225-Holyoke 200-Springfield)	Witheld	US
Firm Q	3942	Toys	Private single plant	1930	75	Witheld	US and Hong Kong
Firm R	2679	Office and school supplies	Branch-plant of a Fortune 500 Corp.	Original in 1881 Bought by Fortune 500 corp. in 1986.	353 in Holyoke and 21.6K worldwide	The plant registered \$1.7 mill. in losses.	Worldwide
Firm S	2672	Carton and Paper Packages	Private single-plant	Early 1940's.	150	Witheld	US

**Appendix III Continued
Holyoke's Firms**

	% of Workers who were Latino	Position of Latino Workers	Number of Latino Superv. and Prof. in the Firm	% White Collar	Basic Job Categories in Production	Entry-Level Wages in Production
Firm N	42%	90% Production; 10% Clerical Production workers were distributed in all occupational categories; 1 Cuban and 3 P.R.'s in managerial positions.	4	14% Clerical	Entry-Level unskilled; Semi- Skilled; Skilled/Craft Operative; Electricians.	\$6.00 ph Entry-Level; \$7.50 Entry-Level Weavers.
Firm O	8%	3 helpers; 7 operators; 1 quality control; 1 superv.	1	10% Clerical	Helpers; Operators; Quality Control; Craft Workers; Electricians; Machinists.	\$8.95 ph Helpers.
Firm P	11% of the company workers: 50% in the Holyoke plant	Largely concentrated in semi-skilled occupations and fewer in entry- level.	None	40% Clerical/60% White-Collar.	Unskilled(operatives, material handlers) Semi-Skilled(store keepers, shiping; Skilled(mechanics, set-up workers,tool makers.)	\$8.50 ph Unskilled.
Firm Q	80%	Entry-Level, unskilled	None	Not Provided	90% of all workers were unskilled	\$5.00-6.00 ph
Firm R	45% of Holyoke plant.	80-90% were entry-level unskilled	None	Interviewee could not estimate	Entry-Level,unskilled (general help;packers; feeders);semi-skilled (machine operators); Skilled (press operators; mechanic,machinist).	\$6.79ph.
Firm S	35-40%	70% entry-level; 30% semi-skilled	None	10% Clerical	Entry-Level (general help); Semi-skilled; Skilled.	\$8.00 ph

**Appendix III Continued
Holyoke's Firms**

	Top-Level Wages in Production	Recruitment	Unions	New Technologies and Methods	Type of Training	Special Programs
Firm N	\$10.00 ph Repair workers	Dept. of Employment and Training; New England Farm Workers Council; Program for Russian Immigrants; Minority Recruitment Program of the Chamber of Commerce.	None	Water Looms were with Air-Jet Looms. These are computer- aided, fast machines; suitable for small batch production.	In-house, on-the-job; Loom operators were trained in Belgium, where looms were made. in Belgium	GED
Firm O	\$15.60 ph Superv.	Job Fairs; News Adds; Dept. of Employment and and Training.	None	Continuous technological upgrading in machinery and materials. New high speed laminators.	In-house, on-the-job.	None
Firm P	\$10.00-12.00 ph Skilled machine mechanic.	Walk-ins; Dept. of Employment and Training.	Professional Employees International Union; Graphic & Communucat International; Printers Union; Lithographers Union.	Just-in-Time Inventory System; Product Teams; Rotation Experiments; Work-management teams. Workers-management to improve production.	In-house, on-the-job	ESL & GED carried by an in-house special consultant.
Firm Q	Witheld	Walk-ins, News adds	None	None	None, jobs are mainly unskilled	None
Firm R	\$15.74 ph for electrician	Walk-Ins; News adds; Dept. of Employment and Training; Minority Employment Program of the Chamber of Commerce; N.E. Farm Workers Council.	None	New Programmable Press and greater automation of other production tasks.	In-house, on-the-job.	None
Firm S	\$15.00 ph	Walk-ins; News adds; Minority Recruitment Program of the Chamber of Commerce.	Yes (but no Latino participation).	New machinery; new programmable press; New high speed laminators.	In-house, on-the-job.	ESL, ABD, GED programs; College Tuition Reimbursement Program

**Appendix III Continued
Holyoke's Firms**

	Contact with Community Groups	Years of Experience of Personnel Manager	Impact of 1989-92 Recession
Firm N	New England Farm Workers Council; Refugee Resettlement Program.	10 yrs.	None
Firm O	None	16 yrs.	First lay-off in the history of the firm: 15 workers in Jan. 1990. Half of the workers have been rehired.
Firm P	New England Farm Workers Council; Minority Recruitment Program of the Chamber of Commerce.	Over 5 yrs.	Difficult to say because mergers and recession coincided.
Firm Q	None	More than 5 yrs.	Domestic sales flattened but Hong Kong sales have increased.
Firm R	New England Farm Workers Council; Minority Recruitment Program of the Chamber of Commerce.	11 yrs.	15 workers were lay-off, but as but 10 were rapidly rehired.
Firm S	Owner was founder of the Minority Recruit- ment Program of the Chamber of Commerce.	More than 10 yrs.	None