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RITUALS AND POLITICS OF THE PUERTO RICAN "COMMUNITY" IN NEW YORK CITY

BY

JUDITH F. HERBSTEIN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1978

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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PREFACE

Since my arrival to New York City from Argentina in 1970, I have heard a lot of talk, both in professional and non-professional circles, about ethnicity in the City. Because in Argentina the term is rarely used (except for *etnias* which refer to pre-hispanic Indian cultures), I was struck by the frequency of its use in New York. It took me a while to understand something about the politics of ethnicity and its relation to the structure of power here. After living here for several years, I finally learned not to feel surprised each time someone asked me to identify my own ethnic background. I also learned that this process of ethnic identification was a common experience to New Yorkers.

My original curiosity about ethnicity gave way, in the course of training, to a wider theoretical interest in class-based differences in ethnic mobilization. I chose one disadvantage "minority," the Puerto Ricans, for my study of the factors that contribute to the development *and* politicalization of ethnicity. These historical processes--which I call the reification of culture--are revealed through an examination of (1) the transformation of an amorphous mass of individuals into an ethnic category; (2) the emergence

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of a leadership cadre interested in creating an ethnic "community" out of it; (3) the dependency of this ethnic "community" upon governmental policy-making bodies; and (4) the internal feuding among Puerto Rican leaders over favors in patronage-like networks. These four processes operate to reinforce ethnic identity among Puerto Ricans in New York City.

I believe the production of a thesis is not merely the accomplishment of only one individual, and I would therefore like to acknowledge the aid provided by several people who have been particularly influential in my carrying this project to its completion. Professor Eric Wolf, my dissertation adviser, pointed out the analytical richness of the Parade as an ethnic event and laboriously showed me how to write in a more structured manner. Professor Delmos Jones helped me decide to remain in academic training during periods of difficult adjustment to New York City. Both him and Professor Edward Hansen made valuable suggestions from the inception of fieldwork. I would also like to thank Professor Sidney Mintz for his patience and dedication in reading the final version of this thesis. I am grateful to Professor Mervyn Meggitt of Queens College and the Graduate School, Professor Muriel Hammer of the Biometrics Division, Columbia University, and Professor Constance Sutton of New York University. All made valuable contributions to this study

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by allowing me to discuss my data in front of interested audiences. Last, but not least, there were friends at the Graduate School's Department of Anthropology who contributed more creative criticism and support than they realize. Thanks go to Ramon Luis Lopez, Beverly Brock, Deborah Gwertz and Joanna Gould Stuart, the latter also for her helpful editorial comments.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Our research deals with the political and economic dimensions of ethnicity among New York Puerto Ricans. The focus of the inquiry is centered on the Puerto Rican Parade because, as will become clear in the body of this thesis, the Parade is a dramatic event that provides insights into the articulation of the ethnic group to the City's power structure. The event posed two related theoretical questions. (1) how do "categories" become transformed into "groups" which then become politicized and; (2) what factors reinforce ethnicity? In the course of this thesis, we attempt to answer these two questions First, however, it is necessary to clarify, inasmuch as this is possible, such concepts as category, group, ethnicity, and power.

Categories and Groups

People need to categorize others in order to structure their behavior, by complying with loose normative codes understood by both themselves and those with which they are interacting, as well as by interpreting symbols and signals that bestow meaning on their interaction.

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Categorizations of other human beings are, of course, cultural mechanisms that provide the foundation for the social construction of reality and for eliciting the rationale behind social behavior. Such categorizations of other human beings are ideological constructs in the sense of being coherent bodies of ideas and beliefs about one's own identity and that of others, as well as one's relative position in relation to others.

Categorizations of others are based, not on a single criterion, but on a constellation of diacritica. Which of the factors taken by itself, or in combination with others is to be judged salient, and which is to be largely ignored depends not so much on the categorizing individual himself, as on learned social conventions prevalent in a particular historical period.

Thus, neither the reinforcing nor the de-emphasizing of ethnic bonds should be seen as the product of independent decisions made by individuals but, rather, as outcomes of institutional processes inherent in the structure of certain societies. This aspect has been consistently neglected in studies of ethnicity, with the result that the existence of cultural differences has been emphasized but little thought has been given to the ideological basis on which these underscored cultural differences rest.

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Ethnicity

Ethnicity is generally taken to mean differences associated with cultural ancestry and exhibited by a population within a national society.

In this period of intensive usage of ethnic categorizations in the United States, a social scientist becomes perplexed by the high degree of ethnic awareness in New York and is faced with choosing between several approaches to attempting to define and explain the situation:

1. One might take as a given the social construction of reality that emphasizes ethnic diacritica, and use these in an explanation of social processes. Using this approach, one can then set out to study a particular ethnic group.
2. One might look at ethnic ideology from a Marxist perspective, i.e., see it as a distortion of reality and critize the use that people make of ethnicity. Here, one would center on the analysis of class.
3. There is a third approach, which we have taken in this thesis. While class can be viewed as a powerful explanatory variable in the understanding of the infrastructure of social stratification in the United States, it is also undeniable that both the official sanctions of a society as well as the culture-

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bearers themselves, phrase their everyday categorizations, and orient much of their action, in terms of the particularist idiom of ethnicity.

From this perspective, neither of the above alternatives, 1 and 2, taken by itself, helps us to explain the processe of ethnic group formation in the United States. Therefore, an integration of both approaches would seem a fruitful strategy; that is, a combination of "what people think defines the situation," with "what analytically defines the situation." We will discuss this third approach further, following a critical review of selected current writings on ethnicity.

The Community and Ecological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity

Critique of the Literature on Ethnicity

Most ethnic studies have been carried out along the lines of the first approach mentioned above. Although specific writers differ in their treatment of the subject, there are underlying similarities which justify grouping them together.

The way any phenomena is conceptualized has both theoretical as well as methodological implications. In many ethnic studies exemplifying the first approach, ethnicity is assumed, or, at best, demonstrated, but it is not explained. The theoretical implications of this assumption are twofold. First, no effort is made to

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differentiate conceptually between a "category" and a "group." Whereas categories are divisions within the general population imposed by an observer on the basis of one criterion (e.g., age, sex, etc.), a group refers to individuals that share interests and collectively aim at the attainment of stated goals. A group, like a category, may also be labeled as such by an outsider but unlike a category, it may be self-defined as well. A group may include one or more categories of a population, but a category does not inherently presuppose group awareness.

This observation leads us to the second theoretical implication of the assumption mentioned above. If we take ethnicity for granted, as a natural entity, we "freeze," so to speak, the historical processes of ethnic group formation and transformation. Ethnic groups share with other types of groups the fact that they develop over time. Thus, if we consider ethnic groups as natural entities, we completely overlook the interesting fact that groups can dissolve into various constituent categories and, conversely, one or more categories can evolve into a group. Both of the above processes occur over time. When ethnicity is assumed, or considered as a natural entity, it can only be used as a descriptive tool. In order to grant it explanatory power in the study of social processes, the concept must be understood

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as a historical entity. In other words, instead of taking ethnicity as a given, the problem of its transformation over time should be addressed. This would allow us to inquire into the interesting phenomena of the growth of group awareness, and the development of ethnic groups out of ethnic categories. Thus, the value of not taking ethnicity for granted is that it allows us to conceptualize social structures as including categories based on ethnic distinctions which can potentially be mobilized into groups.

The assumption of ethnicity as a given also has important related methodological implications. The most important of these is that, if conceptualization is not careful, an investigator might think he is studying an ethnic group, when it might only be a category. To examine these, we must classify this group of studies of ethnicity into two types. First, the majority of studies uses a community study approach. That is, an entity assumed to be culture-bound is studied as if it were a self-contained unit. Much effort is devoted to defining the traits of the culture-bearing unit under study (Narroll 1964). This effort transforms the question of ethnicity (and of cultures, tribes, etc.) into an ontological problem (See Robbins 1973, Friedlander 1975). Even when the segment isolated for study is known to be part of a wider society, the fiction of autonomy is maintained, with the consequence that the dialectical

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relationships between the subsection and the larger system are largely neglected. Emphasis on the internal dynamics of the entity under study may even lead to a disregard for intra-entity diversity and conflict, in favor of espousing a mechanistic, homoeostatic model.

The second type of ethnic studies within the first traditional approach to ethnic studies, may be referred to as the ecological tradition in ethnic studies. This type of study focuses on processes of ethnic boundary maintenance and change. Consequently, an ethnic group is seen to interrelate with other similar entities within a geographic area comprised of many such groups. The main focus of this kind of research, then, becomes the identification of ethnic diacritica by participants as well as others, that define each of the groups competing for resources, or otherwise interrelating, within a common geographical area. Whereas the community approach seeks explanations of behavior with reference solely to the ethnic group under consideration, the ecological approach includes the dimension of articulation between two or more groups. Further, as Isajiw (1974:115) points out, while anthropological studies traditionally assumed that culture was the determinant of ethnic group boundaries, this approach centered on ethnic groups as elements of social organization, and allowed for a more structural analysis of group relations (Bruner 1974, Hannerz 1974).

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The ecological approach in the discipline of anthropology was pioneered by F. Barth and his students (Barth et al 1969). But, in spite of the advantages of the ecological over the community-study approach, the Barthian scheme is limited to the interrelationships between various ethnic groups without taking into account the total structure within which these groups interact. For example, the impact of national institutional processes on the formation, interaction and transformation of ethnic entities, is not considered. In addition, attention is focused on the interaction of structurally similar units, and, hence, the situation is grossly oversimplified in most cases.[1]

Research on ethnic boundaries has recently led to question the relevance of ethnicity in behavior, thus giving rise to what Bennett has called the "new ethnicity," which refers to the "shift from a culture-population-group frame of reference...to a cognitive and behavioral-strategy frame which views ethnicity as a component of social participation" (Bennett 1973:6). Most of the writers whose works can be lumped under the rubric of the "new ethnicity," are dissatisfied with previous inquiries into the nature and ontology of ethnicity, but continue the work of Barth on ethnic boundaries, emphasizing the use

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[1] See Kuper and Smith (1969) for a discussion of equilibrium and conflict models in plural societies.

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of ethnicity as a situational strategy, or, a behavioral adaptation to the socio-cultural environment. What these "situational" studies contribute to our understanding of ethnicity is that ethnic behavior is not explained by demonstrating links with an ancestors' culture (as has been brought out in kinship studies that have focused on descent). Rather the probability of ethnicity being used, abandoned, or manipulated depends on the situation (Despres 1973, Levy 1973, Enloe 1973, Lloyd 1974, Cohen 1974, Hannerz 1974, Shibutani & Kwan 1965, Glazer and Moynihan 1963, and others).

This new focus on studying situationally based behavior, still falls, however, within the ecological tradition as it deals with homeostatic systems and environmental adaptations, to the exclusion of relations at a macro-structural level.

While the approaches to ethnicity discussed above are important in understanding the meaning and functions that ethnicity has for the individual, a major weakness of both approaches is that ethnicity is still viewed as an ahistorical phenomenon, and the impact of national political institutions and of power on ethnicity remain ignored. Even with the many well-documented case studies which demonstrate the continuity and persistence of the ethnic factor, either by linking it to the past, or emphasizing its behavioral and organizational functions in the present, the end-result of all these studies is still

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no more of an explanation of ethnicity than the circular statement that ethnicity is explained by ethnicity. There have been no efforts made, in either of the two main traditions discussed above, to account for the origins or development of ethnic groups, in addition to the total failure to ask why ethnic identity is articulated at all rather than something else. It was curious to us, as newcomers in the United States, why it was that, in the United States, ethnicity is a factor in political mobilization, whereas in Argentina ethnicity is only a category, when both societies are class-structured.

Class Analyses of Ethnicity[2]

It became necessary to ask the question,"what structures ethnicity?"

If we accept the premise that ethnicity cannot, analytically speaking, account for ethnicity, then, perhaps, an explanatory tool might be found in class analysis. Within the anthropological study of so-called plural societies,[3] especially in the English-speaking world,

---

[2]By class structure, we mean the relationships between individuals in terms of their positions in the process of production, that is, by the ownership of the means of production, and the redistribution mechanism of a specific society at a specific point in time.

[3]Extensive research on plural societies has been carried out in Africa and the Caribbean. See esp. Kuper (1974) and Kuper and Smith (1969) for types of pluralism. Briefly, "the concept of the mode of incorporation is linked with a distinction between three levels of pluralism: cultural, social and

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class has not been considered as a useful variable, since class has often been conceptualized as an occupational and not a structural and thereby relational category (Robbins 1975). Some neighborhood studies done in the United States do relate the ethnic factor to class (Suttles 1968, Liebow 1967, Hannerz 1974). However, the danger of doing research on lower class "ethnics" is that "ethnic subsocieties seem to be confused with socio-economic strata most often at the lowest status levels" (Valentine 1968). Higher class "ethnics" are ignored (cf. Hannerz 1974 for a statement of why WASPS should be studied) and the relationship between these groups and strata, although recognized, is generally not researched.

However, not even an analysis of the class system in contemporary United States would provide an explanation of the emphasis on the ethnic factor, if such an analysis relegated ethnicity to the background, as merely a superstructural phenomenon. Let us clarify the problem by presenting a dialectical paradigm:

Thesis: Social structure in the United States is based on class.

---

structural pluralism. Cultural pluralism refers simply to institutional differences without a corresponding collective segregation: it may be present in societies constituted on the basis of a uniform mode of incorporation. Social pluralism is the condition in which institutional differentiation coincides with the corporate division of the society into a series of sharply demarcated and virtually closed social sections or segments. Structural pluralism consists in the association of cultural and social pluralism with differential incorporation" (Kuper 1974:241).

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Antithesis: There is an "ideology of classlessness" (Bottomore 1966:51), which works against class consciousness and consequent class mobilization (at least since the 1930s).

Bottomore advances three reasons for this apparent contradiction. One of them is social mobility. Whereas the numbers of upwardly mobile people have actually been quite small, the fact that mobility does occur, has reinforced the traditional conception of society in the United States as highly mobile. Mobility, however, has been conceptualized in status terms, but not class terms. A second reason is the belief that individual efforts greatly increase the opportunities for social mobility. The third reason is the significance of immigration in American society. "Immigration...has worked to raise the social position of the ordinary American worker since many groups of immigrants (the latest being Puerto Ricans) entered the lowest levels of the occupational hierarchy and made it possible for those already established to advance themselves" (Bottomore 1966:54). The consequence of this, according to Bottomore, is twofold. On one hand, lower-class immigrants reinforce the ideology of classlessness by contributing to upward mobility, i.e. pushing the already established lower-class into a middle-class status. On the other hand, the new migratory waves themselves did not form a proletariat, in the sense of challenging the established order of society, and its

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position within it. On the contrary, new immigrant groups aimed at gaining acceptance into the host society by incorporating its predominant middle-class values and pressuring for their own advancement within it.

Bottomore's discussion is helpful in our assessment of the usefulness of class analysis for the understanding of ethnic phenomena in the United States, since it shows that a purely materialist class analysis of the United States' social structure does not explain that social structure, as it leaves out the ideological constraints exerted by the ethnic factor. If this is the case, then we can answer the question, "can ethnic groups be used to explain social processes or are they, rather, empirical entities produced by social processes?" We accept the second alternative, in contrast to the first, as having more explanatory potential.

The ethnic groups were not always "there", but in most cases seem to be organizational responses to the existing power structure. We have argued that there seem to be two approaches stemming from that assumption: whereas community studies describe ethnicity, the ecological approach tends to demonstrate it. Even if the resurgence of ethnicity in the United States is a trend noted by many analysts (among others, Glazer and Moynihan 1970, Greely 1969, Novak 1973), that resurgence does not explain why the change from ethnic category to ethnic group and its politicalization has occurred, although we have

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excellent documentations of the process (Glazer and Moynihan 1963)[4,5] analyses of the societal structures that create and help perpetuate ethnic entities as interest groups are few. Now we turn to a discussion of the theoretical framework employed in this thesis.

Two problems emerge in an attempt to understand the relationship between ethnicity and class. The first of these is that, although both class and ethnicity are structured differently in different societies, class stratification exists in all complex societies, whereas ethnic groups are not found universally. The second related problem is that in societies like the United States, where both class and ethnicity cross-cut one another, ethnic categories, or population segments, do not always constitute an ethnic group. One way to resolve this problem is to conceptualize ethnicity not as an epiphenomenon of class, nor the defining feature of all relationships, but as having ideological and structural significance when considered in terms of the organization of political power.

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[4]For a criticism of analyses of ethnicity as descriptive but not explanatory see Robbins (1973) and Moerman (1974).

[5]Cohen (1969), coining the term "retribalization," refers to the process of increasing manipulation of traits from a cultural tradition. The concept, however, is not applicable to the new emphasis on ethnicity with which we are dealing here. Puerto Ricans did not, for example, seek cultural traits from their cultural past when mobilizing ethnically but articulated ethnicity in a totally new way, as a response to the new demands of the host society. The only exception to this pattern is in language.

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From the above, two related hypothesis can be derived. The first hypotheses is that ethnic group emergence and persistence relates to the dialectical interplay between indigenous and external pressures. The second is that an entire population or ethnic category should not be assumed to be an ethnic group. Rather, part of an ethnic category evolves into an ethnic group, when it translates culture into political forms.

A Historic Structural Model of Ethnicity

While ethnic differentiation may be a secondary structural feature in some complex societies, its ideological force in ordering social interaction deserves study. Thus, in the United States, ethnicity is not only relevant as a mark of individual identity for the actors, but is also institutionalized in the form of an official ideology which provides the conceptual framework from which to dictate new, or legitimize and implement old policy. In New York City, where relations of production are class-based, people mobilize politically on the basis of ethnic allegiances. Ethnic groups, then, are responses to the existing power structure. What Lloyd (1974:223) states for the African context might be applicable here: "The cry is not so much workers unite as tribesmen unite."

Let us now clarify the relevance of class for the study of the development of Puerto Rican ethnicity.

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Puerto Ricans, like any other population, articulate with the national society on a class-basis. Thus, they have a specific relation both to the means of production and to other classes in society. In addition, they are internally stratified on the basis of class. Yet, their objective positioning in a class system is not reflected organizationally, politically, or at the ideological level. Thus, Puerto Ricans evidence poor participation in trade unions, low voting turnout, and feeble alliances with Blacks and other ethnic "categories" massively concentrated in the lower class. Rather, Puerto Ricans are either recruited to organize or actively organized on the basis of an ideology of putative cultural uniqueness, i.e., ethnicity. In other words, people are not aware of objective differences between classes, as they are of differences between ethnic strata. Therefore, ethnic, and not class stratification is seen as the most viable strategy for the attainment of political power. In this context, it is imperative that we investigate the relation of the whole ethnic category to its position in the class structure. Both levels of articulation with the wider society will consequently be emphasized in this study.

Thus, the apparent contradiction inherent in a class-stratified society which holds an "ideology of classlessness" may be resolved through a conceptualization of ethnicity which highlights its ideological character. From this point of view, the question of when ethnicity is articulated

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and when it is not, or, in other words, when it is politicized or left in a dormant state, depends in great part on historical shifts in national ideologies.

As a research strategy, we propose to investigate the historical and structural dimensions of ethnicity, which can be useful in the construction of an explanatory model.

On the first dimension, Wolf and Cole (1974:xi) write,

> It is only through an anthropologically informed historical account of the genesis and development of the forces impinging upon our social and cultural microcosmos that we can arrive at an adequate assessment of the ways in which these forces act upon each other in the present.[6]

In this research, the "social and cultural microcosmos" is an ethnic entity.

History, when not limited to a sequential account of events, leads us into the structural dimension. The analytical value of a historical perspective in anthropology is that it allows us to better understand dialectical relationships. In the context of this study, we attempt an understanding of the diachronic relationship between ethnic group and the national society. Let us define these two interrelated entities for the purpose of this study. An ethnic group is not isomorphic with a category of people sharing some general features, since it may potentially be mobilized for certain activities. An ethnic group, rather,

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[6] See also Leeds 1972.

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is defined as an organizational response to the existing power structure by a segment within an ethnic category. Ethnicity is then articulated within the sphere of informal political organization. As Vincent (1972:9) notes,

> ethnic groups, as distinct from categorizations based upon ethnicity and unlike cultural minorities, are elements of political organization. They have involved for political action the mobilization of individuals whose ethnicity is instrumental in achieving their ends. Unlike cultural minorities, ethnic groups are purposive groups; the main thing they have in common in all societies is that they are arbitrarily created and sustained for their pragmatic utility.[7]

Whereas the bond of common national origin, language and the like may be found at the level of both ethnic category and ethnic group, the difference between these two is that the ethnic category remains politically passive, while the ethnic group is politically responsive to the wider society. In other words, whereas an ethnic category is a cultural entity, an ethnic group is a structural phenomenon and poses the question of the mode of articulation with a specific national society.

As Isajiw (1974:122) points out, "ethnicity is a matter of double boundary, a boundary from within, maintained by the socialization process, and a boundary from without established by the process of intergroup relations." Thus, in this study, we analyze the dialectical interplay between two sets of forces: (1) the efforts made by some Puerto Ricans to organize and help their co-nationals in the

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[7] See also Schildkrout (1974) for a similar conceptualization of ethnicity.

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difficult process of assimilation into New York society and (2) the pluralist policies of the national society, toward the development of a Puerto Rican "community."[8] The dialectical interplay between these forces leads to the development of an ethnic group out of an ethnic category; both these forces and their interrelation are crucial in any understanding of the Puerto Rican case.

By national society, we refer to the relevant political institutions and mechanisms within the nation that impinge upon the processes of ethnic emergence and change. Those relevant institutions and mechanisms include not only class, but the power structure as well. With reference to the power structure, Ribeiro (1974:8) states,

> The concept of power structure is used, in a generic sense, to refer to the sum of positions and functions through which dominant classes can exert domination over all other classes. In a more specific sense, it is used to refer to the sociopolitical order (regime) institutionalized in an administrative-jural apparatus (government), which has the goal of maintaining the status quo through mechanisms such as the appropriation of goods, the granting of privileges and of coercion over the population for labor[9]

There is one more concept that we employ in this thesis which requires definition here: the concept of community. According to Puerto Rican public figures, a community develops if there is organization, and for

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[8]See p. 20 for my conception of community.

[9]See also Adams 1967.

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organization to come about, there has be be unity among rivaling factions. For these leaders, therefore, community can be defined as a unified, organized ethnic category. Two means of strengthening a community are thought to be (1) the positive evaluation of ethnicity and (2) the growth of ethnic leadership. Thus, the implication is that a community does not develop on its own, as it is not a natural correlate of an ethnic category. Rather, it must receive an impetus for developing from the wider society.

Since "communities" are seen as somewhat artificial units, in the sense of being created by forces outside themselves, rather than being self-generating, we use quotation marks around the term "community" throughout this thesis. Community, then, is a concept that will be used in contrast with the two concepts defined above, ethnic group and national society.

In this research we studied the historical relationship between a national society and an emerging ethnic group. We demonstrate how, at one point in time, a Puerto Rican ethnic category existed, but an ethnic group was either weak or absent in a context of of few resources and the prevalent ideology of the melting pot. Later, group mobilization and politicization grew, especially as resources increased, and ethnic boundaries were strengthened mainly through the emergence and consolidation of a leadership cadre. Macrostructural pressures must be seen as an important factor encouraging

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the mobilization of an ethnic category into an ethnic group and its politicalization.[10] But no attempt, at least in this research, was made to impose a causal direction to the process of ethnic group formation. Rather, the relationship between a macrostructure and an emerging ethnic group is seen as complex and dialectical; that is, pressures for ethnic group formation emanate from both ends of the relationship.

Ribeiro (1973:23) is also concerned with the problem of internal versus external pressures on the process he calls ethnic transfiguration, which is relevant to us here.

> We can refer to external or exogenous determinants (of ethnic transfiguration) in terms of the characteristics of the national society and of internal or endogenous determinants, in terms of the multiple characteristics of the different tribal groups. While the exogenous coercions are impositive and uniform, the endogenous ones are predispositions to act depending on the cultural context previous to contact.

With respect to our problem, we can say that whether or not there is homogeneity in the implementation of the ideology of cultural pluralism in the United States, there certainly is diversity in the responses of different ethnic entities and of different factions within each entity.

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[10] See Glick (1972) for an excellent discussion of the creation of an Haitian ethnic group in New York and Friedlander (1975) on the re-creation of an Indian identity in Mexico. See also Collins (1973) and Steele (1973) on how this approach should be applied to the study of Indian reservations in the United States.

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Having set out the general problem, we now turn to the specific concern of the fieldwork carried out between January, 1974 and June, 1975.

Political and Economic Dimensions of Puerto Rican Ethnicity in New York City

The selection of Puerto Ricans for study was based on the following: (1) Puerto Rican migration is one of the largest recent waves in the history of massive migratory waves to the United States, while at the same time is old enough to show the development of ethnic allegiances; (2) Puerto Ricans have been transformed from an ethnic category into an ethnic group, and in the process have politicized ethnicity to a great extent; (3) our selection of Puerto Ricans was also influenced by the fact of our being Spanish-speaking. Our own experience of having migrated to the United States was helpful in creating ties between ourselves and our informants. We also found that informants felt relaxed with a Spanish-speaking but foreign researcher, at a time when they were experiencing the tensions stemming from a situation of extreme political factionalism within the group.

The focus of our research is on the relationship between the development of ethnicity among Puerto Ricans in New York City and the major political and economic developments occurring in the City between 1955-1975. A historical approach is taken in the study of the

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transformation of the City's Puerto Rican population from an ethnic category into a politically self-conscious ethnic group.[11] The historical recreation and maintenance of ethnicity, in both ideological and structural terms, are related to both the preconditions for its emergence from within an ethnic category and the pluralist political order of New York City, as well as the Federal Government.[12] In other words, the causes of the development of Puerto Rican ethnicity are not sought at the level of individuals' perceptions of ethnic identity, but, rather, in the operation of a multiplicity of factors, including social class, organizations within the ethnic category, the role of national institutions and ideologies, and the operation of labor markets. The development of ethnicity is seen as the result of the interaction of all these variables on the Puerto Rican ethnic category.

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[11]Although there is much overlap between the economic, political and ideological dimensions of such a process of trasnformation, for purposes of analytical clarity, these three dimensions are researched separately.

[12]It may be helpful here to reduce the latter to what Leeds calls "supralocal institutions,"or, "any structure whose form is not governed by, or related to, a given locality and which confronts a number of localities identically is a supralocal structure operating with supralocal institutions. Together, the decision-making personnel of these structures comprise... the major controllers of strategic resources, i.e. of one of the significant sources of power" (1973:27).

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The means chosen to carry out this inquiry centers on an analysis of the Puerto Rican Parade because, by reifying a putative Puerto Rican culture carried over from the Island, the Parade tells us a lot about the Puerto Rican ethnic category, group and community, as well as the particular mode of articulation of Puerto Ricans to the institutions of the wider society.

Summary of Chapters

In Chapter II, we outline the historical background of the transformation of the Puerto Rican ethnic category into an ethnic group. Between 1930 and 1950, a massive migratory wave of Puerto Ricans arrived on the mainland, especially to New York City. The reasons for that migration are considered in relation to the prevailing political and economic conditions on the Island and in New York. The incorporation of Puerto Ricans within the occupational structure in New York and their social and cultural articulation to a society which discriminated against them, while holding an assimilationist ideology, are discussed. The major point of articulation with the wider society was in the area of employment. Puerto Ricans soon started to group into hometown clubs, where ethnic identity was the basis for socializing with peers. The only governmental agency to which Puerto Ricans related during this period was the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Migration Division. Puerto Ricans in the 1950s were not, then, an ethnic group.

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In Chapter III, we argue that the proliferation of ethnic organizations was generated by political institutions within American society which, in turn, can be understood as outcomes of a pluralist ideology. The official ideology of cultural pluralism functioned to emphasize a cultural, not a class structure of society. It aimed at partially transforming the established order, but only in the cultural dimension; as it did not acknowledge class structure, it did not aim at changing it.

The process of ethnic group formation can be thought of in terms of a feedback model in which the following phases can be identified:

1. The dissemination of economic goods from the top of the power structure down to lower class, or, the so-called minority groups, by the programs organized by the War on Poverty.[13]
2. The necessary creation of a myriad of new bureaucratic positions which had to be filled with individuals from the so-called minority groups, in order to comply with official ideology.
3. This had the consequence of creating an artificial middle class, by inducing upward (occupational) mobility of members of these groups to serve as

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[13] The confusion between minority groups and ethnic categories, when most of their members received low incomes permeated the whole controversial "culture of poverty" literature. See Valentine (1968) for an excellent discussion of the subject.

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bureaucratic middlemen in the delivery of the new resources.

4. This new class, in the new positions it occupied, constituted the publicly acknowledged leadership cadre of the Puerto Rican "community,"[14] while it acted to disseminate official ideology.

While the data for Chapters II and III are based on published and unpublished materials, Chapters IV through VI present the data collected in the field.

Chapter IV deals with the impact of the interplay of the forces discussed above on the emergence of an ethnic "community," and the latter's internal division into rival factions. This problem is analyzed from the perspective of the organization of the Puerto Rican Parade.[15] The Parade is a key event within the Puerto Rican community since it draws Puerto Ricans together from different class and ideological positions. Although the Parade may appear as a folkloric event, it reveals many levels of Puerto Rican ethnicity, such as, symbolic, ritual, institutional, and political. In 1957, Puerto Rican leaders decided that they were distinct enough to disassociate themselves from other Hispanics in the City. At the same time, the new

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[14] On this subject, see Sexton (1968) on the United States; Friedlander (1975) on Mexico.

[15] This approach is similar to Peattie's attempt to see "what the view from little Barrio La Laja can suggest about the major historical transformation in which Venezuela is caught up" (1968:6).

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structure of rewards created during the 1960s dealt with "minorities" only through organized ethnic entities. The Parade has been instrumental, then, since its creation, in influencing both outsiders and Puerto Ricans themselves to perceive a Puerto Rican community and ethnic identity. Although a study on the degree of ethnic and class awareness among Puerto Ricans was not completed (See Appendix 1), the research data collected do provide the basis for a symbolic analysis of the impact of two ideologies of ethnicity among New York Puerto Ricans: the ideology of assimilation, and that of the pro-independentists.

The structure and organization of the Puerto Rican Parade of 1974 is the subject of Chapter V. The political involvement of the organization with the power structure of both Puerto Rico and New York City is also analyzed in an effort to show that the Parade is an informal political organization committed to advance the public careers of its leaders as well as disseminate an ideology of ethnic community. In 1974, the Parade strove toward unity within a divided community. We analyze the organizations that participate in the Parade, their sources of sponsorship, and the nature of their inter-connections, in order to demonstrate that directly, or through sub-contracts, most participating organizations are sponsored by Anti-Poverty Agencies. Factionalism between Puerto Rican groups expresses itself in different political viewpoints about the Parade, for example, with reference to who should

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sponsor it, who the leaders should be, etc., but has much deeper roots. These more basic ideological divisions are the focus of the analysis of leadership in Chapter VI.

In Chapter VI, we argue that the new middle class within the ethnic category does not hold economic power. It does, however, hold political power, in the sphere of implementation of decisions (made at higher bureaucratic levels) and in its influence on the formation of an ideology of community by Puerto Ricans at large. We argue that the power held by this middle class group is based on the status inherent in the managerial positions it occupies. Because this group's political power is inherent in the positions its members occupy, it is in most cases ephemeral. Yet, some constitute a clique of followers who surround those few who have advanced beyond the instability of Bureaucratic position holding and have arrived at positions of political leadership in the official structure of power. Thus, there are few leaders, that actually emerge from the public's support, but there are a myriad of politicians aspiring for greater power.

Finally, an analysis of career mobility patterns of a sample of leaders shows how the Parade is a rite de passage in building a public career not only with reference to the Puerto Rican community but also outside it. In other words, the careers of selected "community" leaders show also what is the structure of rewards and competition inherent in the institutions of the wider society.

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Three elites are identified with the Puerto Rican ethnic category on the basis of their involvement with different kinds of Puerto Rican organizations. In an analysis of these middle-class ethnic elites, we shed light on their vertical (upward) relationship (with institutions of the wider society), vertical (downward) relationships (with the Puerto Rican lower-class) and horizontal relationships (with other Puerto Rican elites via multiple position holding in other Puerto Rican organizations).

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CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: THE ARTICULATION OF PUERTO RICANS TO THE NEW YORK CITY ENVIRONMENT

> "We find a Latin American proletariat in that huge New York City. It is economically dependent, culturally discriminated. It is in that Latin American proletariat of New York that, truthfully, Latin America begins."
>
> Preface by Dardo Cúneo to Galíndez: Puerto Rico en Nueva York, Ed. Tiempo Contemporáneo, Buenos Aires, 1968:9.

In the previous chapter, we have argued against the assumption that ethnicity is a universal categorization and in favor of the position that, since ethnicity is culturally created, it has to be explained. We have also given reasons why such an explanation should be historical and structural in character. In this chapter, we shall describe the context for the emergence of ethnicity among Puerto Ricans in New York City. After describing the migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States, we will discuss various obstacles that Puerto Ricans encountered against achievement of the upward social mobility predicted by the prevalent ideology of the melting pot. Then, we will argue that, contrary to the opinion that Puerto Ricans did not organize themselves, as did previous migrants, informal as well as formal associational forms

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did emerge among Puerto Ricans although these were not predicated upon a feeling of community encompassing all Puerto Ricans. On the contrary, Puerto Ricans in New York City were labelled "ethnic" before they themselve could assess the values behind such an identification. In fact, the way in which Puerto Ricans discovered ethnicity was both internal, as a defensive adaptation to the new environment, as well as external, in articulation with American society, the latter mainly in the area of employment. It will also be shown how in the 1950's, by opening offices in various United States cities, the Division of Migration of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico played the role of disseminating an ideology of community.

Puerto Rican Migration to the United States: A Comparative Perspective

It is customary to evaluate the migration of any ethnic population to the United States in comparative terms, that is, against the backdrop of the experience of previous migratory waves. With this approach, the ethnic factor seems to predominate over class or other parameters which could be used to analyze a migratory population. This ethnic bias in judging similarities and differences among populations has been prevalent in many studies of migrant populations. Although migrant populations are seen to come from different cultural backgrounds, it is generally

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assumed that all these populations will, in the course of time, lose their cultural differences, and by doing so, meet the prerequisites for integration into the host society.

The culture-specific differences between Puerto Ricans and other migrant populations are best summed up by Fitzpatrick (1971:2). Puerto Rican migration, he argues, is unique in the following ways:

1. Puerto Ricans are the first airborne migration of people from abroad;
2. They are citizens of the United States;
3. They show a less prejudiced attitude toward color;
4. They are Catholics unaccompanied by a native clergy;
5. They have arrived at a time when Blacks also migrated to New York, in the midst of the Civil Rights Movement;
6. The job structure within which immigrant mobility had been traditional had begun to change with automation during the period of Puerto Rican migration; and
7. The City and Federal Governments had begun to provide relatively new kinds of services.

In view of the above characteristics which set off Puerto Rican migration from other migratory waves, Fitzpatrick concludes that the only similar trait shared by all immigrant populations is the "quest for identity" which he considers to be "the problem of becoming New Yorkers, of

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establishing themselves confidently and securely as part of the great tradition and social process which has issued in the life of the world's greatest city" (1971:6). As we will argue throughout this thesis, however, the "quest for identity" is not a natural correlate of migratory waves, but is rather a historical development that has particularly flourished in New York.

Rather than emphasize the cultural difference between migrant populations, we understand the similarities and differences between the Puerto Rican migration to the United States and that of previous populations in terms of the historical and material conditions that affect them. With regard to similarities between Puerto Rican migration and the migration of previous contingents, it is important to emphasize that the position of all immigrants has been that of low-wage laborers whose depressed salaries have contributed to the increased surplus value of some capitalist enterprises. Puerto Ricans were no different from previous migrant popualtions in that respect. Fleisher (1961:90) and Hill (1974:394) have documented how the Puerto Rican presence in New York has contributed to depressed wages in the 1950's and 1960's. In the garment industry, where a large number of Puerto Ricans have been employed, wages actually fell during the period of peak migration (1950-1955).

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If Puerto Ricans are similar to other immigrant populations in terms of their positioning in the labor structure, they are different insofar as they represent an internal migration from a depressed region to the metropolitan center. In fact, the Puerto Rican migration involves the displacement of people from an over-populated colony in the process of industrialization to the mainland United States.[16] Puerto Ricans have been United States citizens since 1917, as a result of the Jones Act, although neither did they elect their own Governor until 1948 nor was Commonwealth Status granted until 1951. Their migration can thus be compared more fruitfully with the displacement of Blacks to the urban northern United States than with previous migratory waves from Europe. Both Blacks and Puerto Ricans, in effect, have been actors in the world-wide attraction of unskilled and semi-skilled labor to industrialized urban centers. Although the composition of the European immigrant labor force was in fact similar to that of Blacks and Puerto Ricans, new factors in the

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[16]Many sources have shown that economic growth in Puerto Rico, triggered off by Operation Bootstraps, did not produce social development in the sense of a more equitable distribution of the wealth generated by industrialization. The cyclical massive migration to the United States is one of the effects of such a failure to eliminate poverty in Puerto Rico (Lauría 1973, Safa 1974). Poverty can only be explained structurally, by refering to the dynamics of power relations. An explanation in existential terms or in terms of per-capita income does not suffice (Nieves, undated manuscript).

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structure of the New York regional economy have set apart these two latter migrations from their historical predecessors. These include automation, suburbanization, decline in certain manufacturing sectors, and unions' restrictive policies (Rodríguez 1974:28). The interplay of these factors, combined with the colonial heritage of these new migrant populations, resulted in a particular mode of integration into the economy, which will be discussed later on in this chapter. It can be argued, then, that the greatest difference between the migration of Puerto Ricans and that of previous populations, is that opportunities for upward mobility within a fluid labor market no longer existed at the time of Puerto Rican migration:

> In the case of Puerto Ricans (and Blacks) these conditions of early capitalist development in the US no longer exist. Thus, despite the assumption of a similar role in the work force by Puerto Ricans, the outcome of the dialectic between Puerto Ricans and the economic system in the US will be different by virtue of the differences in the material conditions of the US. In short, there is no place to go and no one to queue up Puerto Ricans. Instead, there is a scramble for the bottom rung by Blacks and Puerto Ricans (Rodríguez 1974:4--Italics ours).

As in Latin America, where internal voluntary migration has also been massive, the migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland has served to reinforce marginality and dependency among the lower-class.

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Factors Affecting Puerto Rican Migration to the United States

There are approximately 1,500,000 million Puerto Ricans in the United States, most of whom are located in New York City. This constitutes one-third of the population of Puerto Rico. The migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland, however, is not a new phenomenon; its roots can be traced to the end of the nineteenth century.[17] The migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland increased since

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[17]The first Puerto Ricans to come to New York City were public figures, some of whom were political exiles working for the independence of the Island and fleeing the 1887 persecution staged by Governor Romualdo Palacio. Of them, Fitzpatrick writes:

> Prominent among them were Ramón E. Betances, an early and vigorous leader of the independence movement. Working with Betances in New York was Eugenio María de Hostos, Lola Rodríguez de Tío, author of the national hymn of Puerto Rico, La Borinqueña, frequently spent time in the city. Francisco Gonzalez Marín Shaw (Pachín Marín) who had founded his revolutionary newspaper, El Postillón, in Puerto Rico, came to New York where he continued to publish it after it had been suppressed in the Island. Sotero Figueroa, Luis Muñoz Rivera, father of Luis Muñoz Marín, and Santiago Iglesias, founder of the Socialist Party in Puerto Rico, also spent time in New York. It was a colorful, militant group, many of whom were disappointed when the US annexed the Island in 1898 instead of granting it the independence for which many of them had struggled (1971:10).

In 1892, Jose Martí founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party in New York City, which merged all Cuban and Puerto Rican organizations fighting for independence (Tovar 1968: 20). In 1895, a separate Puerto Rican section was established within the Cuban Revolutionary Party because the Puerto Rican exile group had considerably increased in size.

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1898, after the annexation of Puerto Rico by the United States as a result of the Spanish-American War. By 1910, there were 1,513 Puerto Ricans in the United States. During the economic boom of the 1920's, more Puerto Ricans were attracted by the supply of available jobs in the mainland. This movement was reversed during the depression of the 1930's, but immigration started to increase again prior to World War II. During the period of 1940-1945 the migratory movement was cut off because of submarine warfare in the Caribbean (Fitzpatrick 1971:ii).

The first massive wave of Puerto Rican migration to the mainland, however, did not take place until after World War II. This migratory wave was comprised of individuals unemployed and under-employed, as a result of the social consequences of industrialization in Puerto Rico in the 1950's (see note 16, page 34). As rural-urban migration in Puerto Rico had begun by the 1930's (Safa 1974), migration to the United States was not a migration of "peasants," as the idealized version of the mythical jíbaro[18] might lead us to think, but it rather followed a step-migration pattern: rural Puerto Ricans first migrated to cities in Puerto Rico, mainly San Juan, and from there to the mainland, especially New York City (Mills 1950; Chenault 1938;

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[18] Jíbaro is the name given to the isolated, independent farmer in Puerto Rico. See Steward et al. (1969), especially pp. 495-502.

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Handlin 1959; Wakefield 1957; Lewis 1968). This process of step migration was often accomplished over several generations. By the early 1960's, the social composition of the second Puerto Rican migratory flow had changed; this flow was younger and more rural, but although representing various skill levels, the largest number of migrants was still farm and service workers (see Figure I, p. 43).

As with the case of any migratory wave, we have to look at the factors pushing people to migrate away from their geographical point of origin as well as those factors pulling or attracting them toward their destination (in sociological terms, the "push-pull" factors).

Most sources state that Puerto Ricans are especially attracted to New York City because they believe that they will fare much better economically than in the Island, despite the hardships they encounter. "The meaning of the migration . . . lies in the occupational, income and industrial spheres of their biographies; theirs is an economic transit" (Mills et al., 1950: 59).

Aside from the rationalizations propelling individuals in their several projects of migration during years of peak migration, there has been another major pull factor, one that can be considered inherent in the structure of the United States' economy and its demand for labor. As López has noted, not only has Puerto Rican migration to the

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mainland served to stabilize the labor situation in Puerto Rico that had been cast into chaos by forced industrialization of the Island (push factors) but it also fulfilled the requirements for cheap unskilled labor of the garment and other light industries in New York (pull factor) (1973:103).

Fitzpatrick sees three main factors which have influenced Puerto Ricans to move to the mainland:

1. The legislation of 1921-1924 which restricted migration from Europe;

2. The end of the depression which stimulated an artificial demand for manpower; and

3. The beginning of air transportation between San Juan and New York.

> By the end of World War II, all of the elements of a large mass migration were present: pressure from the Island, availability of employment on the mainland, freedom to move and availability of cheap transportation . . . The great migration began (Fitzpatrick 1971:14).

An additional factor pulling Puerto Ricans to the States was the earlier settlement of Puerto Ricans which activated friends and relatives to migrate as well. Glazer and Moynihan (1963) point out that, with unemployment rates in Puerto Rico and the United States converging (the figure for Puerto Rico in 1962 was 11%), we must recognize that not only economic factors are involved in the decision to migrate.

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While all the "pull" factors of the seemingly open labor market in the United States encouraged the perpetuation of the image of upward mobility for Puerto Ricans within the United States' economy, actually, Puerto Ricans, like Blacks, were not able to fill more than the lowest occupational levels because of their lack of skills as well as the lack of available positions at higher occupational levels due to the previous upward occupational mobility of the children of former immigrant populations. Table I illustrates the positive relationship between periods of economic boom and increased migration, as well as the corresponding relationship between periods of depression and increased return migration.

The peak of the migration was, as can be seen in Figure I in the 1950's when "job recruiters came to the Island in search of workers for the sweatshops in the needle work industry" (Report, Civil Rights Commission 1976:25). At the same time, there was rampant unemployment in Puerto Rico due to the loss of agricultural jobs and the low demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor in the incipient industries. This situation changed in the 1960's with the industrialization process further under way in Puerto Rico, and the consequent opening of more jobs. Yet the labor supply still far exceeded demand and migration to the mainland continued. In the 1970's, unemployment has affected both Puerto Rico and the United States;

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TABLE I

THE PUERTO RICAN MIGRATION TO THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES 1909-1971

Year	Number of Migrants	Year	Number of Migrants
1909-1930[a]	1,986	1956	52,315
1931-1940[a]	904	1957	37,704
1941-1950[a]	18,794	1958	27,690
1946	39,911	1959	29,989
1947	24,551	1960	16,298
1948	32,775	1961	-1,754[b]
1949	25,698	1962	10,800
1950	34,703	1963	-5,479[b]
1951	52,899	1964	1,370
1952	59,103	1965	10,000
1953	69,124	1966	30,000
1954	21,531	1967	34,000
1955	45,464	1968	18,500
		1969	-7,000[b]
		1970	44,000
		1971	1,800

Sources: A summary in facts and figures, in "Puerto Rican Population of New York City," A. J. Jaffe (ed.), New York, 1954:15.

Studies in Puerto Rican Society and History, A. López and James Petras, eds., New York, 1974: 322.

Notes: [a]Annual average.
[b]Minus figures indicate that during that year more Puerto Ricans returned to Puerto Rico than Puerto Ricans migrated to the mainland.

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in New York City, it has especially affected the Puerto Rican labor force as many factories have closed down.[19] Since the beginning of the 1970's, we have begun to witness another reverse migratory flow.[20]

In sum, it is the dialectical interplay between push and pull factors that we have to consider historically in an analysis of Puerto Rican migration. From this perspective, we can underscore two important historical differences between Puerto Rican migration and the migration of previous populations to the United States. First, whereas the migratory waves of the nineteenth century entered a booming manufacturing New York City, able to absorb foreign unskilled and semi-skilled labor, Puerto Rican migrants entered the American labor market when it was relatively stagnant. Manufacturing in New York City is not so strong today, and the dominant industry in the City is services employing skilled personnel (finances, banking, etc.)

Second, the conditions underlying Puerto Rican migration are different from those of European migratory waves insofar as Puerto Rico is a region where unemployment is

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[19] See Table II on pages 44 and 45.

[20] The Report, Civil Rights Commission points out though that "return migration to Puerto Rico is not just a phenomenon of the 1970's. There has always been constant return migration to Puerto Rico, but in previous years the number of immigrants to the U.S. has almost invariably exceeded the number of return migrants" (1976:25).

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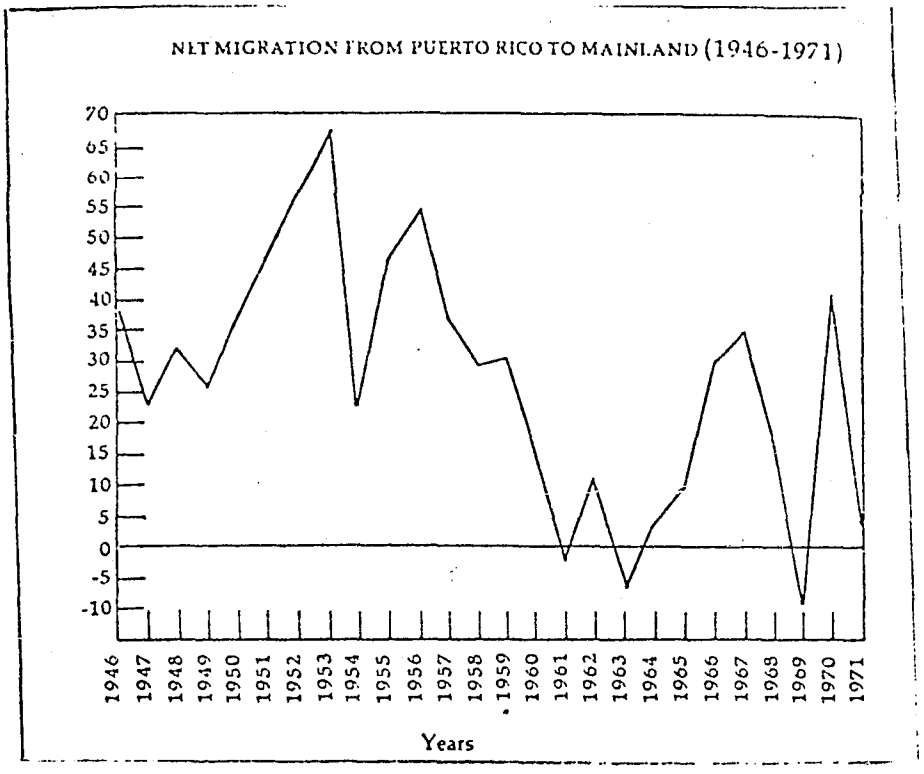
FIGURE I



Source: Studies in Puerto Rican Society and History, A. López and J. Petras, eds., New York, 1974: 322.

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TABLE II

LEADING SECTORS OF JOB CHANGES, NEW YORK CITY, 1960-70

Industry Sector	Number of Jobs	Employment Change		
	1970	1965-70	1960-70	1969-70
Sectors of Job Growth				
Local government	413,600	88,400	145,400	10,300
Miscellaneous business services	202,300	42,000	67,300	3,500
Securities brokers and exchange	94,300	38,200	44,900	-10,900
Banking	132,800	38,100	45,300	7,900
Medical and other health services	145,700	33,00	48,600	4,400
Communications	93,300	18,600	21,500	7,200
State government	40,300	16,000	16,700	2,100
Air transportation	56,800	15,600	22,000	100
Miscellaneous services	62,200	14,500	20,300	2,000
Education (non-government)	79,400	14,000	27,900	2,600

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Table II - continued

Industry Sector	Number of Jobs 1970	Employment Change 1965-70	1960-70	1969-70
Sectors of Job Decline				
Apparel manufacturing*	203,800	-37,500	-63,600	-19,700
Water transportation	42,100	-16,900	-24,300	- 7,200
Railroads	12,000	-13,200	-15,300	- 1,100
Personal services*	52,800	-10,600	- 9,900	- 3,600
Eating and drinking places*	119,100	-10,000	- 5,700	- 3,200
Food and kindred products	57,900	- 9,300	-23,700	- 3,400
Miscellaneous manufacturing industries*	63,500	- 7,700	-11,600	- 5,000
Wholesale trade	304,400	- 7,000	-10,300	- 4,400
Real estate	93,500	- 5,600	-10,800	100
Hotels and lodging places	35,500	- 5,000	- 6,500	- 1,200

*These sectors contain large proportions of the Puerto Rican labor force.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Middle Atlantic Regional Office, The New York Scene, April 1971. Quoted in Workshop, 1974:54, Table VI.

rampant due to a high birth rate coupled with the loss of jobs in agriculture since the beginning of industrialization. The economic and political relationship between an underdeveloped region, Puerto Rico, and mainland United States are more of colony and metropolis, than Commonwealth and Republic. Because Puerto Ricans have been United States' citizens since 1917, we must consider Puerto Rican migration in political terms; it is an internal migration resulting from conditions of extreme poverty and political powerlessness for the vast majority of Puerto Ricans. The basic explanation of both pull and push factors, "the roots of those pull and push forces," are, in fact, "the role of the colonial relationships in effecting pushes or pulls" (Rodríguez 1974:16). The political and economic dimensions of migration are comparable in the movement of Puerto Ricans and Blacks to the northern United States' labor markets. As Rodríguez has noted:

> Both Blacks and Puerto Ricans encounter the same stage of capitalism in the U.S. at the time of their arrival: stagnant light industry located in the city, change in location of production firms, growth of highways and exclusionary real estate practices which keep out Puerto Ricans and Blacks from the better, suburban-located jobs (1974:16).[21]

---

[21]This explanation is sufficient to account for the marginal status of the Puerto Rican and Black internal migrations but does not attempt to account for the relative job mobility experienced by Italians, Greeks, Yugoslavs, and other migrant populations entering the United States after the Depression.

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Demographic Characteristics of the Puerto Rican Population in New York City

One of the key features of Puerto Rican migration to the United States has been the tendency to settle in the Middle Atlantic States (see Table III) and, within them, to concentrate in New York City. Table IV shows both the increase in in-migratory inputs (1909-1956) as well as the percentage of total migration which settled in New York City in the period 1950-1956. The concentration of Puerto Ricans in New York City has clearly been pointed out:

> The facts about the place of settlement of approximately 53,000 Puerto Ricans living in the US in 1930 may be summarized by saying that about 90% of the settlement was in the Middle Atlantic States, about 87% in New York State, about 83% in New York City, and approximately 90% in the metropolitan area of New York City (Chenault 1938:59).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, some Puerto Rican cigar makers settled in the Lower East Side. They were followed by merchant seamen who settled in the Brooklyn waterfront and women garment workers who found employment in the local factories (Mills 1950:10; Chenault 1938:62; Rand 1958:8). While in 1910, there were only 554 Puerto Ricans in New York City (Mills 1950;10) and a smaller number in thirty-nine of the forty-eight states (Padilla 1958:21), the numbers of Puerto Ricans increased to 7,364 in 1920 and to 45,050 in 1930, or 85% of the total number of Puerto Ricans in the United States (Chenault 1938:59). By 1930,

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TABLE III

POPULATION TRENDS OF PUERTO RICANS ON THE U.S. MAINLAND, BY REGION, STATE, AND CITY, 1950, 1960, 1970

	1950	1960	1970
United States Total	301,375	892,513	1,391,463
Northeast	264,530	740,813	1,126,410
New York	252,515	642,622	878,980
New York City	245,880	612,574	817,712
Buffalo	-	2,176	6,030
Rochester	-	1,990	5,916
New Jersey	5,640	55,351	136,937
Newark	545	9,698	27,663
Jersey City	655	7,427	16,325
Paterson	-	5,123	12,036
Hoboken	-	5,313	10,047
Passaic	-	-	6,853
Pennsylvania	3,560	21,206	44,947
Philadelphia	1,910	14,424	26,948
Connecticut	1,305	15,247	38,493
Bridgeport	590	5,840	10,048
Hartford	-	-	8,631
Massachusetts	1,175	5,217	24,561
Boston	-	995	7,335
Regional Balance	335	1,170	2,492
North Central	10,675	67,833	135,813
Illinois	3,570	36,081	88,244
Chicago	2,555	32,371	79,582
Ohio	2,115	13,940	21,147
Cleveland	-	4,116	8,104
Lorain	-	3,799	6,031
Indiana	1,800	7,218	9,457
Gary	-	2,946	5,228
Regional Balance	3,190	10,594	16,965
South	13,480	45,876	69,742

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Table III - continued

	1950	1960	1970
Florida	4,040	19,535	29,588
Miami	–	6,547	6,835
Regional Balance	9,440	26,341	40,154
West	12,690	38,030	59,498
California	10,295	28,108	46,955
Los Angeles	-	6,425	10,116
San Francisco	-	-	5,037
Regional Balance	2,395	9,922	12,543

Source: US Census Reports for 1950, 1960 and 1970. Quoted in US Commission on Civil Rights: Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States - An uncertain future 1976:23 (Table 7).

Note: "Regional balance" represents the balance of the Puerto Rican population in the respective regions (Ibid.).

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TABLE IV

A. PUERTO RICAN MIGRATION TO NEW YORK CITY, 1950-1956

Year	Estimated Migration to New York City	% of Total Migration
1950	29,500	85
1951	42,300	80
1952	45,500	77
1953	51,800	75
1954	16,100	75
1955	31,800	70
1956	34,000	65

B. PUERTO RICAN POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY, 1940-1956[a]

Date	Total	Puerto Rican birth	Puerto Rican parentage
April 1940	b	61,463	b
April 1950	245,880	187,420	58,460
Dec. 31, 1950	276,000	211,000	65,000
Dec. 31, 1951	328,000	253,000	75,000
Dec. 31, 1952	383,000	297,000	86,000
Dec. 31, 1953	448,000	348,000	100,000
Dec. 31, 1954	479,000	363,000	116,000
Dec. 31, 1955	527,000	394,000	133,000
Dec. 31, 1956	557,000[c]	426,000	151,000

Source: A Summary in Facts and Figures, in "Puerto Rican Population of New York City, A. J. Jaffe (ed.), New York, 1954:17.

Notes: [a]Data for April 1940 and April 1950 from U.S. Censuses. Subsequent data estimated on basis of out-migration from Puerto Rico, estimated percentage of migration settling in New York City, Puerto Rican birth rates in the City, death rates of Puerto Rican born persons in the City (for estimates of population of Puerto Rican birth), and general death rates (for population of Puerto Rican parentage).

[b]Not available.

[c]Estimated at 550,000 by New York City Department of City Planning, allowing for estimated out-migration from the City to other parts of the U.S. All estimates assumed subject to about 10% error.

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more than half this number had settled in the area of Spanish Harlem, having expanded from the original core area of 101st Street at Third Avenue into 116th Street at Madison Avenue and later up to 135th Street. Between 1940 and 1950, migration to New York City increased 206 per cent, but migration to other states increased as much as 443 per cent (Padilla 1958:21). Migration was made easier with air transportation from San Juan to New York. Puerto Ricans also started moving into the wider metropolitan New York area, especially Newark and other areas in New Jersey. By the 1950's, Puerto Ricans had moved to the Upper West Side, Washington Heights, Chelsea, and the Lower East Side. New colonies appeared in Bedford-Stuyvesant and the Bushwick section of Brooklyn, the Bronx and in the Morrisania and Melrose sections of Queens (Handlin 1959:85; Glazer and Moynihan 1963:93).

But the heaviest concentration of Puerto Ricans has been in Manhattan. This pattern remained constant during the period 1930-1950. For 1930, Chenault (1938:63) reports the following geographic breakdown of the Puerto Rican population in New York City.

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TABLE V

PUERTO RICAN POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY - 1930

Borough	Total	Percental of City Total
Manhattan	34,715	77.3
Brooklyn	7,985	17.8
Bronx	1,273	2.8
Queens	745	1.6
Richmond	190	.5
Total	44,908	

Source: Adapted from Rice: Health Problems among the Puerto Ricans in New York City 1938:1. Cited in Chenault, Lawrence: The Puerto Rican Migrant in New York City, New York: Columbia University Press 1936:63, Table XVI.

Table VI illustrates the demographic shift of the Puerto Rican population in New York City by 1950:

TABLE VI

PUERTO RICAN POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY

1950

Borough	Total	Percental of Total Borough Population
Manhattan	138,507	7.07
Bronx	61,924	4.27
Brooklyn	40,298	1.47
Queens	4,836	0.31
Richmond	740	0.39
Total		

Source: Adapted from Martin B. Dworkis (ed.): The Impact of Puerto Rican Migration on Governmental Services in New York City. New York: New York University Press 1957:15.

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Between 1940 and 1943, the influx of Puerto Ricans into New York City stopped because there was no civil transportation during World War II. By 1944, 11,000 more Puerto Ricans had migrated and subsequently figures began to climb with the beginnings of air service in 1945: 13,500 migrated in 1945, 40,000 in 1946, and 58,500 in 1953, the largest number in any one year. By 1961, there were 613,000 people of Puerto Rican birth or parentage in New York City.

This pattern changed in the decade 1960-1970 in two important ways. First, Puerto Ricans dispersed more equitably into the five boroughs in New York City so that, by 1970, the heaviest concentration of Puerto Ricans was in the Bronx instead of in Manhattan, as shown by Table VII.

TABLE VII

PUERTO RICAN POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY
1960-1970

Borough	Percentage of Total Puerto Rican population	Percentage of Total Borough Population	
		1960	1970
Manhattan	23	13.3	12.0
Bronx	39	13.1	21.5
Brooklyn	33	6.9	10.4
Queens & Richmond	5	2.1	3.3

Source: Data was compounded from the Census Bulletin, Research and Program Planning Information, NO. 14, Community Council of Greater New York, 1972 and Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States - An Uncertain Future, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, New York 1976.

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Second, Puerto Ricans were also moved outside of New York City: "In 1940, New York City was the home for nearly 90% of the migrants from the Island. By 1970, only 57% of the Puerto Ricans lived there" (Report, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1976:21; see also Table III on page 49).

The rapid spread of Puerto Ricans throughout the City has been explained by "the existence of large scale urban renewal projects, relocation due to housing developments and a propensity to move quickly while looking for a little better place to live" (Fitzpatrick 1971:55). This rapid spread is believed to have militated against the solidification of ethnic communities which, according to most sources, were the key feature among earlier migrations to the City.

As we will see in Chapter III, however, a Puerto Rican "community" did emerge in New York City, although it was largely an artificial creation within the context of the prevailing ideology of cultural pluralism. This emergence of a "community," we will argue, took precedence over the reality of geographical dispersal. What really did seem to relate to the emergence of a Puerto Rican "community" were the disadvantages that Puerto Ricans suffered as a result of the class-position they held within the social structure of the United States.

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Puerto Ricans and the Ideology of the Melting Pot

The ideology of the melting pot, institutionalized after the European migrations to the United States had subsided, held that advancement would be open to all, regardless of color, creed or national origin, but said nothing about limitations imposed by class. Lower-class Puerto Rican migrants and their children, however, faced severe obstacles to their achievement of upward social mobility. What these Puerto Ricans experienced were the contradictions between their class-based position and the individual realization of the American Dream.

Any discussion of the factors which have hindered the upward social mobility of Puerto Ricans has to be seen in light of the fact that the literature on this population deals solely with the unskilled and semi-skilled lower-class Puerto Rican population. While these lower-class Puerto Ricans did constitute the bulk of the migratory waves to the mainland, the concentration on this sector encouraged the creation of stereotypes which were extended to the whole population, regardless of differences in class background even when the authors in question might be aware of them. Thus, Mills (1950) deals with the migrant colonies in Spanish Harlem in Manhattan and the Morrisania section of the Bronx using a sample of about 5,000 households, because at that time these sections showed the heaviest demographic

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concentration of Puerto Ricans. Chenault (1938) discusses Puerto Rican migration based on data from low-income families in Harlem. Padilla (1958) writes about a figurative Eastville, also peopled by lower-class Puerto Ricans. Rand (1958), Lewis (1968) and Wakefield (1957) center on Spanish Harlem.

That there were class differences among Puerto Ricans is a recognized fact. But the majority of the upper and middle-class Puerto Ricans came to the mainland to pursue advanced education and subsequently returned to Puerto Rico. Those that did settle here were a minimal proportion of the total. As early as 1948, it was reported that there were "many Puerto Ricans who have either found their first foothold in more favored neighborhoods, or have filtered out from a Spanish-language neighborhood after going through the first stage of adjustment" (Report of the Committee on Puerto Ricans, Welfare Council of New York City 1948:15). These non-lower-class Puerto Ricans are called "assimilated citizens" and their role is seen as one of mediation between lower-class Puerto Ricans and the larger, American society. They are said to make "a positive contribution to the community which they represent and [are] a potential source of help to the Puerto Ricans in New York who are still unassimilated and who are very much a group (Report of the Committee on Puerto Ricans, Welfare Council of New York City 1948:15).

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Yet, in spite of the fact that Puerto Ricans, like every other ethnic category, were class-stratified, they have always remained socio-economically at a disadvantage, both in absolute terms as well as in comparison to other United States citizens, including other Hispanics. This will be demonstrated in the following discussion of occupational patterns and income levels.

The Economic Articulation of Puerto Ricans to the New York Labor Market

We now turn to a discussion of the mode of integration of Puerto Ricans in the New York City labor market. The relationship between the Puerto Rican labor force and the labor market in New York City must be considered dynamically, so that changes in one can be seen to effect changes in the other.

The majority of the Puerto Rican population in New York City has been employed in the semi-skilled and unskilled levels of the occupational structure, specifically, manufacturing (light industry) and service industries (e.g., hotels, restaurants) (Mills 1950; Workshop 1974; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report 1976; see also Table VIII page 64). These occupational statuses are the ones most affected by business fluctuations and since, occupationally, Puerto Ricans constitute a very homogenous population, the statistical correlation between business fluctuations and

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migratory waves can be immediately perceived (see Table I on page 41).

By the 1950s, however, some Puerto Ricans found employment in government departments, e.g., fire, police, education, and other federal, state and municipal agencies. Those jobs were offered not only because of "greater sensitivity of the state as an employer to the issue of public policy involved in discrimination" but also because of "the growing weight of the Negro and Puerto Rican groups as a political factor" (Handlin 1959:76). Yet the percentage of the Puerto Rican population in these occupational positions was then, as it still is, minimal (see Table VIII page 64 and Figure 2 page 40).

By 1953, of a total of 155,000 Puerto Ricans participating in the New York City labor force, three-quarters were female operatives, and two-thirds were male operatives and service workers (Dworkis 1957:20). Thus, occupation varied according to sex differences: while women concentrated in the garment industry, men worked in the metal trades, electric plating, paper goods and auto trades. Those males in the service occupations were primarily bus boys, kitchen and pantry workers, dishwashers and laundry workers (Dworkis 1957:20).

There were also a percentage of migrants who came with previous work contracts, for domestic and farm work. Although some sources maintain that

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> Contrary to some ideas, labor contractors do not bring the Puerto Ricans to New York. 91% arrived in New York without any prior arrangement, 6% had a job lined up before arrival by friends in New York, 3% came through labor contracts (Nathan Probst and Sophia A. Olmstead: "The rising Puerto Rican problem," Bar Bulletin, March 1952:10. Cited in Dworkis 1957:10, footnote 2).

there is much evidence to the contrary. For example, the New York State Employment Service in the 1950's brought 250 girls to employ them as domestics in Westchester County, as part of a household training project.

Farm workers began to arrive since the 1940's and suffered all the vicissitudes of the migrant laborers on the East Coast. In 1947 and 1948, two laws were passed in Puerto Rico which required that labor contracts issued to seasonal farm laborers be approved by the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico on the mainland. The numbers of farm workers arriving on the mainland rose steadily; 6,000 arrived in 1953, 20,000 in 1954, and as many as 40,000 in 1956 (Dworkis 1957:20). Thereafter, their number is unknown (Fitzpatrick 1971). Although we do know that, between 1951 and 1964, an average of about 13,000 agricultural workers arrived under approved government contracts, the exact number of those coming on their own or through private recruiters is probably impossible to assess. The New York State Employment Service suggests 50 percent stayed in New York. Fitzpatrick (1971:17) similarly maintains that

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> The contract farm workers do not return to Puerto Rico, but simply stay on in the area where they were working or move to a nearby city and establish a permanent residence. Many of the original Puerto Rican communities, such as those in Camden or Trenton, New Jersey, Springfield, Mass.; Detroit, Michigan and Rockland County or Eastern Long Island, New York began with small clusters of former contract workers who remained on the mainland. Once established, these clusters attracted relatives and friends, directly from Puerto Rico and the urban Puerto Rican communities in these cities began to develop (Fitzpatrick 1971:17).

Negative stereotypes developing since the onset of Puerto Rican migration included the idea that Puerto Ricans came to New York in order to receive Public Assistance from the City of New York and not to work. Their intermediary was thought to be Congressman Vito Marcantonio of the American Labor Party, who was accused of Communist affiliations and of "bringing the Puerto Ricans to New York and arranging to get them in public welfare in order to get their votes" (quoted in Fitzpatrick 1971:15). Dworkis (1957), Fitzpatrick (1971), Robinson (1954) and many others denied such assertions but such statements are still made. Yet the fact that, in 1970, only 56 percent of the Puerto Rican families eligible for Public Assistance actually received it, demonstrates that Public Assistance cannot be understood as a pull factor inducing increased migration. Further, as has been already mentioned, although the numbers of workers contracted from Puerto Rico remained in

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dispute, from the data presented here on employment, it appears that a large percentage of employable Puerto Ricans did in fact contribute to the labor force.

As we have shown, however, the vast majority of working Puerto Ricans filled low occupational positions, and, hence, the vast majority of Puerto Rican families in New York have been poor (see Table IX on page 68). The extent of their poverty stimulated the formation of a number of private organizations dedicated to meeting the needs of Puerto Rican families. Already by 1930, many Puerto Ricans received the attention of special aid committees of the Welfare Council of New York. They held a number of conferences which resulted in the establishment of the Puerto Rican Community Committee by the 1930's. During these years, the Welfare Council coordinated the organization of various private social agencies with no relation whatsoever to any Department within City government (Chenault 1938:85).

Another small organization was the Puerto Rican Service Center of New York, at 103 West 110th Street, cited by Chenault as "doing only a small amount of case work but often interceding for Puerto Rican families with charity organizations or relief agencies" (1938:128).

Other resources that Puerto Ricans could turn to in those years were Catholic Charities, the New York City

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Mission Society and Hudson Guild. It has to be noted that aid programs for the immigrant had already been established in New York (Ernst 1949); what seems to be different in the case of Puerto Ricans is that wealthy Puerto Ricans were not the ones who organized these charitable societies.

Although "they are hard-workers who enter a class structure that has become increasingly rigid since the end of the 19th century" (Mills 1950:85), the Puerto Ricans do share with the Blacks two avenues of upward mobility which were also available to earlier migrants (Handlin 1959:70), though these affected only a very small number of people. The first is the small business field. Some Puerto Ricans tried to escape the unpredictability of the lower level class by opening retail groceries, meat markets, bodegas, beauty parlors and other small stores. Chenault (1938:71) lists 1,170 grocery businesses, 40 drugstores, 40 restaurants, 30 meat markets and 35 tailor shops.

The second avenue of upward mobility is the arts and sports, which, according to Handlin (1950:71), "was much narrower . . . but it had a high symbolic value since through it were available both wealth and recognition by the whites."

Yet Puerto Ricans, on the whole, have remained marginal to the economy, as they occupied the lowest levels of the service and industrial sectors, and consequently powerless

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in their lack of owernship and control of the means of production. In the words of Chenault, even if "practically all the regular lines of trade are represented . . . there seems . . . to be no very large business or institution giving service to a large part of the city, owned or operated by Puerto Ricans" (1938:71).

What avenues of upward mobility were open for the first waves of Puerto Rican migrants? Often the first job that Puerto Ricans can find in New York leads to downward occupational mobility, although this situation may not be permanent (Chenault 1938). Upward occupational mobility, however, "takes place more within the skill levels of the wage-worker stratum than between this stratum and the white-collar world" (Mills 1950:66), so that "whatever upward mobility has occurred in the job life of the Puerto Rican migrants is largely restricted to the climb from semi-skilled wage work" (Mills 1950:69).

This condition will not change very much in the next three decades. If we compare the decade 1950-1960 and 1960-1970 with regard to employment of Puerto Ricans, Blacks and Whites, we find that Puerto Ricans have remained most heavily concentrated in blue-collar jobs, and that their proportion in these occupations is still higher than for the two other categories at the end of the second decade (see Table VIII and Figure 2 in pages 64 and 66 respectively).

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TABLE VIII

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY OF EMPLOYED PUERTO RICANS AGE 14 AND OVER, COMPARED WITH TOTAL POPULATION: UNITED STATES, 1960 AND 1970[1]

Industry	1960			1970		
	Puerto Ricans Number	Puerto Ricans Percent	Total Pop. Percent	Puerto Ricans Number	Puerto Ricans Percent	Total Pop. Percent
Total Employed	270,103	100.0	100.0	387,394	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, Forestry Fishery and Mining	6,974	2.6	8.1	6,048	1.6	4.6
Construction	5,884	2.2	6.2	9,401	2.4	5.8
Manufacturing--Total	(148,236)	(54.9)	(28.2)	(159,993)	(41.3)	(26.0)
Durables	62,880	23.3	15.9	76,697	19.8	15.4
Nondurables	85,356	31.6	12.3	83,296	21.5	10.6
Transportation, Communications and other utilities	11,636	4.3	7.2	23,834	6.2	6.8
Wholesale and Retail Trade	42,327	15.7	19.0	69,968	18.1	20.1
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	8,195	3.0	4.3	23,639	6.1	5.0
Business and Repair Services	6,074	2.2	2.6	14,860	3.8	3.1

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Table VIII - continued

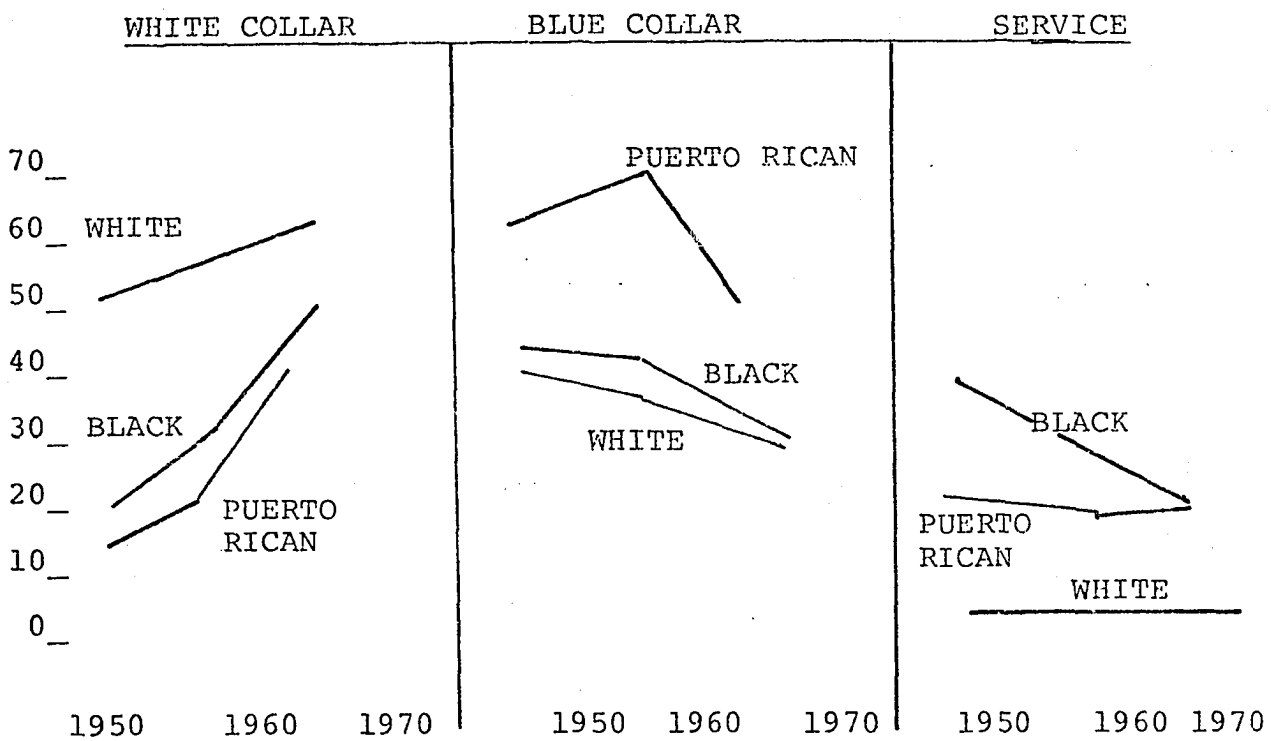
Industry	1960 Puerto Ricans Number	1960 Puerto Ricans Percent	1960 Total Pop. Percent	1970 Puerto Ricans Number	1970 Puerto Ricans Percent	1970 Total Pop. Percent
Personal Services	16,575	6.1	6.2	18,115	4.7	4.5
Entertainment and Recreation	1,667	0.6	0.8	2,967	0.8	0.8
Professional Services	16,530	6.1	12.4	44,632	11.5	17.6
Public Administration	6,005	2.2	5.0	13,937	3.6	5.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, cited in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights: Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States - An Uncertain Future 1976:55 Table 25.

Note: [1]Excludes persons for whom industry was not reported due to rounding of decimals; percentages do not always add exactly to 100 percent.

FIGURE 2

Percent Employed by Ethnic Group in White Collar, Blue Collar and Service Occupations, 1950, 1960 1970



Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Middle Atlantic Regional Office, The New York Scene, April 1971. Quoted in Workshop, 1974:56.

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A decrease in blue-collar occupations is correlated with an increase in white-collar positions, but, here again, earnings are significantly lower for Puerto Ricans than for the other two populations being compared (see Tables IX and X, in pages 68 and 69 respectively). As of 1970, Puerto Ricans, then, are not only still heavily employed in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations, which are the sectors with the highest rate of job decline (see Table II on page 44), but they also earn considerably less and are subject to higher unemployment rates than both Whites and Blacks (see Table XI on page 70). It is thus not surprising that Puerto Ricans still remain, in statistical terms, the poorest segment in the City.[22]

These statistical comparisons have no inherent value but must be seen as the outward manifestation of the impact that changes in the New York economy have had on the Puerto Rican population. Rodríguez sums the complex interplay of forces in these terms:

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[22]See Table IX in page 68 and also Bureau of Labor Statistics (1972:18) which shows that 85 percent of the Puerto Rican population was found concentrated in the low-income areas surveyed, as contrasted to 68 percent of Blacks and 31 percent of Whites.

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TABLE IX

INCOME DISTRIBUTIONS FOR PUERTO RICAN, BLACK AND ALL FAMILIES, NEW YORK CITY, 1970

	Puerto Rican		Black		All	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Less than $1,000	16,136	8.0	24,828	6.2	71,385	3.5
1,000 to 1,999	9,677	4.8	15,382	3.9	55,934	2.7
2,000 to 2,999	17,508	8.7	25,416	6.4	91,375	4.4
3,000 to 3,999	22,570	11.2	28,728	7.3	103,277	5.0
4,000 to 5,999	43,834	21.8	64,693	16.4	230,719	11.2
6,000 to 7,999	34,449	17.2	65,601	16.6	259,429	12.6
8,000 to 9,999	21,715	10.8	51,385	13.0	256,778	12.5
10,000 to 14,999	25,796	12.9	76,690	19.4	504,622	24.5
15,000 to 24,999	7,943	4.0	37,127	9.4	361,542	17.6
25,000 and over	1,048	0.5	5,554	1.4	123,882	6.0
All Families	200,676	99.9	394,904	100.0	2,058,943	100.0
Percent with incomes under 6,000		54.5		40.2		26.8
Median Income	$5,575		$7,150		$9,682	
Percent in Poverty		30.4		20.5		11.5
Per capita income of persons	$2,402		$1,739			

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1970. General Social ane Economic Characteristics. New York. PC (1)-C34. Table 98, 90, 94, 95, 100, 101. Cited in Rodríguez C: Economic factors affecting Puerto Ricans in New York. New York: Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños 1974:48, Table III.

TABLE X

Median earnings in 1960 by major occupational groups of males and females with earnings, 16 years and over, by race and ethnic group, New York City.

Male	Total	White	Black	Puerto Rican
Prof., Manag. and kindred workers	$10,995	$11,400	$8,046	$7,040
Craftsmen, Foremen, and kindred workers	8,174	8,520	6,770	6,238
Operatives, including transport	6,556	6,767	6,187	5,148
Laborers, except farm	6,577	6,986	5,816	5,051
Total male experienced labor force	7,679	8,140	6,241	5,430
Female				
Clerical and kindred workers	5,360	5,464	4,867	4,563
Operatives, including transport	3,741	3,715	3,854	3,651
Total female experienced labor force	4,978	5,131	4,572	3,861

Source: Summary Manpower Indicators for New York City, 1970 Census of Population, U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Adm. Cited in Rodríguez C: Economic Factors Affecting Puerto Ricans in New York. New York: Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños 1974:46, Table II.

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TABLE XI

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR NEW YORK CITY MALES BY ETHNIC GROUP, 1950, 1960, 1970

	1950	1960	1970
Puerto Rican	10.6	9.9	6.2
Non-White	8.4	6.9	5.4
Others	5.1	4.3	3.9[a]

[a]Figure is for all males.

Sources: United States Bureau of Census. United States Census of Population and Housing: 1950 Census Tracts. Final Report PHC(1)-104-Part I, Tables P-3, P-4, P-5.

United States Census of Population: 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics. New York. PC(1)-C34. Tables 98, 85, 92.

a. These data do not include the Occupation Not Reported Category.
b. United States Pureau of the Census: 1960, Census Tracts, Final Report PHC(1)-104. Part 1, Tables P-3, P-4, P-5.
c. United States Bureau of the Census: 1970, Preliminary Report by Census Tracts, Table P-6.

Sources: 1970 - United States Census of Population: 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics. New York. PC(1)-C34. Tables 86 and 99.

1960 - United States Census of Population: 1960. Special Reports. Puerto Ricans in the United States. Final Report PC(2)-1D. Table 11.

1960 - United States Census of Population: 1960. Characteristics of the Population. Part 34, New York. Table 74.

Cited in Rodríguez C.: Factors Affecting Puerto Ricans in New YOrk. New York: Centro de Estudios Puertorriquenos 1974:50, Table IV.

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> In a nutshell, here is how these factors operate and interact. Automation and the movement of surviving blue-collar jobs to the suburbs, the South and other countries, have caused a sectoral decline in the number of manufacturing jobs available in New York City. Since these trends occurred more rapidly than out-migration or re-training of blue-collar workers to fill white-collar jobs, a severe problem of blue-collar structural unemployment arose in New York City. Because of racial and ethnic prejudice, restrictive union policies, inadequate educational opportunities, and the restriction of Puerto Ricans from government employement, Puerto Ricans bore the brunt of this blue-collar structural unemployment (1974:20).[23]

In view of the above, if we ask who among the Puerto Ricans advances in American society, we can only answer that an infinitesimal fraction of the White Puerto Rican population actually does. Mills comments that,

> The successful ones lose their former identity in non-Puerto Rican neighborhoods in Inwood, Queens, Long Island, Jersey and . . . maintains but minimal contact with the old areas of first settlement. That is, if he is White. But if he is Negro, because his residential mobility is much more limited, he is forced to stay where he is (1950:23).

Thus, in spite of the expectation of upward mobility inherent in the ideology of the melting pot, we have seen that, statistically, Puerto Ricans have not advanced much

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[23]The limitations of our study allow us to state some of the factors affecting a proportion of the Puerto Rican labor force. To understand more fully the changing structure of the labor market in the United States, including correlations with population trends in the urban centers, see Tabb (1970), especially Chapter VI, and Gordon, 1972 and 1975.

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in the six decades of their settlement in New York City. They are still as economically marginal as they were at the onset of migration.[24]

From the evidence presented above on the marginal mode of integration of Puerto Ricans into the New York City labor market, we can also infer that Puerto Ricans are greatly concentrated in occupations which are not only subject to decline or instability but also which rarely offer the possibility for upward mobility. The conclusion of the Puerto Rican Forum Report on the overall assessment of Puerto Ricans in New York seems warranted:

> It is necessary to know that Puerto Ricans are not "making it" once they learn English; that the children born in the City of Puerto Rican parents are not becoming successful New Yorkers once they go through the City's school system; that the story of the Puerto Ricans will not be the same as the story of the groups of immigrants who came before--unless some lessons learned in the past immigrations are applied, and the significant differences of the situation are recognized and worked with (1964:5).

More than a decade later, a Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reached a similar conclusion,

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[24]The concepts of marginality and integration are not mutually exclusive; marginality, rather, defines a specific mode of integration. If Puerto Ricans are predominantly employed in blue-collar jobs, with the related features discussed above, and are required by certain kinds of industries such as the garment and other light industries, then we can maintain that marginality is a specific mode of dependent integration within the capitalist mode of production. For analyses which use marginality in the above sense, see Cockcroft et al. 1972.

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> The Commission's overall conclusion is that mainland Puerto Ricans generally continued mired in the poverty facing first generations of all immigrant or migrant groups. Expectations were that succeeding generations of mainland Puerto Ricans would have achieved upward mobility. One generation later, the essential fact of poverty remains little changed. Indeed, the economic situation of the mainland Puerto Ricans has worsened over the last decade (1976: 145).

There have been, however, two major changes since the onset of migration. First, there was a 20 percent increase in white-collar jobs for Puerto Ricans, all clerical and sales positions, during the decade of 1960-1970. Although there are no statistics available, this indicates an advancement stimulated in part by the growth of Puerto Rican Agencies and Puerto Rican-staffed Community Corporations (see Chapters III and VI) and has not resulted necessarily from an increase in educational opportunities alone. And while the increase in white-collar positions has not been statistically noteworthy, especially when compared to other ethnic populations, the possibility of gaining access to white-collar jobs further stimulated a belief among Puerto Ricans that avenues for upward mobility were now even more open to them than they were before (see Chapters V and VI).

The second change relates to the organizational ability and strength of Puerto Ricans in New York. In the following section, we will discuss informal and formal forms of articulation between Puerto Ricans and the wider society.

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First Associational Forms of the Ethnic Category

It has become commonplace to compare the path followed by the newer waves of migrants, such as the Puerto Ricans and the Blacks, with that taken by the earlier migrant populations. One feature of the earlier migrant populations, especially European "ethnics," that is praised by everyone, from politician, to layman, to academic, is the development of strong voluntary, grass-roots organizations. Organizational strength is a feature generally correlated with the upward social mobility experienced by mainly European migrants. Hence, if Puerto Ricans and Blacks would organize ethnically as did their earlier counterparts, they also would advance in American society. This line of reaoning is commonly found both in academic circles and in what would be called "street philosophy." In the literature which takes such a comparative approach, Puerto Ricans especially rank low with respect to organizational strength (Glazer and Moynihan 1968; Handlin 1959; Mills 1950; Fitzpatrick 1971). Glazer and Moynihan, for example, charge that the feeble organizations existing among Puerto Ricans do not have the significance of those of earlier immigrants, and lack both entertainment or practical functions (1963:107). This is due, according to these authors, to the dispersal of the Puerto Rican population due to housing shortages, as well as to the

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institutional duplication of such functions by public and private agencies.

Our basic contention here is that, on the contrary, there indeed existed associational forms of the ethnic category. This is true "even though the Puerto Ricans did not come to New York with a strong sense of feeling for organizations" (Gotsch 1966;36), and even though no organized Puerto Rican "community" existed in New York in the 1950's (Mills 1950). Secondary ties beyond the family started to be honored since the onset of migration. We will argue that these incipient organizational forms did not develop out of any feeling of community which might have existed before the migration but rather represent defensive adaptations to a society which placed a high value on cultural ancestry and community life, but to which Puerto Ricans integrated only marginally.

The first Puerto Rican associations were of a political nature. Ribes Tovar reports that in 1892, the Club Borinquén y Betances was presided over by Sotero Figueroa with Francisco González Marín as Secretary (see page 36, footnote 17). Dr. Betances was appointed honorary president in a ceremony attended by Jose Martí. Cubans and Puerto Ricans formed another association, Las Dos Antillas; Rosendo Rodríguez was president and Leopoldo Acosta was vice-president. Another activist club of that period was the Club Político Rius Rivera (1968:21).

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Later on, the "innate sociability of the Puerto Ricans made itself felt, inducing the migrants to form communal organizations or clubs" (Ribes Tovar 1968:98). All of these appeared in Brooklyn, where the first Puerto Rican migrants settled. Ribes Tovar reports a social club, fraternal organizations (the oldest of which, La Razón, founded in 1901, still survives), and the Puerto Rican Democratic Club, Inc., the first Puerto Rican organization formally constituted under the laws of New York State. This was a militant and relatively prosperous civic and cultural association, founded in 1922 which published the first weekly Spanish newspaper of Brooklyn: El Caribe. It also sent commissions to the Insular Affairs Committee in Washington, D.C., to demand solutions for Puerto Rico's problems. After incorporation, in 1923, the Puerto Rican Democratic Club attempted to unify the "Puerto Rican community" by trying to attract from its seat in Brooklyn the Puerto Ricans living in Manhattan and the Bronx.[25] Later, other Democratic clubs emerged, e.g., de Hostos Democratic Club, Inc., and Guaybana Democratic Club, Inc., but "no other had such a profound influence on the political, social and civic life of the early community as the Betances Democratic Club of the Third Assembly

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[25]The reasons why it was apparently unsuccessful in accomplishing this goal are unknown to the writer.

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District of Brooklyn" (Ribes Tovar 1968:100). One of the American friends of this club was James A. Kelly[26] who lent his offices at Borough Hall for the club's activities, and risked his political career in helping Puerto Ricans by jailing false job recruiters, destroying a ring of sellers of Puerto Rican baptism certificates, and convincing the

> American Government that many delinquents who speak Spanish are not Puerto Ricans . . . . And when American leaders, fearful of an avalanche of Puerto Rican votes, sought to obstruct the registration of Puerto Ricans, Mr. Kelly combatted them and was accused of lack of discipline (1968:100).

Kelly later became the founder of the Puerto Rican Welfare Committees. Hijos de Borinquén, Inc. was born out of the Betances Democratic Club and still survives. The Betances and the Guaynabana Democratic Club, Inc. organized a militant confederation of associations covering all of Kings County although not all existing organizations in Brooklyn joined (Ribes Tovar 1968:101). There were also other, more militant organizations, such as the Puerto Rican Brotherhood of Americans, organized in 1923. This organization oriented its programs of action around the awareness of its working-class membership (Workshop 1974:192).

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[26]James A. Kelly was a Democratic Party politician who was very close in the 1920's and 1930's with the Betances Democratic Club.

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Turning away from these early militant organizations, for the moment, we will now discuss informal organizations which grouped people on the basis of eating habits, religious beliefs, residential contiguity, or common town of origin. These organizations were to become, in the course of time, larger civic and political associations which would function as pressure groups and furnish the point of departure for political leadership. In the next Chapter we shall examine the power structure within which this development took place, but first it is important to describe the nature of the informal organizations that developed as well as the formal ones that mediated between Puerto Ricans and the larger sociopolitical system.

Informal Organizations: Their Crystallization into Hometown Clubs

As lower-class migration became more massive, organizations of a more informal nature began to appear. Informal associations were most popular for, as Galíndez writes, "the Puerto Rican resists (es reacio a) participation in associations. His center of information and social exchanges happens to be the bodega or the travel agency" (1948:79). Mills (1950) also view Puerto Ricans in their informal meeting and exchanging information with other Puerto Ricans of the same social class. Like Galíndez, he does not see any active seeking of participation in already

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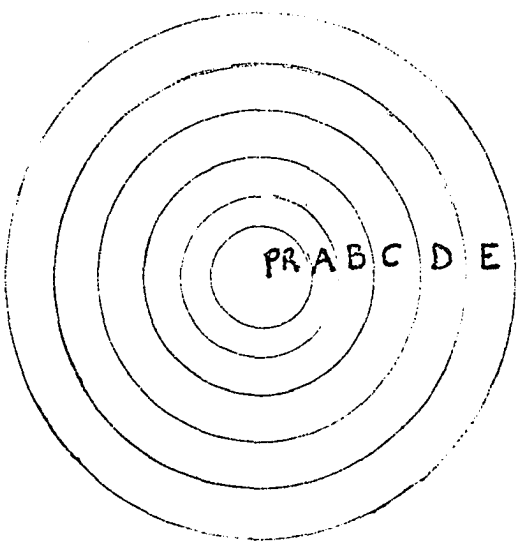
established associations. Further, he establishes types of informal associational forms of the 1940's, providing us with a picture that stresses kinship and locality (both past and present) as the major ties defining interrelationships amongst lower-class Puerto Ricans in New York.

FIGURE 3

MILLS's VIEW OF THE PUERTO RICAN SOCIAL WORLD



Source: Mills 1950:122.

Notes:
A: Kinship, ritual and locality.
B: Locality and appartment.
C: Friends in building not from same locality.
D: Street cliques.
E: Bars, restaurants and groceries.

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From Mills' diagram we can note levels of social distance among Puerto Ricans which depend on the type of social tie as well as on meeting place.

While Mills' view of the Puerto Rican social world is valid, he limits his discussion to ego-centered networks. We contend that such a perspective omits the consideration of networks that mediate between the Puerto Rican individual and the larger sociopolitical system of New York City. Here we approach the subject of Puerto Rican networks in terms of their articulation with the wider society, rather than as ego-centered entities. We will discuss both the historical process through which such networks appeared, as well as the question of whether they contained the seeds of incipient "ethnic groups" that could be publicly acknowledged as representatives of a putative "Puerto Rican community."

Now we turn to the discussion of the three types of informal organizations: kin and friendship networks, ad hoc networks, and hometown clubs in turn.

Kin and Friendship Networks

Since the onset of migration in the early 1900's, Puerto Rican relatives (i.e., consanguineal, affinal and ritual kinship ties) and friends would visit in each other's homes. Locality of origin and neighborhood ties in most cases overlapped with friends and relatives who visited

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each other. Friends in New York City have known each other in Puerto Rico; this would often reinforce their friendship. On the other hand, new acquaintances might become friends on the basis of common place of birth.

In addition to homes, other meeting places for relatives and friends were bodegas,[26] travel agencies and other Puerto Rican small stores or simply the sidewalk. Participants were mostly women who chatted about the daily events in their lives.

> The leadership of the sidewalk cliques is held by migrants who have lived in this country for many years and bodegueras are usually recognized as leaders of the cliques of women which meet in the shops (Padilla 1958:221).[27]

According to Padilla, the only author who provides us with information on such networks, their overall function was that of "reducing the emotional impact of uprootedness" (Padilla 1958:217). In more sociological terms, these networks were important for recreation, mutual assistance and the setting of standards and goals for living in the City. The first two of these functions deserve some attention because they define the third.

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[26] Puerto Rican grocery stores.

[27] According to Handlin (1959:71) aside from the art world and athletic field, groceries, meat markets and bodegas provided an avenue of upward social mobility for some Puerto Ricans, in the 1940's and 1950's, differentiating the owners from the mass of the unskilled labor force.

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Padilla gives us an account of the recreational functions of Puerto Rican informal networks. She refers to "raincheck" visits, which consist of dropping in on one another unexpectedly. There are also formal events, "such as parties held at home and called paricitos to honor birthdays, weddings and departures for Puerto Rico" (Padilla 1958:219). In addiiton, there are "demonstration parties," arranged by the head of a household and a door-to-door salesman interested in showing his product, to entertain and feed people from the same hometown.

Yet the most important function of kin and friendship networks was the help they furnished in locating a job. The following explanation attempts to account for the small proportion of Puerto Rican workers registered in New York City's employment agencies:

> The State Employment Service believes this may indicate that most Puerto Ricans do not get their jobs through public employment services, but are introduced by friends to employers known to them and are hired at the gate (Report 1948:44).

Ad Hoc Networks of Puerto Ricans

These were networks of Puerto Ricans who became linked to each other on the basis of a common interest or purpose. We will discuss two types of ad hoc networks from the point of view of their internal capacity to become "Puerto Rican groups."

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The first of these ad hoc networks is the storefront churches. Although there were church-affiliated organizations since the 1950's, such as the Daughters of Mary, or the Knights of Columbus, what was peculiar to the Puerto Rican population in New York were the pentecostal sects. These religious groups met in "storefront" churches which were previously retail stores. As many as thirty within a twenty-four block are reported in East Harlem in 1968 (Poblete 1968:165).

Pentecostal sects or Asambleas de Dios are still growing in membership. Some observers have seen them as the essence of the developing Puerto Rican sense of "community." Poblete (1968) contends that by fighting anomie and marginality, they help integrate people into groups, and with the growth of solidarity comes the emergence of a "community." While this assertion is difficult to prove, it does appear that the existence of these pentecostal sects does represent, unlike other associations, an indigenous movement which responds to the structural positioning of Puerto Ricans in New York City.[28] If the movement had a larger membership, it could potentially

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[28]This is also the explanation provided by Mintz (1960; especially pages 253-270) for the growth of revivalist churches in Puerto Rico. Mintz argues that pentecostalism in Puerto Rico is a medium of acculturation of the lower-class to American society and culture.

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consolidate a "community," but it has not, so far, been able to do this.

The second type of ad hoc network of Puerto Ricans is the neighborhood associations. Puerto Ricans in the same building sometimes associate around common interests pertaining to basic services. "This kind of group is centered on a leader who is articulate in expressing protest against injustices of landlords and building superintendents" (Padilla 1958:221). This type of leader speaks English and acts as a broker for other Puerto Ricans in actions against all types of injustices. But this form of association is not a group since "even if many different individuals are involved with the leader, there is no apparent identification of aims among them as a group" (Padilla 1958:222). Glazer and Moynihan see neighborhood associations as the only loci where groups can emerge and where "nascent leaders become real leaders" (1963:108). They mention the issue of the West Side Urban Renewal project in New York City which displaced Puerto Ricans from West 87th to 97th Streets and from Central Park West to Amsterdam Avenue, noting that "in a New York neighborhood one may find out that a

> community exists only at a point where one is ready to destroy it and it rises to protect itself . . . . It is the threat [that] creates a common interest where none existed before and brings out people ready to take leadership to protect the threatened interest (1963:108).

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Hometown Clubs

We have already seen how friends and relatives, whether or not from the same locality of origin, usually met in each others' homes. Yet in the 1930's the common tie of locality of origin was felt more strongly and many of the already existing networks of relatives and friends became embedded within informal hometown associations. "The world he [the Puerto Rican immigrant] enters is not only a general Puerto Rican milieu but specifically that of his former locality or hometown" (Mills 1950:100). Locality associations represent a variety of kin and friendship networks used by all lower-class migrants to find a job and living quarters in the City (Mills 1950). Thus, although informal associations based on common geographical origin were characteristic of Puerto Ricans as well as previous immigrant groups, what differentiates Puerto Rican associations is that, rather than being based on national origin per se, they are based on former locality within a single nation.

Hometown clubs did not emerge as organizations, however, but as cliques (Padilla 1958:215) which linked people from the same hometown in Puerto Rico. Sometimes whole families joined together; sometimes men and women functioned separately. Male hometown cliques included men ranging in age from the teens to the forties.

> They met in the streets, on stoops and in front of such places of business as bars or restaurants, some-

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> times owned or managed by a member of the clique (Padilla 1958:220).

Female clique showed the same age range.

Aside from locality as the criterion of membership, participation in these cliques was further restricted to two categories: 1) that of the lower-class experiencing the class dichotomization of the neighborhood--most lower-class people participated at the onset of migration, and 2) that of time of arrival. Yet, although the tie of origin theoretically surpassed divisions of class, color and time of arrival, it is agreed that mostly lower-class Puerto Ricans participated. In an invitation to join the Asociación Cívica Larena we read:

> This is not the club of the rich of my town. I would not call that society. There is more rotteness (podredumbre) where vanity beams than where there is humility (humildad). Unfortunately, here you will not find the rich, although they would be welcome (Asociación Cívica Larena 1974:1).

Seeking help and support from these hometown associations varies in inverse proportion with the migrants' total non-Puerto Rican contacts. In other words, there is a correlation between belonging to the lower-class and having few contacts with non-Puerto Ricans and relying heavily on these hometown cliques (Padilla 1958; Mills 1950).

The early hometown associations shared two other features with networks of kin and friends. One is that they served to provide the opportunity for more social

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gatherings than they functioned as service agencies. Valle (1959:Table 64) reports that only 6 percent of her sample used hometown associations as service agencies.

The other is that the household remained the most important meeting place for hometown associations. Mills (1950:108) reports that two-thirds of the men and eighty percent of the women in his sample said that they see their friends in their own homes. In the 1940's, these hometown associations were still "few and weak" (Mills 1950:107). In fact, in a sample population from Spanish Harlem in Manhattan and Morrisania in the Bronx, only 2 percent saw their friends at clubs or organizations (Mills 1950:100) and "even among the early arrivals, 84% of the men and 91% of the women do not form organized groups" (Mills 1950:100). Also, of 223 families surveyed by Valle (1973) in East Harlem, only 13 were members of a hometown club. These characteristics will be seen to have changed greatly since the 1950's.

Since the time of massive migration, after World War II, Puerto Ricans from the same municipio (hometown) increasingly began to act together more often, and thereby began to see the need to have special meeting places. They rented halls and lofts, and gave themselves a name according to the Puerto Rican hometown from where most of the members came (e.g., Hijos de Ponce: Children of Ponce, a

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Puerto Rican municipio; sometimes the theme of absence was highlighted, as in Caborrojeños Ausentes: the absent children from Cabo Rojo, another Puerto Rican municipio).

Although hometown associations grew in number, not all of the 77 municipalities on the Island were represented by a club, although some cites, such as Ponce, had more than one organized group representing them.

These hometown associations continued to have the functions of the networks of relatives and friends previously discussed. They

> meet to discuss issues affecting the Puerto Rican community here or to hold dances to raise money or to support the organization's activities in the community. These hometown clubs, as they are called, also serve as referral agencies for newly arrived families looking for their relatives here or who need helping finding a job or an apartment (Narvaez 1974:43).

Since the 1950's, these societies based on locality of origin have proliferated, and there have been attempts at confederation and at practical social work. The reasons for such growth can be found in the occupational structure of Puerto Rican workers as well as in the first developments of ethnic consciousness. As Narvaez states

> The movement toward more formal groupings also got its impetus from attempts to organize Puerto Rican workers in the hotel and restaurant industries[29] and from later attempts to

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[29] See pages 93-95 on Puerto Ricans and United States Labor Unions.

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> organize groups to participate in the Hispanic Day Parades.[30] The highlight of the year for most of the clubs is the Puerto Rican Day Parade in June when each club supplies a float and often a Mayor (Narvaez 1974:43).

Most of these associations stress their desire to be apolitical. In an invitation to join one of them, Asociación Cívica Larena, we read:

> Some would seek refuge in the political clubs to further their ambitions but here our only ambition is to get together, to make of Lareños a great family . . . We are brothers in absence and in exile (Asociación Cívica Larena 1974:1).

Yet they play a political role in the articulation of Puerto Ricans with the wider society and, as will be shown in Chapter VI, the careers of all the Puerto Rican publicly acknowledged leaders and politicians start with membership in at least one hometown association. Narvaez sees in this a continuation of earlier immigrants' practices:

> Like similar clubs formed by earlier immigrants, the hometown clubs also function in the political arena by providing support and workers for Puerto Rican candidates. Herman Badillo, former Bronx Borough President, for instance, is a member of the hometown club from Caguas and received support from it and from many of the other clubs. 'Whatever representation we have politically is due to these groups,' said _____, a well-known activist in the Puerto Rican community (Narvaez 1974:43).

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[30] See especially Chapter V for a description of the Puerto Rican Day Parade.

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The 1960's already exhibited coordinating councils of hometown organizations: Congress of Puerto Rican Hometowns (an amalgam of approximately 80 clubs in the City), Puerto Rican Parade Committee, Council of Puerto Rican and Hispanic organizations of the Lower East Side, United Bronx Organizations and Brooklyn Council of Organizations. They were not powerful, in themselves, but they reacted to power by exerting pressure and helping to develop patterns of influence, as will become clearer later on.

Another change in the 1960's is that, although the entertainment function is still the sine qua non of the associations, some of them have become essentially referral agencies for the delivery of a myriad of services.

> Others, however, have become involved in the antipoverty programs and have been providing service to the community on a full-time basis. Through the PRCDP, an anti-poverty group, 31 of the clubs have received funds for workers who provide information to the public on housing, education, welfare, voter registration or about classes in remedial English. Some of the groups have been funded directly by HRA, the City's antipoverty agency, to develop specific programs [for example, $75,000 given to the Sociedad Maricaeña for a program for senior citizens] (Narvaez 1974: 43).

The important point to note here is that, although not all Puerto Ricans join,[31] what can be referred to broadly

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[31]Narvaez reports: "The range of membership is from 30 in Toa Baja social club to 300 in the Club from Rincón" (1974:43).

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as a Puerto Rican "community" until the 1960's were these associations of migrants from the same region--not an ethnic minority. Mills also argues that among Puerto Ricans, national origin surpasses all other ties:

> The Puerto Rican in New York may turn upon people from his own birthplace. The Puerto Rican world is not unified, it does not produce strong feelings of solidarity, at least none more specific than the general slogans of national pride (Mills 1950:126). (Italics mine.)[32]

In all of the four associational forms discussed above we can see a common pattern: migrant networks form as defensive adaptations in the articulation of Puerto Ricans with the new society but they are not groups; rather, they are formed by members of the same ethnic category who, in most cases, face similar problems. Ethnic consciousness, predicated upon group formation, does not emerge until the positive assessment of ethnicity by a pluralist ideology comes into being.

Various reasons are advanced for the fact that strong organizations did not emerge among Puerto Ricans at the onset of migration. Some suggest paternalistic guidance

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[32]See Steward et al. (1956, especially pages 489-503) for a discussion of nationality in Puerto Rico. Cultural nationalism is conceptualized as the interplay between class-based sets of values influenced by regional productive forces (culture) and the impact of American practices and ideas on the total entity. Cultural nationalism draws on symbols of the past, such as that of the jíbaro (see page 37).

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by the Puerto Rican government as well as social service by the United States government and private agencies (Glazer and Moynihan 1963:110); others charge that the class split conspires against the building of a strong ethnic community as "successful migrants who might otherwise provide leadership usually move out of the core areas and lose their Puertoricanness" (Mills 1950:106).

But all sources consulted agree in referring to all associational forms, in contrast with those of previous migrants, as weak. Mills (1950:108), however, does point out that this weakness might be related to the short span of time that Puerto Ricans have been in residence in the mainland. Yet the conclusion that "organizations of a Puerto Rican character do not play any key role in the life of the migrant" (Mills 1950:108) seems unwarranted. We argue, on the contrary, that the migrant networks discovered and assessed ethnicity both internally, as a defensive adaptation to the new environment, as well as externally, in terms of the process of articulating with the wider American society. To this subject matter, we now turn.

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Formal Organizations

In addition to the informal organizations discussed above, there are also some formal organizations that have mediated between Puerto Ricans in New York City and the wider society. These include labor unions, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Migration Division, and the political parties. We will discuss each of these in turn.

The Labor Unions[33]

From the onset, Puerto Ricans were unionized in New York but, although the level of organization of workers on the Island had historically been high, in New York it was comparatively low. In the 1930's, the unions which had the largest numbers of Puerto Ricans was a branch of the International Cigar Makers Union and a Spanish-speaking branch of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (Chenault 1938:79). Possibly, a factor in apathy toward unions was discrimination by already established migrants.

By 1957 (Dworkis 1957), however, 30 percent of the Puerto Rican workers were unionized. The ILGW started publishing Justicia, a paper geared to the Spanish-speaking. The Shirtmakers Union Local 23 of the International Ladies'

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[33]For a discussion of unions in Puerto Rico and United States involvement in them through the AFL-CIO, see NACLA, Latin American and Empire Report, Vol. X, No. 5, 1976.

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Garment Workers Union also enlisted a large Puerto Rican membership. By 1963, of five Spanish-speaking members of the executive board of this local, one was South American, one Mexican, one Cuban, and two were Puerto Rican. Puerto Rican membership is also noted by Mills (1950) in the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union, National Maritime Union and Toy and Novelty Workers' Union. In all, "no less than 51% of those now in the labor force report union membership" (Mills 1950:110).

Although there is no published data on the rate of unionization of Puerto Ricans in New York, the unions with an estimated high Puerto Rican membership are the ILGWU, United Brotherhood of Carpenters, Watch and Jewelry Union, Teamsters Union, and Service Employees Union (Ponencia 1972:13).

However, membership in unions was sometimes forced by "racket" unions working together with the employers. Although these unions extracted membership dues from the workers, they did not hold meetings or elections, nor process grievances or benefits. Moreover, workers had to register in them under threats of being fired by their employers.

> The unions that were running those operations of extraction from their Puerto Rican members represented a small minority of the unions in New York City, but they were the ones who had eagerly sought out the strangers from Puerto

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> Rico for recruitment, knowing that workers who didn't know the language and the laws of the mainland would be much easier to swindle (Wakefield 1959:207).

Wakefield cites Local 122 of the International Jewelry Workers Union, Local 229 of the United Textile Workers, Local 679 of the AFL Pulp, Paper and Sulphite Workers and Local 648 of the Retail Clerks Union, as being the unions against which Puerto Ricans filed most complaints. Although the AFL-CIO later took an active part in fighting against the exploitation of Puerto Ricans by some unions, the association between unionization and exploitation continued, a fact which might also account for a low degree of unionization among Puerto Ricans. And, although the AFL-CIO organized a "Committee to End Exploitation of Puerto Ricans and other Minorities," their condemnation drives against some unions were not very effective since many of these set up independent unions.

Puerto Ricans do not have access to positions in the unions' bureaucracy. Even when, for example, Puerto Ricans and Blacks constitute the majority of the working force in the basic manufacturing industries in New York City, they do not count at the level of leadership in the ILGWU (Hill 1974).[34]

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[34]See Hill (1974) for a discussion of restrictive requirements for eligibility for positions within this union's bureaucracy. The article also discusses ILGWU's

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The Division of Migration, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

In July, 1930, the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico established an employment service in New York. In the period 1930-1936, 16,500, or 37 percent of the Puerto Rican population in New York registered, although only 5,600 found work through this service (Chenault 1938:72). Moreover, most of the positions filled were for unskilled labor as Table XII illustrates.

Occupational data aside, this employment service functioned to enhance, for the first time, common bonds based on national origin. As Chenault says,

> To the Puerto Rican, this office is much more than just an employment agency. It may help him collect his wages, advise him about a pension, assist him with a problem of relief or perform any of the various other necessary services for him. It affords the Puerto Rican an opportunity to discuss his problems with his own people in his own language (Chenault 1938:75).

In 1948, when the migration of Puerto Ricans was again on the rise, Governor Muñoz Marín established the Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in New York to assist the immigrants. The Director of the Office in the 1950's, Dr. Clarence Senior, took an active part in the Labor Advisory

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lack of cooperation with the Federal Training Programs which helps perpetuate the unsilled labor force. The same is charged of the Construction Union today (NAACP Charges American Racism Inherent in AFL-CIO, New York Times, Feb. 13, 1974).

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TABLE XII

PLACEMENT OF PUERTO RICANS BY THE PUERTO RICAN EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, 1930-36

Men

Occupation	Number
Laborers and construction workers	402
Laundry workers	321
Factory work (paper, leather, etc.)	238
Porters, errand boys, and domestics	157
Hotel workers	126
Janitors, handymen, watchmen, etc.	110
Carpenters, painters, plumbers, and helpers	109
Tailors, garment workers, etc.	75
Office, clerical, and professional	57
Cooks and kitchen workers	54
Mfg., cigars and cigarettes	53
Auto mechanics, garage workers, and chauffeurs	44
Salesmen and canvassers	42
Clerks, grocery and drug stores	28
Barbers and institutional workers	22
Waiters and countermen	13
Electric workers and other mechanical trades	12
Pressmen (printing)	11
Farm hands	11
Shoemakers	8
Bakers and butchers	7
Shipping and packing clerks	4
Miscellaneous and unclassified	73
Total	1,977

Women

Domestic	1,537
Needleworkers and hand sewers	699
Garment workers	694
Miscellaneous factory and machine workers	229
Laundry workers	171

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Occupation	Number
Stenographers, typists, office helpers	142
Waitresses and counter girls	38
Packers	23
Salesladies and other store helpers	20
Cooks, kitchen workers, etc.	12
Hat workers, millinery, etc.	9
Office cleaners, janitresses, and chambermaids	8
Nurses and helpers	6
Miscellaneous and unclassified	53
Total	3,641

Source: Annual Reports of the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico. Cited in Chenault 1938:74, Table 18.

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Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs in New York City, which was set up to investigate the "racket" unions (Hill 1974). By 1961, the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico had set up thirteen offices in the United States and an Orientation Unit in Puerto Rico to help orient future migrants. The Office was headed by people who shared the political position of whichever Party was in power at the time in Puerto Rico. The Director in the 1960's was Joseph Monserrat.

Some view the role of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico as paternalistic and therefore see it as slowing the process of an emerging leadership cadre. Glazer and Moynihan (1963), for example, mention that the Office of the Commonwealth, in addition to the employment service mentioned above, represents Puerto Ricans on various city committees and organizations, formal and informal, private and governmental, and also helps organize the Puerto Rican "community." In the 1960 campaign, for example, it labored to increase the registration of Puerto Rican voters. The office coordinates programs and conferences to educate people on the needs of Puerto Ricans, thus serving as a public relations intermediary. It also tries to move Puerto Ricans to other cities (While 85 percent of the total Puerto Rican population was concentrated in New York City in 1950, only 60 percent resided in New York in 1963). Fitzpatrick also notes:

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> In many ways the Office of the Commonwealth found itself representing the New York Puerto Ricans . . . On many occasions, it sought either formally or informally to coordinate the activities of other Puerto Rican organizations in the city. The office has been a tangible point to which people turn to when they wish to contact the Puerto Rican community. It has given visibility in an organized way to the Puerto Ricans of New York (1971: 64). (Italics mine.)

Since it is a government office, Glazer and Moynihan conclude,

> It may very well be that because the Puerto Rican group has been so well supplied with paternalistic guidance from their own government, as well as with social services by city and private agencies, that it has not developed powerful grass-roots organizations (1963:110).

Bonds of nationalism were also stressed by the independentist groups[35] as early as the 1930's.

> Some of the political influences affecting the migrant in Harlem are indicated by the Parades and demonstrations . . . numbers of Puerto Ricans usually take part in them. The demonstrations are sometimes in connection with independence for the Island . . . . Nationalist campaigns for independence in Puerto Rico have extended to the settlement in New York and organizations for independence have been formed and small contributions are sent back to the Island for the cause . . . . The parade which took place some time after a typical Harlem demonstration of first rank (Chenault 1938:153).

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[35]For a discussion of independentist movements, see Chapter IV. It has to be noted here that in the 1940's, there were the Nationalist Party (of which Collazo and Torresola, who took part in the attempt to kill Truman were members) and the Independent Party, whose members gathered in Casa Borinquén in Manhattan (Galíndez 1948).

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If the Commonwealth helped create an image of community by helping to organize migrants as an ethnic minority, the independentist groups appealed only to those who felt they were an exiled colony. We may now ask, what was the influence of a Spanish-speaking press in relaying such images to the majority of migrants and which type of image was emphasized?

La Prensa, owned by an Italian publisher, antedates the Puerto Rican migration and appealed to all of the Spanish-speaking population in New York. El Imparcial, published in New York since 1957, is a special edition of the San Juan paper. El Diario, founded in 1948, "plainly seeks to weld [the migrants] into a political force" (Rand 1958:24). First owned by a Dominican, it is owned today by an American (Glazer 1963). Today, La Prensa and El Diario are published together as El Diario-La Prensa. As Glazer and Moynihan state, "these newspapers do serve the community . . . but they are not the creations of the community or of groups within it. And this is what one sees in many other areas of Puerto Rican life" (1963:103).

Puerto Ricans and the Democratic Party

With reference to the two major political parties, the Puerto Rican population generally votes Democratic. One of the reasons might be that citizenship was granted during

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the administration of President Wilson. Another reason might be that there were close links between Munoz Marín's Popular Party and the continental Democratic Party.

By the 1950's, there was one Puerto Rican Tammany District leader (Antonio Méndez), one state assemblyman (Felipe Torres) and one municipal judge (Magistrate Manuel A. Gómez) (Rand 1958). Padilla warns us that these leaders were not popularly elected but appointed by political organizations or self-appointed, and that "they may not be recognized and accepted as such [leaders] by the local public" (1958:256).

Before the 1950's, the political tendency most represented was independentist.

> Politically, the Puerto Ricans are now combined with other groups under a leadership which is not Puerto Rican. These political leaders in the Harlem district have gained influence with the group by declaring their sympathy for the movement for Puerto Rican independence, condemning the treatment of the Island by the United States, and constantly pressing for more liberal aid for the distressed people living in the Harlem area (Chenault 1938:155).

Measured by voting patterns, political participation of Puerto Ricans was poor in the 1950's. In Puerto Rico, 80 percent voted. In New York, however, the Council of Spanish Organizations estimated in 1957 that only 85,000 of 266,000 potential voters had registered. The literacy test in English required in New York in those times may have been responsible for the discrepancy.

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But although voting turnout has always been poor in New York City in contrast to the Island, Puerto Ricans have been mobilized politically by political machines. The first such mobilization was led by Congressman Vito Marcantonio who believed "a friendly Spanish-speaking personnel is on hand to help the migrant. And for favors received, what is more natural than a vote for a proven friend?" (Mills 1950:109). Mills also reiterates what Fitzpatrick calls the "myth that Congressman Vito Marcantonio was bringing Puerto Ricans to New York" (1971:15). This myth did not square with reality since Puerto Ricans in Marcantonio's district were never numerous enough to be politically significant; secondly, Puerto Ricans were required until 1964 to pass a literacy test in English which made it difficult for them to qualify for voter registration and, thirdly, Puerto Ricans have always been slow to engage in political activity (qua ethnic minority, which Fitzpatrick does not point out).

But, in truth, the "only politician who brought the minority groups of the area [Harlem] together for any political cause was Vito Marcantonio" (Wakefield 1959:261). The reason for this probably lies in that nobody was paying any attention to Puerto Ricans anyway. There was a potential power vacuum and Marcantonio occupied this niche. As Galíndez (1948) maintains, his force was not purely

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ideological but based on effective help to needy Puerto Ricans.

Marcantonio started his political activities in the La Guardia Club. Fiorello La Guardia made him his manager when he ran for a seat in the U.S. Congress as Representative from East Harlem in 1924. In the early thirties, during the Depression, Puerto Ricans started joining the La Guardia Club. Marcantonio's organization came to an end in 1950 after

> The Republican, Democratic and Liberal parties joined in a coalition to oust him finally from his seat as East Harlem US representative in 1950 after he had established a firm reputation as follower of the Communist party line in Congress (Wakefield 1959:261).

The political career of his Puerto Rican secretary Manuel Medina also died with him.

Other leaders also sought to contact politically the Puerto Rican public. In 1932, Senator Robert Wagner Sr. had lunch with a group of leaders of the Puerto Rican "community." Another tactic used to obtain the Spanish vote was the creation of the Mayor's Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs by Mayor William O'Dwyer six weeks before the 1949 Mayoral elections in New York City. Actually, as Fitzpatrick (1971) says, it was not needed and only came to exist because of the prevalent myth that Marcantonio was attracting Puerto Rican votes. But

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> In Manhattan, Marcantonio polled about 20% of the total vote. In Marcantonio's district, then including the largest concentration of Puerto Ricans, less than 20% of the entire population was Puerto Rican (1971:15).

By this time, the Spanish-speaking people in the United States constituted already the fourth largest national voting bloc after the Italians, the Irish and the Jews (Wakefield 1959:265). The Mayor's Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs was also adopted by Mayor Vincent Impellitteri and by Mayor Robert Wagner Jr., as a political device used to attract the Spanish-speaking vote during election campaigns and as a demonstration of interest in the Spanish-speaking population. It was then diluted within the Committee on Intergroup Relations, with just one Puerto Rican member. Except for its propagandistic function, it has never had much impact, probably because the Puerto Ricans have been only a potentially strong voting bloc, as actual voting turnout has been low.[36]

Mayor Impellitteri was the first official to grant a political appointment to a Puerto Rican. Emilio Núñez became a Special Sessions Justice. There was one mistake, however: Núñez was a Spaniard. The first "real" Puerto Rican to be appointed to office was Manuel Gómez, appointed by Mayor Wagner to the position of Municipal Magistrate.

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[36] See Chapter V for a discussion of recent efforts to increase the Puerto Rican voting turnout.

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In elective office, Oscar García Rivera, supported by the Republicans, won in the old 17th Assembly District (Spanish Harlem) in 1937. Because he voted for legislation that "would most benefit his tenement constituents and this did not happen to be the type of legislation being pushed by the Republican Party" (Wakefield 1959:266), he was accused of "hanging around too much with the Communists and members of the American Labor Party and on these grounds was refused support for re-election and kicked out of the club" (Wakefield 1959:266). Marcantonio and the American Labor Party supported his candidacy for a second term.

Until the 1950's, the Democratic Party had never put up any Puerto Rican candidate in Manhattan. Felipe Torres, however, was supported for State Assembly by Ed Flynn, boss of the Bronx Democratic Club, and won in 1953. His supporters were drawn from the Morrisania and Mott Haven sections of the Bronx.

The first Democratic recognition of Puerto Ricans in Manhattan was due to the fact that the "Jewish District Leader of the 14th AD (Spanish Harlem) had refused to support Robert Wagner, the Tammany Hall candidate for Mayor the previous year" (Wakefield 1959:267). A Puerto Rican merchant, Antonio Méndez, was appointed District Leader in 1954 by De Sapio, the Tammany Hall boss. Wakefield notes

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that this appointment involved a great deal of courage since it coincided in time with the shooting in Congress by a group of Puerto Rican nationalists. But De Sapio argued that

> the Democratic Party believes now, as it always did, that guilt by association is as tyrannic, as evil and as ugly as communism. The Democratic Party believes that the Puerto Rican people will provide leadership to our nation and add to our great heritage as a free people" (quoted in Wakefield 1959:268).

In the fall of 1957, Bennie Caballero challenged Méndez, accusing him of being uneducated and politically unexperienced, but this challenge was short-lived. A greater threat to Méndez' Caribe Club was José Lumen Román, put up by the Liberal Party for the City Council in East Harlem. "They set up a rival club called the 'Loyal Democrats' and reversed the motto of Tony's club for their own, saying "I am a Puerto Rican first, and a Democrat second'" (Wakefield 1959:270).

The Democratic Party tried to enforce Tammany-type authority and order. Wakefield is most critical of this position:

> The Democratic Party stands in the midst of the nation's worst slum and assures the people who live in its roach-ridden rooms that go for three times the price of a room south of 96 street and are cursed by its landlords and robbed by its bosses and union leaders alike and have gone for the more than a hundred years that they have lived and worked in this city without a representative on its council that

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> if they will run out in force to vote for the Democratic Party they will be rewarded by little favors. Return us to power, says Irwin Grey, and we will serve you more beer and hot dogs when election times come again, and your children out there who are put in 'health classes' in the local grade schools because they suffer from malnutrition so badly they can't do their homework, they can come too, and partake of the hot dogs that Carmine De Sapio dispenses as a favor (Wakefield 1959:271).

Yet authority was enforced, and the Caribe Club became the House Puerto Rico of Tammany Hall (Wakefield 1959).

To turn now to the potential voting Puerto Rican population which these machines attempted to mobilize, let us stress the fact that the potential political strength of the Puerto Rican population has been weakened by

1. its being scattered all over the City;

2. the fact that a large sector of the population is below voting age;

3. that many of voting age fail to register despite frequent drives for massive registration and

4. that until 1964 Puerto Ricans in New York State were required to pass a literacy test in English before they could register (Fitzpatrick 1971:57). The Civil Rights Act of 1965 ruled out this requirement; now Puerto Ricans not literate in English can register by showing the completion of at least six years of school in Puerto Rico. According to Fitzpatrick, this legal change contributed to the

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election, by a margin of 2,000 votes, of Herman Badillo as Bronx Borough President in 1965.[37]

In conclusion, these three American institutions have played a role in inculcating ethnic identity in Puerto Ricans. The unions and the political parties by merely labelling them ethnic, and the Migration Division by consciously diffusing an ideology of "community" both to the wider society and to Puerto Ricans themselves.

Conclusions

From the evidence discussed in this Chapter, two generalizations can be made. The first of these is that a large migratory wave from Puerto Rico in the present century did not achieve much upward mobility in the United States, as predicted by the ideology of the melting pot. Thus, the Puerto Ricans do not fit into the established pattern of upward mobility of unskilled immigrant labor. The reasons advanced in this thesis to explain the lack of upward social mobility relate more to changes undergone within the labor market in New York City than to features of the Puerto Rican migrants themselves. The experience of Puerto Ricans in the United States, therefore, can be more

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[37] See Chapter VI for a more contemporary discussion of political representation and Appendix II for a listing of elected Puerto Rican officials in New York City in 1975.

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fruitfully compared to that of Blacks than to previous migratory waves. In effect, both Blacks and Puerto Ricans constitute internal migratory waves of unskilled labor from depressed regions to the industrialized Northeast. Blacks and Puerto Ricans are also similar insofar as both have remained economically and politically marginal.

The second generalization that emerges from this discussion is that the Puerto Ricans became politically integrated into a context in which ethnic differentiation had already become firmly institutionalized. Socialization of Puerto Ricans into ethnicity, then, was to develop only after they came to New York City. Whereas the informal organizations which crystallized in hometown associations appealed to the shared sentiment of national origin, the formal organizations which mediated between the Puerto Ricans and the political and economic structure of New York City appealed to the ethnic sentiments of an economically depressed minority. In conjunction, both informal and formal organizations together constituted the historical antecedents, as well as the logical prerequisites, of what was later referred to as a Puerto Rican "community."

In this Chapter we have examined the organizational forms based on common national origin which developed out of a need to respond defensively to a discriminatory

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environment. In the following Chapter, we will discuss the impact on Puerto Ricans of efforts by the sociopolitical system to develop an organized Puerto Rican "ethnic community." This interplay of forces has resulted in the development of ethnicity among a group of Puerto Ricans as a strategy in the competition for power. The outcome of this process--the development of an organized ethnic "community"--did not, however, change the position of Puerto Ricans in the occupational and class structure of the larger society.

Practically all sources consulted, including many Puerto Ricans whom we interviewed, showed a deep concern about the lack of a "community" among Puerto Ricans and the importance of working toward the emergence of one. Thus,

> The genuine problems of social disorder in which Negroes and Puerto Ricans are involved can best be solved through the development of communal institutions under responsible leadership that will give order and purpose to their lives (Handlin 1959:119).

Because the migration is mostly lower class "there is a serious lack of trained Puerto Ricans to interpret the new way of life to their fellow countrymen in the United States and to form a much-needed core of leadership" (Dworkis 1957:7).

"The Puerto Rican world is not unified, it does not produce strong feelings of solidarity, at least none more specific than the general slogans of national pride" (Mills 1950:126).

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Lack of unity was also reported by Padilla (1958) and Lewis (1968). The latter reports of "an inability to organize for common goals" (Lewis 1968:208). Also,

> The Puerto Rican world . . . [is] a fragmented disunited sphere for social living; that is, without a wide network of organizations, without effective Puerto Rican leadership and that there [are] evidences of internal class splits within it . . . New York's general culture [is] racially split and thus it [is] difficult . . . . for a unified community to arise (Mills 1950: 109).

We now turn to the development of such a community and such a leadership. Then we will discuss in the following Chapter how the Puerto Rican Forum inherited from the Migration Division the role of creating an image of a Puerto Rican "community" and presenting this image to the authorities of the sociopolitical system, during a decade in which federal antipoverty programs demanded an organizationally-minded ethnic community as a prerequisite for the receipt of funds.

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CHAPTER III

THE EMERGENCE OF THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY IN THE 1960'S

> Community is closely . . . related to the question of identity . . . If one wishes to strengthen the sense of identity, it is important first to strengthen the community (Fitzpatrick 1971:27).
>
> The Puerto Rican has entered the City in the age of the Welfare State (Glazer and Moynihan 1963:121).

A Puerto Rican "community," building on the associations described in Chapter II, emerged in the 1960's. Such a development represents a complex dialectical and historical process. To understand this process, we shall have to examine the relevant changes in the United States policy toward "minorities," and, especially, how the War on Poverty defined its target populations. The new governmental policies and directives of the 1960's impinged on Puerto Rican networks and associations, and transformed them. As a result, particularistic identifications such as those embodied in "The Sons of Ponce," for example, gave way to a more general awareness of commonality, that of "we Puerto Ricans." In the process of the articulation of government policies and directives with existing Puerto Rican networks and associations, moreover, informal

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associational forms gave rise--through government funding --to formal ethnic organizations. The newly-emergent "community" was thus, in great part, a product of the encounter between the new official ideology and policy of cultural pluralism and the informal associations of the Puerto Ricans themselves. This dialectic between official policy and "grass-roots" adaptive mechanisms underlies the phenomena which we are attempting to understand.

The New Ideology of Cultural Pluralism

American reactions toward previous migration waves changed over time. Since Anglo-Saxons were originally glorified in the United States, any immigrant coming from a different culture was seen as a threatening influence. Reactions ranged from racist attempts to prevent immigration to compulsory drives to make new arrivals adopt the Anglo-Saxon way of life (Fitzpatrick 1971). After World War I, when the United States seemed more willing to accept "strangers," probably as a result of massive European migration, efforts were still directed at deculturation as a prerequisite to Americanization. This effort was symbolized in the ideology of the melting pot.

Later, this monolithic attitude gave way to the more permissive ideology of cultural pluralism.

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> The ideology of cultural pluralism helped scholars to recognize the importance of the culture of the immigrant, and to acknowledge that his loyalties, values and customs should exist in America together with the other culture that had come to be called American (Fitzpatrick 1971:30).

Although the ideologies of the "melting pot" and "cultural pluralism" had different goals--total assimilation of immigrants, and the maintenance of ethnic distinctiveness, respectively--both were based on similar assumptions regarding the organization of society. Both ideologies viewed society from a functionalist standpoint; that is, what was important was the establishment of an equilibrated system devoid of conflict. While the first ideology maintained that the accommodation of immigrants to the American sociopolitical system would best be achieved through the assimilation process, cultural pluralism sought accommodation through the integration of distinctive ethnic identities within a larger harmonious system.

Furthermore, the two ideologies differed in the ways in which they conceptualized the "ethnic community" and attempted to transform it. Within the ideology of the melting pot, the factor

> which seemed to impede more rapid adoption of American ways was the immigrant community. Consequently, it was argued that if the bonds of the immigrant community could be weakened, and immigrants more directly exposed to American influence, they would become part of the American way of life much more quickly (Fitzpatrick 1971:32).

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To proponents of the ideology of cultural pluralism, however, this was untenable. They sought, on the contrary, to strengthen the ethnic community assuming naively that "every foreigner equals a culture equals a community." The implication of this assumption, shared by both ideologies, was that problems encountered by immigrants could be seen as outcomes of their varied cultural backgrounds. Such problems were not seen in relation to the class and power structure of the wider society.

The ideology of cultural pluralism conceived of culture as a bundle of values frozen at a point in time. Furthermore, it envisioned culture as realized within the community, and so the community became the target for policies aimed at generating cultural change. It was not considered relevant whetheror not a community existed at all, or for that matter, whether it was important that it should exist. Rather, on the a priori assumption that community was synonymous with culture, all efforts were directed at preventing its disorganization and encouraging its continuous development.

It is in this light that the preoccupation with the lack of a Puerto Rican community, seen in Chapter II, must be understood. The view of culture held by ideologues of cultural pluralism, which emphasizes the fixedness of

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cultural values, is not accepted here, for reasons which will become clear throughout the thesis.

The War on Poverty and its Programs

The War on Poverty, as its name makes clear, was directed at the poor and not necessarily at the 'ethnics.' However, ethnic categories, mainly Black, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, and the poor in the United States broadly coincided, in terms of their respective proportion of their total population being in poverty, at the time the Programs were launched (see Puerto Rican Forum Report 1964, below).

The discussion of the poverty programs which follows is based on an "Information Package" prepared by the Program and Planning Unit of the Lower East Side Community Corporation in September 1972.[38]

The Civil Rights movement, the urban ghetto riots and such books as Michael Harrington's book, The Other America (1962) brought to public attention the existence of poverty in the United States and the need of government help to the poor. After a panel set up by President

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[38]Hereafter cited as LESCC, 1972.

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Kennedy examined the extent of poverty in the United States, recommendations for change were made. These culminated in President Johnson's signing of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. "This was the first massive government sponsored and directed effort to eliminate poverty by actually providing the poor with the resources they need to climb up the economic ladder" (LESCC 1972: 2).

It is important to note that, though aid was indeed given, the assumptions underlying the Protestant Ethic were not challenged. Thus, poverty was assumed to be an individual affair, brought about by individual failures. The Economic Opportunity Act was to provide financial resources to individuals only to enable them to advance through their own individual efforts.

Another feature of the programs of the War on Poverty was the importance given to the community, which was assumed to be the point of identification of the individual.

> This goal would be accomplished by the poor developing themselves and utilizing their resources, through planning for and implementing 'Self Help' Programs that would lead to organizing and developing their communities economically,

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> socially and politically (LESCC 1972: 3).

These communities were identified with "ethnic" neighborhoods, mainly Black, Puerto Rican and Mexican.

The stated aim of the programs of the War on Poverty was not only to provide economic resources for such "communities" but also to aid in their political organization.

> The aim of the Act was to enhance the political power of the ecnomically disadvantaged through 'Community Action,' which would provide the poor the opportunity to directly control their own destiny by participating in the decision-making process of the programs which were vital to their daily lives (Manpower Training, Youth Corps, Welfare, etc.) (LESCC 1972:3).

The War on Poverty programs were administered and coordinated by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Regional offices of OEO administered programs for a group of states. Funds and guidelines made available by the regional offices were to be sent to Community Action Agencies (CAA). The Office of Economic Opportunity provided the Cities with the funds via the regional offices for either locally-designed or national programs (e.g., Head Start, Legal Services, Neighborhood Health Centers, etc.).

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> The basic principles of coordination for OEO are to end duplication of services and make them available to the poor on the one hand and to insist on 'maximum feasible representation' of the poor to insure representative poverty programs (LESCC 1972:4).

In New York City, funds went to already established city-wide agencies, as well as to non-governmental social welfare and educational agencies in the twenty-six designated poverty areas. A large number of new agencies and programs, however, were also created on an experimental basis. All of these agencies were advised by two groups created by the Mayor. The first of these was the Council Against Poverty, which consisted of eighty members who were to be advised by a planning and coordinating committee of twenty representatives from voluntary agencies. The second was the Anti-Poverty Operation Board, composed of fifteen public officials. It organized, in turn, the Community Progress Centers, which were the counterparts of the present-day Community Corporations.

This organizational structure proved confusing and, as a result, Mayor Lindsay proposed, in 1966, a regrouping of all agencies receiving federal monies. An analysis of "Human Resources in the City," conducted by Mitchell Svriridoff under the auspices of the Ford Foundation and the Institute of Public Administration, was approved in the same year. This signalled the birth of the Human Resources

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Administration (HRA), in 1966, which became "a superagency to manage funds from OEO and other federal funds and co-ordinate services" (LESCC 1972:6). The Human Resources Administration was not itself to be an operating agency, but rather an umbrella structure for six constitutent agencies:

1. The Youth Service Agency (YSA)
2. Manpower and Career Development Agency (MCDA)
3. Department of Social Services (DSS)
4. Addiction Service Agency (ASA)
5. Agency for Child Development (ACD)
6. Community Development Agency (CDA)

The relations between these tiers of organization were defined as follows: "The HRA, through its Administrator oversees all fiscal operations for these programs and is responsible to the Mayor" (LESCC 1972:6). The Council Against Poverty is the designated Community Action Agency within HRA in New York City. The Council Against Poverty, in turn,

> Is the major body created to approve and renew community action programs with the aid of the Community Development Agency (CDA) which is the staff of the Council Against Poverty (CAP) and helps it in the implementation of its program goals. The Community Corporation serves as the local community action programs in the community. The delegate agencies are the neighborhood based community action programs that help the indigenous poor (LESCC 1972:8) (See Figure 4.)

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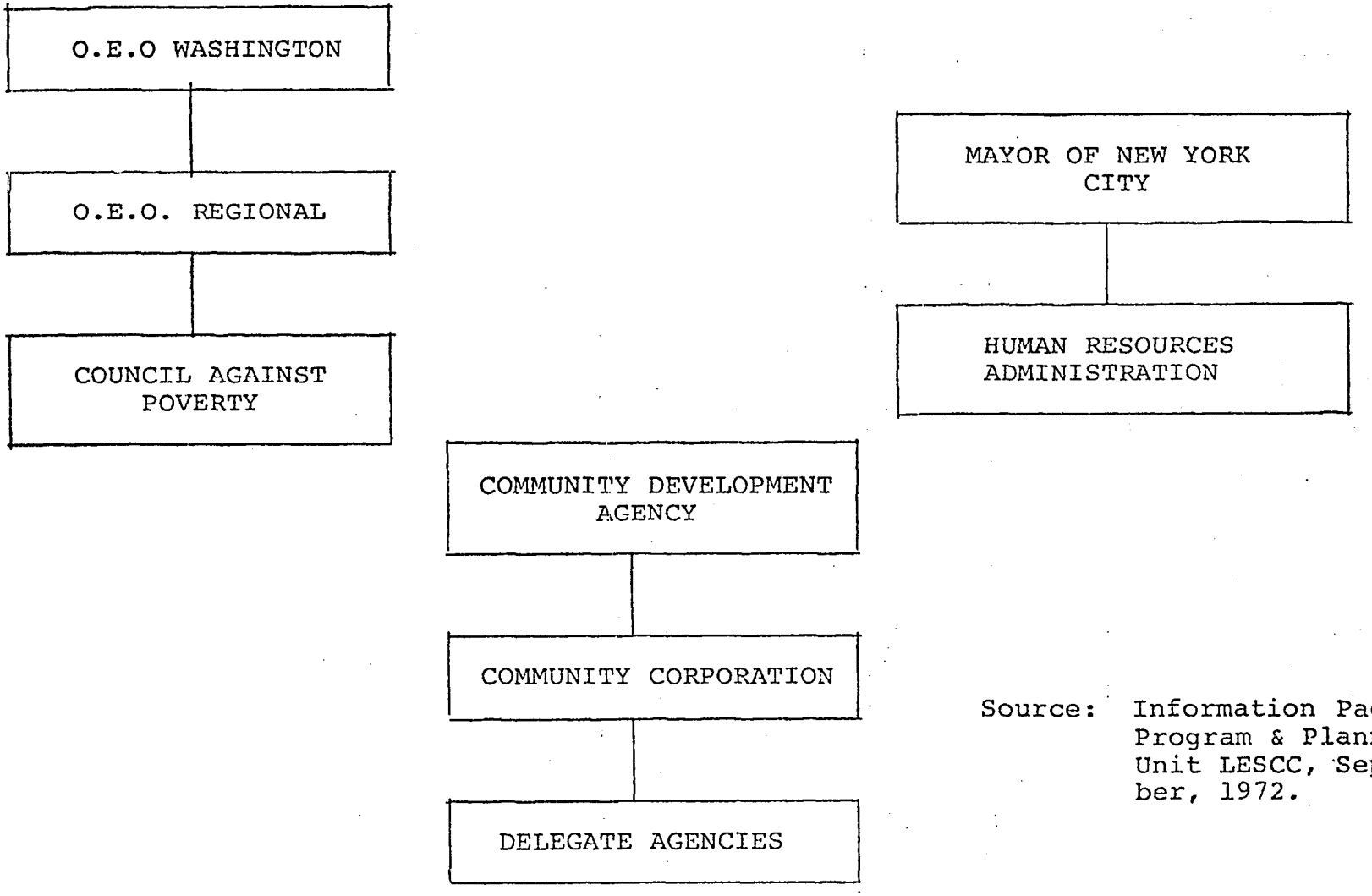
FIGURE 4

INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF THE POVERTY PROGRAMS IN NEW YORK CITY



Source: Information Package, Program & Planning Unit LESCC, September, 1972.

In New York City, the Community Development Agency (CDA) operates under the guidelines of two documents: 1) the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which "attempts to offer more opportunities to the poor by actually involving them in the policy-making and administration of the poverty programs" (LESCC 1972:9) and 2) the Mayoral Executive Order No. 84, which created the Council Against Poverty. This Council, in turn, is authorized to:

1. Determine overall policy for the City's War on Poverty;
2. Create instruments for citizen participation, such as Community Corporations;
3. Give final approval to budgets and proposals for Community Development Programs;
4. Apply for Federal Funds;
5. Allocate funds to Community Corporations and other agencies to carry out the goals of Community Development in New York City.

The two major sources of funds for New York City's Community ACtion Agency (CAA), the Council Against Poverty (CAP), are the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and City Tax Levy funds.

Fifty-one non-salaried members are appointed to the Council Against Poverty by the Mayor.

> They comprise twenty-six community residents from the designated poverty areas (elected by their Community Corporation Boards), seventeen elected and appointed officials and nine representatives of leading educational, social services, religious, labor and business organizations (LESCC 1972:10).

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Fourteen outstanding committees and twenty-seven panels advise and make special recommendations to the Council Against Poverty (CAP) at their bi-monthly meetings. Whereas the Committees deal with policies and functions of the Council, panels deal with the twenty-six designated poverty areas and one with City Wide Programs (See Figures 4 and 5).

The Community Corporations themselves were created, in 1966, by the Council Against Poverty (CAP) after the Mayor's Executive Order No. 28, in twenty-six designated poverty areas (see Figure 6).[39]

> They are legally incorporated entities with elected policy boards which serve as spokesmen of the poor in the areas they represent. They are community mechanisms, with the necessary enabling planning services and advocacy capacity . . . . The Board's overall goal is to strive to achieve the maximum participation of residents in the community in working toward the solution of problems of poverty (LESCC 1972:12).

Their internal organization plan is shown in Figure 7.

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[39]These are Bedford Stuyvesant, Brownsville, Brighton Harbor (Staten Island), Bushwick, Central Harlem, Coney Island, Corona, East Elmhurst, Crown Heights, East Harlem, East New York, Fort Greene, Hunts Point, Long Island City, Lower East Side, Lower West Side, Mid-West Side, Morrisania, Morris Park (Bronx River), Rockaway, South Bronx, South Brooklyn, South East Queens, Sunset Park, Tremont, Upper West Side, and Williamsburg (CDA Program Year I, January, 1974).

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FIGURE 5

FUNDING CYCLE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN NEW YORK CITY

Following is a brief, step-by-step review of how a local agency requests funds and how it receives its allocation.

1)	Local Agency	A local agency in a poverty area requests funds.
2)	Community Corporation Staff	The request is submitted to the area's Community Corporation staff, which examines the proposal and submits it to the Corporation's Board of Directors.
3)	Community Corporation Board of Directors	The Board--elected local residents and non-salaried--determines whether or not the proposal meets an unserved community need and whether funds are available.
4)	Community Development Agency (CDA)	If approved, the Corporation staff sends the proposal to the Community Development Agency. CDA makes recommendations and submits the proposal to an area panel of the Council Against Poverty.

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Figure 5 - continued

5)	Area Panel, Council Against Poverty	The panel--Council members--makes further suggestions and meets with the Corporation staff. The panel, once satisfied, submits the proposal to the Council.
6)	New York City Council Against Poverty	Council members study the recommendations of its area panel and then approve or reject the request.
7)	CDA Staff	The Council passes the proposal back to CDA for final revisions, if any are made by the Council. The proposal is then sent to the Office of Economic Opportunity.
8)	Northeast Regional Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO)	OEO staff examines the proposal. If approved, Federal funds will be granted to CDA for disbursement to the Community Corporation or applicant agency.
9)	CDA Staff	Finally, CDA informs the Corporation or the applicant agency of OEO approval and prepares final budget and legal contract.

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Figure 5 - continued

10)	Agency	Begins to operate program

NOTE: An elaborate system for appeals exists for proposals that are rejected anywhere along the funding line.

Source: Information Package, Program & Planning Unit, LESCC, September, 1972.

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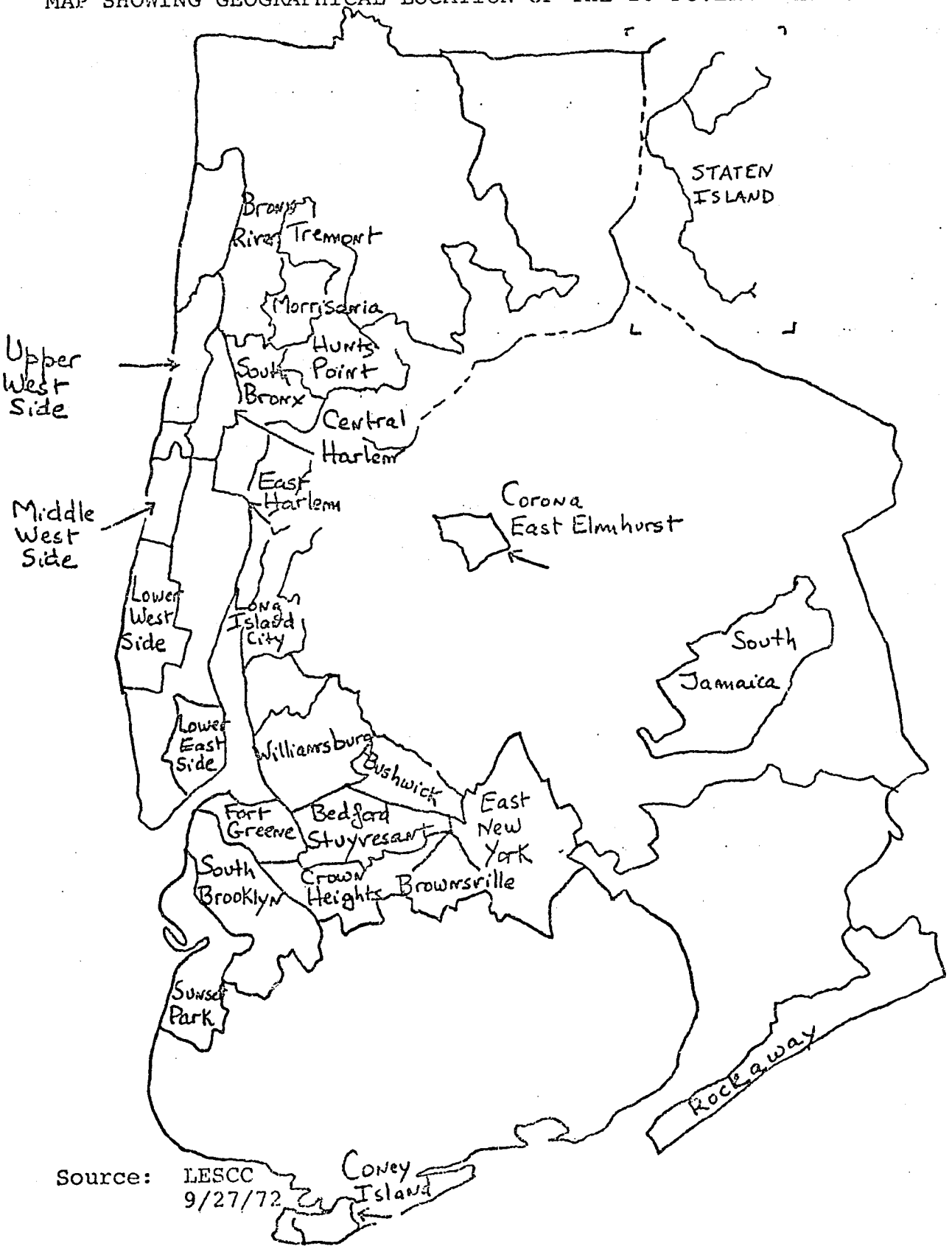
FIGURE 6

MAP SHOWING GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THE 26 POVERTY AREAS



Source: LESCC 9/27/72

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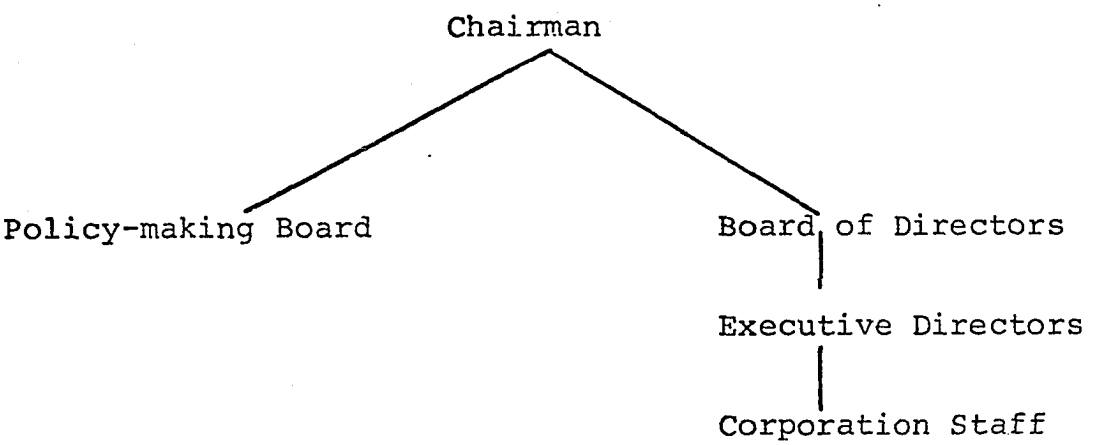
FIGURE 7

COMMUNITY CORPORATION STRUCTURE



Source: LESCC 1972 and personal interviews.

Notes: At least one-third of all Board members must be poor, following the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) guidelines for level of income. The Board of Directors is composed of 51 members for two and four year terms.

Each corporation prepares a yearly package in compliance with the guidelines set forth by Community Development Agency (CDA) and the Council Against Poverty (CAP). After review and approval by these two agencies, the plan is forwarded to the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) for final approval. In addition, "each Corporation is under contract with the City's Manpower and Career Development Agency (MCDA) to operate a neighborhood Manpower Service

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Center" (LESCC 1972:13); specifically, to provide job opportunities to the residents of the "community."

Each of these Community Corporations subcontracts delegate agencies, i.e., provides funding and acts as a service referral agency for smaller organizations, many of which are Puerto Rican. In addition to the area of service delivery, there is also the question of the political role played by Puerto Ricans in the Community Development Agency's twenty-six Community Corporations. Of these, seven (South Bronx Community Corporation, Hunts Point Community Corporation, Lower East Side Community Corporation, Midwest Side Community Corporation, East Side Community Corporation, Sunset Park Community Corporation, and Williamsburg Community Corporation) are "controlled" by Puerto Ricans (Informant 27:private communication, March 6, 1975), i.e., Puerto Ricans exercise political influence within the designated areas, given their proportionately high numbers in these areas.

In addition to the already listed twenty-six Community Corporations, there is a twenty-seventh slot filled by city-wide agencies engaged in six city-wide programs listed as "General Technical Assistance to Communities." Of these six programs, three are specifically oriented toward Puerto Ricans:

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Aspira - $374,997.00

Puerto Rican Community Development Project (PRCDP) - $1,692,250.00

Puerto Rican Family Institute (PRFI) - $271,661.00

A fourth Puerto Rican city-wide agency, Puerto Rican Forum, listed under Special funds, receives $100,000 annually from CDA but most of its total amount of funds comes from private sources.[40]

We will now turn to a discussion of how the War on Poverty was waged by the city-wide agencies in the Puerto Rican neighborhoods falling within the designated areas of poverty and show how this was won among the Puerto Ricans. We shall point out how Puerto Rican ethnic identity and community was publicly discussed and acknowledged once three Puerto Rican city-wide agencies managed to get funded.

Pre-conditions for Organized Responses of Puerto Ricans

If the War against Poverty was declared against poverty, why then the ethnic content in the structure of its programs? The reason is that the great majority of the poor in New York City are Puerto Rican and Black. "Any program dealing with poverty in New York City has to consider the Puerto Rican element of the city whose socio-economic

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[40]See pages below for a discussion of these agencies.

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conditions . . . are even worse than those of the Negro" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:47).

We have attempted to convey in Chapter II the idea that there was no "community" among Puerto Ricans and that most organizations were not only informal but also small, not encompassing large segments of the Puerto Rican population. However, there was great interest, expressed by non-Puerto Ricans and Puerto Ricans alike, in developing such a "community." While many would maintain that Puerto Ricans still lack such a community in the structural sense of the term,[41] it is undeniable that during the 1960's, a large segment of the Puerto Ricans in New York organized in response to the enactment of Anti-Poverty Legislation. We turn now to a discussion of the structures out of which such organized responses emerged.

There is no way of knowing exactly which or how many Puerto Rican organizations existed in the 1960's. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico gives a count of 263 (see Table XIIIB). What is theoretically more valuable than the number of organizations, however, is to exhibit the process by

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[41] By community here we refer to a population which is relatively unified in its goals and strategies and which can be relatively autonomous in its dealings with the larger sociopolitical system while articulating with it. In this sense, Cohen's (1969) Hausa constitute a community. See Chapters I, VI and Conclusion below for further clarification of this concept.

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which existing organizations developed once poverty and culture were correlated in the ideology of cultural pluralism.

The following is a brief description of the major organizations functioning in the 1960's. These are identified by the author from contemporary primary sources as well as from first-hand data on the Puerto Rican Forum itself which makes reference to "existing Puerto Rican organizations that have substantial membership or who provide a needed volunteer service to the community" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:50). Let us first discuss the goals and activities of the National Puerto Rican Forum.

"Leaders" in Search of a "Community": The National Puerto Rican Forum

This private, non-profit organization was formed in 1954 by a group of Puerto Rican self-selected leaders and professionals. "It was to be a center for the discussion and identification of the pressing and economic needs of Puerto Ricans and to study and develop possible courses of action to meet these needs" (Puerto Rican Forum Newsletter 1973:1). Its goal was to create a community out of the Puerto Rican population by means of identifying the population's common problems. Communication with the Puerto Rican population was to be effected through brokers who, it

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was assumed, would develop in the process. In the words of the organization's leadership,

> the central goal is basic: develop effective leadership in Puerto Rican communities. The methods are realistic: identify pressing social and economic needs of Puerto Ricans and create programs to meet these needs. America is a big country and a rich country. The Forum, through action, is helping Puerto Ricans gain their fair share (Puerto Rican Forum Newsletter 1973: 3).

As proposed, leadership was to be developed by working through local organizations,

> By providing expertise and resources to community leaders and the programs they head . . . the Forum sought to reinforce local leadership, help build strong local organizations and assist in implementing locally-conceived and managed programs (National Puerto Rican Forum Annual Report 1972/1973:8).

The Forum centered on a Business Development Program, a Human Resources Development Program and a Community Development Program.[42] It later founded Aspira, in 1961, in New York City.

Aspira, created in 1961 by the Puerto Rican Forum, was the first private Puerto Rican educational agency in New York City. The inspiration for Aspira was Antonia Pantoja, a Puerto Rican social worker and one of the founders of the Puerto Rican Forum. "Aspira encourages Puerto Rican youth to pursue their education beyond that offered by the public

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[42]See Chapter IV for a full description.

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school system and provides remedial education to prepare them for advanced study in colleges and universities" (National Puerto Rican Forum Newsletter 1973:1). Aspira was initially funded by six foundations: the Taconic Foundation, the Nathan Hefheimer Foundation, the New York Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation, the New York Fund for Children, and the Field Foundation, and, later by corporations with vested interests in Puerto Rico (Gotsch 1966). In 1965, Aspira became independent of the Forum, under the name Aspira of America Inc., and with a grant from OEO, established branches in various cities with a sizable Puerto Rican population.

The results of the Forum's activities in education were unprecedented: "Puerto Rican workers were being trained for better jobs and small businessmen were learning to survive and grow in the modern business world" (National Puerto Rican Forum Newsletter 1972/73:2). With a belief that language was one of the major barriers to be surmounted in order to advance in this country the Forum developed a course of study, BOLT (Basic Occupational Language Training). Funds have been provided for this program by the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Agency sinc 1967. Aspira has been criticized lately by militant student groups as well as by the other "segment of the Puerto Rican community [which] moved toward more direct

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FIGURE 8

THE NATIONAL PUERTO RICAN FORUM, INC.
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

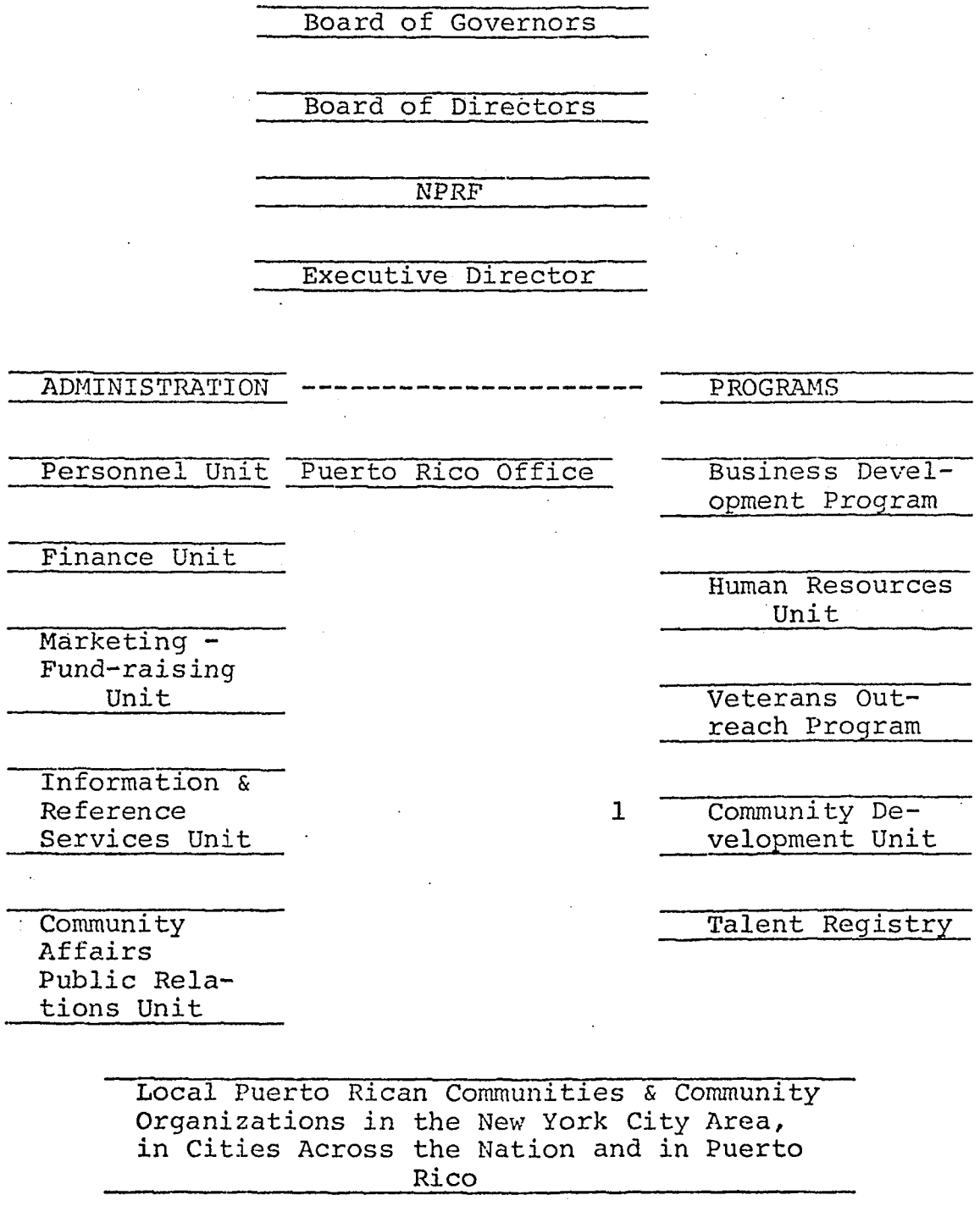

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Figure 8 - continued

New York City - Philadelphia - Bridgeport -
Boston - Hartford - Springfield - Washington, D.C -
Chicago - Cleveland - Rochester - Baltimore -
San Juan - Others

Source: A study of poverty conditions in the New York Puerto Rican community, PR Forum, 1964.

Notes:

[1]This unit was the predecessor of the later independent Puerto Rican Community Development Project.

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forms of community and political action, leading to the funding of PRCDP" (Fitzpatrick 1971:67).

In addition to Aspira the Forum established another independent agency, the Puerto Rican Research and Resources Center in Washington, D.C. This Center encouraged research on Puerto Ricans and helped establish Puerto Rican Studies Programs in colleges and universities.

In the words of the Forum's leadership, "the organization has gone a long way from a forum for discussion to a forum for action" (National Puerto Rican Forum Newsletter 1972/73:3). It now has a staff of seventy Puerto Rican business and professional people, an annual budget of $2,000,000, as of 1973, and is under contract or receives funds from the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration, the U.S. Department of Commerce's Office of Minority Business Enterprise, the Office for Economic Opportunity, the Small Business Administration, the Ford Foundation, and other private foundations.

For the first few years of its life, the Forum helped to create or solidify a Puerto Rican middle class. This it attempted to do by emphasizing education, through Aspira, and encouraging private enterprises.

> Through strengthening and diversifying the existing Puerto Rican business structre in New York City and other communities, the Forum seeks to increase Puerto Rican economic participation in the country as a

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> whole. This massive job is done in part by identifying and developing new business ventures for Puerto Rican entrepreneurs and investors (National Puerto Rican Forum Newsletter 1972/73:3).

In the course of time, however, the Forum became more and more interested in the area of services and community action, as defined by the new Federal policies of the 1960's.

Gradually, the Puerto Rican Forum assumed the self-designated role of Puerto Rican representative, which the Division of Migration, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico had formerly assumed during the 1950's (see Chapter II). The Forum has stated that it "has grown in its role of national spokesman, educator and representative of the Puerto Rican people to government, business and industry . . . Thus the Forum is now seen as a significant spokesman for the Puerto Rican community as a whole" (National Puerto Rican Forum Annual Report 1972/1973:ii).

> In a sense, the Forum represents the idea of the Puerto Rican community as defined by 'government, business and industry' as well as Puerto Ricans themselves, by their appearance at ethnic events and gatherings. Other functions [aside from public relations] at which the Director represented the Forum included the Banquet of the Parade, Puerto Rican Discovery Day at Lincoln Center, Puerto Rican Family Institute Cocktail Party, Reception Folklore Fiesta, Annual Banquet of Agrupación Femenina, Annual Banquet of the Citizen's Union, Cocktail Reception for Realidades, and Reception for Ruth Fernández at Lincoln Center (National Puerto Rican Forum Annual Report 1972/1973:29).

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But the truth of the matter is that a sizable middle class which could support an ethnic organization was almost nonexistent, and the weakness of the Forum resided in its being funded by outside sources, themselves interested only in creating ("developing," in the words of LESCC 1972) a community. Hence, such an ethnic organization might disappear along with the so-called Puerto Rican community, if such finds were withdrawn. The dependency of the Puerto Rican community on the institutional structure of the wider society is realized by the leaders themselves:

> But . . . shifts in policy and changes in government threaten the funding environment for the foreseeable future . . . . And without these programs, every step thus far taken toward full participation in this country's institutions could be wiped out (National Puerto Rican Forum Annual Report 1972/1973:iii).

The stature of the Forum as the only private city-wide Puerto Rican agency gave it importance in dealing with the American power structure. Its leading role became apparent to both Puerto Ricans and non-Puerto Ricans when the Forum proved to be the agency in charge of selecting the Board of Directors of what later was to become the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, the first federally funded, antipoverty, city-wide Puerto Rican agency. The Forum not only presented the rationale for the establishment of such a service agency, but it also selected and trained leadership to staff it. For example, Antonia Pantoja, Executive

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Director of Aspira, "took a four-month leave of absence [when] the Puerto Rican Forum conducted leadership development and training sessions to help the members of the citizen's committee prepare to become members of the Board of Directors for the PRCDP" (Gotsch 1966:14).

The Puerto Rican Forum Report of 1964 and the Formation of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project (or PRCDP)

In 1964, the Puerto Rican Forum, Inc. put out a booklet entitled "A Study of Poverty Conditions in the New York Puerto Rican Community." This report not only served the purpose of stressing to the Council Against Poverty that Puerto Ricans were the poorest population of the City, but also added strongly to the pressure for the funding of ethnic organizations. In fact, the Puerto Rican Community Development Project (PRCDP), an anti-poverty, city-wide agency whose structure and internal politics will be described in this and Chapters V and VI in connection with the preparations for the 1974 Puerto Rican Day Parade, was created by the Puerto Rican Forum. Thus, though a de facto community did not exist, with the creation of a city-wide Puerto Rican anti-poverty agency, the existence of a Puerto Rican community was publicized to the wider society.

The Forum's Report of 1964 expressed concern, then, not for poverty per se but for poverty qualified ethnically.

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> In the present climate of concern for the plight of the American Negro, there remains widespread unawareness of the fact that in occupational status, family income and educational achievement the Puerto Rican New Yorker is below the deplorable level of the Negro New Yorker (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:ii).

And later, the report stated that

> The median . . . income for Puerto Rican families in 1960 was $3,811, compared to $6,365 for white families and $6,091 for all families. Thus, nearly half of all Puerto Rican families are in a state of poverty. Proportionately, four times as many Puerto Ricans as Negroes get public aid to supplement low earnings (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:2).

The Forum's Report stated that community leaders, believing that the main strengths of the Puerto Rican community lie in its cultural identity, want to establish a self-help program for such a Puerto Rican community. This is because "In the history of the city's development, the ethnic community has played a constructive role in assisting the transition of newcomers into the American culture and society" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:1). Such a community of Puerto Ricans has not been used as an "ethnic instrument to aid in acculturation," as it has by other immigrant groups. Yet this is precisely what Puerto Rican community leaders have expressly set out to do.

If we pause to think about the statements quoted from the Forum's Report, it becomes evident that community leaders have equated the idea of "community" with

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neighborhood and other informal associations of an ethnic category, offering to develop such ethnic gatherings into goal-seeking groups. Their message consists of an offer of rewards for such a Puerto Rican community, and for themselves as well.

Drives for securing financial support to implement such a culturally oriented program for the eradication of poverty began in 1963, when a committee chaired by Manuel Díaz was organized at the Forum to help youth by encouraging family cohesiveness through funding provided by Mobilization for Youth. This committee presented a proposal to Henry Cohen, the Deputy City Administrator, for a city-wide Anti-Poverty Agency.

> To their city-wide proposal, Henry Cohen presented something quite different: why not a pilot study in the South Bronx where there is a major concentration of Puerto Ricans and no major anti-poverty programs to service them? This proposition was accepted by the committee when they were informed that the city would not rule out the possibility of a city-wide project evolving from the South Bronx study (Gotsch 1966:12).

So the Forum, itself created in 1954, secured a grant of $49,000 (signed by Mayor Wagner) in 1964 to

> contact the organizations and leaders of the Sourth Bronx area (the area of the largest concentration of Puerto Ricans in New York) and determine their readiness to come together for self-help projects to attack the roots of their poverty (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964: 3).

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Contacts were made with local leaders as well as with academic professionals such as Frank Fiessman, Kenneth Clark, Richard Cloward and Ian Dodson. As a result of this inquiry, and of "the encouraging fact that national and local governments indicated interest in providing financial and technical resources" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:3), the Puerto Rican Forum decided to establish a self-help project for Puerto Ricans in New York.

This project was to serve as an instrument for the coordination, not the dispensing, of services. Services would be offered directly by neighborhood centers established in the areas of major Puerto Rican concentration, i.e., the South Bronx, East Harlem, Williamsburg, Brownsville, South Brooklyn, Red Hook, Lower East Side, Hamilton-Orange-Washington Heights and Manhattan Park West. The City's Anti-Poverty Program's Chairman in 1964, Paul Screvane, "picked this up and suggested a 'monoethnic approach,' focus on the Puerto Ricans rather than on those areas with large Puerto Rican population" (Gotsch 1966:13).

Yet some of the members of the Forum's committee were concerned that if the focus of the project were to be on Puerto Ricans, it would not comply with the Poverty Area guidelines of OEO. As a matter of fact, "in none of the major areas of residence did Puerto Ricans comprise even 50% of the area's population" (Puerto Rican Forum Study

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1964:3). Hence the Forum began to pressure the OEO to create a city-wide Puerto Rican body. "The Puerto Rican Forum, backed by a citizens committee of about eighty prominent leaders, requested a grant from the city to initiate the organizational phase of a community-development project" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:3). The city granted funds to the Forum to prepare a proposal for a Puerto Rican self-help project. As background for the preparation of a proposal, the Forum commissioned representatives of universities, government, agency officials, and other experts to study the conditions of poverty among New York's Puerto Ricans with the aim of better understanding the Puerto Rican community as well as the potential sources of financial aid. Yet it was made clear to all those contacted that the staff of the new agency would be Puerto Rican. In other words, the Puerto Rican Community Development Project was to "offer its services to all who request them" regardless of race, religion or national origin "in accordance with OEO guidelines and ideology" but "its board and policy-makers would be Puerto Ricans" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:4).

The Puerto Rican Community Development Project was set to service the Puerto Rican population and, in so doing, mediate between the former and the wider society. In other words, it would be first "an agency to fund and help create

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programs that will broaden social and economic opportunities for Puerto Ricans in the city," but it would also function as a "better liason between the general community and the Puerto Rican community" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:4).

The problem areas to be attacked by the Puerto Rican Community Development Project would be poverty, dependency, education, family life, cultural institutions and organizational life. One force operating to facilitate organizing the Puerto Rican population, however, were the already existing Puerto Rican civic organizations.

The proposal's final rationale for a culturally-based project included five factors:

1) Since the cultural differences separating Puerto Ricans from other New Yorkers persisted, a community and its representative leadership should be developed by stressing "ethnic" (equated by implication with cultural) identification.

2) Such ethnic identification has been achieved among earlier immigrants through ethnically-based organizations. At the moment, such are only at a primitive level of organization among Puerto Ricans.

3) The persistence of cultural differences is reported by Puerto Ricans themselves, as well as by agencies to which they turn for aid.

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4) The cultural background of Puerto Rican parents must be transmitted to their offspring so as to help develop the feeling of mutual respect required in family relationships.

5) "Even if out-migration should stop, the rate of population growth within the country would continue to justify the existence of such a cultural approach" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:47).

Even though it was culturally oriented, the project emphasized the minority[43] status of Puerto Ricans; this was more congruent with the policies of OEO. The salient elements that comprised as Puerto Rican culture, according to the report, were considered to be language, the concept of dignidad (dignity), or the idea that "objective indices of social position have little or nothing to do with social worthiness" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:51), and the less prejudiced racial attitudes on the Island. This last caused Puerto Rican Blacks to shun collective identification with American Blacks. According to the Forum's report, "the very structure of New York organizational and political life inhibits effective collaboration between Negro and Puerto Rican groups" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:50).

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[43] "A minority group [is] comprised of persons who are denied full participation in the life of the larger society because of shared [national, racial or religious] properties" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:2).

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Yet we would argue to the contrary, that ethnic divisions stem from class-based pressures for structural reform, which are expressed in terms of ethnic differences. Thus it has been stated that "the political successes and moral impact of Negro protest accentuate the tendency to structure all efforts for reform and change along ethnic lines" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:50).

Once having demonstrated that Puerto Ricans have a culture, the report emphasized the fact that, if such a culture is to survive the experience of migration, the "community," as among previous immigrant groups, must be preserved. Although the attitude in the United States had historically been hostile to ethnic communities, this was no longer the case once the ideology of cultural pluralism had become dominant in the 1960's. Further, the report emphasized that "the forming of the ethnic community and its cohesiveness responded not only to cultural factors associated with the particular ethnic group but also to pressures placed by the dominant majority upon the minority groups" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:52). This indicates the Forum's awareness that the rise of ethnic communities has as much to do with outside forces as with group self-identification.

Yet, in spite of the belief in the importance of "community," we must keep in mind that, like other holders

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of the ideology of cultural pluralism, the Forum's leadership saw acculturation of Puerto Ricans as its ultimate goal.

On the basis of the results of the research commissioned on the Puerto Rican population, the plan developed for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project included first and foremost the aim of "breaking somewhere the cycle of poverty among Puerto Ricans" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:66).

The project's plan, then, called for an emphasis on self-help as a means of advancing in a class-structured society. "It aimed to mobilize the total strengths and resources of a cultural minority in a comprehensive self-help effort through which Puerto Ricans might break out of the vicious cycle of poverty" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:66). In line with the cultural pluralist ideology, it proposed that culture, and the ethnic community, would serve as the mediating mechanisms for integration. "The only effective way to utilize the rich human resources in the Puerto Rican community in a massive self-help effort is to design programs that relate to the cultural ways and the organizational life of the Puerto Rican" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:66).

With the assumption that the strengths of the Puerto Rican "community" were its culture and organizational life,

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the Puerto Rican Community Development Project was to be an umbrella agency providing services by sub-contracting to existing Puerto Rican organizations,[44] while retaining the authoritative role of setting priorities. It was thought that "a strong central organization, if it provided direct services, would weaken existing organizations and destroy local initiative" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964: 67). The plan provided for the dissolution of the central organization once the grass-roots organizations were self-sustaining: "by assuring the growth and health of the grass-roots groups and the agencies that it will create and sustain . . . the board and its staff will then be dissolved" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:83).

In its proposal, the Puerto Rican Community Development Project stated its intention to develop the following programs in response to poverty among Puerto Ricans:

1) To raise family income and reduce poverty and dependency, it proposed a Puerto Rican small-businessmen self-help project, a job devlopment program, a selective work-training program for adults and youth, and a specialized training program for non-professional community assistants.

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[44]For programs see Figure 9.

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2) To raise the educational level, it proposed Aspira, bilingual experimental programs, a youth service corps, a consumer education program, and a leadership development and community education project.

3) To strengthen family life and cultural institutions, it proposed utilizing the Puerto Rican Family Institute, a Foster Care Guidance and Orientation Center, an Institute for Puerto Rican culture, and a program against drug addiction.

4) To strengthen Puerto Rican organizational life in New York City, it proposed aid to existing Puerto Rican organizations, the creation of Puerto Rican neighborhood boards, and neighborhood orientation centers.

The proposal ends by noting that awareness of poverty amongst New York Puerto Ricans has "led the Puerto Rican community to join forces for the first time in their history in New York" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:78).

The proposal for what was to become the Puerto Rican Community Development Project was prepared in its original version by Antonia Pantoja, Frank Bonilla, at that time Professor of Sociology at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and presently Director of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies of the City University of New York, and Manuel Díaz, then a member of the Puerto Rican Forum and the only one not to resign during a later factional split.

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Díaz was the first Executive Director of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project.

While the proposal for this organization, presented to the City on October 23, 1964, was being studied, the project was maintained as a holding coporation, i.e., the City granted it $10,000 monthly. In 1965, Dr. Trilla, president of the project[45] threatened to close it down if it did not receive official status promptly. Twenty-one board members resigned after the Mayor requested $427,000 in federal funds for three Puerto Rican anti-poverty agencies, Aspira and the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, both controlled by the Puerto Rican Forum, and the Puerto Rican Family Institute (Gotsch 1966:16).

An internal split was set off by the mass resignation of board members. It signalled a crisis for the Forum since those who resigned, led by Antonia Pantoja, were the Forum's representatives. Those who remained can be regarded as indigenous leaders; these were headed by Informant 21, from the Congress of Puerto Rican Hometowns.

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[45]The first Board of Directors of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project was composed of Dr. F. Trilla, Chairman; Antonia Pantoja, First Vice-President; Informant 22, Second Vice President; Erasto Torres, Treasurer; Sister Thomas Marie, Secretary; Rev. Pablo Cotto; Julie Hernández; Fa. Walter Janer, Luis Quero Chiesa; María J. Canino; Max Sanoguet; Morris Flores; and Informant 21.

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According to many observers, the reason for the split into two factions was that some Puerto Rican leaders were striving for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project to promote educational advancement as its long-range goal (a function to be taken over by Aspira), while others were interested in immediate remedial community-oriented action in the form of programs that would develop a Puerto Rican identity and a sense of community.

Those who stayed within the project had resented the authority which the Forum had used to appoint its staff and decide on guidelines for the project without requesting the consensus of the Puerto Rican community:

> This was their [Puerto Rican Forum] baby . . . I was then and I am now wary [of using] the name of Puerto Rican leadership and the Puerto Rican people to present a program to the Federal government, the state and the city where you ask for vast amounts of monies pretending that you are going to help the leadership organizations and the people [whereas] actually what you are doing is creating an agency just for the inner group (Interview with Informant 21, quoted in Gotsch 1966:18).

In the view of those who resigned, those who stayed had been co-opted:

> Your project . . . is made up of so-called leaders who are more interested in their own welfare and their own political futures, demagogues who use our people to bolster their own ego, publicity hounds who take on any fight so they can get their faces on TV and on the papers, and other cronies of the powers that be so that the nation will think Puerto Ricans are finally getting ahead

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> (Letter of resignation by Héctor Vélez to Rev. Ruben Darío Colón, new Chairman of the Board, April 19, 1965, and quoted in Gotsch 1966:17).

It is to be noted, however, that Mayor Wagner took action to provide monies to both factions even though, according to Gotsch (1966:16), Paul Screvane and officials in the City's administration favored the faction which remained part of the project

> Political considerations cannot be disregarded for the city funded to the project, a month after the split, additional funds to develop a new proposal. Early in 1966, the project received half a million dollars to put into operation the new project's 'block program.'

In effect, three Puerto Rican city-wide agencies were financed by anti-poverty funds: Aspira (controlled by the Forum, at least ideologically, though formally independent since 1961); the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, controlled by the "indigenous" faction; and the Puerto Rican Family Institute, which had abstained from politics during the period of internal factioning.

Two other anti-poverty programs funded by the city were the East Harlem Block Nursery Schools and the South Bronx Neighborhood Orientation Center. In addition, there were three private service organizations in the 1960's which serviced areas with massive Puerto Rican populations. These were: Massive Economic Neighborhood Development, directed by Julio Flores; the East Harlem Tenants Council,

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directed by Ted Vélez; and the Lower Manhattan Small Business Development and Opportunities Corporation, directed by Julio Hernández (Gotsch 1966:20). The Puerto Rican Forum had helped organize all of these.

More important than the internal split was the reaction of the City funding agencies to which the proposal was presented.

> City officials argued that 1) they could not fund a project identified with one ethnic group (even though the Puerto Ricans agreed to provide services on a non-discriminatory basis to all ethnic and racial groups in the city); 2) the Project, which was intended as city-wide, would duplicate services already provided by community corporations and; 3) the philosophy of the project, aimed at identity and strength for the Puerto Rican community was much too vague (Fitzpatrick 1971:68).

This refusal deepened the split, but the faction for community action strengthened its position until finally it managed to get the project funded once "city officials expressed their confidence that it was in the hands of practical people instead of impractical intellectuals" (Fitzpatrick 1971:68).

In 1965, the OEO granted monies towards the establishment of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. A city-wide Puerto Rican agency sub-contracting other agencies (see Figure 9), the Puerto Rican Community Development Project organized job training programs, tutoring programs, neighborhood youth corps, addiction prevention

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FIGURE 9

PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT PROGRAM CHART

RESEARCH CENTER FOR PUERTO RICAN STUDIES

CITY-WIDE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

PUERTO RICAN SMALL BUSINESSMEN SELF-HELP PROJECT

CENTRAL STAFF

FUNCTIONAL PROJECTS

1. Puerto Rican Family Institute
2. Program for Treatment, Prevention and Rehabilitation of the Drug Addict
3. ASPIRA
4. Youth Service Corps
5. Work Training & Job Development Project
6. Community Education & Leadership Development Project
7. Padres de Crianza (Puerto Rican Foster Care Guidance Agency
8. Institute for Puerto Rican Culture (New York Chapter)
9. Bilingual Block Nursery School and Child Care Centers
10. Consumer Education Program

AID TO EXISTING COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

1. Congress of Puerto Rican Municipalities
2. Puerto Rican Parade
3. Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs
4. Brooklyn Council of Organizations
5. United Bronx Organizations
6. Council of Puerto Rican and Hispanic Organizations of the Lower East Side
7. National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights
8. National Association for Puerto Rican Affairs
9. Puerto Rican Institute
10. East Harlem Tenants Association
11. Ateneo Puertorriqueño
12. Puerto Rican Citizens Committee on Housing
13. Agrupación Femenina
14. Centro de Orientación Cívica, Inc.
15. Federations of Athletic Leagues

NEIGHBORHOOD ORIENTATION CENTERS

1. South Bronx
2. East Harlem
3. Williamsburg
4. Brownsville
5. South Brooklyn - Red Hook
6. Lower East Side
7. Hamilton Grange - Washington Heights
8. Manhattan Park West

Source: A Study . . . New York: Puerto Rican Forum 1964: 81.

programs, and block programs of community organizations. But

> even more important than these programs . . . has been the Project's role as a visible representative of Puerto Ricans in New York. The Project has been troubled by internal struggles for control, but it has succeeded in giving a politically militant voice to the Puerto Rican community when Puerto Rican interests have been at stake (Fitzpatrick 1971:68).

It is interesting to note that Puerto Rican leaders have directed animosity against Blacks, who have been charged with having more control over the allocation of anti-poverty funds. For example, in 1970, the Community Development Agency and the Human Resources Administration sought to terminate anti-poverty funding of city-wide agencies, claiming that they duplicated the services offered by the twenty-six community corporations and local agencies in poverty areas. The director of the Community Development Agency was Black at the time, and the three endangered Puerto Rican city-wide agencies, Aspira, Puerto Rican Community Development Project and the Puerto Rican Family Institute, joined together in opposition to his administration (Fitzpatrick 1971; New York Times Sept. 4, 1970:24, Sept. 7, 1970:20 and Sept. 11, 1970:83).

In its politicization of ethnicity, the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, as Fitzpatrick rightly notes, has moved away from an emphasis on culture toward one which emphasizes power as the basis for community. This shift is

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the result of

> the politics of confrontation, the new strategies of protest, the community action programs of anti-poverty program and a growing awareness on the part of the poor of the need to provoke substantial changes in the social structure (Fitzpatrick 1971:181).

This new emphasis does not, however, do away with the ideology of cultural pluralism: "culture is recognized as an important element in identity, but the basis of strength is not the cultural background, but rather the organized power of the group" (Fitzpatrick 1971:181). As the first Executive Director of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project said,

> my basic commitment as a human being is to strengthen this community and I feel I can do this by supporting the organizations and helping them to develop and get resources and establish themselves on a par with community organizations of other ethnic groups (Interview with Manuel Díaz, quoted in Gotsch 1966: 23).

Service Programs of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project

"The Puerto Rican Community Development Project exists to attack the manifestations of poverty among New York's population" (Puerto Rican Community Development Project, Summary of programs 1973:2). Service programs included 1) Block Programs, 2) Manpower Programs, 3) Job Corps, 4) Neighborhood Youth Programs, and 5) Narcotics Programs. Each will be discussed in turn.

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1) The Block programs: these were the stronghold of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. They operated by sub-contracting one hundred agencies (store front organizations, etc.) in poverty areas. The president of each local organization and the Puerto Rican Community Development Project trained and supervised community workers to staff each program. The community worker was a Puerto Rican social worker.

> The culture of poverty which exists both in the country and the city is different from the dominant middle class culture of obedience to law, self-discipline, work and putting off today's enjoyment to work towards a future goal (A manual for community workers, Puerto Rican Community Development Project Training Department, May 1968:1).

In addition,

> the community worker is the agent for social change; he is the catalyst, the enabler, the stimulator, the encourager; at no time can the community worker, he is told, afford the luxury of calling himself the leader--his job, is to make leaders of others, to develop local people to become enthusiastic, hopeful, determined and involved (A manual for community workers, Puerto Rican Community Development Project Training Department, May 1968:2)

Further, "As an idealist the community worker is the champion of the rights of individuals: as a result, he is aware that individual rights are limited by the rights of other individuals and by the common good of society" (A manual for community workers, Puerto Rican Community Development Project Training Department, May 1968:3). The

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community worker saw himself as promoting community awareness: "For many years it has been sleeping for many years" (Asociación de Trabajador Comunal de Puerto Rican Community Development Project, Dec. 1973:1).

Each block program covered three or four blocks and offered advice and referral services for Public Assistance, housing, education, consumer education and action, narcotic, and family problems. These programs were offered by ninety-seven subcontracted storefront organizations most of which were created out of pre-existing Puerto Rican organizations.

2) Manpower: This program operated out of the central Puerto Rican Community Development Project office and three out-reach stations. It provided services in counseling, job development and placement, and job preparation and training.

3) Opened in 1968, the Job Corps included services such as education, vocational training, work experience and recreational activities.

4) The Neighborhood Youth Corps attempted to provide jobs for youth, particularly by training them in office skills.

5) The Narcotics program operated in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn and provided counseling.

In the 1960's, the Forum was the only agency recognized by the existing power structure of the City for its

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ability to organize and mediate with the "Puerto Rican community." The existence of other previously organized grass-roots organizations with their own indigenous leadership was to lead, as early as 1964, both to internal factionalism as well as the co-optation of indigenous leadership by this publicly recognized agency. As Gotsch (1966:15) states, then,

> The Puerto Rican Community Development Project, as it stood, was an uneasy alliance. The executive committee was by and large dominated by members or fellow travelers of the Puerto Rican Forum. The board members at large were mainly supporters or organizers of 'grass-roots' organizations.

The Puerto Rican Forum maintained a role of authority over the Puerto Rican Community Development Project until the latter was actually funded. This role was resented because it bypassed the "community" but the Forum, on the other hand, was taken as the sole representative spokesman acknowledged by the power structure of the City. We agree with Gotsch (1966:20) in his view that "the Puerto Rican Forum is very consciously trying to protect its lines of communication with the supra-community." One of the ways it did this was to appoint Puerto Rican "leaders" who would have prestige beyond the ethnic enclave. For example, when the idea for the creation of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project began to emerge, the Forum formed a

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> city-wide Citizens Committee of ninety-three 'leaders' representing all phases of organized city life . . . . The Citizens Committee was then asked to participate in five all-day conferences . . . to help . . . prepare to become members of a board of directors for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project . . . . The Board of Directors of the Forum then chose a selection committee of 26 people to form the core of the Board and to assume the responsibilities of deciding on the size of the Board and selecting the rest of the members (Background Summary of the organization 1964:1). (Our emphasis)

Thus, among the five criteria to be met for the selection of candidates for the executive committee is one which called for "Persons with power and influence who could relate to governmental agencies and private funding sources for the purpose of securing monies and support for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project" (Background Summary 1964:4).

In summary, the extent to which Puerto Rican organizations became public, in the sense of being recognized as the representatives of an "ethnic community" which is organized around common values and goals, depends on their ability to mediate with, and get approval from, the existing sociopolitical system. We noted in Chapter II that the organization "representing" Puerto Ricans in the 1950's was the Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. This role was inherited by the Puerto Rican Forum in the 1960's. In the 1970's a conglomerate of pressure groups emerged which also represented the Puerto Rican "community," although the

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Forum is still seen as the traditional authority (see Chapter VI).

Thus, by the 1960's, there were three foci of leadership. Two had close connections with the city power structure: the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, which had "represented" the Puerto Rican population since the 1950's, and the Forum, headed by A. Pantoja. The third was the Congress of Puerto Rican Hometowns, organized in 1963. This Congress represented seventy-seven grass-roots organizations and was headed by Informant 21, who in turn held prominent positions in the Puerto Rican Parade and in the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights. Although it was not created by the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, once funding proved to be forthcoming, it was allowed to exert pressure and soon became integrated within the latter's power structure.

Other Puerto Rican Organizations

Besides the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Puerto Rican Forum, the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, Aspira and the Congress of Puerto Rican Hometowns, several other Puerto Rican organizations deserve mention.

Puerto Rican Family Institute. This voluntary organization was established in 1963 by social workers led by Agustín González in order to provide help and emotional support to

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immigrant families. Funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1965, its policy was to integrate newcomers with already established Puerto Rican families who would serve as godparents. The emphasis on relating "non-integrated" to "integrated" families soon shifted considerably toward the dispensing of services to the newly arrived. At the present, its bilingual staff provides services in addiction prevention, child placement prevention, orientation for the newly arrived, and mental health clinics.

But today, like other city-wide Puerto Rican agencies, its threatened financial status prompted the Puerto Rican Family Institute to look for private sources:

> During the five years of associations with the Council Against Poverty the Institute has been in constant threat of disappearing with the claim that we are a city-wide agency and sponsoring city-wide agencies is against the concept of Community Corporations which New York City Council Against Poverty is trying to fully develop. So that, although for five years the Puerto Rican community has succeeded in developing an institution of its own which claims proudly to have prevented disintegration of over 10,000 Spanish-speaking families, further efforts to strengthen and sustain the Institute are practically impossible if our existence depends solely on our present, politically-geared funding source (Puerto Rican Family Institute Report 1973:4).

According to one of the founders, the complex paradox of a system that provides funds to poverty areas but which are appropriated by ethnic communities and hence end up stimulating an awareness of ethnic community, whether

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through solidarity or conflict, lies in the need to reciprocate the gifts of funds with the public display of an ethnic agency, whether for or against the establishment. In her own words:

> We have been transferred to the Community Action Program of CDA. They are action-oriented whereas we are social service-oriented. Social action is for them to picket, to demonstrate for a change of structure . . . They want to change structures through programs for poverty groups. This is in the hands of American Negroes but they [the Blacks] know the intricacies of the structure and can function better in this environment. We cannot perform social action if we do not know the ystem. First I need to know the system and benefit from its services so as to understand differences in structure. The Puerto Rican has to experience what the Negro has experienced in order to understand it. That is why every year they want to take the money away from us because we did not do things to change the system, they accused us of not attacking the system. That is why we are always struggling to survive (Personal Interview, Informant 30, Subdirector of the Puerto Rican Family Institute).

In addition to the Puerto Rican Family Institute, we find a grouping of organizations, for which the Puerto Rican Forum requested funds in 1964 to be allocated on a sub-contractual basis. These organizations are: Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs, Brooklyn Council of Organizations, United Bronx Organizations, Council of Puerto Rican and Hispanic Organizations of the Lower East Side, National Associations for Puerto Rican Civil Rights, National Association for Puerto Rican Affairs, Puerto Rican Institute, East Harlem Tenants Association, Ateneo

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Puertorriqueño, Puerto Rican Citizens Committee on Housing, Agrupación Femenina, Centro de Orientación Cívica Inc., and Federation of Athletic Leagues.

Puerto Rican Organizations Not Sponsored by the Puerto Rican Forum

In addition to the myriad of small hometown clubs, the following were also important in the 1960's: Puerto Rican Crusade Inc., Puerto Rican Teachers Association, Puerto Rican Central Democratic Committee of New York, Inc. (including Caribe Democratic Club and Robert F. Wagner Democratic Association), Puerto Rican Civil Service Employees Association, Ateneo Puertorriqueño, Puerto Rican Women's Political Association and Puerto Rican Merchants Association. The latter is one of the oldest Puerto Rican organizations in the City. It associates owners of bodegas,[46] colmados,[47] small cafés, bars, restaurants, botánicas,[48] travel agencies, etc. Its goal is to provide economic help to Puerto Ricans venturing into the small private businesses. It was established by Julio Hernández who "during the 1960s became the Director of several

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[46]Puerto Rican small grocery stores.

[47]Puerto Rican small grocery stores which also sell alcoholic beverages.

[48]Stores which sell medicinal herbs to cure specified illnesses.

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government programs to promote small business among Puerto Ricans in the City" (Fitzpatrick 1971:63).

Last, there is the organization of the Puerto Rican Parade. This will be discussed at length in Chapters IV and V. Further, the control by the Puerto Rican Community Development Project of this organization will be demonstrated.

Hunts Point Multi Service Corporation

There is another Puerto Rican agency which emerged in the 1960's and which, together with the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, provides organizational resources for the new Puerto Rican leadership. This agency is the Hunts Point Multi Service Corporation.

Originally, the Hunts Point Multi Service Corporation was a delegate agency subcontracted by the Hunts Point Community Corporation. In 1967, it succeeded in geting federal funding directly (98 percent of its funds are now federal--Personal interview, Informant 39, 20/12/1973)[49] and it established itself independently of the Hunts Point Community Corporation. The Hunts Point Multi Service Corporation was able to obtain Federal funding once it demonstrated that within the poverty area serviced by the

[49] We will see in Chapter VI how, in political terms, the Puerto Rican Community Development Project and Hunts Point Multi Service Corporation are like little "Tammany Halls" with regard to leadership among New York Puerto Ricans.

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Hunts Point Community Corporation there was an area (Health Areas 40 and 41), peopled by over 50,000 (87 percent of whom are Hispanic: within them, 95 percent are Puerto Rican) for whom the Community Corporation was not equipped to provide services. The Multi Service Corporation organized a Health Center, Alcoholism Clinic, Mental Health Programs, Parent-Child Center, Manpower Program, Rodent Control Program, Methadone Program and Family Day Care Program. It is now the largest, non-profit private organization within the Hunts Point Poverty area. "Anybody who wants to bring in a new program has to clear it with us" (Personal Interview, Informant 39, 20/12/1973). Whereas the Corporation started out with $85,000 it now receives $6,000,000 from various sources. Its success is explained by one informant: "They were favorable to us because this community is organized, was able to articulate their needs and to fight for them" (Personal Interview, Informant 39, 20/12/1973).

Summary

In sum, we can observe a trend in Puerto Rican organizations toward both growth and diversification. This can be portrayed quantitatively.

A comparison of Puerto Rican organizations in 1965 and 1973, shown in Tables XIIIA and XIIIB, reveals that the total number of organizations has almost doubled (from 263 to 423). In addition:

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TABLE XIIIA

PUERTO RICAN ORGANIZATIONS BY TYPES AND BY BOROUGHS, NEW YORK CITY*

	Total No.	Bronx No.	%	Bklyn. No.	%	Manh. No.	%	Queens No.	%
Civic	168	59	35	51	30	55	33	3	1
Business	0	2	22	2	22	5	56	-	-
Sports	20	4	20	7	35	7	35	2	10
Instrumental (a)	15	5	35	6	40	1	7	3	20
Professional	10	3	30	1	10	5	50	1	10
Religious	18	3	17	4	22	10	56	1	5
Political	17	3	18	7	14	6	35	1	6
Coordinating Councils	6	1	17	2	33	3	50	-	-
Total	263	80	31	80	31	92	34	11	4

*Puerto Rican Community Development Project, Inc., 1965, p. 9. (Source: Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, New York Office. Puerto Rican organizations registered with this office as of June, 1965.)

(a) community action pressure group, for example rent strike, voter registration, etc.

Source: Gotsch: Puerto Rican leadership in New York, Unpublished Master's Thesis, New York University, 1966:36.

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TABLE XIIIB

PUERTO RICAN ORGANIZATIONS BY TYPES AND BY BOROUGHS
NEW YORK CITY, 1973

	Total No.	Bronx		Bklyn.		Manh.		Queens	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Civic*	308	75	24	72	23	150	49	11	4
Business	24	4	17	3	13	17	71	-	-
Sports	18	3	17	9	50	3	17	3	17
Instrumental	10	3	30	3	30	4	40	-	-
Professional	19	5	26	4	21	10	53	-	-
Religious	13	3	23	7	54	3	23	-	-
Political	8	5	63	-	-	3	38	-	-
Coordinating Councils	23	5	22	4	17	14	61	-	-
Total	423	103		102		204		14	

*In case of various listings, we favored civic because of its being the most encompassing category.

Source: Computed from Directory of Puerto Rican and Community Service Organizations throughout the U.S. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Migration Division, Department of Labor, 1973.

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1) The increase in number of organizations is most evident in Manhattan, especially in the category of civic organizations, where they tripled.

2) Whereas the number of organizations in the Bronx and Brooklyn has also considerably increased, the number in Queens remains about the same (possibly due to the fact that social mobility has not occurred at the predicted rate or, conversely, that those reaching middle class status do not want to be seen associating with Puerto Ricans).

3) Business organizations have also tripled. This growth is especially evident in Manhattan.

4) The same is true of coordinating councils and, again, most noteworthy in Manhattan.[50]

Conclusions

Let us restate and evaluate the assumptions implicit in the ideology of cultural pluralism, since it was this ideology which led to the government-planned change directed at the Puerto Rican population.

The most important of these assumptions was the idea that Puerto Rican organizations were weak, and that

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[50]The number of coordinating councils would have been greater had we counted all organizations listed in the Directory as a Concilio. A Concilio, however, does not necessarily mean a confederation of organizations or an umbrella organization, which is the meaning we use here.

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political and financial drives were urgently needed to strengthen those organizations already in existence. It was hoped that the new programs would strengthen the organizational infrastructure of the Puerto Rican population, thus creating a "community" that would enhance feelings of identity and, consequently prevent individuals from disintegrating in the path of cultural and social assimilation. As we have shown in Chapter II, however, this assumption did not recognize that many grass-roots organizations existed in the early 1960's, although these were not public, the creation of an ethnic category but not an ethnic group. Until the 1960's, neither did the Puerto Ricans see themselves as sharing a community of interests nor did the other known ethnic groups in the City recognize, and compete with, Puerto Ricans as an ethnic group.

We have already shown how the organizations increased in number and how several Puerto Rican organizations emerged in the 1960's to represent a putative Puerto Rican "community" to the larger sociopolitical system. Yet the changes predicted by these agencies regarding the assimilation via upward mobility of the Puerto Rican population have not occurred. Puerto Ricans have not socially assimilated. In structural terms, they occupy the same position in 1973 as they did in 1964 and in 1950. The attached Tables (XIVA and XIVB) show an absence of occupational

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TABLE XIVA

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF EMPLOYED CIVILIAN LABOR
BY SEX AND ETHNIC BACKGROUND, NEW YORK CITY, 1950 AND 1960

Occupation	Puerto Rican 1950	Puerto Rican 1960[a]	Non-white 1960	Other white 1960
Employed Males:				
Number	49,860	127,384	233,584	1,601,904
Per cent	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0
Professional and Kindred workers	2.6	2.2	5.2	13.6
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	5.4	3.7	5.0	14.1
Clerical, Sales and Kindred workers	10.0	12.3	17.9	23.1
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred workers	11.1	11.3	11.6	17.8
Operatives and Kindred workers	37.2	44.1	28.4	17.2
Non-household service workers	28.4	20.5	21.1	9.4
Private household workers	0.1	0.1	0.9	0.1
Laborers	5.2	5.9	10.9	4.7

[a]Includes Nassau, Rockland, Suffolk & Westchester counties

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TABLE XIVA - continued

Occupation	Puerto Rican 1950	Puerto Rican 1960[a]	Non-white 1960	Other white 1960
Employed Females:				
Number	34,685	67,518	181,942	860,722
Per cent	99.9	100.0	99.9	99.9
Professional, Technical and Kindred workers	2.0	2.9	8.8	13.7
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	1.1	1.1	1.4	4.9
Clerical, Sales and Kindred workers	9.2	15.9	21.8	53.1
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred workers	1.7	1.9	1.2	1.4
Operatives and Kindred workers	77.5	69.7	25.9	15.8
Non-household service workers	5.9	6.9	18.8	8.2
Household service workers	1.6	0.8	21.2	2.6
Laborers	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.2

[a]Includes Nassau, Rockland, Suffolk & Westchester counties

Source: United States Bureau of the Census. U.S. Censuses of Population & Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Final Report PHC (1)-104. Part 1. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1962. Tables P-3, P-4, P-5; U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population 1950, Special Report. Puerto Ricans in Continental United States. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1953. Table 5. U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Puerto Ricans in the United States. Final Report. PC (2)-1D. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1963. Table 11. Cited in "A Study . . ." New York: Puerto Rican Forum, 1964:29.

TABLE XIVB

BREAKDOWN OF PUERTO RICAN LABOR FORCE*

Total Employed	Men	Women
White-collar workers	21.7	31.5
Professionals and technicians	2.1	4.9
Managers, officials, and proprietors	4.0	2.8
Clerical workers	12.7	18.0
Sales workers	2.8	5.8
Blue-collar workers	54.4	55.9
Craftsmen and foremen	12.3	3.3
Operatives	35.9	50.9
Non-farm laborers	6.2	1.6
Service workers	23.5	12.6
Private household workers		.5
Other service workers	23.5	12.1

No change since 1950

	Men	Women	Total	Unemployment
Total employed (thousands)	25.2	11.1	...	
Wage workers	98.2	96.6	98.0	8.9
Construction	1.9	...	1.9	not avail.
Manufacturing	36.7	53.6	41.0	11.4
Durable	19.1	9.6	15.0	7.8
Nondurable	17.7	44.0	26.0	13.5
Transportation and Public Utilities	6.1	1.1	5.0	not avail.
Wholesale-Retail Trade	19.5	10.0	18.0	8.0
Finance, Insurance	6.7	4.2	6.0	not avail.
Government	8.3	9.1	8.7	not avail.
Service Industries	19.0	18.6	19.0	5.4

*Figures lower than 1 percent omitted.

Source: The Puerto Rican Papers, A. López. New York: Bobbs-Merrill 1974:98-99.

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change which results in what has been called a "myth of mobility" (López 1973:99). They also demonstrate that the occupations filled by most Puerto Ricans are those with the highest unemployment rate due to fluctuations in the labor market (See Chapter II).

If occupational mobility has not occurred in response to shifts in governmental policy, what has changed? "The most significant development in this period (1960-1970) can be said to be the increasing awareness of the need to engage in political action based on community participation" (Puerto Rican Forum Study 1964:iv). That some Puerto Ricans have emerged as a politicized ethnic group has become more evident especially as many are dissatisfied with what they have been given in federal funds:

> We do not have sufficient representation in the programs of the War Against Poverty. The Census will tell you how many more Puerto Ricans there are in the city but the pie has not been adequately cut. The political system has not provided for minorities. We have certainly improved in the political struggle but not in terms of getting what we need. The Puerto Rican does not vote much. The Negro is better represented. We do not control our political representation. Even if Blacks and Puerto Ricans are the poorest, they are the least educated and have a poor knowledge of the instruments by which you can get the power and services (Personal communication, Informant 27, March 6, 1975).

We can thus see that what has really gained in strength in the course of the War on Poverty, is the sense among the mass of Puerto Ricans in New York of a Puerto Rican identity.

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In the course of the 1960's, the members of an ethnic category have come to think of themselves as members of an ethnic group, alongside and against other ethnic groups in the struggle for available resources. An ethnic category "in itself" has become an ethnic group "for itself." Yet this definition of an existential identity remains closely tied to the circumstances which gave it birth. It arose in response to inputs from the particular political arena, and it remains narrowly defined in terms of that arena of competition. What, if any, are the implications of this newly-won, but narrowly phrased, identity for the larger problems of Puerto Rican identity, for the self-definition of Puerto Ricans themselves as members of a colonized society living within the orbit of a society that has colonized them? We will see these larger issues of identity developing in the context of the major ethnic event of the Puerto Rican community in New York: the annual Puerto Rican Parade.

In the next two Chapters, we shall, therefore, analyze indigenous efforts to bring together Puerto Rican organizations in the celebration of a single ethnic event, the Puerto Rican Day Parade. This will allow us to exhibit with greater clarity the mechanisms through which the forces mentioned above operate. We will then discuss the Puerto Rican leadership of 1974 in order to understand the brokerage mechanisms that have facilitated the occurrence of such a process of ethnic transformation.

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CHAPTER IV
THE SOLIDIFICATION OF A PUERTO RICAN "COMMUNITY:" CREATING ETHNIC BOUNDARIES

In Chapters II and III we discussed the process through which an ethnic category was transformed into an organized "community". We emphasized the institutional pressures of the larger society which encouraged and shaped this process. Aside from organizing around common national origin, one way of developing a community is to strengthen ethnic identity, to create a clear boundary separating one ethnic category from other, equally distinct, ethnic categories. In this Chapter, we will deal with one of the processes that contributed to the solidification of the ethnic "community": the reification of culture in the form of a Parade.

The decision to hold a Parade was initially taken by some of the leaders engaged in organizing the ethnic category, as we shall presently see. Yet, in this decision we see the borrowing of an established pattern of displaying organized activity before the American authorities, a pattern already set by other ethnic groups which had also organized annual marches in the City. The creation of a Puerto Rican Parade had little to do with the fact that Puerto Ricans came from a culturally different area and spoke a different language.

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The Parade, rather, reified culture to hasten assimilation into the mainstream.[51] Parades have served this purpose in New York City for many ethnic groups; these are seen to have collectively advanced in American society from the viewpoint of Puerto Ricans.

However, this new endeavour of Puerto Rican leadership was more than an organized manifestation of a group's existence. It is the implications of the ethnic event for the development of an ethnic identity and an ethnic "community" within American society that interest us. As the Puerto Ricans themselves recognize, the appeal of the Parade lies in its being a public statement about Puerto Ricans in New York City directed to Puerto Ricans as well as non-Puerto Ricans:

> The Puerto Rican Parade is not simply a legion of boricuas[52] strolling along Fifth Avenue. It is much more than that -- it is a historical event of undeniable transcendence, a demonstration of united strength and patriotism.... It is an honest desire to penetrate the heart of the great American people (Este es mi Puerto Rico 1971:7-8).

If, in relation to the larger society, the Puerto Rican Parade aimed at displaying the strength and unity of a newly-developed ethnic group, for Puerto Ricans themselves it served the function of disseminating an ideology of ethnic "community". No matter what the degree of participation, no matter what the

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[51] See pages 198-201 for discussion of the Puerto Rican Parade as a strategy of assimilation.

[52] Boricua is the name given to the inhabitants of the Island of Puerto Rico, Borinquén.

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political inclination of the participants, for one day, each person was, above all, a Puerto Rican, one among many more like himself. The creation and perpetuation of a community depends on solidarity. Solidary relations depend on common agreements about central issues, in spite of differences of opinion. Solidarity is expressed through ritual which expresses something held important to all.

Throughout the years, the Parade has proven to be the arena in which a bond of common identity is dramatized. The Parade has attempted to show that Puerto Ricans are related to one another in spite of their division or even apathy. Yet, this display of unity does not square with reality.[53] Whereas the ethnic bond has proved to be a unifying force among Puerto Ricans, some differences amongst Puerto Ricans are too wide to be bridged through ethnicity. We now turn to a discussion of the vicissitudes inherent in defining a Puerto Rican identity, both in relation to New York City and Puerto Rico.

Historical Antecedents of the Puerto Rican Parade

The Puerto Rican Parade was not an original idea of the Puerto Ricans themselves. It had its closest historical precedent in what was known as the Hispanic Parade.

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[53]See Chapter VI below for a discussion of Puerto Rican elites and mass.

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The Hispanic Parade was founded in 1956, as one of the events planned by the Federación de Sociedades Hispanas Inc. (Federation of Hispanic Societies). In its Annual Assembly of March 17, 1955, Mr. Salvador Sánchez, who then became treasurer of the first Parade, proposed in front of the statue of Columbus, the organization of a Hispanic Parade "to demonstrate unity, discipline and civic strength" (La Voz del Bronx, June 2, 1974;2). The original impetus, however, may have come from other sources:

> Around 1956, the exiled Spanish Professor Jesús de Galíndez reasoned that since the Spanish community in New York managed to celebrate a religious festival every year,[54] it ought not to be very difficult to organize a Parade on a grand scale that would bring together all the diverse constituents of the Spanish-speaking people in New York (La Voz del Bronx, June 2, 1974:2).

On April 15, 1956, Hispanos in New York paraded for the first time. The President of the Parade was Thomas Santana and the Grand Marshall, Antonio Méndez,[55] the latter cited in the booklet published for the occasion, as the "first Puerto Rican political leader in this city" (Hispanic Parade 1956:1).

Already at that time, there was an expressed desire to emulate the behavior of those ethnic groups who had achieved upward mobility before the Hispanics. Thus, "Sunday, April 15, we paraded for the first time in the streets of New York.

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[54]Two Fiestas de San Juan Bautista were held in New York City in 1953 and 1954. They were organized by Hispanic associations.

[55]See Chapter II for his role in the Puerto Rican Democratic Club.

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As do the Irish, the Italians. Those groups that were first immigrants too and who now govern our city" (Hispanic Parade 1956:1).

We can thus see how in New York City, as early as in the 1950's, it was widely believed by immigrant groups that in order to someday have the same status as those in power, they had to cultivate their ethnic uniqueness.

> The purpose of the Parade is to show our co-citizens of non-Hispanic origin, the strength, the organization and the maturity of the Puerto Rican and Hispanic minority. To show them that we are not second-class citizens but equals (Hispanic Parade 1956:2).

To be equal to other ethnic groups, it was necessary to emphasize cultural differences, or, in other words, create a viable ethnic group. Thus, we can see that a commonality of cultural traits (particularly traditions from the mother country, Spain, and a shared language) became the basis for organizing an ethnic group. In this respect, the Parade served the purpose of amalgamating pre-existing organizations into one larger ethnic organization. In fact, the Parade has always been viewed as an instrument that could generate organized activity among the mass of migrants.

> If we take advantage of this emotion and this passion to parade, to get more unity and understanding among ourselves, in the sense that the development of civic, cultural and political progress reach all of us, without distinction as to creed, color or national origin, then we would have won the decisive battle towards the integration with the other ethnic groups (Hispanic Parade 1956:3).

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As a demonstration of unity, April 15, 1956 was baptized Hispanic Day in New York and the event was entitled the "First Parade for Hispanic Unity". Proud of having merged different cultural traditions into one encompassing organization, the founders attempted to attract the attention of all Spanish-speakers in the City with the following statement: "Hispano, show your strength and your solidarity by marching with us in this long-to-be-remembered Hispanic Parade" (Hispanic Parade 1956:4). The call was heard; 25,000 paraded and an estimated 200,000 people watched the event. Most of the Hispanic organizations of New York City participated.

The Second Hispanic Parade was held on April, 1957. Tomás Alonso was President and Alfredo Pagán was Grand Marshall of the Parade's organization. Pagán's three assistants revealed the desire to impress the wider society, since Hispanics who were already holding positions in articulating roles were elected for office. Hispanics were José Monserrat, Director of the Migration Division of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Assemblyman Felipe Torres and Manolo Rodríguez, President of the Federación de Ligas Hispanas, or Federation of Hispanic Leagues (Ribes Tovar 1968:107).

A Hispanic unity, however, did not last long. By 1957, there must have been some conflicts between Puerto Ricans and the other Hispanics judging from an article written by Jesús de Galíndez in one of the booklets put out by the Second

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Hispanic Parade. Galíndez reiterates that the "Parade firstly has to be of all "constituent groups" and, secondly, that "it has to be disassociated with politics" (Hispanic Parade 1957:3). He states:

> The organizing committee has thought it better that this year we do not ask for absolutely anything, not even the registration of Hispanic voters or a Hispanic representation in City Hall. The only thing we want to demonstrate is strength and vitality.
> In the same vein, it was decided that no official representative of Spanish-speaking countries should be invited, lest this give rise to controversies and hence endangers the full participation of all (Hispanic Parade, 1957:3).

However, we can say that the formal injunction against politics within the context of the Parade did not in fact mean that the event was to be totally apolitical. As we shall discuss below, the fission between Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics over the organization and control of the Parade is itself to be construed as a political act. And, although a third Hispanic Parade was planned for May 3, 1958, it never took place.

The Creation of a Puerto Rican Parade[56]

The Puerto Rican Parade was founded October 22, 1957, as an offshoot of the earlier Hispanic Parade organized by the Spanish intellectual Jesús de Galíndez. In a meeting in the Almac Hotel in Manhattan, the Puerto Rican group within the Hispanic Parade decided to disassociate itself from the former.

[56]Although we will discuss here the Annual Puerto Rican Parade in New York City, similar parades are held in Newark, New Jersey and in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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One of the most prominent figures instrumental in this decision was a well-known civic leader, José (known as Chuito) Caballero, President of the Barbers' Association and of the Union of Cinematographic and Theatrical Employees, who had already been one of the key figures in the organization of the Hispanic Parade. He is now known as the "father of the Puerto Rican Parade". The other founders were prominent men in the media, especially the press, in union leadership, and in business. In addition, the Migration Division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, always provided a representative. And, all those Puerto Ricans who had achieved a position in the political structure of the City, or who were sought after by mainland politicians as intermediaries with the Puerto Rican "community", either acted as legal advisors or sought support for the newly created organization.

Caballero conceived of the Puerto Rican Parade as "the means to achieve the integral union of all Puerto Ricans so that then they could offer a hand to their brothers of stock [hermanos de raza]" (Brief History of the Puerto Rican Parade, n.d.; italics ours). It is important to note that this statement sets forth a hidden agenda with important political implications for the development of a Puerto Rican ethnic group. Since Puerto Ricans were said to be different from Hispanics, insofar as the former enter the United States

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as citizens, with more rights than immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries, they thought they could engage in a more effective struggle for their rights in the United States by disassociating themselves from other non-Puerto Rican Hispanic organizations. Further, they felt that they might better give Hispanic organizations a helping hand only once they had fully established themselves. Therefore, the primary stated aim of the organization of the new Puerto Rican event, as well as the rationale for the split with non-Puerto Rican Hispanics, was that of defending the rights of the Puerto Rican "community" in New York.

Although as we shall see below, this division apparently emerged around the legitimacy of the 1956 Hispanic Parade organizers, the issues at stake were deeper. A belief was shared by Puerto Ricans that they would be only heard by American authorities qua Puerto Ricans and not as members of a larger group of Hispancis. Thus, "Chuito Caballero soon realized that nothing of concrete benefit to the Puerto Ricans could be obtained with a Hispanic Parade" (Ribes Tovar 1968: 108). Moreover, the Parade was conceived as the organizational force behind the solidification of an ethnic group and as a means of collective upward mobility for the Puerto Rican population. The argument in favor of holding an annual Puerto Rican Parade is succinctly stated in the following:

> The Parade should not be an organization that shows elegant floats, a large number of bands and order. It should be an organization that demonstrates civic strength, which is conscious of the needs of our people. That

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> is the way the Jews organized themselves into pressure groups, that is the way the Italians, the Irish, the Greek, all showed strength at the beginning with their Parades. Today they have the power...(Informant 21: Presidential Report, 1963 Parade Campaign:2).

Two Parades were planned for 1958, the Hispanic and the Puerto Rican Parades. Although there were last-minute efforts to reach an agreement between the Puerto Rican and the Hispanic factions, the division could not be overcome because of the issues involved. Apparently, the catalyst for the split was the fact that the Hispanic Committee would not accept the term "Puerto Rican" to be included in the name of the organization. Thus, although Caballero's group proposed the name "Puerto Rican Parade of Hispanic Unity", the Hispanic group did not agree to accept this name as it seemed to them that one of their constituent groups would be dominating the event, at least in name. The Puerto Rican faction was accused of "taking over" the third Hispanic Parade; for the Puerto Rican group, a fusion of the two Parades would only be agreed on if the Hispanic group accepted the following:

1. Inclusion of the name "Puerto Rican" in the Hispanic Parade's official title.
2. The Queen of Puerto Rican Parade should be treated equal to the Queen of the Hispanic Parade.
3. The Marshall of the Parade should be a Puerto Rican.
4. Puerto Ricans should march at the head of the Parade (Ribes Tovar 1968:111).

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Another disputed issue was the legitimacy of the Committee which had organized the Second Hispanic Parade.

Although the division into two groups was publicly related to the above mentioned issues, the Hispanic and the Puerto Rican groups did not themselves differ in ethnic composition. In fact, there was a majority of Puerto Ricans in both the Hispanic and the Puerto Rican Parade organizing committees. The Hispanic Parade was composed of 223 organizations, of which 85 percent were Puerto Rican, and, of forty-two members of the Board of Directors, thirty-seven were Puerto Rican (Ribes Tovar 1968:111). Thus we can see what promoted the fission between Puerto Ricans and non-Puerto Rican Hispanics was a conscious, planned attempt to define the boundaries of an ethnic group which was to be identified with a specific name, i.e., Puerto Rican, and by a specific event, i.e., a Puerto Rican Parade. This separatist idea received political support from interested parties both in New York City and Puerto Rico.

This support, however, came only after efforts were made to prevent the split. A delegation of Mayors from Puerto Rico, representing the viewpoint of the Governor, arrived in New York in 1958 in order to promote unity among the two groups that were planning Parades. Although the delegation refused to participate in either Parade planned for that year once the fission became permanent, its desire to foster the strength

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of the Puerto Rican group soon overrode considerations for unity. Finally, the Governor of Puerto Rico lent his full support to the Puerto Rican group.

> The Executive Committee of the Puerto Rican Parade dismissed any possibility of reaching an understanding with the Hispanic Parade. This decision was decisively influenced by the assertion of Governor Muñoz Marín that the Puerto Ricans should hold their own parade (Ribes Tovar 1968:112).

Finally, the Hispanic group gave up on holding a separate Parade; not only were pressures to abstain mounting but also most of its constituent Puerto Rican organizations supported the new organization. Thus "with the apparent voluntary withdrawal from the scene of the Hispanic Parade, the way was open for the Puerto Rican Parade" (La Voz del Bronx, June 2, 1974: 2). The Hispanic withdrawal was highly praised by the Puerto Rican press, especially in the newspaper, El Imparcial.

The first Puerto Rican Parade was held on April 13, 1958. Thirty thousand people marched while an estimated twenty thousand watched. The event was called a triumph for the Puerto Rican group. "The cream of Puerto Rico was on hand along with a solid representation from other nations" (La Voz del Bronx, June 2, 1974:2). The slogan of the Parade was "For the Motherland". The Parade was financed by Mr. Luis Ferré, who later became the Governor of Puerto Rico, Víctor López, President of the Merchants' Association in New York City, and José Caballero, President of the Barbers' Association and of the Union of Theatrical Employees. The largest single sum of

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money, however, came from a dance held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel where various leaders made donations (Ribes Tovar 1968: 113).

From 1958 on, the Puerto Rican Parade was held annually. A Booklet, printed for the occasion of the Second Puerto Rican Parade, held on April 12, 1959, expresses the purpose of the Parade, but now by only making reference to the Puerto Rican population:

> God grant that this second parade may place the seal of general approval on this event, so that it may be held always, even when those who established the tradition have passed away....
> This parade is not being held for financial reasons. Its purpose is to unite all the Puerto Ricans in amity, so that they can defend their community and their common interests and move forward together toward common goals... Puerto Ricans form a large proportion of the population of this great city. So true is this that if all failed to report for work one day, it would cause an economic collapse. Nevertheless, they do not enjoy the recognition they deserve when they first arrive. This has resulted in their unification, and the Parade is their reply to such attitudes. Its main purpose is to forge the unity necessary for mutual defense (Ribes Tovar 1968: 115).

Public figures from New York and Puerto Rico attended, such as Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Judge Emilio Núñez, Magistrate Manuel A. Gómez. In addition, the Parade was attended by leaders from the press, merchants' associations, and the Democratic Party. Although the main purpose of the Puerto Rican Parade was to enhance unity among Puerto Ricans, the factionalism within the organizing group that was to later become overt, can be seen to have developed its roots from the start:

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> Any organization interested in participating in the Second Puerto Rican Parade of 1959 can do so, but political organizations or those representing any government of the Latin American republics or other countries will not be accepted. Also prohibited will be flags or standards of foreign governments and banners and placards reflecting partisan aims not connected with the purposes of the parade. No group designated by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive or undesirable may take part (Ribes Tovar 1968:116).

In the reviewing stand for the Puerto Rican Parade in 1960 were representatives of political structures of the United States and Puerto Rico, such as Governor Rockefeller of New York State, Governor Meyners of the State of New Jersey and Mr. Luis A. Ferré, later Governor of Puerto Rico. Governor Luis Muñoz Marín had promised to come from the Island to attend the Puerto Rican Parade which was, he said, a "genuinely Puerto Rican institution" (Ribes Tovar 1968:120), but was unable to come. Others to attend were New York City Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Carmine G. de Sapio and other prominent figures in the Democratic Party, and Puerto Ricans who either had started or furthered their careers as organizers of the Puerto Rican Parade. An example is Lcdo José Rodríguez Erazo who was, in 1960, the President of the Council of Organizations of Brooklyn and representative for the Parade; today he is Special Assistant to Mayor Beame.

Their very participation in the organization of the Puerto Rican Parade provided the opportunity to many Puerto Ricans to acquire a measure of prestige and power. The most presti-

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gious position in the organization is that of President.[57] This position is not only important for the organization, but it also serves as a significant step in the career of the incumbent. There is not particular stage in someone's career, however, when it is most opportune to become President of the Parade. One can achieve presidency at the start of one's career, as in the case of Informant 1, or at its climax, as in the case of Informant 20.

The pattern of promoting the careers of a few Puerto Ricans through position-holding in the organization of the Puerto Rican Parade will become established in the course of successive Parades. This pattern is replicated in many of their relationships with the wider society. Representatives of the American political structure are invited to attend the event. In fact, the success of any Puerto Rican Parade from 1960 onwards can be measured in terms of the power and prestige of the individuals representing the American political structure or seeking its support on behalf of Puerto Ricans. The general aim of the Parade is still consistent with that of its founders in 1957. In a message delivered by Lcda. Irma Vidal

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[57]Chronologically, the position of President has been filled by the following individuals: Víctor López (1958-1960), Manuel Martínez (1961-1963), Informant 21 (1964), Informant 2 (1965), Saturno Díaz (1966), Informant 14 (1967), Dámaso Emeric (1968), Informant 14 (1969), José A. Rodríguez (1970), Marcos Rivera (1971), Informant (1972), Informant 18 (1973), Informant 1 (1974) and Informant 20 (1975).

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Santaella, a Puerto Rican lawyer and President of the Board of Directors for the 1963 Parade, this aim is again stated:

> The Parade...understands it is necessary to synchronize the civic-social structure of our community to avoid that high circles of the legislature, the administration and the politics ignore our clamor for justice and avoid recognizing our community (Banquet Booklet, 1963 Parade: 2).[58]

In the same address, Vidal Santaella suggests that committees selected from among the Parade's leadership work with the above-mentioned sectors of Government as official representatives of the Puerto Rican community. She also recommends the formation of a national Council which would lead Puerto Ricans in their struggle to defend their constitutional rights.

On the day that the Parade is held each year, the Governor of New York State and the Mayor of New York City proclaim Puerto Rican Day. Puerto Ricans are officially acknowledged on that day as having made many contributions to the progress of the State and the City. Their putative distinct cultural traits are emphasized and their ethnic organizations are praised. For example,

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[58]The Banquet Booklet is financed mostly by advertisements (See Chapter V) of a commercial as well as a political nature. In 1963, there was, for example, a political ad in Spanish which read: "Adam Clayton Powell, your Congressman. Forward, always forward" (1963 Banquet Booklet:3).

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> Puerto Ricans among us, with their cheerful manners, their capacity for gaiety and their love of music.... They have shown in three major wars and in peace time full appreciation of their responsibilities as well as their privileges as citizens of the United States. In New York, they have over 250 organizations banded together in a community program to help solve problems which have gone unsolved for decades (Governor Nelson Rockefeller, 1963. Cited in Este es mi Puerto Rico 1971:6).

It is unnecessary to specify the details of each Parade held. We will therefore only highlight certain aspects of the 1964 and 1965 Parades because in them we find early manifestations of an ideological division within the Puerto Rican "community", which itself becomes expressed in the symbolism of the Parade, but whose implications surpass it.

Three themes in the Parade of June 4, 1964 can be extrapolated from secondary sources. In his opening message, President Informant 21 enunciates the first: there are enemies trying to undermine the strength and potential for action of the organization. He denounces groups and forces that work for the destruction of the Parade year after year. Although he does not indicate at first to whom he is referring, in the course of his address, he grows very bitter about some merchants "who do not fully realize that the Puerto Ricans are the ones who sponsor their businesses". His anger is directed at those merchants who did not make financial contributions as well as at some labor leaders who opposed his presidency. He also mentions that Puerto Ricans are divided in their opinion

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about what the Parade should represent. Some think problems related to the welfare of Puerto Ricans should not be involved in the Parade. His own position on the purpose of the Parade constitutes the second theme discerned in the Parade: the Parade should serve to defend Puerto Rican rights. "We, as well as others, think the opposite. A Parade that does not reflect and respond to the clamor of our demands and needs of citizenship, should not be called a Puerto Rican Parade" (Souvenir Journal 1964:4).

Thus the second theme is that the Parade has to gain strength as an instrument in the defense of Puerto Rican rights. As Armando Feliciano, president of the Board of Directors that year, said, "The Puerto Ricans strive to better themselves, no matter what the barriers that have to be overcome" (1964:3). These two themes reccur year after year. They will be described and analyzed more fully in Chapter V.

Finally, a third theme is that the better the Parade is, the more recognition Puerto Ricans will receive from the authorities.

> The Parade serves a fundamental function. This annual concentration echoes in the governmental leaders giving them the opportunity to sense in all its organizing capacity this people who only try to progress and earn respect as part of the biggest city in the world (Souvenir Journal 1964:5).

Following are a few examples of how governmental leaders formally show recognition:

1) Robert Wagner, Mayor of New York City, put forth a Procla-

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mation on May 28, 1964, declaring the Puerto Rican week. The ceremony, at City Hall, was attended by approximately 100 "community leaders".

2) Muñoz Marín, Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, commented that "the Puerto Rican Parade nobly expresses the pride to be Puerto Rican and to be citizens of the United States at the same time" (Souvenir Journal 1964:5).

3) The American media, especially television and the press, reported the event. According to Informant 21 this could only have been possible because Puerto Ricans were participating more fully in the American socio-political system:

> All that attention was not due to the mere fact that we had organized a nice Parade, full of color and marcialness. That was decidedly due to the participation by the Puerto Rican community in various activities of the City. Our people is firm in its desire to exercise rights which are denied the Puerto Rican people wherever we reside in the United States (Souvenir Journal 1964:5).

Of these three themes, the second is the one that evidences the opposition between two ideologies of ethnicity: individual assimilation versus collective change. We will return to these later.

In the 1965 Parade, we find again the seeds of two opposing forces within the Parade's organization that are to become more clearly defined year after year. While one group believes the function of the Parade is to promote collective upward mobility for the Puerto Rican population, another group feels the Parade is not being used sufficiently as a vehicle to exert pressure for change.

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As an example of the first of these two position, President Informant 11, in his opening message, lists with evident satisfaction some of the rewards Puerto Ricans have gained from the system as a direct result of the growth of the Parade.

> Through the years and as a consequence of the civic strength shown by Puerto Ricans and Hispanics along Fifth Avenue, we have won greater respect and recognition by governmental agencies of the City, State and Nation. We have also won some representation in the government of the City and State of New York (Souvenir Journal 1965:2).

He complains, however, that some of those selected for office sometimes soon forget about their community but, he says, this will happen less and less as Puerto Ricans grow stronger and forget about individualism (personalismo).[59]

In his message, Informant 11 thanked Hon. Governor of Puerto Rico, Roberto Sánchez Villella and the Executive Secretary of the Association of Mayors of Puerto Rico for their collaboration. He also thanked some of the sponsoring enterprises, such as Café Bustelo, WBNX, Miller's Beer, Ballantine Beer, Rheingold Beer, Valencia Bakery, El Diario-La Pensa, and El Banco Popular. Further, he promised to denounce in his Annual Report those merchants and industries which did not co-

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[59] He was making hidden reference to the fact that the Puerto Rican Parade functions, as we will see later, as a screening institution for the selection of Puerto Rican personnel for public office.

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operate in spite of "living off the Puerto Rican and Hispanic" (Journal 1965:2).

The opposing position within the Parade's organization is expressed by Informant 21 and his followers. Informant 21, President in 1964, and Chairman of the Board of Directors in 1965, delivered a message in which he denounced: 1) the administration and finances of the organization, and 2) the discrepancy in opinion regarding what the Parade should be, or, in other words, which issues should be presented by the Parade: "To those who think the Parade means only the sponsoring of musical bands and colorful floats have forgotten that the Parade was initiated to respond to the need for political, social, economic and cultural recognition of a hungry people."

> We are not being adequately acknowledged by the political structure of this country and hence must not forget to bring this issue forward. The National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights was born within the Parade of 1963. The Parade responded to the call for a general boycott of schools. We denounced police brutality in the case Rodríguez-Solero in 1963. If, consequently, we only thought in terms of floats and bands, we would be paying too high a price for the daily sacrifice of our people (Souvenir Journal 1965:3).

Thus, we can see that, if the split between Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics was over the emphasis upon the development of a Puerto Rican ethnic group, once the Puerto Rican Parade

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[60]The Governor of Puerto Rico called for support of the Parade to all Puerto Ricans living in New York and neighboring areas. Mayor Robert Wagner saluted the Puerto Rican community and the Mayors as well as "dignitaries" from Puerto Rico.

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was instituted to promote Puerto Rican unity, such unity did not materialize. Ideological differences divided a Puerto Rican "community"; these different ideological positions can be analyzed within the context of the Puerto Rican ethnic event.

Two Ideologies of Identity: Nationalism vs. Ethnicity

All Puerto Ricans share at least a minimal common heritage: they, or their ancestors, came from Puerto Rico, and Spanish is their mother tongue. Beyond these two common bonds, cultural differences among Puerto Ricans exist in relation to class position and ideological inclination. And it is precisely in relation to ideological convictions about a collective identity that surpasses class differences that some cultural symbols of common heritage can be reified to represent different meanings.

Until the 1950's, a Puerto Rican collective identity could barely be said to exist. We have already shown how Puerto Ricans clustered in hometown organizations (See Chapter II). Yet they identified with other Hispanics in the City, in part as a result of a Puerto Rican negative self-image:

> Puerto Ricans are said to be worthless (que no valen ná) in this country because of their lack of unity which means lack of self-protection as a group.... In New York, the terms 'Hispano' and 'Latino' have been substituted for that of 'Puerto Rican' because the latter... has become a "bad public relations" identification for New York Puerto Ricans (Padilla 1958:29 & 33).

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With the split between Puerto Rican and Hispanic groups over the parade, a Puerto Rican collective identity can be said to have emerged by the late 1950's. Yet such a collective identity by no means serves to unify the Puerto Rican population. In fact, in areas outside of common origin and language, Puerto Ricans disagree about the basis for a collective identity. This disagreement over "what it means to be Puerto Rican" can best be understood in terms of two competing ideologies of identity. We will discuss these two ideologies of Puerto Rican identity, which can be called "nationalism" and "ethnicity", through a historical analysis of the Puerto Rican Parade precisely because the latter dramatizes, as a collective experience, the meanings of such an identity to both Puerto Ricans and non-Puerto Ricans.

The Assimilationists

We have already discussed the indigenous efforts made toward strengthening ethnic identity and ethnic community by means of the staging of a Puerto Rican Parade. The Puerto Rican Parade, we argue, is itself a strategy aimed at assimilation by emphasizing ethnic distinctiveness.

The annual Puerto Rican Parade symbolizes the desire of Puerto Ricans to integrate into American society as an ethnic group. The Parade conveys a message about Puerto Ricans to the wider society which, for analytical purposes, we can break down into two parts. First, the Parade attempts to display

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an organized ethnic community to the political structure both in the United States and Puerto Rico. The presentation of an organized ethnic community implies aspirations of equality within the context of inequality. That is, the Parade conveys the idea that Puerto Ricans are an ethnic group, and as such, equal to other ethnic groups in terms of rights and aspirations. This part of the Parade's message reaffirms the ideology of cultural pluralism.

Second, the Parade has historically attempted to show the Puerto Rican population that it can aspire to higher status as Puerto Ricans in the wider society more fruitfully than as part of the more general ethnic category, Hispanic. The Parade thus is a vehicle that shows the Puerto Rican population that American society is interested in them. This is the symbolic meaning attached to the inviting of influential public figures to attend the event.[61] In other words, the Parade is a means of establishing an ethnic identity for the Puerto Rican population in New York City and showing Puerto Ricans that they are collectively achieving upward mobility within American

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[61]The effect of these public appearances on the development of individual careers is discussed in Chapter VI.

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society, in line with the historical experience of other ethnic groups in the City.

Basing their ideas on the ideology of cultural pluralism, the assimilationists propose integration into American society in economic and political terms while maintaining their Puerto Rican "culture;" i.e., links to the Island and use of the Spanish language. For them, common origin and language cannot only be continued in the United States but can also provide the organizational infrastructure from which pressure can be brought on Puerto Ricans to consolidate into an ethnic group. The relationship of the Puerto Rican "community" in the United States with the Puerto Ricans in the Island is conceptualized in the acceptance of the Commonwealth Status, and for some, even in the idea of a Statehood status. In the United States, the assimilationists participate in the political arena, at formal as well as informal levels, and attempt to incorporate the mass of unaligned Puerto Ricans into the political process.[62]

This homage to ethnicity through the Parade is seen as evidence that Puerto Ricans are on the road to complete assimilation into the American political structure.

> The growth of ethnic defense organizations and the penetration by some Puerto Ricans into the higher levels of the local party structure and municipal

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[62]See Chapter V for a discussion of the Crusade for the Vote and its relationship with the Parade and major Puerto Rican anti-poverty agencies.

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> bureaucracy is also hailed as a sign of accelerating assimilation (Bonilla 1976:446)

Bonilla, however, warns us not to confuse the upward mobility of a few with assimilation for the Puerto Rican population at large which, not only is poor, but also is culturally different from the American mainstream by virtue of its national origins.

> When people ask in what way Puerto Ricans differ from earlier immigrants, we must be ready with the true answer which is that we are a displaced offshoot of a people and a land that have yet to be liberated and whose freedom is our own (Bonilla 1976:450).

This is the theme of the nationalists.

The Nationalists

There are two types of organizations of the Left among mainland Puerto Ricans: those that arose in the United States and later extended to the Island of Puerto Rico and, conversely, those that developed in Puerto Rico and later set up chapters in the United States. Although there is a divergence in the history of these two types of organizations with respect to how the Puerto Ricans living in the United States should participate in the struggle for change, today they converge in terms of ideology, despite some differences in specific strategies for change. Therefore, we shall provide separate short historical sketches of these two types of organizations of the Left, but will discuss them together with respect to the ideology of identity of Puerto Ricans in the United States.

There are two political parties in Puerto Rico for which independence of the Island is their primary goal. These

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parties are the PIP (Partido Independentista Puerto Riqueño, or Independentist Puerto Rican Party), founded in 1946, and the PSP (Partido Socialista Puerto Riqueño, or Puerto Rican Socialist Party), an offshot of the MPI (Movimiento Pro-Independencia, or Pro-Independence Movement). Although there have been talks about the desirability of constituting a United Independentist Front out of the MPI and the PIP, these have not joined yet.

The MPI was founded in 1959 in Puerto Rico. First it was seen as a "sort of confederation of organizations" (NACLA Interview, 1972:12), but in 1962, the MPI started to organize itself along party lines. The Pro-Independence Movement or MPI was transformed into the PSP, or Puerto Rican Socialist Party in 1971. Afterwards, a declaration was issued recording the evolution of the Party and its role in the United States in 1973, and since 1971, the newspaper of the PSP-MPI has been published jointly in New York City and San Juan.[63] The point that is relevant here is the role of the PSP in defining a collective identity for Puerto Ricans in the United States.

Although the PSP advocates "independence as indispensable to guarantee the survival of the Puerto Rican nationality"

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[63]This newspaper is Claridad, a bilingual paper, which had a circulation of 15,000 in 1974. The PSP also publishes occasional pamphlets such as Nueva Lucha and Chispa.

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(NACLA Partido 1971:17), it recognizes that identity is a problem for Puerto Rican independentists residing in the United States. The PSP claims that identity for the independentists Puerto Rican in the United States must of necessity be a dual identity; on the one hand the independentist struggles for national independence of the Island while on the other, he allies himself with other national minorities in the United States in order to strengthen class consciousness. Thus,

> The objective of the Puerto Rican vanguard in the United States must be dual: to aid in the independence struggle for Puerto Rico and at the same time participate in the struggle for social change in the United States 'ethnic minorities', along with our Chicano, Black, oriental and North American Indian brothers. It is our responsibility, therefore, as part of this society, to play a decisive role in the revolutionary struggle of this country (NACLA 1972:16).

And,

> To that end, we have to develop here alliances, coalitions, and so forth that are completely different from the ones that we made in Puerto Rico (NACLA 1972:16).

And,

> We Puerto Ricans residing in the United States form part of the so-called non-white minorities.... It is here that the national question and the class struggle coincides in the case of the Puerto Rican residents of the United States (NACLA 1972:21).

But, even if a dual identity is seen to exist among Puerto Ricans in the United States who favor independence

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for the Island, the Party expects that national consciousness will take precedence over class consciousness, at least at the short-term tactical and organizational levels.

> The US section of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party understands that the situation in which the boricuas live in the United States is a direct result of the colonial exploitation of our homeland. Thus, in the struggle for the immediate redress of the grievances of the Puerto Rican residents in the United States and for revolution in the United States, the struggle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico constitutes a priority (NACLA 1972:21 ; Italics added).

A way to develop national consciousness among Puerto Ricans in New York City (as distinct from ethnic consciousness) is to oppose all reformist ethnic defense organizations, such as those we have already discussed. "We cannot permit the founding and development of Puerto Rican organizations in the communities to contribute to the development of reformism and liberal and petit-bourgeois ideas among our people" (NACLA 1972:22). The Puerto Rican Parade is considered to be of this type, at least in the meanings it now expresses, as outlined above.

> We feel the Parade does not represent the reality of our people. While the problems of poor housing, education and poor jobs or non-jobs at all beset our people, they cannot afford to join a Parade which only benefits the politiqueros who dominate the event each year (Claridad, July 23, 1972:8).

This opposition to the Parade is also felt by individuals from "assimilationist" organizations as well, who have used the PSP and YLO (Young Lords Organization) contingents in the

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Parade to protest against their own organizations. For example, in the 1972 Parade, fifty Aspira[64] students marched together with the PSP and YLO to demonstrate against Aspira which they claimed "is financed as any anti-poverty program" (Palante, July 21, 1972:5).

In addition to organizations that have arisen in Puerto Rico, there are organizations of radical Puerto Ricans which have emerged in the United States but which have developed political ties with similar organizations on the Island. We shall describe each of these in turn.

First, there is the Young Lords Party[65] which, in its original thirteen point program, stated a broad program for liberation. "We want self-determination for Puerto Ricans, liberation on the Island and inside the United States" (Palante 1970:15). In 1972, the YLP changed its name to the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization and divided into two chapters.

> One, with its primary task being the National Liberation of Puerto Rico (and working in Puerto Rico), the other having as its primary task the bringing of the multi-national proletariat into power (and working in the

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[64] See Chapter III for a discussion of Aspira.

[65] The Young Lords were originally one of the major Chicago gangs which became a political organization by organizing around the issue of police repression. The YLO founded a chapter in New York City which, in 1970, became the YLP. This organization publishes the bi-weekly Palante.

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United States) (Palante, vol 4, N. 15, July 1972:1).

Further, there are a myriad of smaller radical Puerto Rican organizations which, even if they admit to having ideological ties with similar organizations in Puerto Rico, have developed in the context of the United States. These have not attempted to develop formal ties, of even a political nature, with the Island's organizations, or to set up separate chapters there, as did the YLO.

The first of these smaller radical Puerto Rican organizations is the Movimiento Obrero, or Frente Obrero Unido, headed by the Parade's President in 1964, Informant 21. This movement has been attempting to head the Parade for several years.[66] In 1975, Parade President Informant 20 maintained that he would not permit it to participate unless its members marched "stepping over his corpse" (El Diario, Jan. 14, 1975). The Parade is, to him, a totally apolitical organization. The Frente never did march because Informant 20 started the Parade one hour earlier than announced. The Frente was replaced with a group of anti-poverty agencies, prominent among which were the PRCDP and HPMSC (See Chapter III), which carried a banner which read "The People". Thus,

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[66]This it has done, sometimes successfully, sometimes not. All other Puerto Rican Leftist organizations do march, calling the Parade a farce, but are unconcerned about assigned order.

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the issue of nationalists versus assimilationists once again was fought over with the Parade as the arena to express the ideological factionalism.

Other small radical Puerto Rican organizations are those developed by students from the Puerto Rican Studies Departments. There are political committees and clubs in each of these; and each publishes its own newspaper.[67] While originally these groups functioned independently, they unified in one organization, the Puerto Rican Student Union (PRSU), in 1968. Though the PRSU slowly stopped functioning, in 1974, it re-emerged, now as the Puerto Rican Student Union under the FUSP (Federación Universitaria Socialista Puerto Riqueña).

Finally, there is a group of organizations that were formed in order to pressure for change around specific issues, such as the HRUM (Health Revolutionary United Movement), Justicia Boricua and En La Brecha, which struggle for freedom of Puerto Rican political prisoners, Committee to defend Carlos Feliciano, ad-hoc groups formed to pressure the United Nations Committee on Colonialism, and many others.

In spite of their differences in aims and scope, all leftist Puerto Rican organizations participate jointly in

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[67] Among others, Maceta, Conciencia Estudiantil, La Voz Boricua, El Machete Rojo.

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certain activities. For example, they all sent representative delegations to the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Rally, organized by the PSP at Madison Square Garden in October, 1975. In addition, they all participate in the annual Parades. Therefore, they all can be seen to share a national consciousness, which can be understood as

> the acceptance by a group of people that they have a common history, a common set of cultural values and a common socio-political position in the world, which inevitably leads them to consider themselves as a national entity (López 1973:291).

In summary, the contrast between the two ideologies of identity is seen insofar as for the independentist groups, assimilation into American society is equal to the destruction of Puerto Rican nationality, while for the assimilationist groups, this is not so.

By emphasizing nationalism or ethnic consciousness, Puerto Ricans are exposed to two different views of their position in the American society. And, although most Puerto Ricans are ideologically non-committed to either, these ideologies represent the basic hiatus among the Puerto Rican elites.[68]

Conclusions

In this Chapter, we have dealt with the Parade as one of the processes contributing to the solidification of a Puerto

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[68] See Chapter VI.

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Rican-ethic "community" in New York City. The Parade has several functions which can thus be summarized as follows:

1. It integrates hometown clubs and all other existing Puerto Rican organizations into a larger organization.
2. If the hometown clubs were once primarily social clubs (See Chapter II), the Parade aimed to integrate and involve them politically within the context of the Parade by using resources newly created through the enactment of anti-poverty legislation (See Chapter V).
3. It is one of the channels used to emphasize and reinforce ethnic identity, both to Puerto Ricans themselves as well as to the nation.

We have also shown how the establishment of a collective ethnic identity through the Parade has been the goal of a group which we have termed the "assimilationists". There is, however, another element that works at organizing the "mass" of Puerto Ricans. This is the group we have termed the "nationalists". This group lumps Puerto Ricans in the United States with Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico, as part of one nation. It espouses national independence, not integration, and maintains that Puerto Ricans in the United States will become a national minority once Puerto Rico attains independence. So far, the argument goes, they are not since Puerto Rico is not a nation, but a colony.

The ideological divergence between the assimilationists

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and the nationalists is one factor that militates against the existence of a real Puerto Rican "community". Moreover, it can be argued that the Puerto Ricans and their leaders from the two political movements are in fact attempting to orient the mass of Puerto Ricans toward two distinct versions of identity, not a Puerto Rican "community".

It is said that the Puerto Rican Parade is the major event of the Puerto Rican "community". But, who are its organizers? Who funds the participant organizations? What kinds of ties articulate its "leaders" with the nation's socio-political structure? An analysis of the political economy of the 1974 Parade, in Chapter V, will reveal the fact that the Puerto Rican "community" might well be an artificial construct of the wider society and not at all an indigenous movement stressing common cultural bonds. Finally, the existence of a series of separate political groups in lieu of a single community will be demonstrated in Chapter VI.

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CHAPTER V

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF AN ETHNIC EVENT: THE 1974 PARADE INTRODUCTION

In Chapter IV we described the historical development of the Puerto Rican Parade, and the ideologies associated with it, particularly assimilationism and nationalism. In this Chapter, we present an ethnographic account of the Parade held in 1974.

It is necessary to describe the ethnic event itself as we observed it on June 2, 1974, before we go on to analyze it. Our analysis involves a discussion of three aspects of the ethnic event, each dealt with in a separate section for the purpose of clarity. The first analytic section, following the ethnographic description of the event, then, deals with the structure of the Parade's organization. In the second we discuss the funding of the constituent groups which participate in the Parade. Taken together, these first two sections analyze the Parade from an economic dimension.

In the third analytic section, we discuss the political role of the Parade in the wider socio-political system. It will be argued that the Parade acts as a "broker" institution which articulates the Puerto Rican "community"

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with the socio-political structure both in Puerto Rico and New York, Further, for publically acknowledged leaders, the Parade is a vital political resource that can be manipulated to advance their personal careers through active participation in ethnic organizations. This last section, then, highlights the political implications of the Parade: it is a means by which ethnic identity can be used as a resource in urban America.

Section I

The 1974 Puerto Rican Parade

We watched the Puerto Rican Parade on June 2, 1974. Though it was a rainy day, thousands of spectators lined up along Fifth Avenue waiting with visible emotion for the Parade to begin. There were some groups of youngsters, but most were families with a number of small children. Few carried umbrellas, which would probably have prevented them from seeing the Parade. Small children and babies were not seated in strollers -- these would take up too much space -- but instead were carried on top of their parents' shoulders. Older children were encouraged to sit on the curb, although that lay beyond the wooden police barriers which, from time to time, prompted the police to force them to leave. Youngsters also climed on trees or lamp posts to get a better view.

We were positioned between East 79th and East 81st Streets because the "Small Palace" (the Palacete), where

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the guests of honor were located, was on East 65th Street and it was too crowded there. Soon we closed our umbrella since the rain began to fall only intermittantly. We also sat near the older children; it was certainly the best place to watch. We were, therefore, subject to the same periodic evictions.

During the Parade, we took notes not only on the participants but also on the spectators' reactions to the event. People cheered for the group they supported as it marched by. Whatever the support might have been, the spectators always showed emotion and pride as they watched the Puerto Ricans parade up Fifth Avenue. Someone wrote to a friend: "How joyous it felt to partake in the enthusiasm engendered at that Parade. The feeling of being a second-class citizen throughout the year was lost that Sunday in the ecstasy and wild abandonment demonstrated along Fifth Avenue" (personal letter: 1974).

Fifth Avenue itself is valued as a symbol of group upward mobility because of the tradition of parades established in New York by other ethnic groups, particularly the Irish. There were constant cheers expressing this ethnic pride, and unifying people despite their different ideological affiliations (See Chapter IV). Que viva Puerto Rico (Long live Puerto Rico) was the cheer we recorded most often, although this might be qualified at times, especially in the form of Que viva Puerto Rico libre (Long live free

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Puerto Rico). The proliferation of organizations taking part in the Parade also symbolizes, contrary to historical fact (See Chapters II and III), Puerto Ricans' collective upward social mobility.

The importance of the Parade for the socialization of children as well as adults into their ethnic identity was also evident. Young mothers would hold their babies high in the air to show them the Parade and then kiss them repeatedly. Whether they later chose to identify themselves as "Neorican,"[69] American or Puerto Rican, they are first and foremost considered Puertorriqueños by their parents. Thus, mobilization into a Puerto Rican ethnic group is reinforced by the symbolic call of the Parade.

In Central Park and along the sidewalks, a myriad of ambulatory salesmen--most of them unlicensed--sold cuchifritos,[70] Puerto Rican fruit drinks and ice cream, in addition to Puerto Rican and American flags. There was also an abundance of photographers. People had to be moved back onto the sidewalks, because, in their eagerness to see the first parade groups, they had pushed into the center of the street. Unwillingly, they complied with the requests of the policemen to move back.

At the head of the Parade were police cars. The presence of these cars in the front of the Parade has been

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[69]This is a term used to denote American born but of Puerto Rican parents.

[70]A Puerto Rican fried pastry.

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repeatedly contested by the "leftist" factions in the Parade on the grounds that police represent an oppressive establishment and hence, symbolize the oppression of Puerto Ricans. Since 1966, the "rightists" or assimilationist coalition has retained control over the institution of the Parade; the police have continued to open the Parade, maintaining that they serve to keep order. Yet, when the Parade's present leadership appeals to the police for order, it hints of its fear that the leftist faction might take over the Parade by not adhering to the time allotted to each organization as the march proceeds down the Avenue. The Hispanic Societies, now relegated to a secondary role in the organization of the Parade, also approved of the police opening the Parade. Informant 2, who was in 1974 the General Coordinator of the Parade, received the following telegram from them: "The Great Council of Hispanic Societies in Public Service, Inc., and its members wish to express our thankfulness for keeping up your promise that the uniformed police corps of the City of New York will head the Parade and will be followed by us. We are 14 organizations" (Telegram, May 16, 1974). Yet, although part of the "promise" was kept, the Hispanic Societies were not second in their turn to march.

Instead, the "leftist" factions were second. This related to an issue that had been repeatedly discussed by contending factions in the Parade's organizing committees:

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should the groups espousing a leftist ideology march or not and what should be their number in the sequence of marching organizations. The idea to deny their marching was dismissed on the grounds that all organizations willing to participate in the Parade should be allowed to do so. While some of the "leftist" groups did succeed, contrary to their wishes, in getting what they wanted, i.e., to march in front, the police were not asked to leave.

The first contingent following the police, then was the Frente de obreros puertorriqueños (Puerto Rican Workers' Front); no floats, bands or queens were displayed.[71] Only people, mostly youngsters, marched with serious faces. Some of the slogans printed on huge banners and chanted included: Obreros unidos, jamás serán vencidos (If workers unite, they will never be defeated), El poder obrero triunfará (the power of the workers will triumph, Todavía los puertorriqueños no trabajan en la construcción (Puerto Ricans are still not allowed to work in construction).

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[71] It should be noted that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party later critized the Frente's opening the Parade (See Claridad 6/4/74 and López 1973 for an earlier occurrence of this same disagreement between leftist groups on the marching order in the Parade). López argued that "A Puerto Rican march and the control of that march are only symbols of the political forces which are contending in the Puerto Rican's life. The thing itself is not concrete enough for people to fight about. A school, a hospital, a welfare center are there. They are obvious. It is easy to make the connection between the absence of this month's check and the center from which it should be coming. It is much, much more difficult to make the tie-in between a march and the oppression of Puerto Rican" (1973:349).

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This last statement reiterated the charges of discrimination voiced by Black and Puerto Ricans against the Construction Workers' Union which had control over the expanding City College building program. Another slogan chanted was Que viva Puerto Rico libre y socialista (Long live Puerto Rico, free and socialist); to this some spectators raised fists and responded, Que viva! A hammer and sickle were painted on many of the banners, leaving no doubt in the spectators' minds as to the ideological affiliation of the marchers. The group was headed by Informant 21, thus confirming the viewers' classification of the paraders, since everybody knew Informant 21, not only because he sided with the Independentists, but especially because he has for so long and in so many ways been a leader who represented Puerto Ricans to the mainstream society.[72]

The Puerto Rican Workers' Front was followed by workers representing various trade organizations, such as the Coalition of Construction Workers and the Association of Agricultural Workers (Asociación de trabajadores agrícolas). The marchers were all youngsters and paraded with their fists in the air. Some carried the nationalist Puerto Rican flag. Other banners and slogans chanted were: La mujer puertorriqueña es doblemente oprimida (the Puerto Rican woman is doubly oppressed), a long-standing theme of

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[72] A detailed description and discussion of his career and activities is given in Chapter VI.

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the Young Lords Party, Al poder obrero nadie lo detendrá (Nobody will stop working class power), Abajo con el explotador (Down with the exploiter), and Free political prisoners (this one in English).

Closing this section on the march, as they had opened it, were groups of mounted policemen carrying flags, both of the United States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The reaction of the spectators to the passing of the previous contingent had not been very enthusiastic. When the police paraded with banners reading "Police Force," however, quite a few people clapped. It is perhaps noteworthy that there have been many openings for Puerto Ricans in the Police Force.

Preceded by a musical band, there now came paraders carrying banners which said, "Desfile Puertorriqueño saluda a la communidad 1974 (The Puerto Rican Parade salutes the community 1974), The Committee for the Puerto Rican Parade, Founded 1958, New York City." It will be recalled that Puerto Ricans decided to branch off from Hispanics in general because they felt that as American citizens they should head all other Spanish-speaking groups.[73] There were advantages for the Puerto Ricans in functioning separately (See Chapter IV). Yet they did not turn their backs completely on the other Hispanics.

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[73]See Chapter IV for a historical account of the split between Puerto Ricans and Hispanics.

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It was thus significant that after the Organizing Committee for the Parade officially opened the Parade, a number of Hispanic associations followed. One should be aware, in this context that the order in which organizations were to march was decided months in advance by the Organizing Committee. There thus followed behind the Organizing Committee Council, the Great Council, Hispanic Societies in Public Services Inc., and its constituent Hispanic groups (including the Puerto Ricans) employed by American institutions. These included the Walking Police, Fire Department New York City, East Harlem Model Cities, Fire Cadets (parading with a firechief's car), American Red Cross, Transit Police Department, Department of Correction and Housing Authority Police, City of New York Inc. 1963.

What we observed that day can be summed up by a quote from an article in the New York Times which depicted the event:

> A coalition of Labor Groups --gypsy cab drivers, migrant farm workers, hospital employees-- was allowed to march at the head of the procession. Two years ago there was a confrontation with Parade officials who denied a similar attempt. For the most part, though, the marchers were contingents from City Agencies --policemen, firemen, Off-Track Betting Corporation employees-- and social clubs" (New York Times,June 3, 1974:34).

These organizations were largely "assimilationist" groups.

What follows is an annotated listing of the organizations and individuals who marched sequentially in the Parade following the Great Council of Hispanic Societies

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in Public Services.

Without any apparent significance to the order in which they marched, we observed the following participants in the Parade: The National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights (founded in 1964), a contingent from Fajardo Social Services, the Sociedad Maricaeña (founded in 1962) which drove a car carrying senior citizen representatives, Auxiliary Police (carrying banners with the slogan, Unase a la policía auxiliar--Join the Auxiliary Police), representatives of Manhattan and Bronx Surface Transit, and the Hispanic Societies of the Metropolitan Transit Authority. Following these marched a group whose banner said La comunidad del Sur del Bronx saluda a los alcaldes de Puerto Rico (the community of the South Bronx greets the Mayors of Puerto Rico).

Then came a contingent of representatives of programs from a South Bronx organization (the Hunts Point Multi-Service Corporation).[74] In Chapter VI, the career of the head or "cacique," (Informant 20) of this South Bronx organization, will be analyzed. The Hunts Point Multi-Service Corporation was thus represented, first by baton twirlers, and then by Informant 20, who greeted the crowd from a car. A banner on the car read "Informant 20, Ccuncilman for District 11." The following constituent

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[74]See Chapter III.

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groups of the Hunts Point Multi-Service Corporation marched then in order: The Hunts Point Parent-Child Center, The Mental Health Union, Methadone Unit, Family Planning Unit, Health Education Unit, and the Rodent Control Unit. Again, baton twirlers marked the presence of the South Bronx contingent marching behind its participants.

The next set of paraders consisted of the Batuteras PRCDP (Puerto Rican Community Development Project), the Hispanic Societies of Con Edison Employees, and the Hispanic Societies of OTB (Off-Track Betting Corporation). The actor, Cantinflas, then paraded down Fifth Avenue, dancing, to the laughter and applause of the onlookers.

Following the above mentioned paraders, representative "assimilationist" and "nationalist" groups again made their appearance. This time, the "nationalist" group was the PSP-MPI (Puerto Rican Socialist Party - Movement Pro-Independence) a Socialist organization whose banner's slogans were Boricua, defiende lo tuyo (Boricua--native Puerto Rican--defend what is yours), Cuando un pueblo vá pa'lante, no hay imperio que lo aguante (when a people moves forward, no empire can resist it), Comerciantes, capitalistas, te tenemos en la lista (shope owners and capitalists, we have you on our list), El patriota está en prisión, el gobierno está en ladrón (Patriots are in prison, while government is the thief), Caseros, cuidado con el obrero (Landlords, beware of the workers), Despierta

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Boricua, defiende lo tuyo (Awake, boricua, defend what is yours),[75] Como boricua y como trabajador, nuestro pueblo es luchador (As boricua and hard worker, our people struggles), Unanse, unanse (Unite, unite), Solidaridad América Latina (Solidarity with Latin America), Contra los racistas, aquí estamos los comunistas (Against racists, here we Communists stand), Como en Cuba, los boricuas vencerán (Like Cuba, the Boricuas will overcome), and Abajo la junta, arriba los chilenos (Down with the junta, up with the Chileans). This last statement received many cheering whistles from the crowd. Many of the banners were also received by the crowd with whistles, sometimes positive, other times negative; but the most prevalent response in the crowd was puzzlement. The Socialists also chanted Desfile un día, pobreza todos los días (Parade one day, poverty every day), and distributed a pamphlet, a special edition of Chispa, the organization's publication.

The Socialists (PSP-MPI) were followed by three floats, each representing something different. First came the float, accompanied by a band, representing Realidades. This is a television program on Channel 13 (WNET) for Puerto Ricans, whose director was an early founder of the Young Lords. The float's banner said Realidades presenta Ismael Santiago. A second float carried the Queen of the Puerto Rican Parade,

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[75]This is a slogan used by ideologically diverse Puerto Rican groups. For example, the columnists Luisa Quintero concludes many of her "Marginalia" sections in El Diario with this slogan.

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Gladys I (Reina Desfile Puertorriqueño). A third float representing American Airlines displayed on its banner, the words Estamos orgullosos de servir a la comunidad puertorriqueña (We are proud to serve the Puerto Rican community). These floats were followed by Herman Badillo and a group of his supporters. Their banner read Saludos de Herman Badillo, Primer Congresista Puertorriqueño (Greetings from Herman Badillo, First Puerto Rican Congressman). The crowd applauded.

Another float followed with banners proclaiming Eastern, las alas del hombre, rinde homenaje a Don Pedro Flores, (Eastern, the wings of man, honors Don Pedro Flores). Again, people clapped. Representatives of two clubs then proceeded. First came the Club Naguabo whose banner read Fraternidad hijos de Naguabo; Float Naguabo enchumbao.

Club Social Cayeyano (founded in 1974 in the Bronx) followed. Its banner read Bienvenido alcalde Johny Toledo (Welcome Mayor) and Ciudad de las brumas (City of Fog). The mayor of Cayey road in a car accompanied by a float with ceramic bulls representing the folk art of the Puerto Rican city.

Proceeding after the social clubs were the A & P with a float donated to the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, and the OUB (Organizaciones Unidas del Bronx--United Bronx Organizations), accompanied by baton twirlers.

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Another float, with the words "Courtesy Don Passante Ass., Castro Blanco, Piscioneri Feder" followed along. It is worth mentioning here that this name represents the major supplier of Island food products to Puerto Rican and Hispanic merchants.

This was followed by the School Band of Cabo Rojo, the hometown of the President of the Parade. The band played Que Bonita es la bandera puertorriqueña. Then Club Caborrojeños, from Cabo Rojo, followed with a float whose banner read Saludos de Boquerón (Villa Tama de de Boquerón). This was followed by Cofresí Cycles, a float representing Carolina Rice in Community Health and Sports, Alianza cívica tropical, La Rosa del Monte Express (a moving company operating in Puerto Rico, Miami and the Dominican Republic), El Frente Car Service, a float representing Shaeffer Beer whose banner read Saluda a la comunidad puertorriqueña, Hijos de Salinas (another hometown club) with twirlers and a musical band, the Police Athletic League, the Rivera-Leyo Ramírez softball team, the Humacao hometown club, which was accompanied by a musical band, float and baton twirlers, and representatives from Joe's Lunch.

The Hunts Point Neighborhood Service and representatives from two hometown clubs (Sociedad Hijos de Ponce and Sociedad Hijos de San Lorenzo) followed. Then came a float whose banner read "Segarra for Congress--Democrat." Segarra is

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from Brooklyn, a borough where, in spite of the large Puerto Rican population, Puerto Rican leadership is still weak. The Asociación Cultural Jalda Arriba founded and presided by Informant 2 followed.

The baton-twirlers from El Barrio (Spanish Harlem) and the School Band "Juana Díaz" (brought from Puerto Rico) were followed by a float representing the Cruzada Cívica del Voto (Civic Crusade for the vote) and carried Informant 20, the organizer and President of this drive to register Puerto Rican voters before primaries.

Representatives of four hometown clubs proceeded. First came the Asociación Maunabeña, Inc., founded in 1960, accompanied by baton twirlers and a banner reading Batuteras Jueyeras Y su banda, Maunabo Asociación Ponceña, Asociación de Fajardo and Cariduros, this one accompanied by its Mayor in New York, Informant 15. The Tea-Ladies auxiliaries were followed by a conglomerate of contingents representing several offices of the Postal Service and Lincoln Hospital, founded in 1893, in the Bronx. Several hometown clubs proceeded. First came the Organización Hijos de Pumba Santiago, with a float whose banner read Les Saludan (We greet you). Then came a contingent representing Villa Carolina, with baton twirlers las Reinitas (the little queens) and a float which read Asamblea Municipal de Carolina. This group was followed by Club Guaynabo, with baton twirlers Perlas del Caribe

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and Club Hijos de Canovas.

The Comité Pro Artistas del Ayer (Committee for Yesterdays Artists) was followed by four civic associations: the Sociedad Cívica San Germeños Ausentes, the Mayor of whom was with them; Caguas Criollos Inc.; Du-Dats Civic Association and Las Piedras Municipio. Next to follow was: A musical band representing Knickerbocker Beer, Gowanes Youth, a school by the name of Puerto Rican Power, the Boy Scouts, St. Austin Drum Corps, Rosita Meats and a hometown club--Hijos del Dorado--, with a band and baton twirlers.

The Council of Puerto Rican and Hispanic Organizations of the Lower East Side was followed by people holding a banner saying "Farm Workers: boycott grapes and Gallo Wines", by the Harmony Drum Corps and by the Sociedad Aguadillanos Unidos (United Sons of Aguadilla). This club brought its Mayor, baton twirlers and a float whose banner read "Concilio de Organizaciones Aguadillanas" (Council of Aguadilla Organizations). The Coliseo Juvenil and unidentified motor cycles were followed, finally, by three clubs: Quebradillas, Heraldo Social Club and Organizaciones Bayamonesas (Bayamón Organizations).

The following will include several analytical aspects of this event. We turn first to the nature and function of the organization patronizing this event--the Puerto Rican Day Parade, Inc.

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Section II

The Parade as an Organization

In the following we will discuss first, the structure of the Parade, and then we will focus on the various events planned in 1974 by the Parade Committee, including the Banquet held in honor of the Parade.

Structure of the Parade

Every organization that participated in the Parade must have submitted an application before March 15, 1974 that stated "Our organization requests permission to participate in the Puerto Rican Parade, Inc. We are prepared to observe the rules of the Puerto Rican Parade and obey the decisions made by the Board of Directors, the Executive Committee and the General Assemblies of the Parade" (Solicitud de Participación - Application for Participation - ; undated m.s.).

Each organization that applied for participation was required to submit a specific theme, illustrating the music, culture, history, or art of Puerto Rico, or problems of Puerto Ricans in New York; this theme must be presented in a positive way, showing admiration for the Puerto Rican people and culture. One of the rules of the Parade was that each participating organization must stay in marching position as assigned to it by the Parade

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Committee. The organizations were also requested to state the number of participants in the delegation and whether they intended to display a float, typical costumes, musical bands, or musical ensembles.

All applications were subject to review by the Parade Committee. Four hundred applications were accepted. The organizations accepted were theoretically in charge of electing the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors for the Parade. The fact that the Parade was composed of four hundred Hispanic organizations in the city, "is in itself representative of the massive participation of the community in the Parade" (Informant 1, letter to Commercial Enterprises, April 22, 1974). Yet, as we demonstrate in Chapters V and VI, the participation in the Parade of so many organizations is more a means by which ethnic leaders can mobilize supporters in pursuit of their career goals than it is for the majority of Puerto Ricans, virtually completely passive in politics, to express themselves. The Parade fulfills the role of socializing Puerto Ricans as members of an ethnic group; it is not a demonstration of massive involvement and strong grass-roots leadership.

The Committee for the Puerto Rican Parade is composed of an Executive Committee, Members at Large, Discipline Officers and a Board of Directors. The Executive Committee is comprised of the following positions:

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President, Vice-President, General Coordinator, Sub-Coordinator, Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, Secretary of Correspondence, Secretary of Recording, a Secretary for each of the five boroughs in New York City, a Public Relations Officer and an Executive Secretary. There are twelve Members-at-Large and six Discipline Officers. The Board of Directors has fifteen members. The President of the Parade meets monthly with the Board of Directors, biweekly with the Executive Committee and biweekly with the Presidents of the Organizing Committees in charge of specific aspects of the event.[76] The purpose of the meetings is to report on the work in progress so that the Board can vote on new ideas and projects. The Executive Committee is in charge of implementing the decisions made by the Board of Directors. Discipline Officers are expected to maintain order and enforce rules during the actual parading. It is not clear what the function of the Members-at-Large is. Perhaps they serve as extra hands to help out when the workload is heavy, especially when the date for the Parade is near. It must be noted that all members of the Puerto Rican Parade Committee participate in a volunteer capacity, holding full-time paid positions elsewhere (See Chapter VI).

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[76] The following Organizing Committees were recorded for 1974: Banquet, Marathon, Queen Election (Reinado), Receiving (Recibimiento), Ladies, Education, Political Counseling, Protocol (Protocolo), Workers, Annual Report, Festivities, History, Culture, Economic Development, Youth Order of March, Rules (Reglamento) and Planning.

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The participating organizations are also informed that there is an office for the Parade, open Monday to Friday, 6:00-9:00 P.M., and that there is a person in charge of "servicing the citizens on general problems (Programa de Trabajo para la celebración del Desfile Puertorriqueño de 1974, 1974:1). However, although some of the letterheads show the address of a rented office,[77] the actual offices of the Parade, or, at least where most of the business is handled, have been located at the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. The President of the Parade during 1974, Informant 1, was simultaneously Deputy Director of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. The change of the Parade office's address was made only after attacks by unsuccessful candidates for the position of President. Later, we will discuss the campaign for the position of President, which illuminates the power struggle over attaining key positions in the organization as well as the gradual cooptation of the event's leadership by the Puerto Rican Community Development Project.

The position next in importance to that of the President is that of General Coordinator. In fourteen

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[77] During campaigning for the 1974 Parade elections, the address given for the Committee for the Puerto Rican Parade Inc. was the same as for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project (210 West 50th Street). As a result of strong pressure to disassociate the Parade from the Puerto Rican Community Development Project voiced by some "leaders" against the winning faction, the communiques gave a different address for the Committee. This address was 1674 Broadway, Office 301.

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Parades that have been celebrated, a number of presidents had previously been General Coordinators. The General Coordinator must submit an "Application for Parade Permit" to the Police Department.[78] The General Coordinator is in charge of overseeing the organization of the Parade. In his first meeting with his staff he recommended: that the Parade participants be cleaner and not throw commercial products from floats, that there should not be so many policemen, and that the first organization to march should be that of the President (Pro-Formación Desfile Puertorriqueño (Order of March Puerto Rican Parade 1974:2). It is to be noted that none of these recommendations were acted upon in 1974.

The Treasurer is in charge of the finances of the organization. At the end of the administrative year for the institution, the Treasurer presents a financial report. In 1974, the total amount of expenses incurred was $47,706.90, while the Parade's income was $47,237.62.[79,80]

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[78]The 1975 application contained the following information: Committee for the Puerto Rican Parade Inc., Civic, social, cultural organization, Incorporated in New York State on 1957, Total membership: 2,000, Total Participants in the event: 500,000, Purpose of the Parade: to show the unity and the strength of Puerto Ricans in New York, Grand Marshall or chief: xx, Meetings to be held with the Board of Directors and Police Department, Participants expected: 50,000.

[79]The Treasurer for the 1973 Parade informed us that the 1974 Parade's figures were fictitious.

[80]It was not easy to obtain information on the Parade's finances. The 1974 Treasurer, as well as other

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The Parade's Committees: Activities and Events

The celebration of the Puerto Rican Parade on June 2, 1974, was the largest of a number of celebrations held during Puerto Rican Week, May 30-June 2, 1974. We will now describe the activities and events planned and implemented by the Special Committees within the Parade's organizational structure.[81] We will discuss separately the events organized by the Puerto Rican Parade for the Island.

The Reception Committee

This Committee, whose leadership included a committee president, the Parade President, and the Director of Public Relations of the Parade, was the committee with ultimate responsibility for the programming of activities during Puerto Rican Week. Puerto Rican Week was proclaimed by both the Governor of the State of New York, Malcom Wilson, and the Mayor of the City of New York, Abraham Beame, who "for the first time opened the doors of City Hall to allow Puerto Ricans to participate in the reception where the

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holders of key positions in the Parade, kept putting off the occasion to provide us with data related to the Official Financial Report. Finally, in 1975, the President of the previous year's Parade allowed us once to browse through his files, where we found the information printed here.

[81]See p. 229 for a complete list of the organizing Committees of the 1974 Puerto Rican Parade.

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appropriate proclamation was issued" (Parade President, Annual Report 1974:3).

As planned by the Reception Committee, May 30 was devoted to the reception of delegations from Puerto Rico and the attendance at the Proclamation of Puerto Rican Week at City Hall. On May 31, the activities planned consisted of various cocktail parties honoring the Mayors from Puerto Rico sponsored by several Puerto Rican organizations, and the Annual Banquet (See p. 238 below). On June 1, there was a reception for the Committee for the Parade, the Mayors and "Personalities specially invited" (Annual Report 1974:3) from Puerto Rico by Informant 20, President of the Hunts Point Multi-Service Corporation in the Bronx. In the afternoon, there was a band concert of music by the composer Don Pedro Flores, Great Marshall of the 1974 Parade, held at Lincoln Center. The participating bands were offered trophies donated by Schaeffer Brewery. June 2 was the day devoted to the Parade itself. Before the event, there was a breakfast in honor of the Parade organized by the Migration Division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.[82]

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[82] Rafael Torregrosa, Director, had sent the President of the Parade, the following telegram "On behalf of the Secretary of State, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and on my own you are cordially invited to a breakfast honoring the visiting delegation from Puerto Rico for the Puerto Rican Parade to be held on next Sunday, June 2, at 10 A.M. in the Windsor Room of the Hotel Commodore in Manhattan" on May 30, 1974 (Torregrosa Telegram, May 30, 1974).

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The Planning Committee

One of the tasks of this Committee, aside from events connected with the celebration of the Parade on June 2, was to work towards the creation of the Casa del Desfile. In the Annual Report, the Parade's President mentioned that he had gone with the Chairman of the Planning Committee on various occasions to talk to Informant 22, Special Assistant to the Mayor at City Hall. The creation of a Casa would enhance the prestige, independence, and legitimacy of the Parade organization as it would signify the Parade's disassociation from the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, an Anti-Poverty agency. The President reported that he and the Chairman had asked Informant 22 to cooperate in finding a physical location for the Casa. Informant 22 seemed to have been eager to collaborate, as long as the Parade managed to raise a sum of money large enough to rehabilitate any building offered by the City. Among other sites, the President reported, they visited one suitable building but since as much as $75,000 were needed for repairs the project had to be abandoned.

The Committee for the Queen

This committee is responsible for everything related to the selection of a Parade Queen. It follows a formal set of rules for the contest. Part of the procedure for

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selecting a queen involves activities that expose the candidates to the public, and, very importantly, attract a sponsor to finance the contest.

Long before the contest, letters are sent to companies requesting their sponsorship in exchange for promotion of their products to the Puerto Rican and Hispanic population through the Parade.[83,84]

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[83]An example is the following letter "Gentlemen: Time is very short before the 16th Annual Puerto Rican Parade on Fifth Avenue. The contest for the crowning of the Queen of the Puerto Rican Parade is scheduled for May 18. We would feel very proud to have Clairol as the sponsors of the Annual Beauty Contest for Miss Puerto Rico of New York City. It is our intention that as a result of your sponsorship, we would work very closely with your Public Relations and Advertising Department to see that the contest, as well as Clairol, would be properly promoted throughout the Spanish Community. An early meeting with amember of your firm to discuss all necessary details would be most appreciated. We look forward to your prompt reply. President of the Parade, Chairman of the Beauty Contest." (Committee for the Parade's letter to Clairol, Inc., February 14, 1974).

[84]Another version of request for funds for the coronation is the following: "The Committee for the Puerto Rican Day Parade is holding their Annual Proclamation and Coronation on Saturday, May 18, 1974 at the Statler Hilton Hotel. As you are aware, the Queen is the symbol of the Puerto Rican Beauty in New York and opens the Parade with a host of beautiful girls. We are asking for your consideration that your company which for many years has been helping the Puerto Rican Day Parade, sponsor this event. The cost of the activities run to approximately $3,000, which will be spent as follows: 1) Rental of the Statler Hilton: $1,000 2) Bands and orchestra: $500 3) $500 for the Queen 4)$500 for the runner up 5) A round trip to Puerto Rico for the Queen and a guest and 6) Miscellaneous expenses, which run into approximately $500 that will be broken into different categories such as robe, flowers, crown and trophies. The Company will be the sole sponsors of this activity and will receive all the publicity through

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A dance was organized to select and proclaim the Queen of 1974 and two runner-up Princesses in the Statler Hilton Hotel, on May 18. Miss Gladys Santiago was the winner; she was the contestant given the most votes for beauty. For the first time, the Queen received a prize of $500. The Princesses received $200 and $100 respectively. Such prizes were donated by Don Passante Associates, the major Hispanic advertising company, on behalf of Pepsi Cola.

Not only was an adult queen of the Parade elected, but there were also special activities geared toward choosing a child queen. Girls between four and ten years of age entered a contest and the queen was selected by special parent committees.

The Committee for the Marathon

The function of this Committee was to organize a Marathon, an event carried out in order to raise funds to pay for the musical bands participating in the Parade.

The President of the Committee for the Puerto Rican Parade Marathon was in charge of renting the Manhattan Center, installing telephones, enlisting unpaid artists, coordinating volunteers who would work on raising funds

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the newspapers, radio and television. I would like to hear from you as soon as possible. If you have any other questions, please do not hesitate to call me to discuss the matter. Parade President" (Parade President, Letter to Commercial Enterprises, April 1974).

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during the event, and writing letters to merchants to request their financial support. He was responsible, together with the Director of Public Relations, for all advertisements of the Parade. The duration of the event depended on the number of artists who offered to perform for the organization. The Bank in charge of collecting donations was Bankers Trust. It provided the personnel to work with the Treasurer of the Parade, who was the only one responsible for the financial resources of the organization.

The Marathon was held on May 5, 1974 in the Manhattan Center. According to the Annual Report released by Informant 1, it was not an economic success but an artistic one:

> Great artists participated coordinated by the singer from Juana Díaz, Yayo 'El Indio' and Tito Puente--orchestra director--and presided by the journalist from Yauco, Ramón Plazza. The festival was dedicated to Don Pedro Flores, the Puerto Rican composer. It was given wide coverage on radio and T.V. (Parade President, Annual Report 1974:4)

The Comité de Festejos (Festivities Committee)

This Committee organized a dance festival, an event sponsored by the United-American Bank. The other events sponsored by the Committee were minor in scope and involved mostly neighborhood participants. These were block parties held in areas with a percentage of Puerto Ricans; donations to the Parade were requested.

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The Committee for the Banquet

The function of this organizing Committee was mainly to work for both the economic success of the Parade, through fund raising, as well as its political success by gathering together Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican leaders for a banquet held on May 31 in the Roosevelt Hotel. The Banquet was, thus, an event that both validated and reinforced the existence of an ethnic "community."

The Chairman of the Banquet Committee was the President of the Puerto Rican Parade for 1973. The Committee's Honorary Chairman included most Puerto Rican elected politicians and civil service officials. Invited to the Banquet were most of the Puerto Rican "civic" and "community" leaders (See Chapter VI) from New York City, most of the Mayors from Puerto Rico, the President of Puerto Rico's Senate, Juan Cancel Ríos, and the President of Puerto Rico's House of Representatives, Ernesto Ramos Jordán. The main speaker for the Banquest was the Mayor of Miami, Maurice Ferré, himself a Puerto Rican. In all there were over four hundred people at the Banquet. Puerto Rico's Governor Hernandez Colón did not come as expected. He had announced that he could not fit the Banquet into his schedule since it conflicted with an event in honor of an actor on the Island. Mayor Beame

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also wrote that he could not attend the Banquet but promised to attend the Parade (Beame, Letter to 1974 Parade President, May 1, 1974). Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz was also invited by he could not attend; the reason was that "that evening I will be speaking at the United States Military Academy at West Point but I will attend the Parade on June 2" (Lefkowitz, letter to 1974 Parade President, May 16, 1974).

The Banquet[85]

There was a great deal of noise and disorder as the guests presented their entrance tickets to enter the Banquet Hall, and went to obtain cocktails before dinner. Everybody was dressed up for the occasion, the women with formal gowns and elaborate hair styles. "Spanglish" and Spanish were spoken, except by the few native Americans present. At the entrance were copies of La Voz del Bronx (Voice of the Bronx), a small publication which represents the interests of the Bronx leadership. This paper had issued a special report to introduce the uninformed to the meaning of the Parade. The waiters and attendants distributed a souvenir program which will be described later (See p. 243). There were buttons to be picked up. The Ladies' Committee offered red and white flowers to the

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[85]We were invited to attend the event by Informant 1. The description of the Banquet in this section is based on the observations made at that event.

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organizers of the Banquet. The Puerto Rican Mayors wore identification cards on their jackets.

At the entrance to the ballroom several men asked to see people's tickets. Without a ticket, we were introduced as a researcher from the City University of New York, and stated we were invited to attend by Informant 1. As on other occasions, Hispanic identity and the speaking of Spanish reduced suspicion and we were permitted to enter. There were many people without tickets. We all waited in a corner to be seated, apart from the main group of guests. A much larger room than was needed had been rented, but as in any pseudo-political event, such as this one, extra space is needed in case of important late comers.

Downstairs, the tables were numbered and identified by Puerto Rican hometown. At the dais, which seated the Parade's leaders, was a big sign, "Shaeffer saluda a los visitantes de Puerto Rico y a todos los Puertorriqueños en Nueva York" (Shaeffer greets the visitors from Puerto Rico and all Puerto Ricans in New York). The table was surrounded by flags with the insignia of American Airlines. Some of the most known personages at the table were Herman Badillo, the only Puerto Rican Congressman, Amalia Betanzos, the first director of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, Chuito Caballero (the symbolic founder of the Parade), Maurice Ferré, the Mayor of Miami, Pedro Flores, the composer to whom the Parade was dedicated, Bob García, State Senator, Osvaldo Nine,

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Armando Montano, both Assemblymen, Bob Muñoz, the Parade's Great Marshall, Irma Santaella, a Puerto Rican lawyer, Informant 1, the President of the Parade, and the Queen of the Parade.

Upstairs were two long tables, without identification cards, reserved for individuals of lesser rank and the press. We sat upstairs. One of the people sitting with us was Figueroa, a community worker at the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. He was a key informant for the evening. Another informant was Hector Camacho Arroyo, who represented Yabucoa, Puerto Rico, since the town's Mayor was unable to attend. He seemed surprised at the scale of the event and repeatedly commented that he had not known that the "unity of Puerto Ricans in New York was so great."

There was a feeling of great excitement as people were being seated. Figueroa told us that the only thing people are really interested in is seeing their hometown friends and leaders. He said that they are not very interested in paying attention to the speakers. He also told us that there is no provision made to tape the texts of the addresses, nor is the event televised; What seemed at first to be television cameras were merely lights for the table of honor. Then the Chairman of the Banquet requested silence from the audience. This was to draw everyone's attention to the blessing of the Banquet.

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Then the American and the Puerto Rican anthems (La Boringueña and the Star Spangled Banner) were sung. The food was then served.

The Banquet had been scheduled for 7:00 P.M., but we started to eat at 8:45 P.M. While we were eating, we heard a welcome address by the Banquet Chairman and several other speeches. One of the speeches, praising the Puerto Rican "community," was given by the President of the Schaeffer Brewery. When we asked Figueroa who the speaker was, he informed us that he was "el que dió los chavos" (the one who gave the 'dough'). Schaeffer had provided the Parade with $17,000.00 (See p. 260). Then Informant 20 read a telegram from Governor Wilson who gave his best wishes to the Puerto Rican "community." Informant 20 ended by asking everybody present to join forces and counter divisionism. Congressman Badillo, a politician with an ethnically more heterogeneous constituency than Informant 20's, referred to the importance of the link between the Puerto Ricans on the Island and in the mainland. This link was also stressed by Licenciado Rios, President of the Puerto Rican Senate. Other speakers during the evening were Ramos Jordán, President

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[86] Informant 1 publicly told the audience that it should not have clapped after singing.

[87] The menu was American: fruit coctail, vegetable soup, roast beef with potatoes, salad, and dessert.

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of the House of Representatives of Puerto Rico; the President of the Off-Track Betting Corporation; Don Passante, owner of the largest Hispanic advertising agency in New York City; Informant 18, 1973 Parade President and present leader of the Puerto Rican Crusade for the Vote (See p. 305). the President of the 1974 Parade; Maurice Ferré, the Puerto Rican Mayor of Miami, and other public officials.[88] After the speeches, there was a ball that continued until approximately 3:00 A.M.

In addition to what we observed as participants, the Souvenir Journal of the Banquet also provided information on the individuals and organizations which supported the Parade.[89] These individuals and organizations are of particular interest to us, as it is they who play the role of articulating between the Puerto Rican "ethnic community" and the wider society. The Journal's thirty-one photographs portray Puerto Rican public officials, both elected and appointed for the Island and mainland, and Puerto Ricans who have advanced to important positions in American businesses. Advertisements in the Journal are called Cortesías (Courtesies) and are sponsored by

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[88]Between speaches, the master of ceremonies introduced various well known personalities. Figueroa observed that it was a shame that people he considers important political leaders were not introduced or even mentioned.

[89]See Chapter 4, p. 195 for a discussion of this group, referred to as "assimilationists."

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merchants or commercial enterprises (fifty-eight) as well as by organizations (eighteen). All cortesías salute the Puerto Rican Parade and wish it success.

The Journal also had printed several messages. The first was by Informant 1:

> As the president of 1974, I want to thank all the organizations, public and private offices, commerce in general, civic and cultural leaders and everybody who in someway or other cooperated so that this Annual Banquet shows our deep-rooted traditions (Souvenir Journal for the Banquet 1974:1).

Informant 20, Chairman of the Banquet Committee said

> This message has only one purpose--to unite our co-citizens in every sphere of our daily lives, family, union, civic, social, political leadership union, union in our struggles so that we become a solid powerful group, respected in every aspect. 'The union makes the force.' We will live better if we allow ourselves to be led by this saying (Souvenir Journal for the Banquet 1974:2).

Dr. Julio Forcade, President of United American Bank, a non-Puerto Rican Latin American, restated the wishes for a Pan-Hispanic "community" (See Chapter IV).

> The Puerto Rican Parade is a great institution. Not only as a marvelous show, but also for what it represents since it is as well a militant act in which Puerto Ricans, as leaders of the Hispanic community in New York, show government and people their numbers, cohesion and power. It would not be a bad idea if in the future, under Puerto Rican leadership, there would be another Parade where Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, Columbians, Argentinians, Peruvians, etc. get together. They would amaze this city not only for their numbers but also for the mutual respect of the participants. The present President would be the best man to lead such a parade (Souvenir Journal for the Banquet 1974:4).

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Thus, the Banquet is not merely an activity preceding the Parade. Rather it is a para-political formal gathering of that segment of Puerto Rican political leadership that serves as a liason between the Puerto Rican population and American society. In this sense, the Banquet is also a celebration for and by the elite, a far cry from the Parade, a free and popular event.

Section III

The Funding of the Constituent Groups in the Puerto Rican Parade

We now turn to a discussion of the type of organizations participating in the Puerto Rican Parade, either as paraders or just supporters. We also discuss the source of funding for these organizations. Finally, we will show the co-optation of the Parade as an organization by the "assimilationist" Puerto Rican anti-poverty agencies.

Organizations in the Parade

Our identification of the organizations participating in this chief annual event as Puerto Rican is validated methodologically by the fact that the event is defined ethnically and seen as necessary for the continuity of a Puerto Rican ethnic "community," despite ideological divisions within the population (See Chapter VI).

This procedure, naturally, differs from random sampling.[90]

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There are 386 organizations out of an approximate five hundred Puerto Rican organizations in the City, which act as voting members in the organization of the Puerto Rican Day Parade, Inc. Table 15 shows a breakdown of these organizations by category and borough.

On the basis of the data presented in Table 15, we can see that the three types of participating organizations representing the greatest percentages of the total are social clubs (31%), civic and service agencies (31%) and hometown clubs (18%). We should note, however, that social clubs and hometown clubs are sometimes indistinguishable with regard to their functions. The criterion we employed to separate them into two distinct categories was the name of the organization: that is, where a Puerto Rican municipio was named, the organization was considered a hometown club, and where it was not named, we classified it according to function.

Another point that emerges from the Table is that the largest number of constituent organizations is from the Bronx. Manhattan has the fewest organizations, whereas Brooklyn stands in an intermediate position. This reflects

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[90] There are also a number of inventories of Puerto Rican organizations in the United States. For the most complete ones, see the Directory of Puerto Rican and Service Organizations throughout the United States, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Migration Division, Department of Labor, 1973 and A Directory of Spanish Speaking organizations in New York, New York Times, 1971.

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TABLE XV

BREAKDOWN OF ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATING IN THE 1974 PARADE BY CATEGORY AND REGION

Category	Manhattan	Bronx	Brooklyn & Queens	Total	% of Total
Hometown clubs[a]	25	32	14	71	18.39
Social clubs[b]	19	46	57	122	31.60
Political and trade union clubs[c]	6	10	7	23	5.95
Organizaciones benéficas (Charitable organizations)	2	-	1	3	0.77
Neighborhood & block associations	7	3	6	16	4.14
Civic & Service agencies[d]	26	53	42	121	31.34
Fraternities, Masons	4	3	1	8	2.07
Cultural & Folkloric Associations	9	6	1	17	4.14
Other[e]	1	6	1	8	2.07
Total	99	158	129	386	100.00

Source: Computed from Directory of Puerto Rican and Service Organizations throughout the United States, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Migration Division, Department of Labor, 1974 and personal communications.

[a]For computational purposes we designated all organizations using the name of an area in Puerto Rico as hometown clubs, even when organizational purposes were stated. For example, the Club was listed as a hometown club.

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TABLE XV Continued

[b]Included here, in addition to social clubs, associations of women, veterans, and church goers, as well as fan clubs and sports associations.

[c]Trade union organizations include those based on the occupation.

[d]"Civic" is used to mean a group oriented around an issue, e.g. education. Service agencies include those clubs which offer services, in addition to the more formal community corporations, city agencies, multi-service agencies.

[e]Restaurants, travel associations, etc.

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not only the Puerto Rican population distribution (See Chapter II), but also the leadership patterns in these areas. In fact, the Bronx is the only borough where Puerto Ricans have been able to develop a strong political machine (See Chapter VI), mobilizing effectively the categories of hometown clubs, civic and service agencies. In Brooklyn, Puerto Rican politicians have only recently begun to appear and in Manhattan, a leadership pattern has developed in which a rising Puerto Rican "leader" is in competition with another.

Not all of the 386 organizations which are voting members of the Puerto Rican Day Parade, Inc., participate in the actual march, however. Which organizations will and will not parade is the outcome of realistic planning on the part of each organization itself as well as of internal factionalist politics. Informant 25 tells us that some organizations participate in the Parade through their vote, but refuse to march because they "do not think highly of those individuals who control the Parade" (Interview with Informant 25, June 20, 1974).

Thus those organizations which do Parade are those active in the "community" as defined by the ideology of assimilation (See Chapter IV). One of their goals, then, is to influence the Puerto Rican population towards a belief in the values inherent in ethnic group formation as the path of collective upward mobility.

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At the same time, organizations not listed as voting members of the Puerto Rican Parade participated in the march itself. Whereas Table 15 provides a statistical summary of the organizations which act as voting members of the Puerto Rican Parade (386), Table 16 shows the break down of the organizations which actually paraded (80). Further, among these 80, as was stated above, there were organizations which paraded and yet were not members of the Puerto Rican Parade, Inc.

There are other discrepancies between our recorded observations of the number, type and order of organizations that paraded and the information on these provided by the Coordinator of the Parade. For example, the Official list of eleven "Divisions" in the Parade (Order of March 1974) counts each sub-group as one organization. For example if Hijos de Ponce sent three delegations, each of these were counted separately. We disregarded constituent sub-groups and counted a total of eighty organizations. Another discrepancy relates to the order of march. Thus, while the Frente Obrero was given 84th place in the marching order, this organization actually opened the parade (See p. 216 above).

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TABLE XVI

PARTICIPATING GROUPS IN THE 1974 PUERTO RICAN PARADE

Type of Group	Number of Groups (N=80)			% of Total
Political organizations and groups	8			10
Commercial Enterprises	12			15
Puerto Rican Hometown Clubs	28			35
New York institutions (hospitals, police, etc.)	10			12.5
Puerto Rican & Hispanic organizations and agencies	Name Identified: Puerto Rican 4	Name Identified: Hispanic 1	Non-identified or both 5	12.5
Musical bands contracted for the occasion	Puerto Rican: Local 1	Puerto Rican: Puerto Rico 1	Non-Puerto Rican 5	8.8
Miscellanea	5			6.2

SOURCE: Participant observation of the 1974 Parade.

As we can see from this Table, more than one-third of the groups marching belong to the category of hometown clubs.

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The Funding of the Parade

Let us turn to a discussion of the Parade's expenses and how funds are obtained to finance the costs of the ethnic event. The Parade's expenses can be divided into various categories. For example, according to the information provided by Informant 2, 1974 General Coordinator, the following paraphernalia for the Parade were paid for: thirty five bands, forty floats[91] and an unknown number of motorcycles. But since floats and motorcycles were paid for by the participant organizations, or, indirectly, by a sponsoring commercial enterprise, we can analyze the cost only of the bands in order to assess how much of the Parade's resources go into the actual parade. As can be seen from Table 18 below, though the cost of bands is the largest expense for a single category of expenditures, it still only comes to 31 percent of the Parade's total expenses. Thus, it is readily seen that the largest percentage of funds do not pay for the Parade in a direct sense.

In the Annual Report, the budget is itemized. We grouped the Parade's expenses into categories to make up the following Table:

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[91] Floats are manufactured in New Jersey by a company by the name of Bond Parade Floats.

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TABLE XVII

TOTAL FUNDING OF MUSICAL BANDS

From Puerto Rico	$2,767.00
From United States	$7,940.00
Unspecified as to origin	$3,835.00
Total	$14,542.00

SOURCE: Certified Drumm Corps for the Puerto Rican Parade (undated manuscript) and Informe de Tesorería, 1974.

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TABLE XVIII

A BUDGET FOR THE 1974 PUERTO RICAN PARADE

Category	Expenses	% of Total (rounded)
Bands	$ 14,542.00	31
Travel to and from Puerto Rico	$ 11,591.54	24
Printing costs	$ 6,070.65	13
Banquet	$ 2,468.50	5
Maratón	$ 2,997.62	6
Reinado	$ 2,539.30	5
Other banquets and festivals	$ 599.00	1
Miscellanea	$ 6,878.29	14
Total	$ 47,706.90	100

SOURCE: Informe de Tesorería 1974, Reporte Annual Financiero 1974 and personal communications.

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Income for the Parade is derived from donations obtained from fund-raising activities planned by the organizing committees. The Parade's income from donations, however, far exceeds the income reported by the Parade in its 1974 Annual Report. This discrepancy shows that the Parade is able to make a profit. When questioned on this issue, organizers of the Parade stated that any profit made was destined for the building of a "house of the Parade." But this goal has not yet been accomplished.[92]

Though fund-raising had traditionally been based on requesting donations and promotions by commercial enterprises, the 1974 organizers were more concerned that rational planning be made in the fund-raising effort so that they would more efficiently generate income for the organization. Thus, in 1974, professional advice on fund-raising was actively sought.

> Our weakest area of organization is in fund-raising, which in the past has been done haphazardly. Although we derive some income from parade activities, we are in need of further suggestions, ideas or proposals for fund-raising activities as we plan to distribute scholarships to needy Puerto Rican students (Informant 1, letter to Pedro Martínez, President Business Guidance Service, January 18,1974)

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[92]Nevertheless, an Esquire, was paid $500 (Report of the Treasurer, 1974) to attempt to obtain a tax exemption certificate, declaring the Puerto Rican Parade a non-profit organization. In a letter to this Esquire, it was stated that "One of the committee's goals this year is to generate enough income from the Parade that can be utilized for obtaining a Casa del Desfile and to provide scholarships for students " (Puerto Rican Parade Committee, letter to Esquire, December 26, 1974). We do not know whether the Certificate was granted.

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Commercial enterprises were contacted by mail and in person to encourage them to sponsor one or more of the Parade's activities. Some of the activities planned to help defray the costs of organizing the Parade were stated in the Parade's introductory letter to potential sponsors as follows:

1. Proclamation and coronation of the Parade Queen: "The cost for any agency to sponsor this event is approximately $3,000 or $1,500 if co-sponsored. The company will get all the publicity prior to the Proclamation, through the newspapers, radio and TV" (Informant 1, Letter to Commercial Enterprises, May 1, 1974).
2. The annual Banquet:"the cost of the tables is $250 per table of ten" (Informant 1, Letter to Commercial Enterprises, May 1, 1974).
3. Lincoln Center Activity: "concert with Puerto Rican bands. Cost of the activity is about $1,000." (Informant 1, Letter to Commercial Enterprises, May 1, 1974).
4. Cost of floats; these vary according to ornamentation.

> If you wish, the floats could be given to different community groups, who otherwise will not be able to participate in the Parade....On the sides of the float, an advertisement will read as follows: sponsored by....(cortesía de...)....If the company wishes to have some products advertised and not be given to a community group, the fee will range from $500 to $1,000 and the check should be made payable to the Committee for the Puerto Rican Day Parade" (Informant 1, Letter to Commercial Enterprises, May 1, 1974).

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Merchants were reminded, in another letter, that "As a non-profit organization, we [The Puerto Rican Day Parade] depend largely on the kind contribution of of companies like yours who directly benefits from the Hispanic market" (Informant 1, letter to Hispanic merchants, March 5, 1974).

Another, more direct call for funds, reads:

> The annual Puerto Rican Parade is the single most significant cultural event in the New York Puerto Rican community and has traditionally served many purposes. Among its purposes is the highlighting of the participation and contribution of the Hispanic Puerto Rican community to the City of New York. Additionally, the Hispanic community has been made aware of those who support the Parade activities and deserve their allegiance in the marketplace (Italics mine).
>
> In recent years, the ethnic population of the city has changed so extensively that few people realize that Hispanics make up fully 22% or more of its population. Forward looking organizations desiring to actively participate in the spanish market have made it their business to advertise effectively. It is elementary, of course, that in order to sell your product, you must sell yourself. No better opportunity could be had to make yourself a well-known friend than to participate in the annual Puerto Rican Parade festivities. We will see that your participation will be well noticed by the two million members of the New York Hispanic community.
>
> The Parade itself is the last of a series of annual local social activities, each of which involve radio, TV and newspaper coverage.[93]

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[93] Besides the great Banquet, for the Parade's leadership, held one week before the Parade, other events took place for the Puerto Rican "community" during 1974. The "Week of the Bronx" was declared. The Hunts Point Multi-Service Corporation and its delegate agencies and other community groups of the South Bronx also planned a Parade presided over by the Councilman for District 11, Informant 20. According to La Voz (June 2, 1974:10) three thousand people attended. The "Día de la Raza" Committee announced that

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> A trip to Puerto Rico involving meetings with the Governor, Mayors and other Representatives of Puerto Rico has also been scheduled (Informant 1, Letter to Commercial Enterprises, April 22, 1974).

Sometimes, funding for a specific event was requested as for example, for the Marathon:

> Well-known artists will cooperate. The public, the poor people, will donate generously. Could you please send us your support so that we can organize a better Parade? You, who as a merchant, contribute to the growth of our community, were always together with us in our cause. And this year the Parade needs your help more than at any other time (Informant 1, Letter to Commercial Enterprises, April 22, 1974).

The largest single sponsor of the Parade was probably Schaeffer Beer and the company's contribution received a great deal of praise. According to a press release of Schaeffer, this company "gave a very acceptable check to the institution so as to help defray the cost of the most important Puerto Rican event in the city of New York.... Schaeffer also cooperates in the TV and other media with the difussion of the parade. Schaeffer has been contributing to the noble causes of our community for the past four years through its Director of Community Relations, Informant 10 (Schaeffer Press Release, June 1, 1974).

Table XIX shows a breakdown, by type, of enterprises asked to contribute to the Parade. Although among the

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its 10th Parade was to be held on October 13, 1974. The Grand Marshall was to be Informant 24, Director of Special Programs at City Hall; the President was to be Aniceto Perez.

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TABLE XIX

TYPOLOGY OF ENTERPRISES THAT COOPERATED OR COULD COOPERATE WITH PARADE

Type of Enterprise	Cooperated[a]	Unknown	Total	% of Total
Banks	5	-	5	4.60
Hospitals	2	-	2	1.84
Airlines	3	-	3	2.76
Breweries, Coffee, Tobacco, Food Products	18	2	20	18.40
Shipping, Real estate, travel bureaus	6	1	7	6.44
Service[b]	0	-	9	8.28
Advertising agencies	2	1	3	2.76
Workers Unions	3	1	4	3.68
Media	6	-	6	5.52
Retail Merchants and Printing	14	-	14	12.88
Organizations and agencies	5	-	5	4.60
Individuals and associations	7	-	7	6.44
Other	3	4	7	6.44
Total	74	9	92	

SOURCE: Lists provided by Committee members and data from Banquet Journal.

[a]Cooperated in Banquet

[b]Include electric, telephone, funerary, restaurant, insurance, attorneys

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the largest contributors were Schaeffer ($17,000.00),[94] and American Airlines ($3,250.00),[95] the two types of enterprise that contributed the greatest amount of funds were breweries, coffee, tobacco and food products (18.40%) and retail merchants (12.88%).

Table XX shows a correlation between the types of organizations participating in the Puerto Rican Parade and their sources of sponsorship. The large "unknown" category reflects the paucity of data provided by the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Migration Division on this subject. A large number of organizations listed as members of the Puerto Rican Parade Inc, could not even be located in the Commonwealth Directory. This may be related to the accusations often made that the Parade Committee creates ad hoc "phantom organizations" before elections.[96] Claridad, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party paper, reported that it

> had discovered that last Sunday's election of the Puerto Rican Day Parade Committee were characterized by illegal manoeuvers to secure the presidency of the Assistant Director of one of the biggest anti-poverty agencies in the city.... Informant 1 of Puerto Rican

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[94]The Parade's Annual Report stated that Schaefer contribution amounted to $17,000.00.

[95]The Parade's Annual Report stated that American Airlines' contribution amounted to $3,250.00.

[96]Interview with Informant 22 on April 30, 1974. See also charges by Bernie López to Informant 1 on p. 271.

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TABLE XX

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TYPE OF ORGANIZATION PARTICIPATING IN THE PARADE AND SOURCE OF SPONSORSHIP

Type of Organization	Source of Sponsorship						
	Members Dues and Activities	Members and Others	Private Foundations	Federal	Unknown	Total	% of Total
Hometown clubs	4	1	1	24	44	74	19
Social clubs	7	3	1	9	94	114	30
Civic, Political & trade union clubs	12	1	-	35	56	104	27
Organizaciones beneficas	-	-	-	-	3	3	2
Neighborhood & block associations	-	-	-	7	8	15	4
Service agencies	1	1	-	27	16	45	12
Fraternities, mason	-	-	-	3	5	8	2
Cultural & Folk associations	2	1	-	-	12	15	4
Other	-	-	-	-	9	9	2
Total	26	7	2	105	247	386	

SOURCE: Organizaciones Participantes en el Desfile 1974 (unpublished list) and Directory, Puerto Rican and Community Service Organizations throughout the United States, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, 1973.

> Community Development Project was elected President because the Puerto Rican Community Development Project's employees were registered as delegates of 'phantom organizations' to assure the candidate's victory. Some of these organizations appeared with the Hunts Point Multi Service Corporation addresses. Informant 20 had a hand in devising these tactics to keep the hundreds of dollars which pour into the annual event (some $24,000.00) in the family....Informant 1 then appointed Informant 18 as Chairman of the Parade Banquet Committee....Informant 18 had appointed the new President to the same position on the previous year (Claridad November 18, 1973:24).

However, even with the impossibility of reducing the "unknown" category, given the paucity of data obtained on this subject, Table XX shows that 105, or 27 percent, of the organizations participating in the Parade are federally funded. This does not imply that they are funded in order to participate in this particular event but that they use their resources (time, money, contacts) to do so.

Specifically, there are two federally funded Puerto Rican service agencies--Puerto Rican Community Development Project and the Hunts Point Multi Service Corporation--which represent the most powerful faction within the Puerto Rican assimilationist leadership (see Chapter IV). These agencies utilize their resources to dominate the internal politics of the Parade. Of these two, the Puerto Rican Community Development Project has dominated the Parade for the past ten years. Here are some examples that attest to that control: the offices for the Parade are located at the Puerto Rican Community Development

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Project's headquarters; the Presidents for the Parade have been members of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project's Board of Directors; the employees of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project are urged to attend all activities concerned with the Parade;[97] of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project's one hundred sub-contracted organizations, seventy-eight (78 percent) are listed as participants in the Parade; over 50 percent of the officers of the Puerto Rican Parade hold full-time positions at the Puerto Rican Community Development Project and the rest hold positions at organizations "friendly" with the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, such as the Hunts Point Multi Service Corporation, the Hunts Point Community Corporation, Organizaciones Unidas del Bronx (United Bronx Organizations) and the Lower East Side Community Corporation (See Chapter VI). It can be asserted, then, that the Puerto Rican Community Development Project has controlled the organization of the Parade for the past ten years and organized the agency's personnel into a following, that campaigns for Parade positions, gives time and support for the Parade's activities, and helps to canvass voters in the Puerto

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[97] "I urge all of you to assist the Marathon, one of the more grandiose artistic events in the history of the City of New York" (Puerto Rican Community Development Project's Sub-Director, Memo to Staff Re; Marathon, May 2, 1974).

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Rican Crusade, an organization which is also related to, and functions with, the Puerto Rican Community Development Project (See Chapter VI).

Section IV

The Political Role of the Parade

In this section, we develop a point made earlier: the Parade is a form of political organization which provides insights into what appears on the surface to be contradictory tendencies for reinforcing ethnic identity as a means of articulating to the wider society (See Chapter IV). Thus, the Parade symbolized the politicization of ethnicity as the unique integration of Puerto Ricans into the national society. The term political, as it is used here, involves two dimensions. One of these is the attainment and use of power and prestige as resources in an individual's struggle for public recognition and visibility. As a resource, any position of power enhances an individual's career in a society which values power. This section begins by illustrating how the Parade is used as a step in the career advancement of certain individuals. To illustrate, we will describe data pertaining to the campaign for the position of President of the Parade and will demonstrate how that position must be understood as a political position within the ethnic "community."[98]

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[98]Generalizations about career patterns will be discussed in Chapter VI.

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Second, we use the term political in reference to the articulation between an ethnically-based organization--in this case, the Parade--and the local formal government. We will deal with the political involvement of the Parade within the context of Puerto Rico and the United States.

The Articulation between the Parade and the New York Political Establishment

We will now turn to a discussion of the political ties developed by the 1974 Parade with the wider socio-political context of New York City. First, we will center on the use of the Parade by Puerto Rican individuals as a step to advance their personal careers. Then, we will analyze the Parade as a broker ethnic institution in New York City.

The Parade as a Step in Political Career Advancement

There is no leader in the Puerto Rican "community" who has not played an important role in the organization of the Parade. Of all official positions in the Parade, that of President is the one most cherished. Consequently, some of the most bitter struggles have been fought around who is to occupy that position. The struggles shed light on the "whats," "whos" and "whys" of the factionalism between Puerto Rican leaders.

There are two advantages gained by occupying the position of President. One of these is the individual's

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sense that he has directed and organized the most significant event for the Puerto Rican community in New York.[99] As the President for 1974 said,

> Thanks to the organizations, the public and private offices, the commercial enterprises, the civic and cultural leaders and everybody that cooperated...My deepest desire as President is to strive so that the Parade can be recognized by the different ethnic groups in this city (The Committee for the Puerto Rican Parade, Souvenir Journal Banquet, May 31, 1974:5).

The second advantage is the opportunity afforded the President to use the Parade as a step in moving from a position of importance within the "community" to a position that articulates between the ethnic "community" and the national society. Bureaucrats, politicians, and employees in anti-poverty agencies all have a history of participation in the organization of the Parade. Thus, the 1974 President stated that "it was a great experience for me to have presided this event. I cannot refrain from recognizing the fact that that had an immense value in my ambitions as a human being, and as a communal activist trying to advance in the city of New York" (Annual Report 1974:1-2). Moreover, whoever wins the election and becomes the Parade's President, gives to all his loyal followers positions in the Executive Committee. The Board of Directors of the Parade, however, remains untouched by the yearly election and, therefore, shows a more democratic representation of the different factions.

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[99] The President also is given the deep pleasure that Latin Americans find in being seen in public.

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Now we turn to a more detailed discussion of the vicissitudes inherent in the 1974 campaign for the position of President of the Parade. In 1974, there were three individuals who ran for the office of President: Antolín Flores, Informant 1 and Bernie López. Each one represented three contending factions struggling for leadership in the Puerto Rican "community" among the assimilationists. Antolín Flores, Sub-Director of the Community Corporation of the Lower East Side, was supported by its Director, the Manhattan cacique, Informant 15. Informant 1, Sub-Deputy of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, was backed by both the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, (whose President of the Board of Directors was the Parade's 1973 President, Informant 18) and the Hunts Point Multi Service Corporation, the South Bronx anti-poverty agency, led by the Bronx cacique and politician, Informant 20. Bernie López, President of the Council of Hispanic Organizations of Tremont (Bronx), and occupant in the past of other positions within the Puerto Rican organizations, represented the interest of other Hispanics to return to positions of leadership in the Puerto Rican Parade (See Chapter IV). Antolín Flores and Informant 1 received the backing of different constituent groups within the same faction within the Puerto Rican leadership. The struggle between Informant 1 and Bernie López, however, pointed out the prolonged fights between two contending politicians with community support in the South Bronx,

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Informant 20 and Father Luis Gigante, the latter on Italian who attracted many Spanish-speaking voters. Gigante supported López, also a Reverend, not only because of religious affiliation, but also as a means of opposing Informant 20, who in turn supported Informant 1. The connections between these individuals are represented in Figure 10.

Antolín Flores resigned from the contest before the elections took place: "Flores, the third nominee for the presidency of the Parade withdrew since he said he did not believe in the impartiality of elections. He declared presidential candidates should have been given the registry books listing the voting organizations before the elections took place" (El Diario, November 11, 1974:16). These accusations were later brought before the New York Supreme Court of Justice.

Anyone knowledgeable about the internal factionalism within the Puerto Rican "community" would have predicted that Informant 1 would win. He counted on powerful individuals and on the support of a legion of followers among the employees of the two anti-poverty agencies these individuals controlled: the Puerto Rican Community Development Project and the Hunts Point Multi Service Corporation. Moreover, any loyal supporter of Informant 20 was bound to be elected and Informant 1 was one of these.[100]

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[100]The infrastructure of this process can be understood through an analysis of the participating organizations in

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Informant 1 was thus backed by the most powerful faction in the community, which was headed by Informant 20. For example, the Comité de Ciudadanos Pro Informant 1, Presidente Desfile Puerto Riqueño (Citizen's Committee For Informant 1 as President of the Puerto Rican Parade) was composed of individuals representing the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, the Hunts Point Community Corporation and the Hunts Point Multi Service Corporation. This committee sent letters to all organizational delegates before the election on November 8, 1973:

> As it is well known, Informant 1 heads the Slate of the Victory whose slogan is "Unity and Progress." Informant 1 has been active in the Parade, as well as other institutions during many years. We think he is the best choice to keep unity, while at the same time bring up new ideas to improve the situation of his co-citizens (Comité Pro-Elección Informant 1-President of the Puerto Rican Parade-letter to Organization Delegates, November 8, 1974).

Informant 1's campaign pamphlets gave a complete list of the positions he occupied:

> Vote for the unity slate: Informant 1 for President of the Puerto Rican Parade. Ex-President Sociedad Cultural Puerto Riqueña, Ex-President Caborrojeños Ausentes, 1971, Ex-President, Fiesta Folklórica, Inc. 1970, Director of Public Relations, OUB [101] Executive Sub-Director of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, Member of the Board of Directors of the 1970 Parade, General Coordinator in the 1972 Parade, Executive Secretary for the 1973 Parade,

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the 1974 Parade and their control by the Puerto Rican Community Development Project (See Section III).

[101] Organizaciones Unidas del Bronx, presided by one of his other supporters aside from Informant 1, Informant 12.

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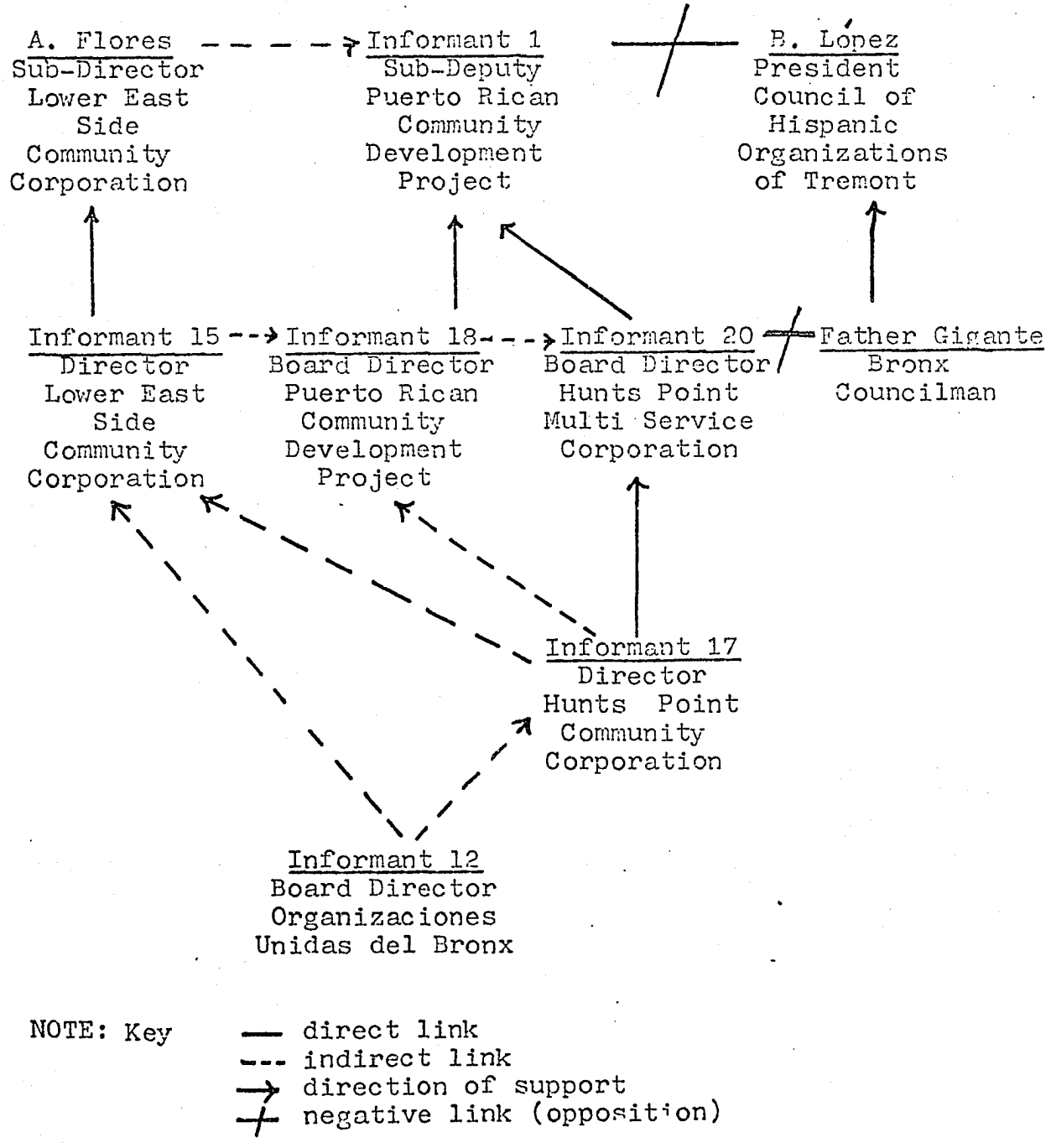
FIGURE 10

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN 1974 CAMPAIGNERS

AND THEIR SUPPORTERS



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> Treasurer Morris Courtland Neighborhood Association, Vice-President Festival Rafael Hernandez, Married, father of eight children. Slogan: Unidad y Progreso con Informant 1 si se puede (Unity and progress, with Informant 1, if we can) (Vote por la papeleta de la Unidad, Informant 1's Campaign for President, undated pamphlet).[102]

As expected, once Informant 1 announced that he was running for Presidency, he was endorsed by many of the organizations allied with the faction headed by Informant 20. For example,

> Leaders of the Bronx and Manhattan will endorse the young civic leader... for the Presidency of the Parade...Presidents of Bronx organizations, will endorse Informant 1 as well as William del Toro, Executive Director of MEND (Parade Press release, October 12, 1973).

And, "The Association Rio Grandenos Ausentes of New York Inc., resolved to endorse Informant 1 exclusively" (Parade Press release, September 26, 1973). Other leaders endorsing Informant 1 were Puerto Rican City Councilmen and aspiring political leaders.

However, Informant 1 did not win the election without a fight; there was a bitter power struggle between Lopez and Informant 1 during the campaign. In a Press release, Informant 1 answered the accusations hurled at him by Lopez. Quotations from this release follow:

> University degrees or positions as President of organizations do not help the best interests of the Puerto Rican and Hispanic Community. What

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[102]Another campaign pamphlet depicts the Puerto Rican flag with the words "Unity, Progress and Culture" written on it.

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> does help is the uninterested effort and sacrifices of individuals in the struggle for the public recognition of our people....It is true that I (Informant 1) am an employee of an Agency of the War against Poverty. But López, after his travel agency went broke,has since then also been an employee of such agencies which he now despises. In fact, one of his close relatives has an excellent position and salary in such agencies.... If Mr. López sees me as an instrument of other individuals, a neophyte in the service of opportunists, as he puts it, whom does he serve? If to be a friend, a fellow companion, a loyal servant of those one considers his own people is to be submissive, then I will be such all my life.... I can boast of supporting my own people, the Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking brothers, but López cannot do the same. That is why he strongly defends Father Gigante who is not a Puerto Rican, who only works to exploit our people....Instead of struggling together with his own people, López works to join other groups, who are strangers to our customs. Thus he works to continue the division, persecution, entreguismo (one who hands over to others) and discrimination against the Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics....López is a parasite, he has learnt to sneak in as a preacher only because he has been an evangelic minister for eighteen years. This he has used to his own benefit and his political ambitions. As to political machines and caciques, López should not accuse us since everybody here knows which is the worst of the groups of this City. The members of such groups do not want the Puerto Ricans, they only look for them in order to exploit them.... How curious, we have today an Evangelical Minister defending a Catholic priest....López works to make disappear the few privileges we, the Puerto Rican and Hispanic community of New York, have earned to this day....(Answer of Informant 1 to Bernie López, published by El Tiempo, New York, March 8, 1974:7-11).

López was antagonistic to the faction supporting Informant I because, during a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Parade, a resolution had been approved to the effect that no more organizations would be accepted into the Parade that year. According to Informant 1's

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supporters, López was among those who approved the resolution and voted to have it passed. According to López, he did not. Accordingly, he declared to the Spanish-speaking press, radio and TV, that such a resolution was totally illegal and threatened to bring his case to court. The Parade organization answered with a press release, in which one of the members of the 1973 Parade, José A. Rodríguez[103] stated that López, and not Informant 1, was the person who

> is trying to divide and establish confusion within the Parade, by using artimañas y vanos argumentos (stratagems and vain reasonings)....López is working to rob the Puerto Rican community of its only civic entity which really represents it, the only one which really identifies the Puerto Rican who lives here. On other occasions, we have also seen how unscrupulous individuals have tried to destroy the Parade so as to give it in to selfish interests, totally contrary to those of the humble people, who are the ones who maintain it alive and strong (Puerto Rican Parade Press Release, undated m.s.:2-3).

Who is Bernie López? In his campaign platform, he depicts his career thus:

> (1) Council of Hispanic organizations of Tremont, President (2) Club Social Cialeño, President, (3) Upper Bronx Community Action Group, Founder and past President (4) Club de Leones, member and founder (5) Association of Manpower Directors, Executive Vice-President (6) Puerto Rican Community Development Project ex-member of the Board of Directors (7) New York Ministerial Association, Executive Vice-President

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[103] José Rodríguez' support of Informant 1 is also seen in the same release:he refers to Informant 18, the 1973 President, as the one who managed to unite Puerto Ricans within the Parade of that year, and now in support of Informant 1.

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> and Secretary (8) Association for Civil Rights, ex-member of the Executive Committee (9) Iglesia Santísima Trinidad, voluntary minister for over twenty years (10) Community Planning Board #6, member (11) Puerto Rican Folklore Fiesta, President in 1969 (12) Tremont Crotona Day Care Center, member and founder, Board of Directors (250 children) (13) Trinity Day Care Center, founder and President of the Board (150 children) (14) Trinity Housing Development Corp, President of Housing Rehabilitation for over 500 families (15) Twin Parks Development Corp., founder (housing for 4000 families) (16) Tremont Improvement Corp., member and advisor (17)Business Fellow, Executive Vice-President (18) 1971-1973, Named one of the most renowned community leaders of America and (19) Winner of many certificates and plaques throughout the years for my services to the community (Bernie López, Campaign for President of the Parade, undated m.s.).

In his campaign platform, Bernie López promised that, if elected, he would proceed to restructure the Parade which he thought had been corrupted and chaotic throughout the years. As part of this, he stressed the unfulfilled need to have a House for the Parade.

> It is unfortunate that, after fifteen years of having been founded, the Parade does not have its own office where administrative tasks can be carried out. The Puerto Rican Community and all members of the Parade are very sad to ascertain that, after having enjoyed an office during eight years, it had to be given up because the rent was not paid. We do not know what happened with the belongings of the Parade.

López revealed to the press that "several people had approached him to ask him to withdraw his candidacy to the Parade Presidency so that a certain group could remain in power" (El Diario,September 4, 1973). He vaguely indicated those people were from the South Bronx. To this the opposing faction replied, "The President of

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the Puerto Rican Parade, Informant 20, expressed that Bernie López, candidate for the position, had never approached him to denounce that community workers were being pressured to vote against him" (El Diario, September 2, 1973).

The voting polls were located at School No. 75, at West End Avenue and West 95th Street, from 1:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M. During elections, some incidents took place between followers of López and Informant 1 (El Diario, November 12, 1973). However, these were publicly resolved in a "civilized" manner. Informant 1 beat López, 425/242 votes. Further, Informant 1's entire slate of candidates were elected. Once Informant 1 was elected, he received the de facto support from high-placed individuals who had long-standing connections with the Parade as an ethnic institution. For example, one telegram said that "The wife of the elected Mayor Abe Beame, Mary, congratulates the President Elect of the Puerto Rican Parade, 1974" (El Diario, November 13, 1973). Edward Aponte,[104] Assistant Regional Director, Manpower Administration, United States Department of Labor, wrote Informant 1 on November 27, 1973 to excuse himself for not attending the swearing-in ceremony but promised his collaboration. The night of the inauguration,

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[104]Aponte was the other candidate along with Bob Muñoz for the position of Parade Marshall.

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a dance was held in the Commodore Hotel.

After he lost the election, Bernie López wrote a letter to the Council of Tremont Hispanic Organizations, thanking them for their backing and asking them to support Informant 1.[105]

Everybody knew why Informant 1 had won; they could only hope that he would not rule autocratically. Luisa Quintero, director of the Marginalia Section in El Diario, voices these concerns

> We hope Informant 1....will put in order the books so that all authentic Puerto Rican organizations are present in the Parade. This will enable that everything is clear so that they [these organizations] can name delegates on time....The Puerto Rican Parade is of the people, not a group of persons. We have to rescue it from certain dictatorships so that the people can participate in framing the destinies of the Parade (El Diario, November 14, 1973).

However, even if the elections of November 11 pronounced Informant 1 the victor, by December 5 the financing of the institution was still in the hands of its previous President, Informant 20.[106]

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[105] "We have lost a battle but not a war, we have won a great deal of experience and have waken up sleepy consciences....The democratic process in the Parade has been rehabilitated with our clean campaign, worthy of a good Puerto Rican....Let us all forget differences dividing us in our country and join efforts to make the 1974 Parade colorful and brilliant" (Bernie López, letter to Concilio de Organizaciones Hispanas de Tremont, November 13, 1973).

[106] This is shown by a letter from Informant 1 to Informant 20 asking for the processing of two checks, one for $400 for rental of an office for the Parade on 1674 Broadway, and the other for $100 to make a deposit with the telephone company.

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The pattern that emerges from the prededing description of the 1974 Parade's Presidential election is that individuals in positions of leadership in civic or community organizations add a political dimension to their careers by attempting to ascend to the Presidency of the Parade (See Chapter VI). By becoming well-known by the "community" through this process, they then can become strong political leaders, should they choose to do so.

The Parade and the Politics of Ethnicity in New York City

In addition to functioning to further mobility in an individual's political career, the Parade can be seen as a political tool in another sense. First, the Parade's organization attempted to court the establishment. Thus, public officials and politicians both from the Island and the mainland, all who had visibility and power in the eyes of the Puerto Rican population, were formally invited to attend the Parade.[107]

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[107] The public individuals present in the 1974 Parade were the following: New York Governor Malcom Wilson, represented by Puerto Rican Commissioner Ruperto Ruiz; New York City Mayor Beame; Puerto Rican Governor Rafael Hernandez Colón was represented by the Secretary of State, Víctor Pons; Miami Mayor Maurice Ferré; Joseph Erazo, Special Assistant to Mayor Beame; Juan Cancel Ríos, President of the Puerto Rican Senate; Luis E. Ramos, President of the Chamber of Representatives; Bob Muñoz, Great Marshall of the Parade and Executive Director of Hunts Point Community Corporation; Hipólito Marcano, Speaker for the Majority in the Puerto Rican Senate; Luis Lefkowitz, Attorney General of New York City; Hugh Carey, would-be Governor of New York; Manuel Toledo,

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Ethnic identity was also manipulated in order to pressure the political establishment to acknowledge the existence of an ethnic "community." City Hall was called on to recognize the Parade's leadership and its loyal followers, although pressure was overtly exerted on behalf of the Puerto Rican "community." For example, according to information provided by Informant 4 (Personal interview, November 25, 1974), in 1974, the Political Committee of the Puerto Rican Parade, headed by Informant 23, suggested the names of suitable Puerto Ricans for public appointment to the Mayor. This was done to increase the Puerto Rican representation at City Hall, as well as for the benefit of certain individuals within the Puerto Rican leadership. Further, as President of the Parade 1974, Informant 1 pressured the Mayor of New York City for more Puerto Rican representation in City Hall:

> The Committee for the Puerto Rican Parade, an organization that comprises over four hundred organizations of different backgrounds, at its last meeting adopted a resolution in which

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Assistant to the Illinois Vice Governor Neil Hartings; Benjamin Cole, President of the Association of Puerto Rican Mayors; Rafael Torregrosa, Director of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Migration Division; Angel Rivera, administrator in the Department of Environmental Protection; Puerto Rican Senator Bob García; Assemblymen Luis Nine and A. Montano; Thomas Cuite, Leader for the Majority, Puerto Rican Municipal Senator; Councilman Vélez; Dr. F. Trilla, President of the Advisory Committee to the Governor of Puerto Rico and A. Segarra running for Congressman for the 14th District, Brooklyn.

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> they demand from you the appointment of Puerto Ricans for top positions at policy-making levels. We are quite concerned, in view of the fact that you did not appoint a Puerto Rican as one of your Deputy Mayors (letter Informant 1 to A. Beame, December 12, 1973).

By the time Beame had taken office, this situation had been somewhat remedied; Puerto Rican representation in City Hall had, in fact, been increased. Yet the Political Committee still acted as a broker between certain Puerto Rican leaders and the governmental structure. The appeals to ethnic identity, to the reified ethnic "community," and to allegiance to the Democratic Party were used in exerting pressure on government. This is illustrated in a letter of February 11, 1974 written to Mayor Beame by Informant 1:

> The Committee for the Puerto Rican Day Parade Inc. is quite concerned with the limited opportunities in the city government for the Puerto Ricans. We have talented people as demonstrated by your recent appointments of Mr. Joseph Rodríguez Erazo, esq., Mr. Aramís Gómez, Mr. Lorenzo Casanova, esq. and Mr. Iván Irizarry. We are proud that these men devote their time and talent to help this great city.... However, I would like to bring to your attention the fact that a prominent Puerto Rican, namely Mrs. Frida Montalvo, a long time Democrat and former state Committee woman, has been out of her job for about six months. She worked in HDA Department of Relocation for about six years as a provisional....It is our impression that she should be given an opportunity again in that Department or in any that she can function to the best of her abilities....Hon. Joseph Rodríguez Erazo could provide you with more information regarding Mrs. Montalvo. We would appreciate your prompt attention to this matter (Letter Informant 1 to A. Beame, February 11, 1974).

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A copy of the letter was sent to Erazo, Director of Special Projects at City Hall. The letter reveals that the Puerto Rican Parade's leadership, with its followers are tied to the existing links of patronage at City Hall. Further, the appeal to party politics is made by pointing out that Mrs. Montalvo was an involved Democrat.

Puerto Rican leaders have been predominantly and traditionally Democratic. The following letter from Informant 1 to Hon. Meade Esposito, the Brooklyn County Chairman of the Democratic Party, illustrates the involvement of the Puerto Rican Parade with the Democratic Party bosses:

> The Committee for the Puerto Rican Day Parade, Inc., the largest single organization in the City of New York, has adopted a resolution indicating that since Commissioner Gumersindo Martínez has been appointed Model City Administrator in the Bronx, we will be most pleased to have another qualified Puerto Rican replacing him as a Commissioner for the Board of Elections....We urge you to take the proper steps in securing the appointment of a Puerto Rican for that position (letter of Informant 1 to M. Esposito, March 29, 1974).

It is interesting to note how puertorriqueñismo is underplayed vis a vis hispanismo when attempting to show how large a segment of the City's population is made up of Puerto Ricans. Conversely, whenever an issue of importance only to Puerto Ricans is at stake, Hispanics are never mentioned.

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This theme is apparent when high officials in government are approached using the Parade as an indirect medium of exchange. For example,

> The Annual Puerto Rican Parade, as the single most significant cultural event of the New York Puerto Rican community, to be held on June 2, 1974, at 12:00 noon, has traditionally served various purposes. Amongst its purposes is the highlighting of the participation and contribution of the Hispanic Puerto Rican community to the city of New York. In recent years the ethnic population of the City has changed so extensively that few people realize that Hispanics make up fully 22% or more of its population. The full parade will be seen on various channels and the streets are traditionally lined with half a million observers along our Fifth Avenue. Participating in the Parade itself will be more than 75,000 individuals. Governor Wilson, we will appreciate it if you can participate in the annual Puerto Rican festivities, mostly on the following dates: Banquet,.... Parade....I will highly appreciate it if you can proclaim the week beginning May 27 through June 2, 1974, Puerto Rican week (Letter Informant 1 to Governor Wilson, May 2, 1974) (Italics mine).

From the above, we can see that although the politics of hispanismo serve to court the establishment in general terms, the politics of puertorriquenismo is used specifically to request positions or defend the "community" from discriminatory attacks. Thus, a letter written by Informant 18, the 1973 Parade President, and Informant 1[108] to the Committee for Equal Rights, Brooklyn College, states

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[108] who signed as President-Elect for 1974, even though the letter was dated November 11, 1973, election day for the Parade's officers.

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> The Committee for the Puerto Rican Parade Inc., denounces and condemns discriminatory practices against Puerto Ricans at CUNY and specifically at the Department of Educational Services, Brooklyn College. We are fully aware that Puerto Rican professionals are under-utilized....The delegates to the Puerto Rican Parade reflect the concern of the Committee for the Puerto Rican Parade Inc. as well as the broader concern of the Puerto Rican community in New York (Letter Informant 1 and Informant 18 to Brooklyn College, November 11, 1973).

Thus, the Parade organizers present themselves as representative of more than the Puerto Rican "community"--as the organized spokesmen of an "ethnic group." And thus are they recognized by public officials in government. For example, Hugh L. Carey wrote to Informant 1 before becoming the Governor of New York State:

> I wish to express my personal thanks for your invitation to participate with all of you in the reviewing stand during the very exciting Puerto Rican Day Parade last Sunday...I noted with admiration the well organized efforts of the many delegations from all over the state as well as from Puerto Rico. As President of such an organization, you as well as your many coordinators and staff members, are to be highly commended for the very exciting event to be enjoyed by all New Yorkers. I was honored to take part in this ennobling and productive display of unity (Italics mine) (Letter of H. Carey to Informant 1, June 7, 1974).

The Parade can be seen as an organized demonstration of ethnicity. In presenting a facade of unity despite the internal factionalism within the group, the Parade can receive rewards from the establishment. But in order to demonstate unity and organization, the Puerto Rican population must be mobilized to attend the event

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that is intended to be orderly and overtly a-political: "The Parade is not meant to be an exhibit of misery, poverty and internal sores or to raise the people with protest demonstration" (El Diario, May 23, 1974). This mobilization is achieved by various means: the media, service agencies and other clubs, and the direct appeal by the Parade's leadership. For example, Herman Badillo stated that "it is our duty as Puerto Ricans to attend the Parade to demonstrate our strength in this city, from all viewpoints, to everybody" (El Diario, May 31, 1974).

Finally, two examples are offered to show how the Puerto Rican Parade, by bringing together most of the leaders and influential individuals in the "community," acts as a broker institution. First, the Parade's leadership can be approached for their dispensing of personal favors. Second, this leadership can influence the "community's" opinions regarding political candidates. An example of the first is seen in a letter written to Informant 1 by Olga Méndez, Executive member of the Caribe Democratic Club, Inc., regular Democratic Organization, 70 Assembly District East (January 31, 1974). The letter requests that Mrs. Ramona Colón and her forty baton twirlers, who had encountered difficulties in becoming participants, be allowed to participate in the Parade. An example of the second is seen in a Press release of the Committee for the Puerto Rican Parade:

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"The President of the Puerto Rican Parade asked the support of caborrojeños (his hometown) for the candidate for State Senator, Lic. Israel Ruiz, for District 31 of the Bronx" (Puerto Rican Parade, Press Release, July 10, 1974). Ruiz is from Cabo Rojo. Informant 1 notes that Congressman H. Badillo and Informant 20 have already given their support to Ruiz.[109]

Finally, the Parade is used as a convenient setting to register Puerto Rican voters and to campaign for political offices. One of the contingents parading in 1974 was the Crusade for the Vote. This organization has its offices in the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, while the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, in turn, lends its offices to the organization of the Puerto Rican Parade. As will be shown further in Chapter VI, public officials for the Puerto Rican Parade, the Crusade for the Vote, the Puerto Rican Community Development Project and other major Puerto Rican agencies are all interconnected.

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[109] Presently Ruiz is Legal Assistant to General State Procurator, Louis Lefkowitz. He is attempting to revise the exam system for the Commission for Civil Service which, he maintains, blocks access of Puerto Ricans and Hispanics to municipal positions in New York City.

[110] Since 1965, Puerto Rican organizations, aided by the Puerto Rican Bar Association and the Legion of Voters, have managed to pass legislation which eliminated the literacy test as a prerequisite for voter registration.

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In addition, formal ties are secured with the established officials within the Democratic Party. This is seen in the following letter:

> The Committee for the Puerto Rican Day Parade.... had adopted a resolution indicating that since Commissioner Gumersindo Martínez has been appointed Model City Administrator in the Bronx we will be most pleased to have another qualified Puerto Rican replacing him as Commissioner of the Board of Elections (Puerto Rican Parade, Letter to Meade Esposito, Brooklyn County Chairman, March 29, 1974).

Puerto Rico's Support of the Parade

The Puerto Rican Parade has political links with the Island. Over fifteen hundred people form the Island came to New York to attend the celebrations planned for Puerto Rican Week. This was fewer, however, than Informant 1 had expected. The President had announced in April, 1974 that more than sixty of the seventy-six Mayors on the Island, had agreed to attend the event. However, only forty three Mayors came to take part in the activities of the 1974 Parade.[111] The question that interests us here, however, is not who or how many came, but how and why the support of public officials in Puerto Rico is mobilized, allowing them to take part in an event in New York.

Several attempts were made by the Parade to attract their attention and support. For example, a delegation

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[111]The Mayor of Cabo Rojo, the municipio where Informant 1 is from, was not among them.

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that included the President of the Parade visited the Island. This delegation participated in the Annual Assembly of Mayors in Ponce, in January, 1974, and visited sixteen municipios, where it was declared guest of honor. In a visit (April 21-28, 1974), another delegation was greeted by three thousand people at the airport, including musical bands. The Mayor of Carolina, Fernández Coruyo, the first municipal executive to accept the invitation to the Parade, the Hon. Cancel Ríos, President of the Senate, and Ernesto Ramos Jordán, President of the House of Representatives, were among other public officials at the airport. Six proclamations were issued for the Parade on that occasion. A proclamation issued at Mayaguez specifically pointed out that the 1974 Parade was important as it was making efforts to strengthen the links between the Island and Puerto Ricans on the mainland.

The Puerto Rican Parade reciprocated these demonstrations of good will and issued a Proclamation which

> declared (as) guests of honor in New York the distinguished officials who represent the people of Puerto Rico in the Puerto Rican Parade. They honor us with their visit. Whereas, the Puerto Rican Parade Inc. is an institution that strengthens the natural links of brotherhood between those living in the Island and on the mainland, whereas, it has been a constant endeavor of Puerto Rican public officials at all levels of national life to maintain a total compenetración (interpenetration) with their co-citizens of this part of the continent. Whereas, the Puerto Rican Parade is a bridge

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> of good wishes and common interests that help to the engrandecimiento (growth) of the community (Desfile Puerto Rican Proclamation, May 31, 1974).

During another visit, a New York delegation was received by Governor Rafael Hernandez Colón, invited to hold a press conference in the Government House, and held talks on WIPR, the official radio station. During these public appearances it pointed out the ties between Puerto Ricans on the Island and the mainland, and specified the role of the Parade as a broker institution serving both populations. Thus, the delegation emphasized "how Puerto Ricans in the mainland struggle to heighten our cultural level and honor the name of Puerto Rico. We made clear that the Puerto Rican Parade can serve as a bridge for the genuine manifestation of the people of Puerto Rico in New York" (Puerto Rican Parade, Annual Report 1974:2-3). Finally, it denounced a campaign in Puerto Rico which tried to persuade some Mayors and other public officials not to participate in the Parade. "They had as an excuse the economic problems that affect the Island" (Puerto Rican Parade, Annual Report 1974:4).

One of the politicians on the Island who denounced the efforts of the Puerto Rican Parade to bring Mayors to the Parade, their passage and lodging paid by their own municipios, was the Portavoz (Spokesman) of the Minority of the House of Representatives in San Juan. The President of the Parade wrote him a letter stating

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> This letter is to inform you that I was surprised to read in the paper El Tiempo in New York that you resented the participation of Mayors in the Parade. I think you do not know the reasons that motivate us to invite collectively the Mayors and legislators to participate in the activities of the Puerto Rican Parade in New York. Even if we are physically absent from our country, we feel as emotionally tied to the Puerto Rican way of life as you are. Therefore, you mean as much to us as do the elected officials in New York. Mr. Representative, dollars and cents cannot measure the participation and the presence of the Puerto Rican people from the Island here in New York.[112] I hope you will rethink your objections to the massive participation of our co-citizens from the Island, so that they can bring us human warmth (President of the Puerto Rican Parade, letter to Spokesman for the Minority of the House of Representatives, January 31, 1974).

This disagreement was finally resolved by official degree; support was given as a moral obligation.

> The President of the Senate, Juan Cancel Ríos, considers legitimate the participation of Puerto Rican Mayors in the New York Parade. The reason Ríos gives is that we have the responsibility to keep in close contact with our New York brothers, their goals and their wishes to improve themselves (El Mundo, April 30, 1974).

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[112] Yet one could measure costs "in dollars and cents," From the Annual Financial Report (1974: 10) we learn that the total expenses incurred by the delegations of the Puerto Rican Parade to Puerto Rico were $7,195.54. Of this total, in April, when both the visit and the banquet were held, $4,450.00 in expenses were recorded (Report Annual Financiero 1974). Conversely, expenses incurred in bringing people from Puerto Rico were $4,396.00 during May and June. Yet in most cases, Puerto Rican Municipios paid for most of the cost of travel and lodging, since these trips were considered as official visits (Personal communication).

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We can thus see a need to legitimize the Puerto Rican Parade as an institution; this would bring together the "colony" in New York and the "natives" on the Island. The first Puerto Rican official whose support was petitioned was the Governor. A few days after being elected (December 19, 1973), the President asked him to preside over the planning meeting of the institution, to be held on January 16 in New York. The President noted that

> It would be the first time in the history of the Puerto Rican Parade that such an activity is dedicated to the Honorable Governor of Puerto Rico. Our idea is having you lecture on various problems of our community here and on the development of our people in the dreamed-of Island (Parade President, Letter to Governor of Puerto Rico, December 19, 1973).

When the Governor had not answered the invitation by January 4, 1974, the President wrote to the Mayor of Mayaguez, a close friend of the Governor, to have him inquire about the matter. The President also asked the Mayor for advice on the feasibility of organizing a banquet in San Juan in honor of the Puerto Rican Parade, and possibly another in Mayaguez "to ensure the greatest participation of all Puerto Rican Mayors" (Parade President, Letter to Mayaguez Mayor, January 4, 1974:2). Since the Mayor of Mayaguez was President of the Mayors' Association in Puerto Rico as well, the President also asked to be invited to the next meeting of Puerto Rican Mayors (as if New York might be another municipio). Though invited to both the Banquet and the Parade, the

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Governor never attended either event.

Finally, the Committee for the Puerto Rican Parade offered a banquet in honor of the Mayors and legislators on April 28, 1974, in a private club, La Colonia Hispano-Americana in Bayamón. Five hundred people, including Puerto Rican public officials from Puerto Rico and New York, attended.[113] In view of the fact that many celebrated personalities attended the Banquet, it is difficult to believe the official purpose of this affair, as stated by Informant 1 in the invitation to the Puerto Rican Mayors: "My wish is that this important event, for the first time celebrated in Puerto Rico, be considered as totally apolitical. My intentions is to strengthen links of friendship and love between Puerto Ricans in New York and you all, our brothers from the Island" (Parade President, Letter to Puerto Rican Mayors, April 18, 1974). Yet, rather than being apolitical, this Banquet was actually a political gathering of public officials and would-be politicians:

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[113]Among the personalities present were: Pedro Flores; singer Carmita Jiménez; Senator and artist Ruth Fernández; Cancel Ríos, President of the Senate; Luis E. Ramos Jordán, President of the House of Representatives; Senator Hipólito Marcano; Mayor B. Cole, President of the Mayors' Association; Leo Cabranes, Executive Secretary of the Mayors' Association; Manuel Martínez, ex-President of the Parade; Councilman Vélez and Bob Muñoz, Marshall for the Puerto Rican Parade and Executive Director of the Hunts Point Community Corporation (Puerto Rican Parade, Press Release, undated: 3). Although the highest Puerto Rican political figure in New York, Congressman Herman Badillo, was not listed in the media among the "personalities," he had been invited.

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"I have the desire to link the people of the Island with the Puerto Rican residents in New York, through their representatives" (Italics mine) (Parade President, Letter to Puerto Rican Mayors, April 18, 1974).

Conclusions

The major point of this Chapter has been that the Puerto Rican Parade is symbolic of the desire, on the part of Puerto Ricans in New York City, to assimilate into American culture. The very existence of the Parade is a symbolic acknowledgement of ethnic divisions and social stratification in New York City. The Parade also underscores the widespread belief among Puerto Ricans that they have advanced since they migrated to the mainland. It expresses the Puerto Rican population's wish to publicly show its advancement to the americanos as well as to receive greater recognition, the latter achieved by means of various political pressures its leadership exerts on goverment. The Parade is the best means by which political pressures can be brought to bear. Thus, the significance of this ethnic event goes far beyond what one can immediately observe. We thus argue that the Parade is a form of political organization which reinforces ethnic identity, and is a means of articulating the Puerto Rican population with the wider society.

In summary, we have organized our data in the form of an ethnographic account of the 1974 Puerto Rican Parade,

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centering our attention on the political economy of the ethnic event. First, we have shown that the Puerto Rican Parade has succeeded in integrating most of the Puerto Rican organizations in New York City (386 out of approximately 500) into one larger, overall organization. A large number of these organizations are funded by federal agencies. Our analysis has attempted to show the relationship between the Puerto Rican Parade and its constituent organizations, and the larger socio-political system from which these organizations receive financial support.

Secondly, this relationship can also be viewed in purely political terms. In this Chapter, we have traced the relationship of the Parade's organization with the Island of Puerto Rico, on the one hand, and with the New York political establishment, on the other. We have also presented data supporting the idea that the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, the largest Puerto Rican city-wide anti-poverty agency, has controlled the organization of the Parade, along with other anti-poverty agencies dominated by Puerto Ricans in New York City. Thus, the Puerto Rican Parade, on the surface a folkloric event, actually provides the setting for the informal political maneuvers made by the leaders of established Puerto Rican organizations.

Our analysis of the 1974 Parade leads us to contend that the Parade is an ethnic broker institution that

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responds both to the political leanings of its "assimilationist" leadership, as well as to the pressures of the wider society, which rewards organization along ethnic lines.

While in this Chapter we have dealt with the nature of the Parade's organization, in the following Chapter, we will turn to the more general subject of leadership in the Puerto Rican "community." This leadership, however, is validated through participation in the Puerto Rican Parade and is representative of the "assimilationist" faction within the Puerto Rican political arena. An analysis of the careers of these leaders will include the overlap between positions they occupy in various organizations. Thus, an attempt will be made to demonstrate that these assimilationist leaders can, in fact, be characterized as an "ethnic group."

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CHAPTER VI

ETHNIC LEADERSHIP AND POLITICAL POWER

THE POLITICS OF THE PARADE

Introduction

Thus far we have documented the growth of Puerto Rican ethnic organizations and the incorporation of about eighty percent of these into the structure of the Puerto Rican Parade, Inc. The research question that we now turn to has two aspects. First, what was the impact of the growth of Puerto Rican organizations on the development of ethnic leadership? Second, what bearing had such leadership on the emergence of a Puerto Rican ethnic "community?" Community in this thesis is not seen as a natural correlate of an ethnic category but as a somewhat artificial unit, in the sense of being created by forces outside themselves, rather than being self-generating.

In Section I of this Chapter, we are concerned with the career histories of the 1974 Parade organizers and their relationship to the organizational infrastructure of a Puerto Rican ethnic group.[114] It will be recalled

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[114]See Appendix I for a discussion of the rationale behind our use of network analysis and the manner in which the controversial concept of leadership was operationalized in the present research.

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that we defined an ethnic group as an organizational response to the existing power structure by a segment within an ethnic category. In Section II, we demonstrate the existence of stages that can be elicited from the organizers' careers and show that the Parade serves as a rite de passage since it both creates and validates positions of leadership. In Section III, we analyze how these organizers are connected to each other and others in a network which links various ethnic organizations. Through multiple position-holding, this network forms a web that appears to outsiders to be a "community." Connections between these ethnic leaders are discussed within the analytic context of leadership and leadership types in Section IV. The opportunities and limits of political mobility for these leaders will be discussed. Yet, we must remember that "leaders" of the Puerto Rican "community" are not a homogeneous group. In Section V we show how Puerto Rican leaders are divided in terms of political ideology as well as in their commitment to strategies to obtain goals for the "community." In Section VI, we address the subject of the relationship between Puerto Rican leadership, a Puerto Rican "community" and the wider society. Here, we stress two dimensions implicit in the data presented earlier. One of these is the brokerage functions of Puerto Rican leaders, in that they constitute the communication channels responsible for the development and relaying of an image of community both

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to the wider society and to the ethnic category.[115] Second, the dependency of the Puerto Rican leaders[116] upon institutions of the wider society will be demonstrated.

In analyzing our data in terms of individuals, both through their career patterns and their connections with each other, we argue that these "big men" have much more in common with one another than they do with Puerto Ricans "in the street," i.e., the bulk of the Puerto Rican population in the City. If a concept of "community" is to coincide with any real group of real people in the Puerto Rican population, the only group that might be called a "community" consists of the cadre of "leadership" and their rank and file. It is they, not the mass of Puerto Ricans in New York, who constitute a group. To treat an ethnic category as if it were an ethnic group is a mistaken approach that has been liable to political manipulation and much propagandizing.

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[115] See Chapter I for a discussion of the non-correspondence between ethnic category and ethnic group. We have argued for the position that part of an ethnic category evolves into an ethnic group when it translates culture into political forms.

[116] Puerto Rican leaders are designated by the establishment, though in most cases are perceived as "big men" by the ethnic category.

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Section I

The Career Histories of the 1974 Parade Organizers

We have already noted the importance of participating in the Parade's leadership as a rite de passage in the career advancement of certain individuals. Because of the Parade's importance for Puerto Ricans, an analysis of its leadership can contribute to our inquiry into the question: is there really a Puerto Rican community?

The collection of career histories that is included in this section is presented to support three general points argued in this Chapter. The first is that careers can be interpreted in terms of stages. The question of leadership can also be dealt with in light of the following data presented on career histories. The third is that there exists a divided leadership among Puerto Ricans, and factions are related to ideological differences as well as to subgroupings within the two major ideological groups.

The Sample: The Organizers of the 1974 Parade

We interviewed members of the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors of the Committee for the Puerto Rican Day Parade, Inc. The other two components of the Committee, the Members at Large (twelve) and the

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Disciplinary Officers (six) were ommitted because their appointed positions were not relevant in terms of policy or decision making (See Chapter V, especially pp. 229-230). As we learned later, however, these appointed positions sometimes are a stepping stone toward higher positions.

Of the fifteen members of the Executive Committee, we selected eight: President, Vice-President, General Coordinator, Sub-Coordinator, Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, Public Relations Officer and Executive Secretary. The Vice-President was contacted repeatedly and, although sympathetic to our enterprise, was never interviewed. The seven members of the Executive Committee who were omitted were the Secretary of Correspondence and the Secretaries for the five Boroughs, although one was interviewed.

Of the fifteen members of the Board of Directors, all of whom we had originally planned to interview, we managed to interview twelve; two were out of town at the time of field work and one repeatedly failed to keep his appointments. However, his career was reconstructed from information given by individuals as well as from the press. To this group we added the Political Advisor for the Committee, because of the key position he occupied.

Let us now turn to the histories of the individuals who use the ethnic event and the structure of its ethnic organization as a political resource in advancing their personal careers. We present data on the careers of three

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individuals who are representative of our sample, in that they go through the career stages analysed in Section II.

Career histories[117]

Informant 1 - President of the Parade

Born in Cabo Rojo, Puerto Rico, where he was to become active in sports and in a variety of occupational positions, Informant 1 came to New York in 1957 at the age of eighteen. In 1959, he and a group of Catholic friends founded the Traditional Hispanic Society (Sociedad Tradicional Hispana) on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Having lost a job in a supermarket after attempting to join a union, he obtained a position as a busboy at the Gramercy Park Hotel through kin and friendship networks; he remained there from 1960 to 1963. He then became a waiter at Hotel Taft, and, later, at the Manhattan Hotel In 1964, he passed the High School Equivalency test while working at the Stanford Hotel.

The beginning of his career was signalled by a stroke of luck. In his own words,

> I had the opportunity of meeting there at Stanford Hotel the then Governor of Puerto Rico, Don Muñoz Marín. I waited on him several times. I talked to him personally, and I told him about my intentions to study. He took down my name--I will always remember this--on a napkin, and in two weeks I had a letter at home saying that I would be received in the Division of Migration of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in order to be given the necessary assistance.

The assistance Informant 1 received was admission to the Federal goverment's Program for Manpower Development Training to learn Hotel Management. This training did not

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[117] Other careers in Appendix II.

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bring him better employment (he moved from the Town Hall Hotel to the Hotel Pierre), but it did acquaint him with more formal channels of information about job opportunities than he had had previously. For example, he learned to search for a job through the United States Department of Labor's appropriate offices.

In 1967, he read in the New York Times that the Puerto Rican Community Development Project had opened an office in Manhattan. He applied for a job as Coordinator, but realized quickly that the best way to gain entrance into the organization was by using his hometown network.

> At that time I was a member of Caborrojeños Ausentes (Absentees from Cabo Rojo). Caborrojeños Ausentes had already been offered a contract with the Puerto Rican Community Development Project and the Puerto Rican Community Development Project had turned it down for different reasons. When I learned the Puerto Rican Community Development Project program offered many possibilities, I got in contact with the President of Caborrojeños Ausentes and offered to fill all the necessary papers and read the contract if he gave me the job of Community Worker.[118]

As a result of this offer, Informant 1 got the contract for Caborrojeños Ausentes in 1966 and the job for himself. A requirement of the contract was that the association maintain a store-front where services would be delivered to the Spanish-speaking population. Informant 1 managed to organize this center for Caborrojeños Ausentes.

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[118]See Chapter III, especially p. 154 for the structure of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project and the role of the "community Worker."

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The position of Community Worker for Caborrojeños proved to be a springboard onto other posts. It offered the possibility of becoming known at the Puerto Rican Community Development Project and at neighborhood Community Corporations, as well as of developing ties with the established Puerto Rican "leaders" who played a conciliatory role in the riots of 1968. Informant 1 learned a great deal during those initial years, not only about "who was who" among Puerto Ricans, but also about the programs established by the War Against Poverty. This information, obtained by virtue of holding a particular position, was a resource in itself. It enabled him to select people who qualified as recipients of a given program and who were ignorant about their rights. It quickly gained him a following while at the same time it served as his passport to mingle with the Puerto Rican políticos or the "big men."

As a result of his involvement in "various activities of the community," (Informant 1, interview) he was offered the position of Coordinator of the Community Workers involved in the Puerto Rican Community Development Project's Block Program for the Bronx. His formal entry into this organization automatically integrated him into the circle of leaders which used it as a means of obtaining more funds for the Puerto Ricans from the Office of Economic Opportunity. In 1968, Betanzos, then Executive Director of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, named

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Informant 1 Trainer of the organization; his new job was to supervise thirty-three Community Workers.

Through the network of connections that he had developed through his participation in the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, Informant 1 became involved in the organization of Puerto Rican ethnic events. In 1968-1969, Informant 1 was elected to the position of Public Relations Officer and Coordinator of the Fiesta Folklórica or Puerto Rican Folklore Festival. In 1970-1972, he became a member of the Board of Directors of the Puerto Rican Parade. In addition, in 1967, he founded the Sociedad de Cultura Puertorriqueña (The Society for Puerto Rican Culture), and, in 1971, he became the Public Relations Officer for Fundación Artes, Letras y Ciencias E. Fonfrías (Foundation for the Arts, Letters and Sciences).

But his association with literary and social organizations remained secondary for him; his primary committment was to "community involvement." Through his work in the Bronx, he became acquainted with the powerful United Bronx Organizations and its President, Informant 11, who was part of Informant 20's Bronx-based clique; he became the United Bronx Organizations Community Relations' Director in 1968-1969. He obtained the position of Sub-Coordinator of Cruzada Cívica del Voto (Civic Crusade for the Vote) and Vice-President of the Rafael Hernández Festival. In 1969, he became President of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project's Federal Credit Union,

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Secretary of the Association for Puerto Rican-Hispanic Culture, Treasurer of the Morrisania-Courtland Neighborhood Association, Member of the East-West Concourse Council, and President of the Youth Crusade for Moral Restoration (Cruzada de Restauración Moral de la Juventud). Between 1970 and 1972, he delivered radio programs on WHOM.

In 1970, he requested a job promotion at the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, but was turned down. As a result, he left the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. Before making this decision, he took stock of his connections which could be tapped as resources in the future. "In that year I was well connected with Informant 20, with Informant 18 and other people." Informant 20 consequently offered him a position as Director of Mental Health at the Hunts Point Multi-Service Center which he held from 1970 to 1972.[119] In return for the favor, Informant 1 started to work in Informant 20's political campaigns, especially on various community issues, such as exerting pressure to obtain funds for Hostos Community College.

By then, Informant 1 had enough connections and public exposure to aspire to higher positions than the ones he had previously occupied in the organization of ethnic events.

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[119]Informant 20 was himself opposed to the faction at the Puerto Rican Community Development Project which had denied Informant 1 a job promotion. Thus, his making Informant 1 a protegee symbolically expressed his position against the faction at the Puerto Rican Community Development Project which was later to become powerless.

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In 1970, he became President of the Fiesta Folklórica Puertorriqueña and, at the same time, member of the Board of Directors of the Parade. But he had always been careful not to forget his previous connections. For example, with regard to his hometown associations, he remained active in Caborrojeños Ausentes; from his initial position, member, he had jumped to that of Public Relations Officer in 1966, when he was working to get the association a contract with the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. He was then elected Secretary in 1970 and President in 1971. In that year, he also was elected member and Treasurer of the Board of Directors of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. A critical factor in this move was not only Informant 20 but also Informant 18, President of the Board of Directors of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. Secure in his position, Informant 1 organized a grass-roots opposition to Reyes, then Executive Director of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, which culminated in the latter's resignation. Informant 1 later sided with the faction represented by Informants 18 and 20 and became the spokesman for that faction during negotiations with the Reyes faction aimed at solving the Puerto Rican Community Development Project crisis in 1971 (see Section V). Informant 1 managed to get for his faction 99 percent of the delegates' votes for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project Board of Directors.

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Once the Puerto Rican Community Development Project had been reorganized, Informant 1 became its Director of Personnel and, in 1972, he became its Sub-Director. In that year, he was also named General Coordinator of the Parade, and, in 1973, its Executive Secretary. In 1974, he became both President of the Parade and Executive Secretary of the United Bronx Organizations.

Since 1972, he maintained a radio program on WHOM called "El Proyecto Puertorriqueño Informa" (The Puerto Rican Community Development Project Informs), and another on WBNX. He has also participated in Television programs about Puerto Rican culture on Channels 41 and 47.

His participation as Master of Ceremonies for various ethnic events has also been significant for his public exposure. In 1970, he was Banquet Chairman for the Puerto Rican Folklore Fiesta; in 1971-72, for the United Bronx Organizations; and in 1973, for the Puerto Rican Day Parade.

As a result of adverse publicity about his love affairs, with the Queen of the 1974 Parade, he was advised to diminish his public exposure for a while. Consequently, in 1975 he became the Director of Manpower for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, which was an important position, since Manpower is the most heavily funded of all the Puerto Rican Community Development Project's Programs. Yet this was a position with less power and public visibility than that of Sub-Director.[120]

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[120]In 1975, as a result of a scandal involving the

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His ultimate political ambition, according to other informants, is to become the Mayor of his hometown, Cabo Rojo.

Informant 18 - Member of the Board of Directors of the Parade

Born in Central Aguirre, Puerto Rico, Informant 18 migrated to New York City in 1946. He graduated from high school in Brooklyn and then joined the United States Air Force (he was discharged as a sergeant in 1955). Then he entered City College of the City University of New York.

He soon became a founding member of the "Sociedad Aguirreños Ausentes" and by 1974 was a Member of its Board of Directors. He also became involved in a myriad of other hometown clubs.

Since 1964, Informant 18 has actively participated in Puerto Rican organizations in order to demand better conditions for Puerto Ricans. The fact that he was not listed by the Puerto Rican Forum amongst the sixty-eight Puerto Rican "leaders," demonstrates that his efforts were made more at the grass-roots level ("Citizens Committee supporting the Puerto Rican Community Development Project," Puerto Rican Forum 1964:VI).

Parade Queen, stepped down as Director of Manpower for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. He also worked as a consultant to the Museum Collaborative which implements cultural programs on behalf of minority groups.

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Informant 18 started his public career within the Puerto Rican "Community" in the South Bronx. In 1966, he worked for the Community Corporation of Hunts Point. In 1967, he directed the Outreach Programs of the Hunts Point Multi-Services Corporation which was headed by Informant 20. Informant 18's close relationship with Informant 20 began at this time, and he subsequently became Sub-Director for Planning for the Corporation. In 1970, he became Community Coordinator of the Hunts Point Multi-Service Corporation.

In 1972, he was elected "Citizen for 1970" by the United Bronx Organizations. He was also named Great Marshall for the Puerto Rican Parade, after having served in various other positions almost since its beginnings.

By 1972, he was a Member or had a say over a myriad of civic, social, cultural and political organizations among Puerto Rican, some of which he presided over.[121]

In 1973, he was elected President of the Puerto Rican Parade and President of the Board of Directors of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. In the same year, he became President of the Board of Directors of Model Cities Programs for the Bronx, a $22 million agency which employs thousands of Puerto Ricans. He was also the Executive Secretary for the United Bronx Organizations.

In 1974, he added other positions to the above list, all of which, except President of the Parade, he still held

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[121]In his office, he has over two hundred plaques given him by various organizations.

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in 1975. He was Treasurer of the Executive Board and a Member of the Board of Directors of the Parade, Vice-President of Hunts Point Multi-Service Corporation (directed by Informant 20), President of the Urban Coalition of New York, Vice-President of Puerto Rican Affairs Association, Bronx Chapter (National Association for Puerto Rican Affairs) and he presided over the Council of Tenants of Bronx County.

He saw himself as a political leader in 1974. Among his efforts to make himself known by the local power structure, he gained recognition by the ex-Mayor Lindsay as a speaker for Puerto Rican rights in the United States. Consequently, he has been conferred the title of member of the Committee for celebrating the United States Bicentennial, member of the Commission of Housing of the City of New York and member of the Cultural Festival of New York.

He never lost sight of his homeland for support and has been named representative of the Puerto Rican Governor in the United States.

In New York, he was the initiator of the Crusade for the Vote, a drive geared towards massive registration of Puerto Ricans (They claim to have registered over two hundred thousand in the two years the Crusade has been functioning.)

By 1974, he had enough support through his own activities and close associations with the Informant 20-centered clique, to feel secure to run for political office.

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Consequently, he has been nominated for Councilman of District 8. His main campaign platform has been to preserve the programs created by the War Against Poverty.

Informant 20 - 1974 Political Advisor to the Parade

Born in Hormigueros, Puerto Rico, forty years ago, he founded the Movimiento Pro-Liberación Dominicano, Capítulo Universitario de Puerto Rico (Movement for Dominican Liberation, University Chapter of Puerto Rico), over which he presided until 1960. In that year, he founded and presided over the Popular Party Youth in the Inter-American University of Puerto Rico.

In 1962, he settled in the Bronx but it was in New Jersey where he started to make a career for himself in 1961, a career that has been marked by a middle-of-the-road attitude, or as has been said of him: "a capacity to bring people in, to persuade them to act together, [which has resulted in that]..he has been able to win the support of all groups to accomplish shared objectives for the common well-being of all people " (Cornucopia, Hunts Point Multi-Service Corporation 1973:6.)

In New Jersey, he founded and became the first President of the New Jersey State Puerto Rican Parade in 1963, a position he retained for two years. But the power base he could develop was in New York not in New Jersey. He also had an entree in New York; his brother Ted was President of the East Harlem Tenants Council and well-known

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in the "community." According to the above-mentioned source, his reason for crossing the Hudson was that "the over a million constituency of Puerto Rican New Yorkers beckoned him and he came to New York " (Cornucopia, Hunts Point Multi-Service Corporation 1973:6.)

In New York, he joined the Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico as Community Organizer, after having worked shortly with the Department of Welfare of the City. Later, he was also Director of the Department of Social Services and Human Relations Officer of WHOM Broadcasting Station.

Being a resident of the South Bronx, he not only saw the poverty but also the untapped political potential of Puerto Ricans. He was named President of the Orientation Center of the South Bronx, a pioneer agency of the War Against Poverty. This position earned him a little later that of Special Consultant on Community Affairs for the Community Development Association from 1966-1967.

In 1967, he resigned that position and started politically organizing the South Bronx neighborhood-Puerto Ricans, Hispanics and Blacks, "in order to define community needs and draw up a plan of action" (Cornucopia, Hunts Point Multi-Service Corporation, 1973:6.)

Part of this endeavour to mobilize public attention towards the condition of Puerto Ricans was the fact that he organized the National Association for Puerto Rican Affairs. He was also a Coordinator for the Puerto Rican

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Rican Section of the Pro-Rockefeller Democrats in 1967.

He became an adopted son of Aguadilla and a myriad of other hometown associations, for example, Yauco Civic and Social Club, Boriquita Baseball League and Hermandad Progresista Barcelonense. In 1964, he was Marshall of the Puerto Rican Pioneers Parade in Brooklyn and in 1968, he occupied the same position in the New York Puerto Rican Parade.

In his office, there are many plaques presented by various groups and associations. In addition to awards by Puerto Rican and Hispanic organizations, there are also others honoring him, such as: Tremont Temple Award, American Legion, USO Service Award, National Information Bureau for Jewish Life, Kiwanis Club of New York, Rotary Club, among others. In 1971, he also was honored as "Citizen of the Year" by the United Bronx Organizations-the banquet was presided by Informant 1.

In 1973, he held the following positions: President of the National Association for Puerto Rican Affairs, Member of the Board for the Puerto Rican Family Institute, President Nixon's appointee to the National Commission for the Rehabilitation of Prisoners, member of the Advisory Board-Region 2, of the Small Business Administration, he was on the Advisory Board of the John F. Kennedy Library for Minorities, Chairman of the Hunts Point Community Corporation, member of the Council Against Poverty, member of the Board of Directors of the Bronx Model Cities,

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President of the Board of Directors of the Community Mental Health Unit of the Albert Einstein College Complex, and President of the First Puerto Rican Conference of the Bronx. He was also on the Board of Directors of Lincoln Hospital, The Council for the Arts, Chairman of the Community Advisory Board of the Ruiz Belvis Medical Center, the Bronx Council of Higher Education and, through appointment by Mayor Lindsay, was a member of the Coalition of Ethnic Groups-New York City Human Rights Commission. He was also a member of the Board of Directors of the United Bronx Organizations and had great influence over probably the only grass-roots movement among Puerto Ricans: the East Harlem Tenants Council headed by his brother Ted.

He kept almost daily contact with his personnel, within which he counted a few who made up a loyal clique of followers. By placing them in positions in various Puerto Rican organizations, he ended up by controlling all of those organizations.

He also attempted to reach the wider ethnic category and this he managed to do through radio and TV programs, the best known of these are Con nuestra gente (Together with our people) at WHOM, the Community speaks (WBNX), Línea directa con Informant 20 (Direct line with Informant 20) WBNX and Multi Service Informs-WBNX and Channel 47.

Informant 20 was also Chairman of the Hunts Point Community Local Development Corporation, a multi-service

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program that represents an offshoot from Hunts Point Community Corporation through his own efforts to get it funded, and President of the United Bronx Organizations Blood Bank.

Very early in his career, Informant 20 understood two things: first, that ethnicity had to be stressed in New York politics "if one was out there to win," but secondly, that it best suited his political purposes to define "Puertorricanness" widely, including first other Hispanics. Sometimes he would even subsume the category, Hispanics, within a larger, more encompassing one--that "of poor minorities" in order to appeal to the Blacks. Regarding the first, he once declared "The Dominicans are needy people...I am ready to cooperate with them at any time, as if they were Puerto Ricans " (El Dominicano, December 1, 1973)(Italics mine).

Once secure in the realm of ethnic organizations, Informant 20 organized the Crusade for the Vote over which he still presided in 1974. Once he also became Chairman of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project Board of Directors, he ran for political positions as a Democrat. He began as District leader for the Democratic Party. Since 1975, he has been a Councilman for District 11 of the Bronx. At that time, he was still supporting Congressman Badillo of District 21 in the Bronx for the on-coming Mayoral race as well as for the re-election of Robert Abrams whom he called "somebody worried about

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minorities and the poor " (El Diario, March 14, 1973:13). Informant 20's message to the Puerto Ricans on that occasion was clear and direct: "You have to vote for Badillo and for Abrams. If you do not vote for them, do not vote for me either " (El Diario, March 14, 1973:14). At that time, Badillo endorsed him reciprocally.

The Informant 20-Badillo romance for Puerto Rican and Hispanic unity (In 1972, Informant 20 had also proposed the nomination of Badillo for Vice-President of the United States) would not last, however. By 1975 Informant 20 felt so strong in terms of his successful control of almost every Puerto Rican and ethnic organization in New York, that he challenged Badillo's position as the "Puerto Rican leader." A validation of Informant 20's leadership role at the grass-roots and machine-organizational level was provided by his successful opposition to Informant 21 for the position as President of the New York Puerto Rican Parade. By presiding over the Parade he not only re-confirmed the massive support from all Puerto Rican organizations but also gave him the opportunity to court again the first generation Puerto Ricans: the emigrees from hometowns (Informant 21 appealing to the more Independentist-oriented, second generation, young Puerto Ricans). He consequently organized the Parade around a major theme--that of the hometowns--and promised to bring a long-cherished dream to reality: to build the Casa Puerto Rico. Having worked in 1974 as head of the

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Political Advisory Committee to the Parade, "he is one of the few leaders who comes back to the Parade that has made him" (Interview Informant 15).

Although Informant 20 was still virtually unknown outside the South Bronx, or beyond Puerto Rican and Hispanic organizations, by 1975 Informant 20 had managed to become a major figure in the Bronx Democratic organization and developed good ties with Patrick Cunningham (Democratic State Chairman) and with City Hall. Informant 20's tactic, as different from Badillo's, was to become a cacique over a compact network of Puerto Rican and Hispanic organizations in New York, most of them financed by the Anti-Poverty Programs, mainly in the Bronx; whereas Badillo has been more lax in manipulating ethnic identity for political purposes. Informant 20 calls Badillo a "Riverdale politician" for this reason since the time he challenged his leadership.

In opposing Badillo, Informant 20 has finally united with Gigante, the other South Bronx political boss with whom he had a long feud.

Informant 20's power base is then an anti-poverty funded network of Puerto Rican and Hispanic organizations in which he is either a member, or has loyal followers in key positions. In addition, these organizations sponsor subsidized housing developments in the South Bronx, having power over the selection of contractors and architects: "The anti-poverty and housing programs give Informant 20

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a power base that few politicians in this city can match" (The San Juan Star, February 11, 1975:10).

Section II

Interpretation of Career Data[122]

Several patterns emerge from the data on careers that have been presented. Patterns that can be abstracted from our data on careers include the chronological sequence in which careers develop, the pattern of multiple-position holding, the personalistic quality of the relationships among informants, the "revolutionary" past of a number of informants and the importance of gossip in career advancement.

The sharing of these features, including positions in the same organizations, is at the base of the formation of a leadership "clique." Each of these patterns will be discussed in turn.

Before we enter into a discussion of the career patterns themselves, some of which were described in the previous section, it is important to note that the main characteristic of the "leaders" discussed is their having learned to manipulate ethnicity within the channels that have been opened by the bureaucracy of anti-poverty programs. The successful holding of multiple positions

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[122]In methodological terms, in order to interpret our data, we traced connections among the Parade's organizers as well as between the organizers and individuals in other institutions.

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at these bureaucratic agencies in addition to the use of ethnic organizations for the purpose of career advancement, marks the rise of the new Puerto Rican leadership, the políticos. The significance of the fact that these career patterns do not, however, apply to all "leaders" in the Puerto Rican "community" will be discussed in a later section dealing with factionalism (see Section V).

The Chronological Stages in a Career Ladder

If we take the careers detailed in the above Section as well as some of those summarized in Appendix II, we can abstract a general chronological pattern which can best be presented in terms of stages. Each stage in one's career can be related to three analytical categories: one's position in organizations, access to strategic resources, and establishment of contacts with key individuals.

Ths stages outlined are participation in:(1) hometown clubs, (2) the larger ethnic or other bureaucratic organizations, (3) the Parade, and (4) the final political stage. These stages are interrelated. Thus, the passage from one stage to the next involves an increase in the number of positions for the individual, as well as increased access to resources and a widening of Ego's network of connections.

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The Hometown Club

An immigrant first seeks out people from his hometown for emotional reasons and because his knowledge of English and of the City is generally poor. In hometown clubs, he can find persons helpful in finding employment and housing, probably the two most significant factors in a new immigrant's settlement in the City. Basically, it is hometown friends in addition to relatives who provide the immigrant with information about the City and help ease his adaptation to the new setting.[123] As one informant reports,

> People used to criticize Puerto Ricans whom they said came to this country pushing their-way in (meterse a golpes). This hurt our feelings, and we set out to form hometown organizations...I am from Fajardo, and from the Fajardo Club. I had called my people together with the purpose of having them help each other, especially to find a job...At that time as well as in the present, a group of Fajardeños who had key positions and who could offer work to others tried to meet our people's problems. That is our way to avoid going on welfare (Informant 15).

In the later 1950s, some of the members of these clubs were concerned with what they considered the Puerto Rican "community," organizing Parades, and forming citizens' committees to pressure government for funds for services to Puerto Ricans. Consequently, an immigrant would meet in these social clubs individuals who would later on be acknowledged as "leaders." If an immigrant were able to

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[123] See Chapter II.

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combine perseverance and skills with some luck, as well as gave support to these new "leaders," he would earn their sponsorship and, thus, be able to pass on to the subsequent stages of the career ladder of the políticos.

As a member of my hometown organization has said,

> I quickly got involved in the Parade. I started to know them all the leaders So that I have practically met all the leadership in the City of New York through the Parade...and I have participated with them...That was my principal base, the Puerto Rican Parade...it is there that I started to meet people (Informant 17).

Participation in Larger Ethnic or Bureaucratic Organizations

In the 1960s, numerous low-level positions in the civil service bureaucracy opened up for Puerto Ricans. Association with a hometown organization was strategic for a Puerto Rican who wished to apply for one of these positions. But it was equally, if not more, important to align oneself with individuals who were likely to become "leaders" or "spokesmen" for the Puerto Rican "community." In addition, entry into bureaucratic positions within Puerto Rican programs could be facilitated by one's having worked with grass-roots ethnic organizations, or with the Parade. For example, the Public Relations Officer for the 1974 Parade, had worked as Director of Community Relations for Schaeffer Brewing Co. for the previous ten years. In explaining how he obtained the job, he stressed the role of the "community" (i.e., clubs) and relatives.

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> Schaeffer executives asked the community to give them a name, and one of my relatives submitted mine, because he knew that although I had a high position in the Post Office, I did not have the freedom or the authority there to help the community as I wanted to. I allowed him to submit my name because I thought it would be more feasible to help from this position. There were fourteen or twenty others whose names were submitted, and after an elimination process I was lucky...This position is not important to me but it is important to the community. Before I had to beg in order to help the community. Now I do not have to do that (Informant 8).

The bureaucratic position itself can provide the individual with access to information about the "community," the local power structure, and how government funds are managed and allocated. Thus, a position in an organization is in itself a resource, not only because of the benefits listed above, but also because it enables the individual to establish contacts with others, in similar high positions. As these bureaucratic officials become intermediaries in the dispensing of services, they begin to become ranked in terms of their power to dispense patronage favors. Thus, they become perceived as "leaders."

The Parade

If an individual has been successful in passing through the two preceding stages, or if he has been an organizing member of clubs, his name is added to the campaign slate of a Presidential Nominee for the Parade.[124] If the

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[124]Delegates with the majority of votes serve for three years. Those who receive fewer votes serve for two or one year. Only delegates from participating organizations are allowed to vote in the elections for the Parade organizers.

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individual is elected, he gains the prestige associated with the position as well as the opportunity, through his newly gained public exposure, to establish more strategic connections with Puerto Rican políticos and the non-Puerto Rican power structure. In other words, as one informant has said, through the Parade, "one can obtain certain friendships and certain contacts--let us say, political" (Informant 17). Thus, on the basis of interviews with numerous informants, we can say that *although on the surface*, the motive for working for the Parade is the satisfaction of working for the community, at a deeper level, personal ambitions indeed enter the picture. As one informant said,

> I am a young person. I have my ambitions...to be in the Parade helps because it gives you prestige; the community and the people know me. I want them to know me and to let them know that I am doing work for the community, and the kind of person that I am. I feel satisfaction from trying to help, and the people outside help me (Informant 9).

The individual elected is committed, in return, to side with the faction he had campaigned with as a return favor but also because he wants to further advance his career. Because of all these factors, people involved in the Parade must assess their position and their role. As one informant said, "Although you always have some colados "hangers on") who do not know what they are doing, the majority of the officials know what they have in their hands,--they participate more than the others" (Informant 11).

An individual cannot, however, reach the Parade stage if he has not previously worked at least in hometown

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organizations. In other words, one can participate in the Parade without having worked in a bureaucratic or ethnic organizations, but not without having worked for a hometown club. According to one informant, "To be able to get into a position of importance in the Parade, you first have to be a delegate of a hometown organization. In the club elections, somebody nominates a delegate and then we vote" (Informant 17).

This applies even to the founders of the Parade, who, if they are found faultless by the clique in control, stay on because:"They see the enormous experience that they have since its creation, [they are] like counsellors to the administrators" (Informant 11).

Not all positions in the Parade are elected, however. The position of Executive Secretary, for example, is a cargo de confianza (position of trust). One informant "obtained this position because [he] had a personal relationship with Informant 1" (Informant 9). This applies to the position of Public Relations Officer as well, although this has to be confirmed by the Board of Chairman.

One position in the Parade helps an individual to gain access to other positions. Thus, one informant stated that "Because one never helps oneself alone, you always have to have somebody who helps you" (Informant 9).

But one also has to work for a newly acquired status. For one informant, "The Parade provides me with the opportunity to meet a lot of important people but if I do

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not work, [the contacts] do not function" (Informant 9).

The position that one has achieved with the Parade's organization serves as an index for the stage reached in an individual's career (see Chapter V for a description of the structure of the Parade's organization, especially p. 227). A position of some importance in the Parade gives an individual the opportunity to either rise to even higher bureaucratic positions or pursue a political career. Only those who hold overlapping positions in several organizations and who can be certain of the strength and loyality of their followings would consent to nomination for political office. As one informant said,

> Many ex-Presidents [of the Parade] have come to be great politicians, for example, Informant 21, who now is part of the Resistance Committee and previously was a Commissioner. Informant 11 worked, after being President, as an Advisor to Mayor Lindsay and to Lincoln Hospital. Informant 18 is also an ex-President and now a leader. The Governor of Puerto Rico recognized his work for the Parade and he is now his representative here in New York. Mr. J. Monserrat, who was one of the most involved persons in the Parade, although he never held any official position, became the President of the Board of Education. Mrs. Amelia Betanzos, who was Executive Secretary to Mayor Lindsay and is now the Commissioner of Housing, was also very involved. So the Parade is a means to different ends. The majority [of Parade leaders] are successful. Many leaders see the Parade as a step on a ladder to the future; others have said that it is a point through which everybody has to pass to become successful. I see it as a representative and strong institution (Informant 4).

Finally, although most individuals utilize the Parade as a springboard to political office, others consolidate their power base from their positions within the Parade.

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Examples are Informant 20, who became Parade President after being elected Councilman, and Congressman Badillo, who was Great Marshall of the 1973 Parade during his 1973 Campaign for the Mayoralty of New York City.

The Political Stage

If an individual is successful in all of the above stages, the in-group of which he becomes a part, pushes for his nomination for a political position. In spite of assertions that the Parade is an apolitical organization, then, many informants would agree that the Parade had been instrumental in forging their political careers, or at least in providing the visibility and connections that could be used as resources. According to one informant,

> You can see that we have many Assemblymen, several Senators and Puerto Ricans in other capacities that we did not have before. We have gotten these [positions] almost always through the Puerto Rican Parade...The Puerto Rican Parade means votes... (Informant 15).

Another informant has stated that

> Through the Parade a number of things have happened: We have fought to obtain control over the Hunts Point Community Corporation, of Model Cities in the Bronx, as well as over Hostos Community College. Through the Parade we have gained one Congressman, five Hispanic Judges (Informant 11).

Still another informant adds,

> There are few persons who are not linked to the Parade [because] the Parade is the principal base of every movement--the Civic Crusade, the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, and the Folklore Fiesta--any movement for the total development of the community (Informant 13).

Furthermore, the recruitment of Puerto Ricans to

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positions in City Hall is viewed as an acknowledgement of the organized manifestation of Puerto Rican ethnicity. As one informant says,

> When a Mayor names our people for key positions as he has been doing, he shows us the respect we have managed to obtain through our movement... All these people emerged from the Parade because it was the first unification movement, the one through which we demonstrated to the authorities of the City and the State that the Puerto Rican people had matured and were heading all Hispanic movements (Informant 13).

The Parade stage in an individual's career ladder can become a rite de passage for entrance into a political or a higher bureaucratic position. Whether this happens or not depends on a combination of several factors: perseverance, sponsorship, and luck.

However, not everybody who manages to reach the Parade stage necessarily wants to arrive at the political top[125] (see cases provided by Informant 3 and 17).[126] Those who do have political ambitions, but who have not yet achieved them, may use the three previous stages in three ways:

1. Cooptation: a "leader's" following is augmented when he helps place his supporters in key positions in Puerto Rican organizations, or when he himself holds several interlocking positions (See Section III below

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[125] There are, of course, atypical cases, such as that of Informant 14 (see Appendix II). Although he was connected to Informant 20's clique, he resigned from all his positions in organizations that it controlled with the exception of his position in ethnic events.

[126] See cases provided by Informants 3 and 17 in Appendix II.

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especially Activation of Networks).

2. Mobilization: When something is at stake, his supporters are asked to "act out" their loyalty to their leader (as seen in the elections for the Parade, voluntary canvassing for the Crusade for the Vote, etc.).
3. Appointment: Some apprentices are given important positions because leaders have confidence in their loyalty (see cases of Informant 8, Informant 9, and Informant 1). Thus, connections to key figures may prove to be more important than specific expertise in being recruited for a position.

Other Patterns Emerging from Career Data

The first pattern that emerges from the analysis of career data is that the informants in our sample hold multiple positions in a myriad of Puerto Rican ethnic organizations and Puerto Rican-controlled service agencies. Moreover, these organizations are interlocked precisely through the multiple-position holding of our informants.

A second pattern is personalism. By this we mean that when an individual is part of a clique, he feels he is working for another individual rather than for an organization. Loyalty is to the "leader" who periodically returns favors to his followers, and works without consideration of geographical limitations. Thus, one informant states,

> Even if I have lived for twenty years in Brooklyn I have always worked in the Bronx because there is where Puerto Rican unity is; here is where you have

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> order, you have guarantees that your faith and your work will pay off. Here, Informant 20 promises you that you are going to advance and he means it--nobody is going to go over you because he already gave his word to you (Informant 15).

A third pattern is the emphasis of informants on demonstrating that the goal inherent in their activities is to help the "community." Some even express themselves in more radical terms than the classic liberal approach toward lower-class Puerto Ricans, pointing out their "revolutionary past." This "revolutionary past" is referred to as a characteristic of their youth which has now been abandoned due to a loss of confidence in the efficacy of the methods used by "revolutionaries" to help the Puerto Rican people. As one informant said,

> When I was young, I wore a black shirt, and put down the American flag. My idol was Don Pedro Albizu Campus. But his fanaticism blinded him and he was mistaken. Luis Muñoz Marín was the architect of Puerto Rico. He applied [his ideology] to the people in a simple way, without violence; he gave Puerto Rico the vote (Informant 15).

Another informant stated that "In my youth I was always waging revolutions, for Mexico, for Cuba, for Santo Domingo" (Informant 20).

Even though one informant claimed "to have understood that they could not change the world, so they settled for the neighborhood" (Informant 15), some informants still retain a "radical" vocabulary, which helps them in the mobilization of youth for a struggle against the independentists. For example, in the words of one

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informant, "These are in reality the injustices of a political system dominated by a ruthless capitalism which does not allow Puerto Ricans to have access to opportunities like jobs through which they could survive" (Informant 20).

Finally, gossip also plays an important role in career advancement. Some informants refer to asuntos de la comunidad ("community affairs") but specify that they will not mention names or give details on those because no me conviene (it puts me in a bad light). An informant thus expressed this concern with gossip: "Everyday we have gossip and anonymous letters, referring to personal affairs. Then they conduct an investigation so that the city and the federal government, which give the money, make sure of any discrepancy" (Informant 3).

To summarize, a presentation of patterns that emerge from the career data presented in Section I highlights three related phenomena. First, the individual's rank in any one stage reveals the resources to which he has access. Resources are comprised of positions and connections. A position is a resource because it can be used as a mechanism to enlarge a network of relevant connections. Contacts with higher-placed individuals lead, in turn, to the placement in higher positions within an individual's career.

Second, career histories reveal the structure of rewards offered a following by a leader who has helped it accede to certain positions. The ideology of return

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favors, or political patronage[127] to tie a following to a leadership cadre, is not only well known among Puerto Ricans but also highly publicized. For example, when New York State's Governor Carey did not promptly appoint Puerto Ricans to high positions upon his election, he was constantly reminded by El Diario that "love is paid by love" (Amor con amor se paga). This applied to Mayor Beame as well.

> We think that Governor Carey as well as Mayor Beame should provide patronage, or jobs, to County Leaders so that they could distribute these among their followers. Yet there are some who have worked hard and who have received nothing as of now. We think that it is good that him who serves the shrine should live off it, no? (es bueno que del altar viva el que al altar sirva) (El Diario, February 14, 1975:16).

The sharing of resources, including positions in the same organizations and overlapping networks is the prerequisite for the development of cliques. In the following Section, we discuss the interrelationships between the individuals in our sample and show that the organizers of the Parade not only constitute a formal group, but also function as an informal political pressure group.

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[127] Key places where patronage is dispensed are community corporations, community action agencies, development programs and political clubs (especially El Caribe, a Democratic Club).

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Section III

Networks and their Activation[128]

In this Section we expand our discussion of career patterns to include an analysis of the interconnections between the various successful Puerto Rican "community leaders." This issue is important because it provides the infrastructure for our understanding of the political uses of ethnicity. The relationship between these "leaders" must necessarily be understood in terms of the career stages previously discussed. In fact, each career stage provides Ego with access to a different set of resources, viewed here primarily as access to people in strategically placed positions. The correlation between career stages and connections with these strategically placed individuals can be expressed by means of Figure 11.

As shown in Figure 11, each stage correlates with specific types of connections. Success in moving through the stages depends upon how well one capitalizes on connections acquired during previous stages.

The stages through which Ego passes are defined by the positions occupied in different organizations. Each organization, in turn, can be considered as a provider of resources for Ego. In fact, Ego uses his position in any

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[128]See Appendix I: "Methodology" for a discussion of the technique of network analysis and the way this was adapted to this research.

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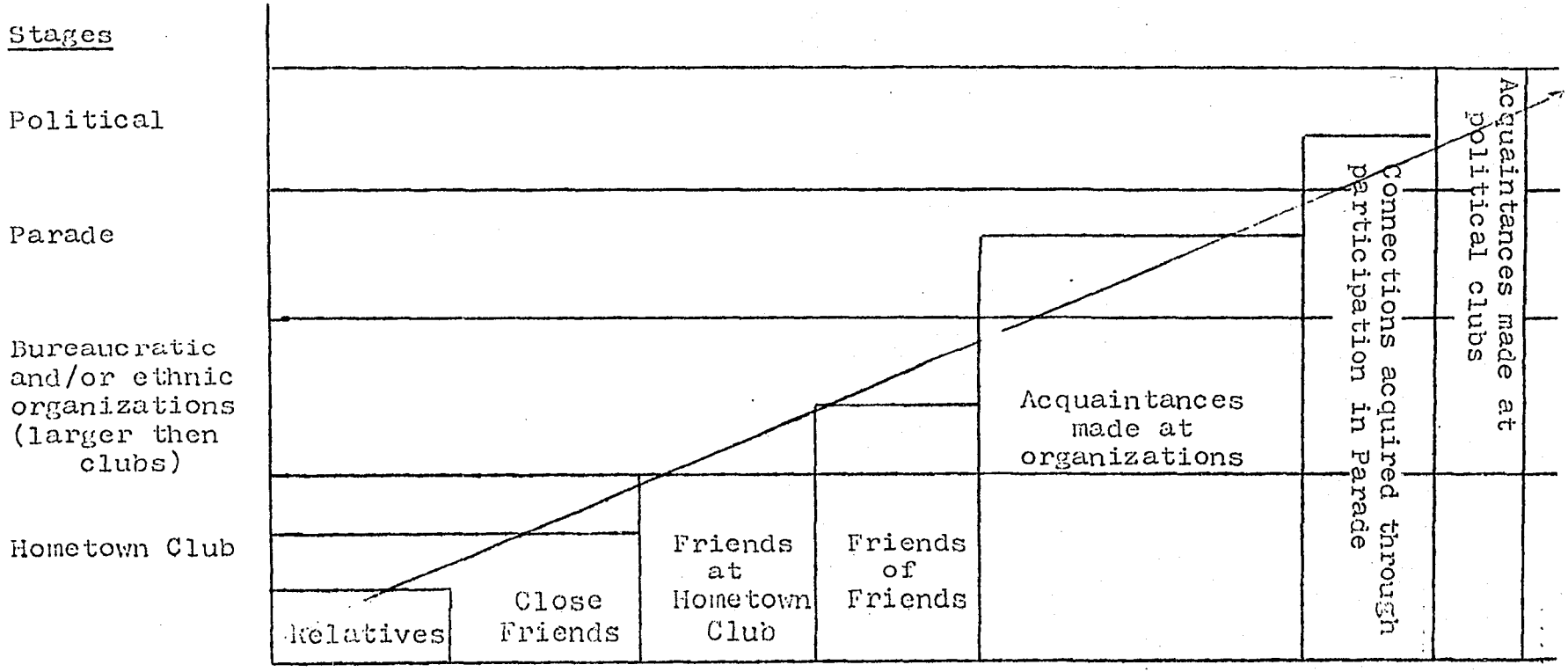
FIGURE 11

MECHANISM TO EXTEND NETWORKS OF CONNECTIONS THROUGHOUT CAREER STAGES



Types of Connections which help an individual to obtain higher-level positions at subsequent stages in his career ladder

NOTE: ⟶ = Direction traversed by an imaginary aspiring leader. Connections made by an individual are cumulative; thus, those made at earlier stages are maintained at later stages in one's career history.

specific organization to establish connections both within and outside the organization, in an effort to enhance his chances for mobility into a higher-level position, and hence, stage in his career.

The relationship between Ego and fellow-workers in the same organization conform to what Hammer (1974) calls a "location-based network " (See Figure 12).

A location-based network is not Ego-bounded but rather, physically-bounded. It is a collection of individuals who have repeated contacts with each other by virtue of the fact that they work in the same location. It is likely that some of these contacts develop into friendly relationships. As a result of the selective development of friendship bonds, we can isolate cliques within networks, as illustrated in the following Figure depicting the organizers of the Puerto Rican Parade.

As can be seen in Figure 13, there are two major cliques within the Puerto Rican Parade Committee, even though the Committee functions as one group with a unified set of goals. Clique "A" is obviously larger, and therefore stronger than "B." The latter is in the process of developing through the recruitment of followers. Clique "A" has successfully controlled the Parade's organization for the last ten years (see Chapter V).

Of the various cliques, Clique "A" is the one which clearly has a pyramidal authority structure. There is a "boss"--Informant 20--several successful leaders and a

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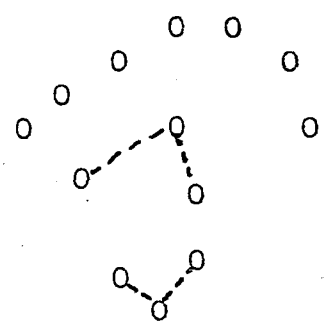
FIGURE 12

LOCATION-BASED NETWORK



SOURCE: Hammer, Muriel: 1974 Paper presented at the Annual Review Symposium Biometrics Research, Anthropology Section. Columbia University, unpublished m.s.

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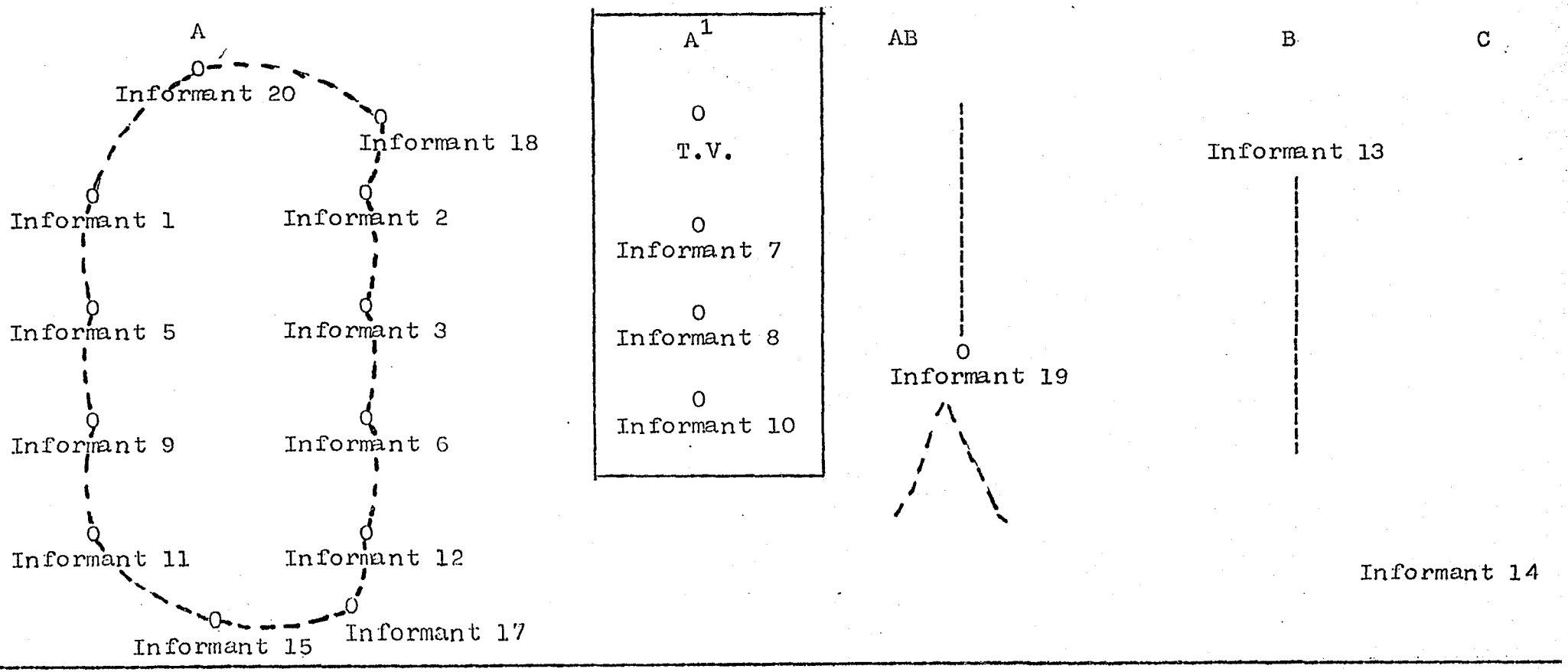
FIGURE 13

CLIQUES WITHIN THE PUERTO RICAN PARADE COMMITTEE, 1974



Informant 14
V. A.
Informant 16

NOTE: Informant 14, V. A. and Informant 16 are "marginals" with respect to the organizations of the Parade.

coterie of followers at various levels. There is much in-group solidarity within Clique "A." Its members participate not only in the Parade but also in other "community" organizations. Therefore, its members are in close, almost daily, contact. As one informant said, "These people see each other often because [they] are on the same Board of Directors, and so on...because they are a group...all in the same organizations, on the same committees. We share in the Parade...we meet...we feel together" (Informant 17). Another stated that "We have a daily relationship; in one way or another [we are] united and we participate together in a lot of things" (Informant 11).

The majority of the members of the Board of Directors of the Parade is made up of the clique. Thus, an informant noted that the

> Board is a very select policy-making body. Almost all the members of that Board are people who have experience in other areas of the community. Sometimes we fight (nos fajamos) but that is part of the game... then, we acknowledge the majority (Informant 11).

The organization of the Parade is indeed the vehicle that connects all these individuals in Puerto Rican agencies in one body. According to one Informant,

> We have our small groups [who used to get together] three or four or five times a year, but in the last two or three years we have been in more direct contact, not only one day for that demonstration of joy along Fifth Avenue, but also throughout the year (Informant 13).

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There is a hiatus separating Cliques "A" and "B" within which we can place individuals associated with Clique "A" but not formally committed to it (referred to as A^1), and individuals who are connected to each other only through the Parade and related to members in both cliques, "A" and "B" (referred to as "A-B"). Finally, there are individuals who are marginal to both cliques; while they participate in the Parade "for the good of the "community," they do not align theyselves with either clique.

Thus, clique "A," the most powerful, is composed of a group of friends who, aside from jointly making preparations for the Parade, form part of several other location-based networks. As a result of this organizational overlap, through multiple-position holding, the members of clique "A" are connected through a tightly-knit network that includes other individuals who are not organizing members of the Parade. Figure 14 shows both the relationship between these location-based networks, and the pattern of multiple-position holding of their members in addition to the process of bringing new members into the group, referred to here as Clique "A."

As Figure 14 shows, individuals can be connected to one another through direct or indirect links. Let us provide an imaginary example: individual "A," from organization "x," can be connected to individual "B," from organization "y," directly, or through an intermediary "C," the latter employed by either organization and a mutual friend of both "A" and "B."

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FIGURE 14

INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG LOCATION-BASED NETWORKS

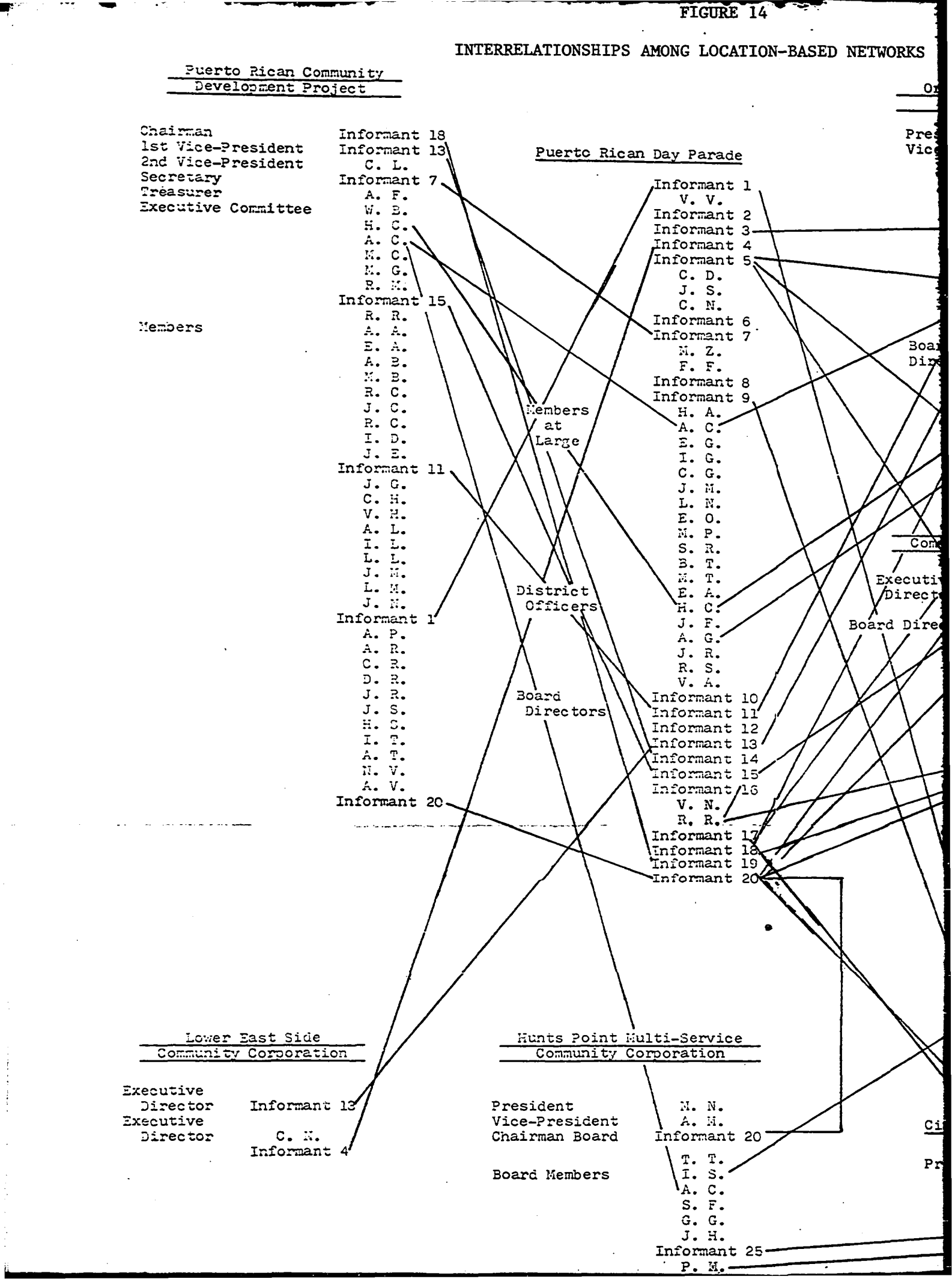

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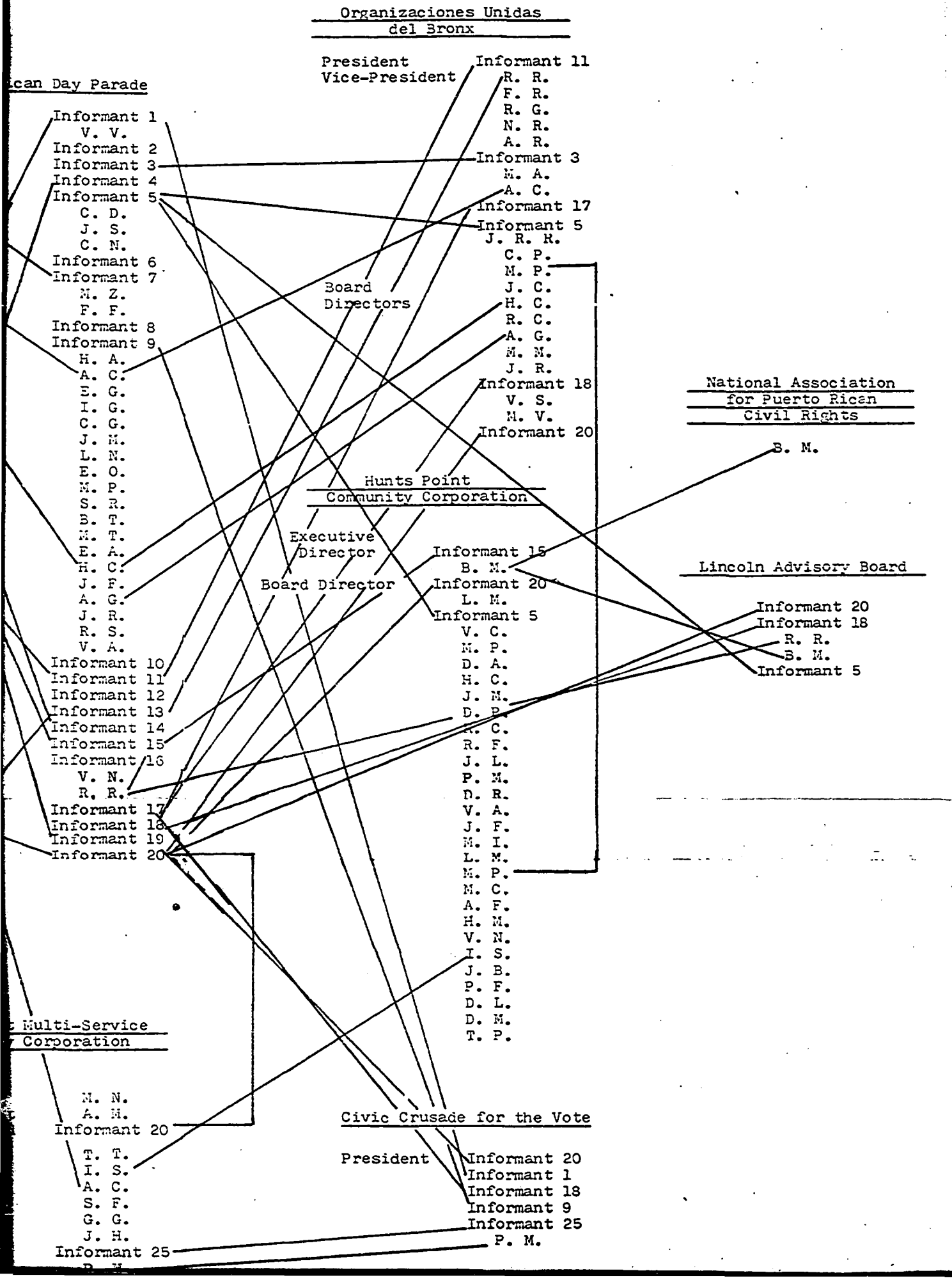
FIGURE 14

PS AMONG LOCATION-BASED NETWORKS



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Thus, during fieldwork the position of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project Deputy Director was filled by Informant 1. He was the political "godson" of Informant 20 and Informant 18. In occupying this position, Informant 1 mediated between Informant 18 and Informant 20's joint control over the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. As President of the Board of Chairmen, Informant 18 recommended policy that the Project's Executive Director, Mr. O, was in charge of implementing. By helping Informant 1 to step into the position of Deputy Director, Informant 18 was able to control the daily operation of the Project's structure and attempted to transfer the loyalties of the Executive Director's staff to himself.

One implication of the above is that the organizations and the location-based networks diagrammed in Figure 14 are all controlled, directly or indirectly, by Clique "A," since its members occupy the key positions in such organizations.

Even when informants perceive the implications of the extent of organizational connections, they argue that organizational autonomy still does exist. For example, one informant said,

> Puerto Rican Community Development Project is an organization different from the Parade [but] we help the Parade, and almost all the people who work for the project [Puerto Rican Community Development Project] belong to different organizations which [in turn] belong to the Parade. We work in common; we work well that way. We are friends and we work well (Informant 9).

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Informants do admit, however, that communication has been greatly increased through multiple position-holding in interlocking organizations. Previously, they used to see each other only in hometown organizations, but when they started working for the same Puerto Rican organizations, their interaction increased in frequency and intensity. As the same informant said, "Before there was communication but it lasted a day or two. Now there is more unity--since we are together at work and in other struggles, we see each other more" (Informant 9).

Services Exchanged through Networks

Services are exchanged between members of these networks, though these differ according to the ranked position of Ego in his network . Thus, we can refer to empirical examples of services being exchanged in an "upward" or "downward" direction within such a network of hierarchically arranged positions. One characteristic common to all exchange relationships, however, is the perception of connections by informants as a vital resource, because "one never helps oneself" (Uno nunca se ayuda solo).

The use of connections in providing assistance goes far beyond the borders of the organizations whose overlapping membership we have charted above (see Figure 14). Informants reported using outside connections whenever some matter could not be handled within their own organization. For example,

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according to one informant,

> We have been fortunate enough that my predecessor is Mr. Muñoz, a Puerto Rican activist and President of the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights, of which I am a treasurer. We have combined our forces so that when we cannot [succeed] through the corporation Hunts Point Community Corporation, in this case we raise the flag of Civil Rights (Informant 15).

But, the major service rendered by the more powerful members of the network to its members lies in the area of providing jobs. Informants reported that sometimes they would not obtain jobs, however, because of "previous political commitments." Informant 1's career history demonstrates the process by which one can activate one's own network for personal assistance. Informant 1 learned how to use certain channels to get himself a job promotion. He

> applied for a higher position than the one he had. Unfortunately, the Executive Director at that time did not pay attention to my application and I resigned. That year he was very well connected with Informant 20, Informant 18, and other people. Informant 20 took me to work for the Hunts Point Multi-Service Center as Director of Mental Health (Informant 1).

He had had no prior training for this position.

Thus, services of a general nature are exchanged between "social equals," or individuals equally highly placed in organizations controlled by the clique, as shown from the previous quote. More specific services, that generally pertain to the area of jobs, are exchanged between "social unequals;" that is, between the "bosses," or individuals ranking high in the clique, and individuals

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further down the hierarchy from the "leader."

Services may be either reciprocated in kind or converted to other realms by expressing one's loyalty to the dispenser. In the first instance, there is a common understanding that, when it is needed, the service rendered will be reciprocated by another similar service. This can be expressed in the following terms: "You helped me obtain a job; I will do likewise now" or, "Your organization contributed to the development of mine; mine will help yours." When loyalty rather than a similar service is exchanged, it may be expressed in various ways, but it usually involves a political dimension. For example, Since Informant 20 helped Informant 1 to obtain a job, Informant 1 has been actively engaged in Informant 20's political campaigns.

The exchange is not completed, however, by matching a favor with another favor. Unless some unforeseen course of events terminates the relationship, the parties involved in the reciprocal exchange relationship attempt to continue it. They act to solidify the informal contract binding them together through a continual exchange of favors. Thus, the "leader" who might hide from the public, would always be available to his supporters, whenever they need to solve a problem.

According to one informant, "Informant 20 is always at a meeting, he is always busy, but when he hears who is on the telephone, he comes to the phone, and says, 'How

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are you, my brother?'" (Informant 3).

In turn,a supporter sides with his leader on political issues pertaining to the "community" or helps in electoral campaigns his leader launches. As one informant said, "I help him [Informant 20] with votes, in solving this or that; and so when I need him, he has to come to me" (Informant 3).

From the evidence presented above, it can be argued that recruitment into these political ethnic cliques and the conversion of some of these position holders into a following can be viewed in terms of a system of reciprocity of favors (See Lomnitz 1972:93-106). Although the importance of having access to strategic connections at the right time has already been made clear in Section II, which dealt with stages in career history, in what follows we underline the importance of reciprocity of favors through a discussion of the activation of networks for political campaigns.

The Crusade for the Vote[129] reveals the exchanges made

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[129] The Crusade for the Vote was founded in 1973. By 1975, it extended beyond New York City to Yonkers, New York; Bridgeport, Connecticut; and Miami, Florida. These are all places with high concentrations of Puerto Ricans. Although the major goal of the Crusade is to register Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics to vote, in 1973 it worked for legislation that would abolish the literacy test as a prerequisite for voter registration. Mayors from Puerto Rican municipalities have also backed the efforts of the Crusade's campaign.

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among members of these cliques as well as how lower-class Puerto Ricans are mobilized into a political following. The importance of the Crusade lies in its goal of encouraging Puerto Ricans and all Hispanics to register to vote. Yet beyond this aim lies the strategic campaigning for those whom the clique favors. Thus, to work for Informant 20, for example, is equivalent to work for the future of one's own career.

In attempting to recruit support from the lower classes, the underlying message of the Crusade has been "Informant 20 works for you, he struggles to get services and programs funded for you, give him your vote." The notion that one has the right to expect the gratitude of the lower-class is widely held. Informant 20 angrily replied to a questioning reporter, "You ask me what do I do for my people? I feed them!" (Village Voice,April 30, 1976:12).

The Crusade for the Vote fights against the political apathy of Puerto Ricans through a massive registration drive, as it assumes that voting can help upgrade the life conditions of the mass of poor Puerto Ricans. At one Informant said,

> If all New York Puerto Ricans would vote, we would have an electoral force stronger than that of the Liberal Party so that we could change the balance of either of the two important parties. That is why our political representatives, and we, the communal representatives, struggle for the registration of Puerto Ricans. This is the only way we can get better schools, better housing, better laws. But we still have Puerto Ricans who have been here for twenty-five years and do not know anything beyond the way between house and factory.

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> They do not have contact with anybody. That is why they are forced to go to welfare (Informant 15).

All of the clique's organizations controlled by Informant 20, the head of the clique, cooperate in the Crusade. According to one informant, "The Puerto Rican Community Development Project has always cooperated because this project is to help the community, and one of the ways to help the community is to train people to vote. We have the right to teach our people to register and vote" (Informant 9).

The Crusade organizes meetings at the Puerto Rican Community Development Project and other Puerto Rican organizations, launches radio, television and press campaigns, and canvasses in Puerto Rican and Hispanic neighborhoods.

Thus, Clique "A" operates by means of a system of favors and rewards. It is composed of individuals who support each other but who are also ranked in terms of access to strategic resources. There is an overall "boss," an entourage of close and loyal supporters and a wider following, also ranked in terms of location-based networks and would-be members of the clique. Supporters who can fight for specific gains, or contribute to the Crusade for the Vote, are mobilized by holders of the highest ranking positions. This process can be best visualized in terms of Figure 15.

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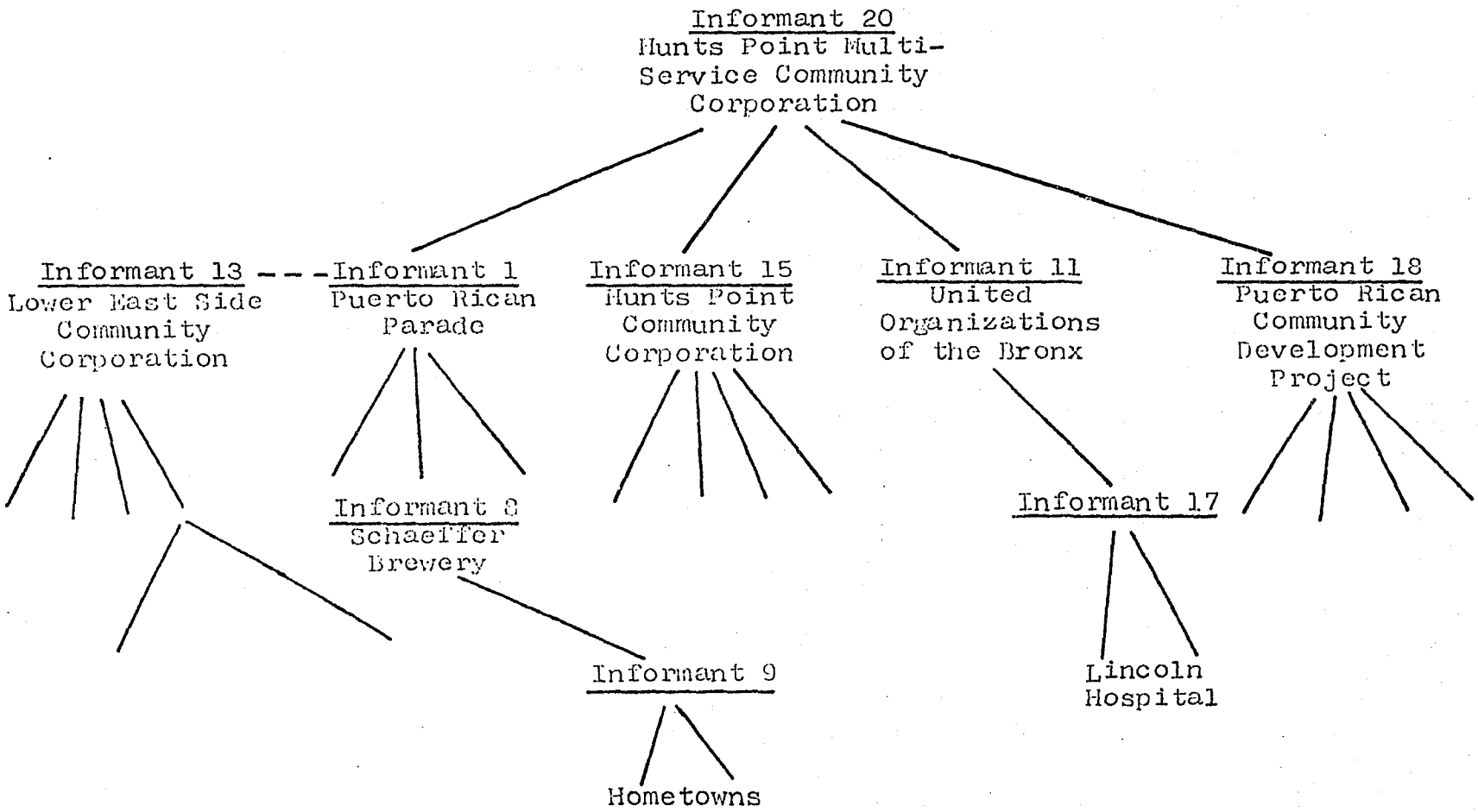
FIGURE 15

MECHANISM USED IN MOBILIZING SUPPORT



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Whereas the first level in Figure 15 represents the major Puerto Rican, or Puerto Rican controlled, organizations in New York (major, in the sense of being visible and fairly accessible to the lower-class), it is the second level that reaches out to other organizations, including the level of hometown clubs and citizens' groups.

Thus, Clique "A" has a strong impact on the Puerto Rican population due to its efficiency in getting lower-class Puerto Ricans mobilized by the organizations they control, and which, in turn, serve the clique. Reaching the lower-class, from the Clique's vantage point, demonstrates one important political use of ethnicity for the Puerto Rican population in New York.

To present a more complete picture of the Puerto Rican "community," however, we first need to know to what extent the members of clique "A" are actually "leaders" of the lower-class Puerto Rican population. We also need to discover their horizontal connections to other Puerto Rican "elites" as well as non-Puerto Rican power groups in the City. These two questions will be discussed in the following two Sections.

Section IV
The Concept and Practice of Leadership

Leadership can be defined in various ways depending on which characteristics inherent in the role one chooses to emphasize.[130] For the purpose of this analysis, however,

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[130]See Gouldner 1965, International Encyclopedia of

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the following definition is useful: "Leadership may be broadly defined as the relation between an individual and a group built around some common interest and behaving in a manner directed or determined by him" (Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 1959:282). The same source goes on to distinguish between leadership and two analogous types of phenomena. At one pole is the dominant individual who holds power "by virtue of an external convention, such as custom or law" (Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 1959:283). When this happens, "he becomes the agent of authority and the group consists not of followers but of subordinates" (Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 1959:283). At the opposite pole, we have the individual, seen as an agitator or demagogue, whose "position rests upon nothing more than his capacity to appeal to the members of the group through stimulating their emotions" (Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 1959:284).

From the above definitions, one can conclude that, if a leader must have a following, then a person occupying a position of authority is not a leader when he has only subordinates who are not followers. On the other hand, a person who appeals only to emotions, dehumanizes his potential followers by converting them into an irrational mob; he is not a leader either.

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the Social Sciences 1968:91-112, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 1959, among other sources.

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This source warns us that leadership may contain elements of both analogous types; "One phenomenon may easily pass into another in the course of a single sequence of events" (Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 1959:282) but "in general, leadership implies a following whose behavior is the result of a conscious consideration of the leader's personality, of its own interests and of the anticipated social consequences" (Italics mine) (Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 1959:282).

Let us now turn to an assessment of leadership within our research context. Although the major relational features of the concept stand out, it seemed that our informants extended the concept of leadership to cover a larger category of individuals than that covered by the above definition. Specifically, while collecting the career histories of the 1974 Parade organizers, it became apparent that anyone holding a position in an ethnic or bureaucratic organization was called a leader by "Clique A." Thus, the term "leader" was used very loosely indeed.[131] This posed three important questions for this research: first, what is a leader for the members of Clique "A"; second, what types of leaders do they recognize

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[131]According to one informant, "If one is a Treasurer or a Secretary of an organization, that is enough to be called a leader. Once there was a trial and the witness was asked what his occupation was: he answered a 'leader.' The defense lawyer explained to the judge that this was one of the latest professions among Puerto Ricans" (Informant 8).

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and, third, how do leaders relate to non-leaders?

Clique "A's" Perception of Leadership

We relied on two sources to research this question.[132] One of these was the mass media (radio, television, and the press, especially El Diario-LaPrensa) and written documents put out by anti-poverty and Puerto Rican agencies as well as Puerto Rican organizations. The second source of data was the perception of the leadership role expressed by our informants. Data from both sources have been combined in the following presentation dealing with leaders, following and mass.

Leaders

A leader was perceived by our informants grouped in "Clique A" as an individual who combines the role of "helping the community" with attaining political ends. To "help the community" means that:"Any person who comes to me with a problem--in housing, in finding a job, in getting an education--I am glad to help him, but not for any personal interest" (Informant 17).

Leadership may also be defined ie terms of having political ambitions and the connections above and below

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[132] An additional source was to be an attitudinal survey of a class-stratified sample of the Puerto Rican population of New York City. This endeavour soon proved to extend beyond the limits possible in this research.

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one's own rank to call upon in order to solve problems. Thus, it is recognized that such a resource is a prerequisite to a successful career as a leader. As one informant states: "If someone comes to me with a problem, I look for key persons who meet with me. I explain to them what is happening; they bring others, those bring still others; then, we are able to solve the problem more easily than we had expected" (Informant 19). One way of increasing the number of one's ties, and thus one's power, is by respecting the ranked order of existing leaders.

> If you want to be a leader, you have to be a good soldier (soldado de fila); if you want to learn to command, you have to know how to receive orders. Not everybody can be a boss (jefe), you also need Indians (Informant 15).

Having connections and enlarging one's network is[133] particularly important when one has political ambitions. Thus, as one informant stated,

> A leader is a person who helps the community but lets something else to be seen (deja ver por encima algo). He also says, 'I am going to take this district politically; I want to be an Assemblyman for this area.' Then he sets out to work in that area, identifies himself with the community in that area and dedicates himself to it so when he wants to be nominated as a candidate, naturally he has the support of the community and of that group of people whom he has helped (Informant 17).

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[133] It should be noted that having political ambitions is not seen as synonymous with having political party allegiance or ideological convictions. Sometimes one supports a party because one believes that: "The candidate is the one who is going to succeed and can provide benefits to the people" (Informant 9).

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It is the combination of "helping the community" with attaining political ends that gives rise to a questioning of the leadership role by some of our informants. Some informants would believe that because of their organizational experience, they have the right to the title of leader: "I believe I am leader because I have worked in different organizations" (Informant 4). Others feel there is a difference between a leader who sacrifices himself for the welfare of the community and a leader who is given a job by a vested-interest group. According to one informant,

> Leaders here are very different from those in our countries. There, leaders are born; here they are made. For example, Informant 20 rose and formed a machine by himself. But, in the majority of cases, when people see a sympathetic man, they tell him that he will have their support in politics. He is placed into politics by a group, without sacrificing himself (Informant 16).

Another informant stated that

> In this community we speak a lot about leaders but I always use two words: leaders of the community and leaders of leisure (de la comodidad). Leaders of leisure are those who have a job at an anti-poverty agency but do not work for the community. My way is to struggle so that the community gets what it needs. No matter where I have to go to ask for help, I go and ask. In the past, we had a few leaders who really worked for the community, not for agencies. The majority of so-called leaders today get an excellent salary. They say they have a hundred followers but in reality they have a hundred employees. Once a person receives a salary he is no longer a leader (Informant 3).

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Though differences of opinion exist among our informants as to what is a leader, we can synthesize their diverse perceptions by stating that a leader is one who attempts to help Puerto Ricans improve their life conditions. This effort does not appear to contradict the fulfilment of personal political and career ambitions. On the contrary, these ambitions seem to be a necessary condition for proving one's ability to "help the community," though at times they are publicly denied.

Typology of Leadership

Our informants' answers to the questions (1) are you a leader? (2) what is a leader?, and (3) who is a leader in the Puerto Rican community? can be summarized as different types of leadership. Three categories of leadership emerge which can be ordered chronologically as stages in an individual's career: communal, civic and political. Thus, as one Informant said, "I began, as did Informant 20 and Informant 18, in sports. Then I got involved in civic issues. Then I got involved in political matters, and now I am involved in community affairs" (Informant 13). Some people's leadership careers are not, however, easily categorized.

> We have leaders that are hard to describe, for example, X in Brooklyn. He is a leader who gets involved only in housing. We could call him a political leader because he has a strong movement; we could call him a community leader because he helps his people in the community; or we could call him a civic leader because he is involved in any issue that affects our community. The

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> same applies to people who are involved in cultural events and in criminal justice (Informant 13).

But although some public figures within the Puerto Rican "community" do indeed combine several leadership types, our informants did emphasize that these types succeed one another over time, in the order in which we discuss them below.

(1) *Communal Leadership*

A community leader is someone who helps the people in a particular neighborhood. Often this represents the first stage in a leader's career but sometimes this stage may not be a stepping stone to another stage, but rather lasts indefinitely.

Community leaders hold such positions as Presidents of organizations, Directors of Programs against Poverty, Executives of Community Corporations, and appointees in City Hall.

Actually, the entire philosophy of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project was based upon this neighborhood approach to solving "community" problems. The Puerto Rican Community Development Project trained special personnel, called "community workers," whose task involved developing leadership at the grass-roots level by encouraging Puerto Ricans to organize into groups. Community workers were not expected by the Project to be community leaders, however. "At no time can the community

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worker afford the luxury of calling himself the leader; his job is to make leaders of others, to encourage local people to become enthusiastic, hopeful, determined and involved" (Community Action-A manual of Community workers, Puerto Rican Community Development Project Training Department 1968:9).

(2) Civic Leadership

For this role, the individual is expected to be involved in ethnic organizations, movements, and events, as well as to be a public figure. He may have decided not to pursue his political ambitions because of his disenchantment with the political process. As one informant said,

> I am in the center, neither on the left nor on the right. I am flexible, as they say; I am a civic leader. I was a candidate for the Municipal Assembly two years ago, and the leader of the Republican Party in this area [South Bronx], but I retired. I have always considered myself apolitical. Recently, I did not want to submit my name for the State Senate though the chance was 99 percent of my becoming elected. I refused because party politics builds enmities. An honest person cannot be a politician. So I have been involved in civic matters (Informant 11).

Another informant stated,

> I do not want to hold political positions except when they are honorary. When one is paid, one turns toward the establishment; one turns toward the salary. Politicians have vested interests, and have to side with those on top (Informant 10).

(3) Political Leadership

Political leaders are considered to be the most important of the three types of leaders. Most important

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of these, however, are the elected ones, " a Badillo, an Informant 20" (Informant 8). The difference between a civic and a political leadership role has been summed up by an informant; "As a civic leader you can help people. But the political leader has the responsibility that if he promises something to the people he has to try to get it for them" (Informant 9).

Next, in order of importance, are those leaders more loosely associated with a political role, the individuals in high bureaucratic positions, mainly in Anti-Poverty Agencies and Puerto Rican Programs. Our informants claim to be supporters of these individuals "in key positions in the community [en posiciones claves] so that they can continue to pressure to open doors for Hispanics" (Informant 19).

In conclusion, the relationship between leadership stages and the socio-political system of New York City, can be understood by the fact that, whereas experience in hometown clubs is important for the creation of a "leader " who can establish close contacts with other fellow Puerto Ricans, it is the Anti-Poverty Programs that provide the political training ground for more powerful leaders who can draw on resources more extensive than a club's.

Yet such leadership depends on the availability of resources allocated by the larger society and, as a result, can be terminated with budget cuts. Political leadership positions, however, provide the individual with a less

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ephemeral power base and one that is legitimized by the larger society. These features of political leadership explain the drive for expansion of "Clique A" within the Mid-Elites into some of the Traditional Elites' ranks (see Section V below).

In conclusion, the mid-elites within the Puerto Rican power structure, who will be discussed in the following Section, often conceive of leadership as synonymous with a bureaucratic or political position. On the other hand, they also view the leadership role as altruistic and philantropic in nature. Yet to "help the community," providing assistance, services and jobs, is perceived as a favor and embedded within an ideology of reciprocity (Lomnitz 1972). The return favors, generally expressed in terms of political support, leads us into a discussion of following and mass.

The Following

In contrast to a leader, who is perceived by our informants as an individual who combines the roles of helping the community with attaining political ends, other so-called community leaders perceive themselves as followers of the former, as demonstrated in the following quotes: "I have always worked behind the curtains" (Informant 17), "I am more of a follower" (Informant 6). "I should not aspire to political positions when I have a Informant 20 who is young. I have to help him-if I love my people.

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When he moves up, I will move up in turn. The others do not know how to wait; they think that the first opportunity is for them" (Informant 15).

Many of those informants designated by the media and other sources as leaders did not believe they were such. Often, when asked: "Are you a leader?", a so-called leader would answer negatively on the basis of his lack of political ambition. For example,

> Even if I have been involved in the community for fourteen years and I still work in the community I do not feel I am a leader because I do not have any ambition in life. Every person has a political ambition: 'I want to be an Assemblyman,' or, 'I want to be a Congressman,' or 'I want to be a District Leader' someone will say. I do not have any political ambition in life (Informant 17).

Thus, a follower might "help the community" but does not have political ambitions. A following is, naturally, a relational concept and would be defined vis a vis a particular leader. In addition, "leaders" have their following but these, in turn, are "leaders" of other, lower-ranked individuals.

Mass

The organization of the Puerto Rican population, whom we shall call mass, into groups is the stated aim of these Puerto Rican leaders and their followers. In a document put up by the Puerto Rican Community Development Project on the objective of the Community Development Agency, Community Workers are told to center their attention only on "active social participants." The goal of community

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workers should be

> to concentrate on the persons who take part in various formal voluntary organizations or who are the most active politically. Although the community worker could make use of all types of leaders, it is the ... active social participants that the community worker should be most concerned with in his role of encouraging community action amongst low-income alienated residents in the community (Community Development Agency 1968:41).

These residents are called a mass here since they comprise the population to which all "community action" efforts are directed. Thus a leader for this group is, ideally, community-oriented.

But, as we have seen, this is not the ideal image of a leader for another elite of the Puerto Rican "community." Although for this elite it is also important that a leader be interested in the welfare of the "community," it is equally important that he be recognized by other power groups in the City. A leader for this elite, whom we shall identify as traditional authority, is then both "community" as well as "nation-oriented" (Wolf 1956). Thus, out of ninety three potential members of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project's Board of Directors, those selected met the following criteria, which were set up by the Puerto Rican Forum.[134] There were originally five criteria which we have lumped into three for the purpose of this discussion.

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[134] See Chapter III for a discussion of these organizations.

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First, the candidates had to be "recognized Puerto Rican leaders dedicated to the well-being of the Puerto Rican community" (Background summary on the organization of the Board of Directors of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project 1964:4). Second, they had to devote their time, effort and skills to the management of such a project. Third, they had to be leaders accepted by both the in-group as well as the out-group. In the words of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, the Board members had to be:"Capable and responsible Puerto Rican citizens, representative of the major segments of Puerto Rican life in the city with stature and prestige in the non-Puerto Rican community" and:"Persons with power and influence who could relate to governmental agencies and provate funding sources for the purpose of securing monies and support for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project" (Italics mine) (Background summary on the organization of the Board of Directors of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project 1964:4).

Thus, we can already see that the Puerto Rican "community" is not homogeneous with respect to leadership. In fact, there is not one, but rather, many elites. We now turn to a discussion of the internal differentiation within the "leadership" of Puerto Ricans in New York.

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Section V

Local Power Groups

There is much internal differentiation within what is commonly referred to as Puerto Rican leadership. On the basis of the data collected from our sample of informants, as well as our previous discussion of ideological differences surrounding the issue of the Parade (see Chapter IV), we can delineate three groups within the Puerto Rican power elite. These are (1) the traditional authority figures (2) the mid-elites and (3) the counter mid-elites. We call these groups power elites because each controls a specific power domain, comprised of resources (agencies and their personnel, jobs, access to connections to the administrative and political structure of New York City), and the means of mobilizing support from the lower-classes (through the delivery of goods and services). Although all three elites "work for the community," they differ in type of power domain, political ideology and horizontal and vertical ties. In what follows, we identify these groups and analyze the interrelations among them and with the wider society.

Traditional Authority Figures

Traditional authority figures are those placed in high bureaucratic positions, such as Director of the Puerto Rican Forum or of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. These middle-

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class spokesmen for the Puerto Rican "community" are not at all well-known by the mass of Puerto Ricans themselves, and do not maintain constituencies. Rather, they are given their high status as leaders of the Puerto Rican "community" by outside institutions.

Although identified as Puerto Ricans, these individuals do not use their ethnicity for their own personal advancement; they do not need to do so, since their social and political advancement depends on broadening their identification with other ethnic groups. In principle, they are above the factionalism that takes place within and between the two other Puerto Rican elite groups. Thus, when the Puerto Rican Forum split with the "grass-roots leaders" over the question of goals for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project in 1964 (see Chapter III), the traditional authority figures used tactics of persuasion but avoided direct confrontation with the emerging mid-elites, which were then challenging the Forum's status vis a vis the "community." However, they can be forcibly drawn into competition with the other groups. An example of this is when Mr. Badillo (holding a traditional leadership status) was threatened by Informant 20, a mid-elite boss, in his 1975 Campaign for Congressman.

During the period of this research, many informants reported that Informant 20 was

> the person with more leadership and more opportunities in the City of New York. Whereas Mr. Badillo is known as a political name, Informant 20 is known

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> politically, civically and culturally because he has given himself to the community and has come from the community. But Mr. Badillo is also a great leader and they work together well. I do not think there could be any problems between them--they are good fellow workers (Informant 17).

The Mid-Elite

The term mid-elite is borrowed from A. W. Singham, who attempts to correlate the emergence of this new group with specific historical phenomena. According to Singham,

> The elite-mass relationship in Grenada has begun to change and become somewhat more complex since the granting of universal adult franchise in 1951. This event made possible the emerge of a mid-elite group composed of the political hero, his cohorts and shortly afterwards the counter mid-elites (1968:190).

In the case of the Puerto Ricans, the mid-elites emerged after private and governmental funding agencies started to provide monies for Puerto Rican organizations. The mid-elite was the first group to challenge the traditional authority figures, and by 1971 had become clearly differentiated into two factions.

> In 1971 the Puerto Rican Community Development Project went through tremendous problems. We had a strike of almost two months and then a series of terrible accusations from both sides; the Project divided into two factions: the faction headed by Informant 18 , Informant 20 , and a servant, Informant 1 ; and the faction headed by Informant 21 , C. L. , and J. E., etc. (Informant 1).

These factions will henceforth be identified as factions "A" and "B."

The successful control of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project by faction "A" afforded it opportunities

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for upward political mobility. While before the split within the Puerto Rican Community Development Project both factions had an informal power base developed through hometown clubs and citizens' groups, after the split faction "A" gained formal positions of power.[135] Loyal members of the faction, placed in high-level positions in Puerto Rican, and Puerto Rican-controlled agencies worked to mobilize the Puerto Rican lower-class by manipulating ethnic identity.[136]

Faction "A" of the mid-elites also worked to consolidate a power network by influencing the service agencies and would rationalize the maintenance of their status within them in terms of obtaining goods for the Puerto Rican "community" and exerting pressure over the wider society for more:
"We tried to develop local institutions...there you have the hospital, the schools...we have our own political basis with identity which allows us to negotiate with the other institutions at a more general level" (Informant 20).

In 1974, the main leader of faction "A" was Informant 20:

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[135] See career histories, Section I of this Chapter and Appendix II.

[136] By manipulation of ethnic identity we mean pressures effected by ethnic "leaders" on the pluralist political system of New York City to obtain resources for the Puerto Rican population as well as to an ideology aimed at drawing support and allegiance from the lower-class Puerto Ricans by appealing to bonds of common origin.

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> The strongest politician in the City of New York is called Informant 20...Mr. B. is our leader but the one who moves things (el que mueve las cosas) is Informant 20...If we have to take Informant 20 to another County, we take him. We have the people to do it, to have two leaders...So, when Informant 20 moves up, another will move up (will take his place)... among us...We put two others in the place of Informant 20 and each will move a step at a time (Informant 15).

This description of Faction A's structure resembles that of a political machine. And, in fact, many of our informants made references to the term political machine. By political machine, they meant persons with economic power who supported the campaigns of individuals with ambitions for political positions:

> Political machine is a group of persons who form a Committee, a Club...where they meet with people with a certain economic power...These people, because they have the money, think they can have the people but there are occasions when the people do not respect such a machinery (Informant 17).

And,

> Political machine is the one that has the power, the job opportunities, the money for political campaigns, as different from the individual candidate who has to depend on the people. The machine has always advantages over this candidate (Informant 16).

Yet our informants admitted that there was also a political machine among Puerto Ricans, and that this could be identified with Faction A, its core being clique A (see Sections III and IV above). This political machine obtains positions for its members, in exchange for loyal support, which in most cases is expressed in terms of votes:

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"In Informant 20's machinery we are all united and we all vote together. That is how I got my position in the Parade and other organizations. They put me in the list... You have to belong to a group, to a clique" (Informant 7). This political machine exhibits Tammany-Hall-like party discipline and is physically located in the South Bronx.

> Every successful Puerto Rican movement has come out from here [the Bronx] Firstly because we always had more community discipline here. Here you have to follow the leader...Now it is Informant 20's turn...Everybody will have an opportunity...that is why nobody is going to leave...Informant 20 says, hey,there are going to be elections for the Puerto Rican Parade, whom do we put there, who needs that position to move up (para subir)...So to help him, we put X...If I had had intentions of becoming the President, they [the machine] explain to me that it is X's turn and that's it. I have to help X. When my turn comes, I will have been helping myself. If I do not do that, my career is ruined because they are not going to put me in any position...Here we have party discipline... If I start to fight before my turn comes, they throw me aside, they separate me from the group... This [discipline] does not happen in Brooklyn, nor in Manhattan. In Brooklyn everybody wants to be a leader...then they get divided...One day I got them all together and told them: not everybody was born to become a leader; since that time, I have not been invited to Brooklyn...In Manhattan, the Blacks dominate... you will always see more money being poured into Black Harlem than Hispanic Harlem...Of almost any program in Manhattan, the bosses are Black...We have a leader cornered in Spanish Harlem, another cornered in the Lower East Side where it is very complex because there you have the Chinese, the Jewish...and the Hispanic of different races... who ask for their portion...In the Barrio [East Harlem] we have a number of leaders...before we had Tony Méndez in politics and now we have a group of young boys who are fighting to go up but they have not united...they are afraid of each other (Informant 15).

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Thus, as different from other Counties where leaders make themselves, in the Bronx leaders are created by a pecking order within the political machine:

> We have made Informant 18 a leader...He is like a son to me...We put him in the Barrio[137] to fight, so the idea that he was already a leader went to his head [se le fué a la cabeza] that he was more a leader than Informant 20 without remembering that it was Informant 20 who put him there...You cannot bite the hand that feeds you...You have to be patient and wait for your turn...If we have decided that the leader is Informant 20, nobody has to step on him...Don't you think you are a leader, we are making you a leader to help you... Informant 18 made a mistake...he believed those who told him we did not want him to win.[138] Now Informant 18 is being punished by us, [the machine] until he fits again in group politics... Now we realize he was not politically mature enough to occupy the position we were supporting him for...He lost because he did not allow us to lead him, he wanted to do it his way, but this is a machinery and he has to follow it...It would be very stupid to go against Informant 20 since that is why we made him our leader: so that he leads us and when he moves up, the whole community moves up (Informant 15).

Yet other informants gave more credit to the beginning of Puerto Rican political organization in other Counties, due to an expansion of the Bronx-based political machine:

"All the representation now comes from the Bronx but we have already managed to break the ice in Manhattan...in Brooklyn...and those changes are what we needed [so that] we allow the Hispanic to participate" (Informant 11).

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[137] El Barrio, literally translated, means the neighborhood. In New York, it represents Spanish Harlem.

[138] He finally lost against an Italian by a very small margin.

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Since Puerto Ricans have organized "the other political machine respects them and fears them" (Informant 11 referring to the "other" machine, that of Americanos).

The "other political machine," that of Americanos, was the Democratic Party. The Puerto Rican political machine has developed close contacts with it, as will be shown in Section VI. As a result of those relationships, a number of District leaders of the Democratic Party have emerged. This phenomenon attests to the influence of the Puerto Rican political machine in the local-level political process: "Now we have an average of eight to ten District Leaders. A District Leader is a leader of an Assembly District...who represents around 500,000 people...We have Puerto Rican District Leaders, especially in the Bronx" (Informant 11).

Although the Puerto Rican political machine aspires to extend its influence beyond the Bronx and a section of Manhattan, it proves to be a delicate and difficult task. In effect, cracks have started to appear within the structure of the Puerto Rican political machine. Although all fissions are part of Faction "A" of the mid-elites, several cliques have emerged during the past few years, headed by individuals highly-placed in service and Anti-Poverty Agencies and who, therefore, think they can aspire to shed off the authority of the political machine. A case in point is Clique "B" (see Section III), headed by

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Informant 13, the "leader" defined by Informant 15, as being "cornered in the lower East Side." Another is Clique"C", headed by R. A., the Chairman of the Board of East Harlem Community Corporation and the only Republican Puerto Rican in a high-status position. What the cliques within Faction"A" share is the fact that they all use the bureaucracy created by the Anti-Poverty Programs for political purposes. They act as informal political groups in that they use these Programs for propaganda to back favored candidates, Community Corporation elections, School Board elections etc. Through their control of the major Puerto Rican and Anti-Poverty Service Agencies, this Faction has extended its influence to their Delegate Agencies which are at the grass-roots level.

In addition to Faction"A", we could identify a conglomerate of groupings within the mid-elites, which for clarity of presentation, we have labelled Faction"B". Faction"B", it will be remembered, originally evolved in opposition to Faction"A"'s drive to control the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. In 1974, these groupings still opposed Faction"A". An informant comments on Informant 20 thus;

> He is blinded by ambition. He goes beyond ideas... This man got to be a dictator, because he wanted it that way or because that is the way his followers wanted him to be. They want to be absolute bosses of organizations that should be of the people (Informant 16).

Even if the groupings in Faction"B" will share this opposition, by 1974 they had internally differentiated as

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well alongside a continuum ranging from marginals to Faction "A", but willing to side with it sporadically;[139] to indifferents; to active opponents of Faction "A." In turn, within the latter, we can identify a grouping whose opposition is so strong that we could almost place it together with the counter mid-elites.[140] Of Informant 21, its leader, it is said that, in spite of having had

> the opportunities...that...life offered him to represent the Puerto Ricans, he switched to a very dubious politics. He represents a minority which tries to block the majority. This hurts us (nos perjudica). We will not allow that minority to grow...Informant 21 represents himself as a martyr of liberalism (Informant 15).

Although Faction "A" can survive and grow in spite of the opposition waged against it by most of the groupings within Faction "B", the control of the negative propagada resulting by the groupings closer to the counter mid-elites, is a more difficult task. One politically sound way Faction "A" has been employing since the 1970's has been to establish alliances with some of the groupings of the

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[139]Some of the mid-elites have become disillusioned with their role--M. D., Director of mobilization for youth at the Puerto Rican Community Development Corporation, commented, "So what have I learned? I have learned how to manipulate the system. But it hasn't provided any real solutions for my people" (Steiner 1974:398).

[140]We have placed it together with Faction "B" because its leader, Informant 21, sometimes uses the same arena for political confrontations as Faction "A". A case in point is the issue of the control of the Puerto Rican Parade (see Informant 20's career in Section II).

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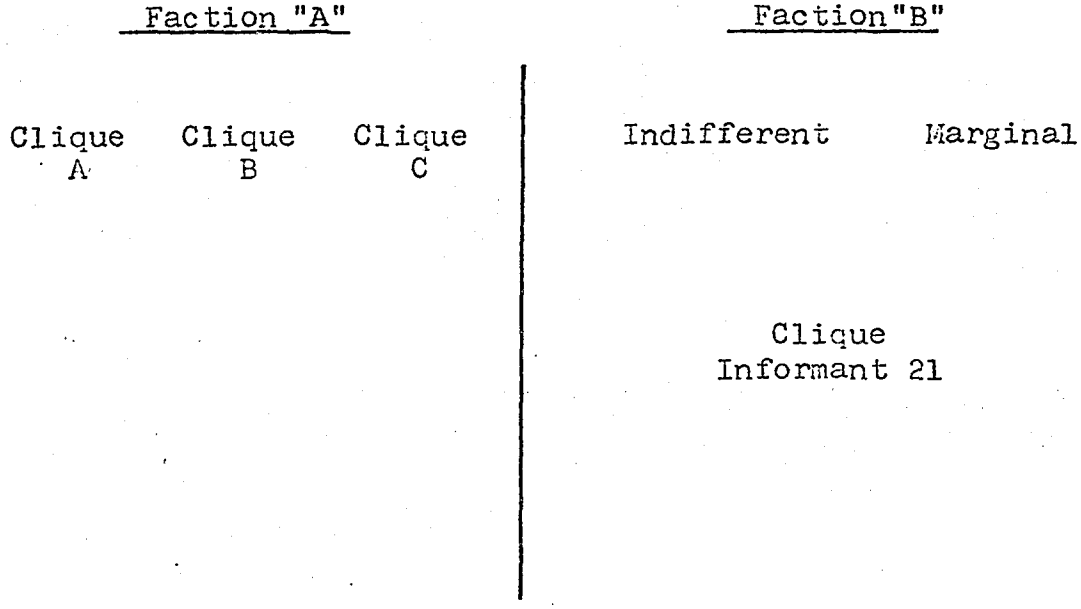
FIGURE 16

INTERNAL DIFFERENTIATION

WITHIN THE MID-ELITES



NOTE: After the 1971 split within the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, the differences between the two factions have been both ideological as well as related to control of resources. Faction "A" has increased its power bases, at times by confronting the traditional elite, at times by siding with it. Faction "B" has questioned or actively opposed these relationships.

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Traditional Authority Elite. In other words, Faction "A" of the mid-elites has attempted to extend its influence into the domain of the traditional elite. With budget cuts starting in the 1970s and declining resources allocated to the organizations they control, they have attempted thus to gain more permanent power through political positions. It is in this context that Informant 20's alliance with a long time enemy, another Bronx Councilman Reverend G, as well as Informant 20's challenge to Mr. B have to be understood. These alliances, which range from direct to indirect (see Section VI), point out one similarity between the traditional authority groups and the mid-elites: their type of relationship with the institutions of the wider society. As Gotsch had put it:

> Too often these appointed as well as elected officials have seen as their primary goal the further self-consolidation and advancement within the hierarchy and ranks of the political apparatus. Instead of using the delegated authority of their respective positions to aid the Puerto Rican community in particular, they have tended to rationalize that their attainment will serve as a model for which the rest of the community should aspire (1966:47).

Let us compare and contrast the traditional authority elite with the mid-elites. The traditional authority elite is composed of various groups, which we can order in terms of their vertical connections to the administrative and political structure of the City, and relationships to the other elites, in this order: Executives of National Puerto Rican Agencies and Programs, elected politicians, Public Officials appointed by City Hall (related to the mid-elites)

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and professionals and intellectuals. The agencies of the traditional authority are Aspira of America Inc, Puerto Rican Research and Resources Center, National Puerto Rican Forum, Puerto Rican Family Institute, Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund and the Puerto Rican Institute for Social Research. First, these agencies are funded by the Federal Government, private foundations and the Government of Puerto Rico. This source of support differs from that of the mid-elites, who depend totally upon City, State and Federal funds, in that order. Second, the politicians that have not emerged through the paths outlined for the mid-elites (see Career Stages above) are still caught by the fact that they must compete with the mid-elites rising to political power for the same constituency. The difference between the two seems to be that the mid-elites control more organizational resources. For example, Mr. Badillo and Informant 20 competed for the position of Congressman for the 21st District (in the Bronx) during the 1975 Primary. Mr. Badillo can be placed in the traditional authority group, whereas Informant 20 is the leader of the most powerful faction of the mid-elites. Although Mr. Badillo had, in his previous term in office, helped Informant 20 indirectly, by supporting legislatiion which provided monies for the Bronx, Informant 20 felt enough in control of an organizational network in 1975 to challenge Mr. Badillo's authority. But, although Mr. Badillo counted on the support of his multi-ethnic

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constituency and only two out of the nine Puerto Ricans elected officials (Informant 38, State Senator; and L. D., Councilman for Kings County), Informant 20 was given support by the grass-roots Puerto Rican organizations, the Community Corporations and other Anti-Poverty Agencies in the Bronx, the regular Democratic Party, and the other seven Puerto Rican elected officials. And although Informant 20 lost, he was able to display his risiing power. Third, the appointed officials share the career stages outlined in Section II for the mid-elites.

The Counter Mid-Elites

We have seen how the traditional authority figures and the mid-elites were united around issues promoting ethnic recognition and advancement. Although the traditional authority elite was less involved in the organization of a distinct Puerto Rican Parade than the mid-elites, both groups pressured for the issue of funding for Puerto Rican organizations. This is evident in the support offered the Puerto Rican Forum and grass-roots organizations to create the Puerto Rican Community Development Project (see Chapter III). Once this Agency became autonomous from the Puerto Rican Forum, the mid-elites differentiated into what we have identified as Factions "A" and "B".

The counter mid-elites can, as the mid-elites, be understood as a conglomerate of groupings which can be placed in a continum ranging from some elements of faction

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"B", which emerged in response to that of Faction"A"; to Puerto Rican radical groups who emulated the Black Power movement of the 1960s, to groupings which extended the independence cause to the mainland.[141] Yet, abstracting minor differences between these groupings, we can assert that the mid-elites represent the políticos using an assimilationist strategy in their manipulation of ethnicity, whereas the counter mid-elites represent the independentists who understand ethnic identity beyond traits of traditional, hometown, culture and whose ultimate goal is the change of political status for the Island (see Chapter IV).

Yet, the basic difference between the mid and the counter mid-elites, aside from the basic cleavage in the ideology of ethnicity (See Chapters IV-V), is that the counter mid-elites do not have access to resources that could be the basis for creating and maintaining a following on the basis of patronage. The only weapon the counter mid-elites have is propagandizing their ideology. Thus, while the mid-elites can mobilize support by promising changes in basic needs,

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[141] The PSP (Puerto Rican Socialist Party) attempts to foster national consciousness by centering on two fronts: that of Puerto Ricans as a national minority in the United States and the independentist national movement in Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, which stemmed from the Young Lords Party in 1973, considers that the Puerto Rican in New York are a national minority and, although they share the independence goal of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, their strategy in the United States is the improvement of the human condition of the Puerto Ricans. Lastly, we see different groupings which pressure for specific issues from this perspective.

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such as housing, jobs, services, in return, the counter mid-elites can offer only visions of an independent and socialist Puerto Rican, which the mass pictures far away or not at all.

Another difference is that, while the mid-elites resort to the electoral system, the counter mid-elites do not, generally speaking, being more interested in the awakening of a political conscience amongst Puerto Ricans than in their electoral mobilization in the United States. As Informant 22 puts it:

> The socialist group has marginated itself, has self-imposed limitations, they do not participate in New York politics...they have been neutralized by their own decision...They participate only in their entity's politics...So here they do not count, they can be an important factor if they explode bombs...but in what concerns traditional politics they have neutralized themselves.

So far, the counter mid-elites adepts are few but they are making important inroads amongst the youth. Thus, the ethnic issue has generational, in addition to ideological overtones. This is not to say all Puerto Rican youth are counter mid-elites. The leadership of Informant 20 helps attract many young people because of his emphasis on ethnic identity and his use of language similar to the counter mid-elites:

> One of my greatest contributions [to the Puerto Rican community] has been to take them away from their identity with the civil rights movement or with the Jewish liberalism and bring them to the Puerto Rican nationalist movement (Informant 20).

And

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> I believe we Puerto Ricans have to continue to organize communally and militantly. We have to continue organizing in a pacific but strong way so as to achieve some of the political power and then be able to use it to develop the economic power within our communities (Informant 20).

The key difference, however, lies in that the mid-elites refer to reform within the existing political system while the counter mid-elites propose radical changes in society.

The emergence of support for the counter mid-elites, stemming from within the mid-elites, can be exemplified by examining the career of Informant 21, one of the most visible figures of the amorphous Faction "B".

Informant 21 came from Lares, Puerto Rico, in 1936. By 1939, he was active in the Hotel Unions and had joined the American Labor Party when Marcantonio was the Congressman for El Barrio.

In occupational terms, Informant 21 has always been a factory foreman, although he has always acted as organizer of the Puerto Rican hometowns and other associations. In 1957, he founded the Congress of Puerto Rican Hometowns nucleating seventy-seven municipios in one organization. He was Program Chairman and a member of the Board for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project (he lent the Congress' offices for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project in 1974) and previously, a member of the Puerto Rican Forum. He presided over the Puerto Rican Parade in 1965 and in 1964

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he was its Vice-President. He also used the Parade as a spring-board to politics and in 1965 he ran as a candidate for Councilman-at-Large for the Reform Wing of the Democratic Party for New York County. Informant 10, at that time supported him; now she calls him a "commie." He was also a Vice President for the Federation of Hispanic Societies and the founder and President for the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights. He was also involved in the Ateneo Puerto Riqueño, the Voters Club of the Bronx and the City-Wide Committee on Poverty, District 65. He is widely recognized as a leader of the "Puerto Rican community" and above all his role in challenging the authority of the Puerto Rican Forum vis a vis grass-roots leadership is very much respected (see Chapter III).

Whereas he stayed on the Forum when the 1965 split occurred (see Chapter III), he was gradually pushed aside by the new Faction "A" within the mid-elites when the 1971 split within the Puerto Rican Community Development Project came about (see Informant 1's career, above). Informant 21 had been under attack before, for example by a 1964 Puerto Rican Committee Pro-Democratic Justice which charged he had used the Puerto Rican Parade money for rallies and school boycotts. Yet he had been able at the time to convert the attack into increased support through the newly created National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights. In 1971, Informant 21 realized that he had been one of the coopted leaders and that all the new Puerto Rican

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organizations that he had had faith in ended up by reinforcing the status of the políticos. Thereafter, he would turn decidedly to the left and against the new mid-elites. Examples of his radicalization are: In 1972 he founded a coalition of thirty-five organizations, which held public hearings on discrimination and racism against Puerto Ricans. This was orchestrated to oppose the Government's hearings on the issue. Thus, Informant 21 was at first a true member of the mid-elites. When they differentiated, he became the spokesman for the amorphous Faction "B". Although he shares the ideology of the independentist groups, it could be said that he is still within the mid-elites, because of his outreach to hometown and other grass-roots organizations, although actively opposing Faction "A."

Oppositions and Alliances among the Three Elites

Puerto Ricans are aware of the opposition amongst the three elites and its negative effects on the organizational potential of the mass. Organizational strength is, in turn, taken to constitute the pre-requisite for the advancement of the whole population. Yet they ascribe elite fragmentation to different causes: a feature of leadership itself, the United States political system and personalism.

Some informants perceive divisionism in universalistic

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terms: "In leadership you always have jealousies... these always bring about disunity" (Informant 17) and "Because everybody fights for power...They struggle according to their knowledge and limitations. They are doing a lot. But they should be better" (Informant 8).

Others perceive the political system itself as responsible for intra-ethnic divisionism:

> If leadership were united, we would have gotten much more than what we got now...There is disunity in leadership...It is due to the fact that the politicians put Juan to fight against Pedro... because it is advantageous for them...The political system in this nation works very smartly. When they see that a Puerto Rican or a Hispanic can win an election, they have to divide the vote of these two Puerto Ricans so they send a politician to work with me and another to work with you and so the vote that could be for me or for you gets divided. That is why we have not obtained better positions, because they have pushed us to fight one another...The one [candidate] they favor is the one who gets elected...These political manoeuvers (artimañas políticas) that they use...have given them a very good result since honestly we in this city are not sufficiently mature to recognize that...and we serve their purposes (nos prestamos)...The system is very intelligent to do this and they do it with lots of care (muy cautelosamente) (Informant 19).

It is widely accepted that Puerto Ricans should be careful not to imitate this pattern:

"We will maintain that [the Informant 20-Mr. Badillo leadership]; we are here to win, not to lose...If we put Informant 20 to fight against Mr. Badillo we will lose one of the two...If we start to fight, we fall (nos tumbamos), we will never arrive" (Informant 15).[142]

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[142]And yet, they do it (See Informant 20-Mr. Badillo factionalism).

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Puerto Ricans are organizationally weak, Informant 22 maintains, partly because of the fragmentation of the political structure. So that, in comparative historical terms: "Even when in some areas Puerto Ricans have impact... in the municipal superstructure [they] have not had...so much impact" (Informant 22). This is thought to be different from the path taken by Jews "who created strong organizations even if, they were a-political" and Blacks "who had the Ministers that played an institutionally important role in the development of the community" (Informant 22).

Still, other informants pointed out that the issue of unity or disunity was related to the structure of resources and the related political mechanisms utilized to allocate them. As one informant put it

> Because we have little powers here. We have our cacique here. We walk to the Bronx and we find a cacique...Same in East Harlem. Same in Brooklyn. In issues that will affect all of us, we will come out quite united. But when it comes to a piece of the pie and how it is going to be distributed, you should not see a more disunited group (Informant 37).

Finally, according to others, the Puerto Rican leadership is not united due to personalism which militates against group discipline:

"Because there are small vested interests, there are individuals who hope...to be great and do not admit it to anybody who faces them...[Instead he should] program himself with the group so that when his turn comes, one

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helps him" (Informant 15).

And, "It is not united. We have to unite to be able to get what the people need...The lack of union among the leadership is what does not allow that the people fare better. It is due to personal egoism and greediness. They think if they unite, they are never going to be equal" (Informant 14).

And, "There is divisionism. Everybody wants to be chief and they use personalism which should not be used in the community. Mr. B. does not want to unite either: if somebody sits with you, he does not sit with me, he says" (Informant 3).

Yet, although the three elites are divided, the union among them is considered to be highly desirable because: "When we reach [it] we will be the strongest political force in New York...Because we have a heart and are daring, all we need is union" (Informant 15).

Union is not feasible, however. The three elites do share the belief that the mass of Puerto Ricans, identified ethnically through a common language and culture, should be organized as a means of advancing in the United States society. But their differences in political ideology are translated into disagreement over the means to be employed in such a drive for organization.

Thus, we can map alliances between the elites, yet no single issue unifies them all.[143]

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[143] Our informants talked a lot about the importance of

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The traditional elite and the mid-elite share the belief that the electoral process is basic for union. This faith in electoral politics marks the alliance between the traditional and mid-elites and their joint opposition to the counter mid-elites.

> We are sufficiently mature now to be able to recognize that...the best way to achieve union will be through politics, through the vote...We have arrived at that maturity that the small group [i.e. the counter mid-elites] do not want to accept because of their fanatism...We have to use the electoral process to make the social changes...not through stone-throwing and machetazos (Informant 15).

The electoral process is believed to be basic to help the "community," a concept which as we saw above, is made analogous with leadership:

"We have to take hold of political power as it is established...so that once we are part of the structure of power we can help our community. From the outside we are not going to do it" (Informant 20).

A test of this alliance in terms of the electoral process was the campaign of Mr. Badillo for the Mayor of New York City in 1974.

> I would say yes [it is united] because when H. Badillo put himself forward as Mayor, the Puerto Rican and Hispanic community...united. That is, when the moment came that we have to unite, we

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unity but acknowledged that they still did not find the way or the issue around which they could unify: "We are trying to find the formula, we have appealed to the Church...to social work...to human feelings...to patriotic feelings. We still have not managed to get a formula to dominate the Puerto Ricans" (Informant 22).

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> unite. We cannot always be united because among us there are Democrats, Liberals, Conservatives, Communists, etc., but when the time comes for the Hispanic question...when the key point comes, we unite (Informant 11).

But, while these two elites belived that education is the means by which the electoral process can be used effectively, the counter elite holds that education should be used to prepare for independence.

"What we are working on...is that there should be many Corporation Directors, many Hospital Directors...because we are going to get prepared to be able to represent our people in a decent way and at a higher level" (Informant 15).

From this perspective, to stay away from the electoral process, is to be a communist, especially according to the mid-elites:

"My political ideology...is the independence of Puerto Rico, because I am very nationalistic. I respect all beliefs so that mine can be respected...The only thing I do not believe in is communism [but] I believe in socialism" (Informant 9 giving reasons why he left the Congress of Puerto Rican Hometowns, when Informant 21 became radicalized). And, "We respect their communist ideology ...as long as it does not interfere with the progressive Puerto Rican movement. I am a nationalist but I do not mingle my personal ideals with the group" (Informant 15).

Yet, if the traditional elites seem to have more

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confidence in individual Puerto Ricans making decisions as to the best candidate, the mid-elites rely on the support of a network of organizations. This they see as instrumental in uniting Puerto Ricans in the case of Mr. B's nomination. In other words, the mid-elites rely on the organizational potential of the hometown associations; the traditional elites believe in issues, like Mr. B's campaign, as the basis for unification.

Concomitantly, the organizational strength of the Parade as a movement to realize the much talked about unity is given more importance by the mid-elites, less by the traditional authority. According to spokesmen of the mid-elites, the Parade, therefore, symbolizes potential unity as well as their own success and emergence:

> These changes [less police repression, less job discrimination, more political representation, more services, etc.] have arrived not because the agencies...of government wanted them that much but because we have forced them through political and communal participation...The Puerto Rican Parade has managed to unite four hundred organizations as one mass... (Informant 11).

Although the mid-elites use the Parade for electoral purposes and the counter-elites use it for radical politicalization:

> The Parade has civically motivated the community to register...Quantity of votes does not count much, what counts is how many people have registered...We have over half a million registered Puerto Ricans and a sufficiently big machine to decide a local, and maybe a State, election... The Puerto Rican Parade has a lot to do with that because when the politicians see that half a million are members of the Parade and there are 150 to 200,000 Hispanics marching, they respect that (Informant 11).

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> The Puerto Rican Parade is the most important force of the Hispanic movement in the City of New York...It was created with the purpose of adding forces and demonstrate political power... All our people in politics have emerged from the Parade because the Parade was the first movement pro-unity that showed the authorities that the Puerto Rican people had grown and were heading all Hispanic movements (Informant 13).

And: "Puerto Rican Parade means votes" (Informant 15).

Thus, the Parade is ideally a symbol of unification. Yet in reality and for over ten years now, the mid-elites have controlled its organization. The traditional elites perceive this co-optation as an obstacle in the realization of such unity:

> The Parade basically is a social instrument, with civic and political implications but nevertheless a social event. Politically it could have a lot of importance but I critize them in that it is not utilized politically more concretically...It has gotten to be an activity for the self-inflation (autopompa), visibility and publicity for the leaders of always (Informant 22).

Thus, the traditional and the mid-elites share the confidence in the electoral process, although the means considered strategic for the political mobilization of Puerto Ricans might vary. Yet, these two elites vary in terms of their relationship to the wider society: Whereas for the mid-elites the validation of leadership is basically the mass of unaligned Puerto Ricans, for the traditional elite it is the impact that Puerto Rican "leaders" make on the "American community" that counts. Informant 22 attacked those individuals (obviously the

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mid-elites) who attempt to relay a myth of Puerto Rican influence to the mass when in reality they must know of Puerto Rican weakness.

> Many of our energies that could be effectively used against the larger culture fade away, gets dispersed in stupid things...Press Conference in El Diario, get my picture in El Diario, etc. ...Mr. B. is the only person who has broken the language barrier and shows himself as a spokesman within the American Community (Informant 22).

Consequently, the traditional elite view Puerto Ricans in the United States as a minority that should establish alliances with other minorities. These include not only other Spanish-speaking populations (see the politics of Hispanismo, Chapter IV and V) but also Haitians, Chinese, Greeks: "The reason that I started those programs is that I wanted to get allies for the Puerto Ricans since none of those groups speak English...so I could enlarge the group of non-English speaking people and I could create a political force" (Informant 22).

In contrast, the mid-elites emphasize the link with Puerto Rico and consider the United States Puerto Rican "community" as part of a larger "community" of Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico.

> We are an appendix of another community [in Puerto Rico] and we have to start with the other community to be able to get to our own community within the United States...In the United States the political system is against the progress of a Puerto Rican community...Puerto Rico tends to give little importance to our unity here but I think they err because we live in a federal region in which Puerto Rico is included together with New York and when

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> one starts to cut the pie Washington pays attention to Puerto Rico first...[Also] Puerto Rico has a paternalistic attitude towards Puerto Ricans here and tends to control us politically...But [although] we have the same problems, we do not have the same solutions... We are a nation within a nation (Informant 20).

This view is sustained by ombliguismo (umbilicalism) which, as Informant 22 defined it, is "to have the ability of constantly going back to Puerto Rico, which supports many a Puerto Rican in a difficult situation."

It is precisely on the close relationship to Puerto Rico that we can establish similarities between the mid- and the counter-mid-elites. Another is the distrust both elites have of most of the traditional elites' mediators in governmental positions,

> Informant 22 is one of the boys who in recognition of the contribution of Puerto Ricans has managed to get his position (Assistant to the Mayor for Special Programs). Unfortunately, we believe they put him there not to help us but to keep us away from the Mayor. This is the politics of the structure of government...the Mayor, does not come, he sends Informant 22...but we always manage to get to the Mayor...We accept him [Informant 22] because he is a Puerto Rican who ascended to a higher level. But we know the game too, so we try to get around him and get to see the people who can really help (informant 15).

And: "Mr. B. is not a leader of the people. He sides with the big men. You have to go to him through somebody" (Informant 7).

Yet, again, the mid-elites criticize some of their supposed "leaders" but aim at becoming such themselves, whereas the counter mid-elites view all those positions as virtually powerless and, therefore, not worth competing

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for. As Informant 21 put it: "We are always the assistants of the assistants of the assistants. And it seems we like it. Pure colonial mentality" (Informant 21, Comentario El Tiempo, December 23, 1973:15).

So, the counter mid-elites oppose both the traditional as well as the mid-elites: "Mr. B. and Informant 20 are poverty pimps...Mr. B. sells himself and his people for arroz con pollo not for biftec"[144] (Informant 34).

And they attack the institutional context of both of these elites, but especially the Anti-Poverty Programs which they feel undermine the development of a strong national conscience:

> What these programs obtain is ideological manipulation of Puerto Ricans so that Puerto Ricans say 'I am Puerto Rican because I am oppressed' but not 'I am Puerto Rican because historically I have been dominated.' He does not take conscience of why he is being oppressed, of the system in itself (Informant 34).

In conclusion, it can be said that the three elites are united on the desirability of expanding bilinqual programs. In addition, the traditional and the mid-elites act together with the mass on specific issues, such as Mr. B's 1973 Campaign for Mayor. Yet, they are

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[144] Arroz con pollo, chicken with rice, is a less costly meal than biftec. The analogy refers also to the opposition between a native popular dish versus an American one. The same informant pointed out later that the Governor of Puerto Rico was, in comparison to Mr. B., much more coherent ideologically: he only "sold himself for biftec" (Informant 34).

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divided in what concerns the political status of Puerto Rico, the symbols for which the Parade should stand for and the value of the Anti-Poverty Programs. Let us turn to a discussion of the existence of a "community" among Puerto Ricans in New York.

Section VI

The Nature of the Puerto Rican "Community"

The only factor superseding the differences between the three elites is that they all appeal to a population whose native language is Spanish and which is marginal to the wider society (see Chapter II). Do the elites and the mass constitute a community?

We will argue that while there is a "feeling of community" amongst Puerto Ricans in New York,[145] the question of community is a political issue. It is related to the articulation of a Puerto Rican mass to the wider society mediated by the three local elites. In other words, community is understood as a population which, beyond sharing certain features, can convert the similarity into organization as a distinct entity within the larger society.

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[145] By "a feeling of community" we understand the predictability of behavior on the basis of sharing specific cultural codes. These result from speaking the same language or coming from the same country. The communicability of cultural codes supersedes class differences.

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And it is precisely the issue of how to organize Puerto Ricans, or put in different terms, how to "develop a community" out of a population, that marks the emergence of three elites that we have discussed above.[146]

Thus, the question of leadership is related to that of community because leadership represents the boundaries separating a community from the larger society. An analysis of the issue of community among Puerto Ricans necessitates the extension of our consideration of leadership to include its relationships with the wider society.

From Figure 17 we can see how the mid-elites developed through a utilization of the resources and networks of organizations provided by the War Against Poverty programs.

> Through the programs devised to help the poor areas a very young and dynamic leadership has developed...We elected Puerto Ricans, we all had our origin on these programs...We used them as a vehicle to express our ideas and managed to create positive groups in the neighborhoods. In the same way that the rich use their wealth to obtain that his employees vote for him and [in the same way] that the multi-millionaire buys the peoples' conscience with his wealth, we had to rely on the programs for community action to obtain followers (adeptos) so as to defend the interests of those people (Informant 20).

So, in addition to the delivery of services, some amongst the mass were recruited into these programs and

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[146] See Chapter III for a discussion of the efforts towards "developing a community" and the role of leadership in it.

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FIGURE 17

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE LOCAL ELITES 1950-1974[a]

I. The Traditional Authority figures and their institutionalization

1950 The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Migration Division, starts attempts to organize Puerto Ricans (see Chapter II).

1957 The Puerto Rican Forum is created by Federal funds and grants from private foundations. It attempts to increase a Puerto Rican middle class (see Chapter III).

II. The Mid-Elites

1963 The Puerto Rican Forum creates the Puerto Rican Community Development Project (see Chapter III). "Grass-roots leaders" are called to contribute to the project designed by the Traditional Elite.

1964 Split over the Puerto Rican Community Development Project goals marks the emergence of the mid-elites, or the differentiation between grass-roots leaders and traditional elites vis a vis a Puerto Rican mass.

Start of War on Poverty Programs.

Puerto Ricans obtain leadership training at Community Corporations.

1971 The mid-elites will themselves internally separate: Faction"A"(Informant 20's political machine in 1974) and Faction"B" (see Chapter VI).

[a]1974 marks the date when fieldwork was started.

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FIGURE 17 Continued

1971-
1974 Faction "A" will evolve into a political machine but will develop cliques (see Chapters V and VI).[b]

Faction "B" will represent a continuum of groupings sometimes merging to oppose Faction "A", but otherwise ranging from indifferent to marginals (see Figure 16) to individuals who will increasingly side with the Counter Mid-Elites.

III. The Counter Mid-Elites

Representing various groups which oppose I and II. Some emerged from a radicalized mid-elite, others existed in Puerto Rico since the 1950's but until the 1970's did not have a formal connection with New York Puerto Ricans and finally others emerged in the United States in the 1960's (See Chapter IV).

[b]There have been charges of corruption against members of Faction "A". Professor Edward Hansen (Personal Communication) suggests that corruption, like factionalism, may be a structural feature of the organization of this group when it tries to expand its resources. Charges of corruption themselves may thus be seen to result in curbing the power of ethnic leaders. Here ethnicity becomes a constraint on political careerism.

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became followers of such leaders:

> It has benefited the majority of Puerto Ricans because Puerto Ricans who before held positions that did not have any, I would say, importance, have been educated...have started to work for the programs without having much education and have been trained...to help with the community (Informant 9).

The emergence of a mid-elite cadre of leaders and their followers in connection with these programs is replicated at the organizational level. Thus, the hometown clubs which, as we saw in Chapter II, functioned as informal networks of assistance to Puerto Ricans, decreased and Puerto Rican action groups, under local Community Corporations and the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, increased.

> Before we worked harder. For example, almost all the hometowns had their own club-houses... every Puerto Rican hometown was organized... You had large hometowns like Ponce that had four or five clubs and carried out different cultural and social programs. There was more unity among the people of those hometowns... They had those clubs and they had to pay the rents and in order to pay the rents they had weekly or monthly activities...Then the federal funds arrived and when they guaranteed Hijos de Ponce, for example, that they would pay for their rent, then the local activities of the clubs decreased considerably...Hometown organizations started to separate, especially the small hometowns to the extent that of 150 active clubs, with their own offices, if we have fifty now it is a lot...Now we have tenant associations, welfare associations, organizations that service the unemployed, training associations; they are no longer de pueblo, hometown associations . Now you have local Corporations with an average of twenty organizations under them who perform the same services. Hometown organizations have switched to other things which in a sense is good because their services were very limited and their

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> resources too. Now, instead of serving the people of a hometown they service the people of the area (Informant 13).

In turn, the expansion of Faction "A" into this newly-created niche, signalled the emergence of Faction "B" and the radicalization of some groupings within it, as well as inter-ethnic competition over these resources. We will discuss each of these in turn.

Effects on Intra-Ethnic Divisionism

Since 1970, when internal problems over allocation of funds and patronage politics were underway at the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, Faction "B" started publishing an anonymous periodical, Ensimismarse, whose puspose was clear in the editorial secions: "It is time to bite the hand that feeds us." Issue after issue, Ensimismarse accused members of Faction "A" of being corrupt in the appropriation of the agencies' funds. Faction "A" responded with another publication, El Amigo, and later, when it won control of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project over Faction "B", La Voz, which focused on the successes of the Crusade for the Vote.

The accusations against Faction "A" made by Ensimismarse stirred an Human Resources Administration investigation in 1974 which concluded that "Puerto Rican Community Development Project is a difficult and complex agency to deal with and so it requires careful and diligent review. We propose that the Office of Review open a general inquiry into the Puerto Rican Community Development Project

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community action and manpower accounts" (Report on Allegations made against the Puerto Rican Community Development Project-Office of Review Human Resources Administration, August 24, 1970). Aside from budget cuts, this inquiry led to the opening of a line of Deputy Director to mediate between the Executive Director and the Board of Chairmen. As can be seen by the career of Informant 1, this position was filled by a follower of Clique A, Faction "A".

Effects on Inter-Ethnic Divisionism

Our informants perceive that the programs have increased the latent hostility between Blacks and Puerto Ricans:

> Before they were two groups that worked together a lot and since the funds arrived...they have started to quarrel for one program or the other... It aggravates the division but I do not consider it important because the problem of Blacks is not the same problem as that of Puerto Ricans (Informant 27).

Yet Puerto Ricans were able to emulate the pressure politics initiated by Blacks:

"[In 1967] the Blacks were suffering the same way we were, they fought their battles and succeeded, so we did the same" (Informant 9).

Our informants perceived Blacks and Puerto Ricans together in that both groups were experiencing upward mobility. At the same time, they set up contrastive differences between the two populations: on the one hand, Puerto Ricans are superior in "culture" and "integration,"

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on the other, Blacks have a higher occupational status and greater voting power:

> We do not come here to integrate with the Blacks, we are already integrated in Puerto Rico. The Blacks think they are doing us a favor and it is a lie, they want to use us but are afraid because we are more intelligent and our culture is above theirs. They had to wait one hundred years to have the American Government recognize them - we have been here for twenty years and we are already up (Informant 15).

Yet Blacks fare better than Puerto Ricans in occupational standing:

"When one goes to government offices...one finds all are colored people" (Informant 17).

and in voting power:

"Their number in votes is greater than ours because they are organized...through the church...The minister says tomorrow you go to vote and everybody goes to vote... The Puerto Rican obeys God but his conscience is separate" (Informant 15).

Yet Blacks used the Church as a beginning for organization; now they rely on "culture" as Puerto Ricans do:

"Now the Blacks saw the Black church was losing ground, so they got hold of culture" (Informant 15).[147]

The interesting point here is to what extent ethnicity

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[147] Blacks and Puerto Ricans are the major target populations of the War Against Poverty Programs, due to their poverty. See Chapter II for a discussion of Puerto Rican marginality.

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enters into politics-there is no talk of leadership, but of ethnic leadership and the political system is viewed as a conglomerate of ethnic groups with ethnic leaders attached to them. No transmutations are viewed possible:

> In the Bronx we have a small problem...As the Blacks tried to unify through religion...some [people] have tried to unify the Puerto Ricans through religion. In Bronx County we have an Italian [Father Gigante] who is a political leader who has made himself through the church but with our votes...He is also a Councilman and has done a lot of good things for Puerto Ricans but he can be in no way our legitimate representative because he is Italian...If they [Informant 20 and Gigante] fight together it is the Bronx that loses...And as our genuine representative is Informant 20 [because he is a Puerto Rican], then he has to join Informant 20, not Informant 20 join Mr. G. (Italics mine) (Informant 15).

Since minority groups were favored by special programs, the ethnic struggle has been aggravated. For example, for the Jews:

> Who were the most liberal group in New York, have started to move from the left to the center and the right little by little. For the first time, they feel threatened by minority groups...Since the affirmative Action Programs started...the Jewish mentality is paranoic...the Jews are traditionally a minority group who...by their own efforts have established themselves within the municipal system...in great numbers...now Puerto Ricans and Blacks come and tell the Jews, listen, muchacho, you have to get lost now because we have the Affirmative Action Programs (Informant 22).

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[148] "We have the same problems but not the same solutions"(Informant 20).

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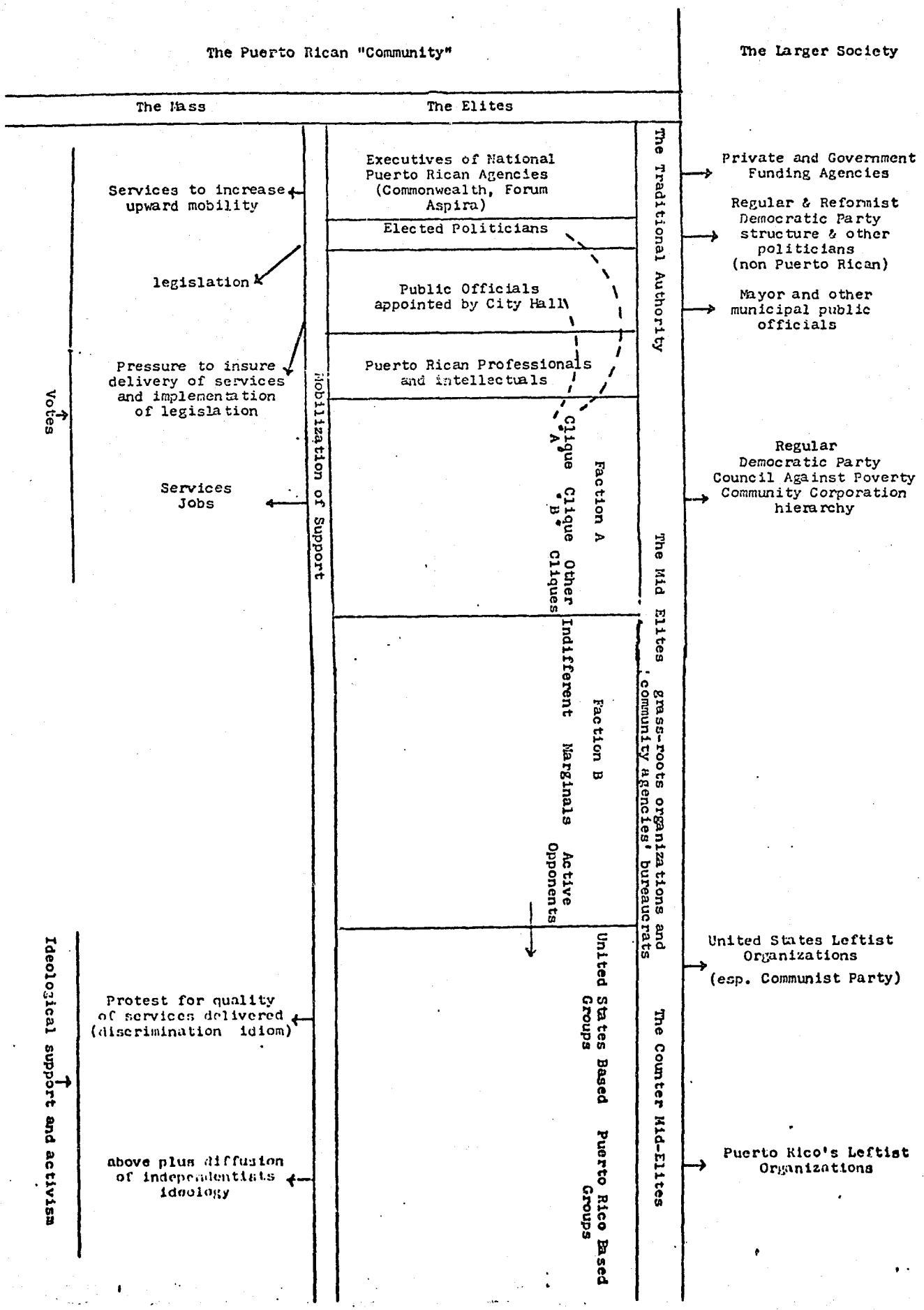
FIGURE 18

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE THREE ELITES IN THE PUERTO RICAN "COMMUNITY" AND THE LARGER SOCIETY



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From Figure 18 we can see the expansion of the mid-elites, Faction"A", into the traditional elite. Thus, in 1975 Informant 20, the leader of Clique"A", who had close relationships with Democratic Party Chairman Patrick Cunningham, became a Councilman and sat in the Council Against Poverty. Several of his followers were occupying executive positions in Community Corporations, others were running for political positions and, through the Parade, pressure was being mounted on City Hall to have more Puerto Rican Commissioners appointed.

Finally, disregarding differences between the two elites in terms of the exchange networks relating them to the larger society and to the mass, it becomes clear that the traditional and mid-elites provide the cadre of brokers that mediate between the larger society and the mass of the Puerto Rican lower-class. Institutions of the larger society, especially the political and administrative spheres, in turn, reward their role in developing organized manifestations of an ethnic population by providing them with funding, and appointed positions.

Yet, of all the groupings we have discussed in a continuum, the only one that conforms to the concept of an ethnic pressure group is Faction "A" especially Clique "A" of the mid-elites. Its members have loyalty to each other based on the belief that one advances because of the group not only because of individual abilities.[149] Its members

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[149] See Informant 17's case on p. 366 "You do not bite

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exist in a symbiotic relationship with a big man but the big man would not have arisen, and his role could not be maintained, if the infrastructure for this group of friends had not been set up in advance (see Figure 14 on p. 316 for organizational network). To translate these social relationship into economic terms, one could say that the mid-elite holds together by a system of reciprocity whereas the lower class is sought after to perpetuate such a system through redistribution of welfare goods in exchange for their vote.

The certainty they share that they are the "leaders of the community" make them expect loyalty from the lower-class.[150] Upwards, the network as we have shown is connected to the administrative and political institutions of the larger society, sometimes directly, sometimes via the inroads they have made into the Traditional elite. And, in turn, concessions or awards provided by this higher echelon of administrators is perceived by the mid-elites as a return favor.

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the hand that feeds you."

[150] "You ask me what do I do for my people, the community ? I feed them!" (Informant 20, Interview with Pete Hammill, Village Voice, Sept. 13, 1976:11).

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Conclusions

In this Chapter, we have discussed the political implications of the concepts of leadership and community. We started off from the 1974 Parade organizers. The analysis of their career histories (Section I) led us beyond an identification of stages and other inferred patterns (Section II) and towards the organizers' position in a network of connections (Section III). In turn, this identification of a tightly-knit group of Puerto Rican "leaders" led to the discussion of an emically-constructed typology of leadership (Section IV). In Section V we tested this typology against all publicly recognized "leaders of the Puerto Rican Community" and concluded that there were three elites: the traditional authority, mid-elites and counter mid-elites. These are stratified in the order specified above in terms of the recognition the national society vests upon them. Finally, in Section VI, we attempted to show the interrelationships between these elites in terms of oppositions and alliances amongst each of them and both the national society and the Puerto Rican lower-class, in an effort to understand the meaning of "community" in the specific case of Puerto Ricans in New York.

There are two main conclusions to be derived from this Chapter. The first of these is that, among the three elites, there is only one conscious ethnic group

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(the mid-elites) made up of individuals who are differentiated into leaders and followers. This group relates, horizontally, to the traditional authority elite, and vertically, to institutions of the larger society and the mass of Puerto Ricans, as representatives of a putative ethnic "community."

The second conclusion relates precisely to the issue of community. Community seems to refer in the United States to a population sharing certain features (cultural, in the case of ethnic populations) and organizing these around issues pertaining to the mode of articulation to the wider society. Those effecting the mediation between a community and the larger society (or supra-community) are, in our case, the elites.

If we focus our attention on the emergence of those elites and their status maintenance through their positions, then we can see that both the traditional and the mid-elites are largely a product of external creation. In fact, the mid-elites are a clear product of the Programs started during the intense pressure for social change evident in the 1960s. The traditional elite, in turn, is either made part of the larger society (such as the politicians) or exists by virtue of outside funding of the bureaucracy they direct or, finally, are appointed by the politico-administrative apparatus of New York City.

It could, therefore, be asserted, in view of the above, that, largely the "Puerto Rican Community" is an artificial creation of the wider society. Concomitantly,

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the Puerto Rican leadership is supported by the larger society because it serves a political purpose: that of mediating with the Puerto Rican population at large.

We will now turn to a discussion of these conclusions from a theoretical perspective.

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The Evolution of Ethnicity Among Puerto Ricans in New York City: 1955-1975

For quite some time, we have been interested in comparing the articulation between classes, as well as between other categories within socially stratified societies. Particularly interesting are the intermediaries (brokers, patrons, bosses), whose position links higher and lower hierarchical levels. They constitute nodes in networks of domination-dependency relationships. The function of such networks is to articulate levels in a stratified society. This articulation is realized through the distribution of economic resources and political rewards, as well as the dissemination of an ideology that legitimizes the existence and nature of such networks. Thus, intermediaries, and the networks in which they participate, are useful units in an analysis of stratified society.

From this theoretical perspective, we began to conduct research among the many brokers involved in the Puerto Rican Day Parade. Our research effort concentrated, however, more on a higher level of

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analysis, that dealt with the interplay between ethnicity and class in the United States, than on the more immediate and practical brokerage functions of the Parade's many leaders. Not only did we find "power domains" (Adams 1967) integrating different societal sectors, but also, their articulation expressed in an idiom of ethnicity.

The concept of ethnicity has been used to signify two distinct phenomena. On the one hand, it refers to the individual's perception of his social ancestry and the meanings attributed to it by his interactions with other in society. On the other hand, ethnicity is seen as the perception of a common culture by several individuals who share a common ancestry, communicate on the basis of such a commonality in specific interactions, and can potentially behave as a group in certain instances.

A research problem does not emerge out of a concept itself but out of the ways it has been operationalized.[151] The usual approaches to the study of ethnicity ignore the relationship between power and ethnicity, or the political and economic dimensions of ethnicity. Once these variables are introduced into the study of ethnic behavior, the questions arise, what is an ethnic group?, what is it that structures ethnicity?

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[151] See Chapter I (Introduction) for a theoretical discussion of various approaches to the study of ethnicity.

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Disturbed by the a priori acceptance of ethnicity in the literature published in the United States, we decided that our study should be designed to demonstrate that the social category of ethnicity is not an inevitable phenomenon, but a complex historical process. As such, its organizational counterpart, the ethnic group, not only emerges at a specific point in time, but is subject to changes in the national society of which it is a part. In other words, ethnicity can only be understood as the product of the operation of the total society.

The central assumption in this research is that ethnic groups are not pre-existing entities but are organizational responses to the existing power structure. On the basis of this assumption, we have hypothesized that the emergence and development of ethnic groups is related to the institutions of the national society. The methodological implication of the above is that, if ethnic groups form only in specific societies and at specific historical moments, then they have to be studied diachronically and structurally. Hence, we chose to investigate the "group" and "community" aspects of ethnicity within a particular period in a specific society. Further, assuming that ethnicity can only be explained with reference to a larger, empirical whole (a state, or large-scale society), we have empirically analyzed the relationship between the development of ethnicity among

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Puerto Ricans in New York City and the major political and economic changes in the City between 1955 and 1975.

For the sake of clarity in the conclusion, we first summarize the data collected from eighteen months of fieldwork, and then discuss these findings from a theoretical and comparative perspective.

Summary of Findings

The following empirical generalizations can be made on the basis of the data collected during fieldwork.

1. Puerto Rican immigrants, mostly from the lower-class, could be considered as an ethnic category in the 1950s; during that decade individuals perceived their shared national origin, but did not act jointly on the basis of their common bond.
2. The self-help hometown associations formed in the late 1950s and early 1960s serviced lower-class Puerto Ricans by means of offering contacts and jobs. With fewer contacts with non-Puerto Ricans, lower-class Puerto Ricans relied heavily on hometown cliques. They did not form groups but were simply members of the same ethnic category, facing similar problems. In addition, the existence of an internally differentiated membership within the associations provided some entrepreneurial members with the knowledge necessary for their future upward mobility. These associations represent the pre-condition for the emergence of a Puerto Rican

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ethnic group, but their early phase must be understood as a cultural, not a political response to the larger society.

3. With the inauguration of the War on Poverty in the mid-sixties, most of these associations were incorporated into Puerto Rican Anti-Poverty Agencies. Their leaders, in turn, became the bureaucrats of such agencies, without losing contact with the rest of the associations' membership.
4. An "ethnic group" developed out of an ethnic category, not only because of this newly created avenue of occupational mobility in the bureaucracy, but also because this new group discovered the advantages of playing the political game using the idiom of ethnicity.

Thus, ethnic consciousness, predicated upon group formation, did not emerge until a positive reassessment of ethnicity within a pluralistic ideological framework came into being. The impact of the ideological climate upon the social organization of a group is further exemplified by the internal stratification among Puerto Ricans themselves, which responded to changes in national ideologies and structure of resources.

We argue that the emergence of Puerto Rican ethnicity resulted from the interplay between two forces. Indigenous forces influencing ethnicity consisted of organizational forms based on common national and regional origin. These developed out of a need to respond to a discriminatory

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environment. External forces involve the wider society's development of an ideology and a structure of resources that rewarded organized manifestations of an ethnic "community." The label "community," imposed upon an ethnic category, was in part the result of the national ideology of cultural pluralism of the 1960s. The interplay of indigenous and external forces resulted in the development of ethnicity among Puerto Ricans, as a strategy to compete for power.

To understand the historical processes of the creation and maintenance of ethnicity, it is necessary to consider the articulation of an ethnic category with the national society. Of the many possible levels of articulation, we selected the structural and the ideological for study.

In structural terms, differentiation within the ethnic category transformed the social organization of its lower-class members by stratifying them according to differential access to the resources of the national society. Now a level exists comprised of Presidents of organizations, Directors of Agencies, and Community Workers. These constitute a publicly recognized category of leaders. Another level within the ethnic category can be called a "mass." In this category, one can identify a set of "followers," supporting different leaders in factional disputes and attempting to emulate the latter's career patterns to effect their own occupational mobility within the hierarchical structure. In addition, there is

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a mass of "non-aligned" lower-class Puerto Ricans. Ethnicity, then, becomes the political strategy used by recognized leaders who build upon the cultural identity of the masses to consolidate their own occupational status through the mobilization of a following. In this sense, the masses remain as an ethnic category since they only share a cultural identity but do not mobilize politically. The "classes,"[152] on the other hand, represented by the various leadership sectors, constitute an ethnic group.

With reference to ideology, we must recognize a dialectical interplay between national ideologies regarding cultural distinctions and the ideology of a particular ethnic category. This interplay must be analyzed in historical terms. Hence, an ideology of ethnicity develops or does not develop depending on the nature of this interplay at a particular point in time. While national ideologies influence patterns of ethnicity, ethnicity itself is institutionalized in the form of national ideologies. These ideologies, once again, have an impact upon ethnic categories since they provide the conceptual framework within which policies and their implementation are dictated and legitimized.

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[152]The distinction between the masses and the classes is based on differential access to strategic resources and ability to tap the system politically (See Horowitz 1967, Leeds 1964, among others).

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Two national ideologies have emerged in the United States with reference to presumed culturally different population categories: the ideology of the "melting pot" and the ideology of "cultural pluralism." The ideology of the "melting pot" emerged in response to large-scale immigration into the United States and represents an explicit system of ideas about the newcomers, their place in the host society and their future within it. It predicted assimilation of the immigrants into the mainstream American culture even at the cost of disrupting an ethnic community. Later, the ideology of "cultural pluralism" combined the normative themes about integration espoused by the ideology of the "melting pot" with the empirical reality of manipulation of cultural differences. Both ideologies set forth beliefs about individuals and groups in terms of their similarities and differences, and viewed society as ethnically and class-stratified. Yet the two ideologies differ in the weight they give the ethnic factor.

Let us now review how these ideologies affected the Puerto Rican immigrants. In the 1950s, when Puerto Rican lower-class immigration was massive, the prevalent ideological climate was that of the "melting pot." Consequently, lower-class Puerto Ricans used ethnicity as a strategy to assimilate as <u>individuals</u> into the wider society and then "pass" as <u>Americanos</u>. It was advantageous to use Puerto Rican contacts as part of the

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assimilationist strategy of adaptation to obtain jobs, information about the new society, and friends.

By the 1960s, the national ideological climate favored integration of immigrants into American society, but, in contrast to the "melting pot" ideology, it did not advocate the destruction of presumably important bonds of ethnicity. This change in ideology had a profound impact upon the Puerto Rican lower-class; it helped trigger the emergence of a politicized ethnic group. Thus, the emergence of a politically conscious Puerto Rican ethnic group depended, to a large degree, on the diffusion to the lower-class within ethnic categories of the ideology of cultural pluralism through policies of the state's administrative apparatus.

The politicalization of ethnicity is linked to two different, though related, issues: that of community and that of leadership. The belief in the value of the ethnic community, as the provider of the individual undergoing adaptation to a new culture, is one of the strongholds of the ideology of cultural pluralism. Not until the 1960s, when cultural pluralism became the prevalent official ideology, did Puerto Ricans use the term "community" to emphasize their common national origin. Now the term is freely used (e.g., "community" college, "community" worker, "community agencies); and people take sides with contestants on issues according to whether or not they are "for" or "against" the

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"community."

Theoretically, "community" is a value-free, politically neutral term. Yet the emergence of a Puerto Rican "community" was from the start a political act. This was because it developed within the context of relationships with American agencies and politicians: first with Democratic politicians, later, with Anti-Poverty Agencies, and most recently, with Puerto Rican políticos. It also emerged as a response to the Black civil rights movement of the sixties. Our argument throughout this thesis, that a Puerto Rican community is an artificial entity, a constructed set of political relationships and not a culturally isolable entity, makes sense in this context.

The issue of leadership is intimately related to that of community. The idea of "community," embedded in the ideology of cultural pluralism, was diffused to the mass through a cadre of publicly acknowledged Puerto Rican leaders. By the term leaders, we refer to those individuals who occupy the highest institutionalized positions within the Puerto Rican "community" plus those who have played decisive roles in framing ethnic issues. Viewed from the outside, the Puerto Rican "community" is perceived as a unified bloc, but, internally, there is political factionalism within the Puerto Rican leadership, and a lack of consensus on the issues of identity and ethnic community, and, consequently, on the goals set forth for the well-being of the "community." What these leaders

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have in common is their instrumental role in relaying an image of a unified "community" both to the wider society and to the ethnic category itself. Through their brokerage functions, they legitimize their own positions and emphasize the cultural differences between the group of people they are said to represent (the Puerto Rican community), and the larger society.

It is this leadership that is responsible for the politicalization of ethnicity. However, while its political power is absolute vis a vis lower-class Puerto Ricans, it is relatively weak with respect to the state, since the Puerto Rican "community" is poor and lacks economic power, and since the leaders are so considerably factionalized. While, functionally, Puerto Rican leaders constitute an elite, as they occupy the highest institutionalized positions in the "community," in terms of the wider society, they are not. An elite is a "group of individuals who <u>together</u> lead the community, direct it to obtain specific ends, meet certain goals, share relatively similar normative frameworks" (Italics mine) (Imaz 1964:236). Puerto Rican leaders, however, do constitute a political class, whose internal divisions derive from a situation of external dependency, as the analysis of the Parade in this thesis attempts to show.

Because the national ideology of cultural pluralism invested new meanings upon the concepts of community and leadership, the popular perception of "what it means to

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be Puerto Rican" has changed. Although there are many instances in which "passing" is advantageous for the individual, there are visible manifestations of a new pride based upon ethnicity at the collective level (e.g., Puerto Rican clubs in colleges, the drive to save Hostos Community College, etc.) which bring out, once again, the political significance given to ethnicity. These developments must be seen as part of a historical process taking place within "minority" groups (manifestations of this are seen in the significance of "soul" music and food, among Blacks, and the "estoy orgulloso de ser Puertorriqueño" (I am proud to be Puerto Rican).

Theoretical Discussion of Findings

Let us now summarize the main results of this research from a theoretical perspective. The findings can be grouped into five distinct categories, which will be dealt with in turn: (1) organizational growth, (2) ideological variability, (3) dependency relations, (4) ethnic group and community, and (5) social control.

Organizational Growth

Puerto Rican ethnic organizations not only grew but also diversified once resources of the national society became available to minorities. Those organizations which were not funded had less chance of influencing the power structure. These ranged from organizations of the counter mid-elite (such as the Committee to Free Political

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Prisoners) to hometown clubs not affiliated with the Parade (such as Hijos de Patiñas), although these did succeed in mobilizing ideological support from a segment of Puerto Ricans. Jones (1972:63) has already pointed out that "there are outside links which encourage the development of local organizations." In this thesis, we have taken into account the relationship between the growth of ethnic organizations and the institutional framework of the national society and have concluded that such an increase in ethnicity is a response to pressures emanating from the wider society to 'develop an ethnic community.'

Ideological Variability

One of the implications of the above is that variability has developed among Puerto Ricans. We have discussed in Chapter VI the existence of three distinct elites within Puerto Rican leadership: the traditional authority, the mid-elites and the counter mid-elites. In terms of access to resources, these can be lumped into two groups. The traditional authority and the mid-elites are the spokesmen for the "community" and have administrative and political positions, in contrast to the counter mid-elites. Furthermore, the two main groups maintain an egalitarian ideology embedded in their concept of community.[153] Thus, whereas the traditional

[153] See Jayawardena 1968:432 who writes, "a marked emphasis on egalitarian mores is incompatible

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and mid-elites see their role as instrumental in "developing a community," and providing avenues for assimilation of Puerto Ricans into the mainstream, the counter mid-elites promote an ideology of opposition to the wider society, (which either calls for full-fledged independence for Puerto Rico, or for a revolutionary struggle of a deprived minority). Thus, as an ideological correlate of the forces impinging upon the phenomenon of increase in organizations, we can conclude there emerged two alternative and opposing views as to the relationship between the Puerto Rican population (mainly the lower-class) and the institutions of the wider society.

Dependency Relations

The political organization of ideological diversity can be considered in terms of dependency relations. The "assimilationists" can be seen as a group created by official agents espousing an ideology of cultural pluralism. They are thus dependent on the national society for status maintenance.

We can draw a parallel between the economic aid given to underdeveloped nations by developed ones and the resources distributed to its own underdeveloped pockets by the United States government, with the assumption that these resources will help "develop the communities."

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with a degree of actual differentiation that inevitably develops and, as well, with aspirations to improve status."

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The political implications of such aid can be understood in terms of the ideological stances taken by the two major elite groups, defined above. The traditional authorities and the mid-elites can be seen as "dependent," while the counter elite can be seen as a "developmentalist" elite. This ideological division of Puerto Rican elites concurs with the observation that

> the processes of modernization and development are associated with two basic elite types. On the one hand, there are elites which depend upon the continuity of imperial domination; on the other hand, are elites organized explicitly to weaken or sever ties of dependency. We will call these two types of elite 'dependence' and 'development' elites, respectively (Schneider, Schneider, and Hansen 1972:345).

The fact that our "assimilationist" elites are dependent upon the national power structure is valid even though they are integrated differentially into the wider society and with the mass of Puerto Ricans. Further, some sectors within the "assimilationist" elites are more community-oriented, and others are more nation-oriented (Wolf 1956). Between these two types, lies a third type, power brokers whose

> basic function is to relate community-oriented individuals who want to stabilize or improve their life chances, but who lack economic security and political connections with nation-oriented individuals who operate primarily in terms of the complex cultural forums standardized as national institutions, but whose success in these operations depends on the size and strength of their personal following (Wolf 1956:1075-6).

In other words, within the "assimilationist" elites, there

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is a sector of power brokers that mediate between the wider society and the Puerto Rican lower-class.

Ethnic Group and Community

This point relates to the issues of ethnic group and ethnic community. In the literature, both terms are used interchangeably. It is assumed that an ethnic community refers to a culturally-identifiable segment within the total population and that this community behaves as a group. Yet, we have seen that the Puerto Rican ethnic community is comprised of a set of constructed relationships (ethnic leadership). Within the so-called Puerto Rican community's ethnic leadership, only one elite group--the mid-elites, especially Faction "A", acts as a homogeneous, pressure group. Thus, we argue that the concept of an ethnic group should not be used to describe an entire ethnic population, but should be restricted to the groups of people who act as power brokers mediating between this population and institutions of the wider society. The members of Faction "A" within the mid-elites are tied together in a network defined by a system of reciprocity of services (See Leeds 1964, Lomnitz 1972). Because their power domain includes the interlocking organizations "of and for the community," they have been able to make important inroads into the domains of the more nation-oriented, traditional elites.

In conclusion, if the ethnic group is made up of

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various hierarchies which compete for resources and power that originate outside the "community," the ethnic community refers to the elites and followers that the former aim to recruit. In sum, neither the concept of ethnic group nor that of ethnic community needs to be a priori extended to an entire ethnic population, no matter how culturally homogeneous it may be.

Our data has demonstrated that there have been changes within what has been officially designated as the Puerto Rican community i.e, the total population of Puerto Ricans--not the more limited groupings we refer to here. In our initial research design, we hypothesized that these changes have led toward the consolidation of an ethnic group out of an ethnic category. As a result of our research on the Puerto Rican elites, we are now convinced that the ethnic category (lower-class Puerto Ricans) has remained unchanged but that a sector within it has entered the arena of political competition as an identifiable ethnic group. The assimilationist local elites attempt to recruit followers at ethnic gatherings and through dispensing services, always emphasizing the common bonds that tie all Puerto Ricans together. Since they are able to recruit followers only because they control access to resources, the whole population certainly cannot be considered as an ethnic group. Thus, it can be argued that when these local elites, or ethnic cores fall, the "community" becomes a non-existent entity.

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Social Control

If we consider the concepts of ethnic group and ethnic community in relation, on the one hand, to the Puerto Rican lower-class population, and,on the other, to the wider power structure, we can see how the study of the evolution of Puerto Rican ethnicity enlightens, in microcosm, some of the mechanisms of social control operative in urban New York. Thus, the historical picture we have outlined, points out that structures of the officially designated "ethnic community" have indeed changed, but no structural change of the Puerto Rican population has occurred. The emergence and political mobility of the mid-elites has been dependent upon the creation of new opportunity structures by the wider society. Therefore, this group of mid-elites remains dependent upon the wider political system for its own continuity. As power brokers, this new mid-elite has achieved occupational positions closed to the rest of the lower class, while it still maintains open avenues of communication with the mass of Puerto Ricans. Whereas the power brokers attempt to recruit the lower-class politically and ideologically, in economic terms the Puerto Rican lower-class, like any other lower-class segment, is dependent upon institutions of the wider society, primarily the labor market. It is in this area that class structure takes analytical precedence over the ideology of ethnicity. In terms of social control, it can

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be argued that lower class Puerto Ricans are dependent upon both the constraints inherent in a segmented labor market,[154] and the local ethnic elites that recruit a political following out of an unorganized mass, or ethnic category.

The Position of Puerto Ricans in the Class and Ethnic Structure of the United States

Perceptions of ethnicity reflect the impact of national ideology upon the existing social order. There are instances of this phenomenon occurring in other national societies other than the United States. In a convincing study of "what it means to be Indian" in Mexico, Friedlander argues that there exist "contradictions between the reality of being Indian... and the idealized image of the Indian as a representative of Mexico's prehispanic heritage" (1975:xiv). The realities of being Indian, or of an Indian identity, "relates more precisely to their low socio-economic position in the national stratification system that it does to their culture"... although..."the villagers are acutely aware of still being Indians for they are continuously so designated by outsiders" (1975:xv).

As with Indian communities, the majority of those

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[154] See p. 436 for a discussion of labor market segmentation in New York City.

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within the category "Puerto Rican community" are lower-class individuals. Changes in the ideology of ethnicity have not had an impact upon the positioning of Puerto Ricans within the American class structure.[155] In terms of the system of social stratification,[156] we can say that ethnicity has been emphasized, while class consciousness has been de-emphasized. In terms of the power structure, there has been an emphasis on political pluralism but, with the class structure relatively unaltered for Puerto Ricans,[157] political changes have only made an impact at the level of the ethnic system of social stratification.

These considerations led our research away from the analysis of the particularistic idiom of ethnicity per se and toward an explanation of ethnicity through the development of a model of the society within which ethnicity occurs. Thus, ethnicity is seen as an ideological epiphenomenon within an economic and political system.

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[155] By class structure, we mean the relationships between individuals in terms of their positions in the process of production, that is, the ownership of the means of production, and the redistribution mechanisms of a specific society at a specific point in time.

[156] By social stratification, we mean the "hierarchization of individuals in society not only by their class position but also by differences of income, of profession, of culture, of politics" (Dos Santos 1973:35).

[157] "In the early 1970s, the rate of unemployment among employable Puerto Ricans in New York City was over 10% (a figure that does not include under-employment). Of those employed, only 2% were professionals, while 70% concentrated in the unskilled, semi-skilled and service jobs" (López and Petras 1974:335).

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There has been a long-standing division in the United States between White, Black and "others," the last, a category that is essentially a combination of the first two.[158] The system of social stratification has become more complex with external[159] and internal[160] migrations, which have incorporated ethnicity, or cultural background, into the picture, but the dualistic structure still permeates American society. One possible explanation for this might be in the differences in the decisions made to immigrate by White and Black Americans. While the massive movement of White Europeans was voluntary, even when forced by a combination of economic and religious factors, the migration of Blacks was totally coerced. It can be said that the persistence of racial duality, and the stratification of of these different categories, in terms of ethnic prestige, might have been motivated by the desire on the part of Whites to distinguish themselves from the Black, the slave, the "uncultured." Whereas the white immigrants made up an industrial working class with possibilities of upward

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[158]For views of the United States as a dual, racist society, see even "conservative" reports, such as the City University of New York Student Census (1977), and the Report of the National Advisory Commision on Civil Disorders (1968).

[159]Of nearly sixty million Europeans who migrated after 1800, almost sixty per-cent came to the United States (Ribeiro 1969).

[160]Internal migrants, since the 1930s, consisted of Blacks and Island Puerto Ricans arriving in the industrial northeast.

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mobility, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other "minorities," were barred from the attainment of the position of primary worker, and ended up in menial jobs in the marginal sectors of the economy. Even today, individuals from these marginal populations obtain higher-paid jobs only once there is a decrease in job competition with white workers. Since the class structure of society is perceived mainly in terms of occupation and income, the locus of group allegiances is ethnic rather than class. This is especially true for the lower class, which, because of its structural position, can gain more by attempting to transcend the inequalities of the White-Black dichotomy by allegiance to an ethnic community, which symbolizes equality, and brotherhood.

Nisbet (1953) and Branson(1961) convincingly argue that the quest for community, which Nisbet defines as the "need for a clear sense of cultural purpose, membership, status and continuity" (1953:73), is as old as the territorial state. Nisbet's solution to the dilemma is to have the State regulate, but not dominate, the natural quest for community:

> To create the conditions within which autonomous individuals could prosper, could be emancipated from the binding ties of kinship, class and community, was the objective of the older laissez-faire. To create conditions within which, autonomous groups may prosper must be...the prime objective of the new laissez-faire" (1953:278).

This is not what we found in our research. In the Puerto Rican case, the impact of the national ideology of

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cultural pluralism, as we have stated above, has been in the direction of altering the social organization of an ethnic category. In other words, the emphasis given to the issues of community and leadership by the ideology of cultural pluralism haschanged the content of Puerto Rican negative attitudes to a positive assessment of ethnicity. But while ethnicity has played a dynamic role, class has remained a dormant element in the lives of Puerto Ricans in New York. This is basically because the position of Puerto Ricans in the class structure has remained unaltered. Thus, the emergence of a community leadership structure resembles more the systems of indirect rule in colonial empires than it does an independent representative state. Let us recall once more that the self-help functions of the early hometown associations were taken over by State agencies once the cultural pluralist ideology was operationalized into specific programs. These agencies have operated as broker institutions mediating between the lower-class and the local power structure, while impeding direct access to the latter by the former.

We can view the ethnic "community" as an empirical phenomenon, as a unit of study in its own right, and, as "culturologists" do, analyze diacritica that comprise the traditions of a people. Using such an approach, we describe cultural differences that make a particular group of people stand out culturally differentiated from the national society. In the case of New York Puerto

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Ricans, we might concentrate on language, child-rearing practices, recreational associations, food habits, religious beliefs, use of folk healers, stores that cater to needs carried over from the Island (e.g., santerías, bodegas), or the observance of Puerto Rican fiestas (San Juan Bautista, Three Kings, hometown patron saints). These cultural traits, however, are not found in Puerto Rico! Although a "culturologist" might argue that they are traditions carried over from the mother country, which, with the process of assimilation, will fade away, the fact still remains that there are newly created and reinforced cultural patterns among Puerto Ricans in New York. These patterns, that mark an ethnic "community," have become a political tool to be manipulated in order to obtain power and economic resources. To understand the mechanisms of this process, it has been necessary to isolate features of the national society which have had an impact upon the development of Puerto Rican ethnicity. This approach follows in line with many anthropological works which analyze local-level phenomena as conditioned by external factors (Friedlander 1975, Wolf 1959, 1966, Vincent 1972, Collier 1975, Aguirre Beltrán 1967, among many others). While there are many levels of articulation between a population category and a national society that could potentially become units of analysis, we have chosen to center on the impact of national political ideology and the distribution of resources

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upon the social organization of the ethnic "community" in order to understand the politicalization of ethnicity among Puerto Ricans.

Ethnicity as an Adaptation to Marginality

If we consider the impact of forces stemming from the national society upon Puerto Ricans, then the evolution of their ethnicity must be viewed ecologically, that is, as an adaptative response to their social environment. In this respect, this study supports the analyses of ethnicity done by Collier (1975) and Aguirre Beltrán (1967). Beltrán refers to refuge regions in Mexico, which are peopled by technologically underdeveloped populations ethnically different from the rest of society. This type of population is especially vulnerable to the operation of what he calls "dominical processes," or "the interplay of forces that make domination possible" (1967:1). In such refuge regions, ethnicity is viewed as an adaptation to marginality or, in ecological terms, marginality constitutes the environment of ethnic groupings (Collier 1975).

What Mexican Indians of the refugee regions have in common with ethnic "minorities" in the United States, among which is the Puerto Rican population, is the fact that:

> Their distinctiveness is self-applied and must not be mistaken for idiosyncracy or uniqueness. For these groups share a structural position of

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> subordination in a larger social field. They are groups whose ethnicity is not a form of cultural survival, but an active, adaptive response to placement in a system (Collier 1975:17).

This point is applicable to Puerto Ricans because, in terms of the larger system, they too are marginal. We have attempted to show in Chapters II and III how Puerto Ricans are largely employed in low-paid and low-prestige occupations, where unions are either weak or discriminatory. In terms of the production sphere of the economic structure, they are, then, exploited as a labor force.[161] In Chapter III, we have attempted to show that government drives to distribute resources to Puerto Ricans were concentrated in poor neighborhoods. The role of mediating "leader" emerged within such a process of resource distribution. Ethnicity then became the major idiom through which communication could take place with the national society. Hence, boundary-markers were strengthened by such leaders in an effort to both maintain their roles as resource distributors and to achieve upward (occupational) mobility. The structure of distribution of resources had an impact on the social organization of the ethnic group, but not on the marginal place of Puerto Ricans in the production spheres of the economy. Thus, whereas ethnicity signified

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[161] Employment figures for Puerto Ricans should be correlated with imbalances in the New York labor market to provide a full picture of the place of Puerto Ricans in the economy. This kind of analysis would help make a stronger case for the thesis of Puerto Rican marginality.

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a dynamic adaptation to a marginal environment, the positioning of Puerto Ricans within the national society has remained static, or, in other words, the environment of Puerto Ricans has remained marginal.

If the environment of Puerto Ricans has remained marginal, why should such a niche be defended? Emphasizing ethnic differences is a good way of adapting to a society that recognizes ethnic leaders and distributes resources to ethnic organizations in poor neighborhoods. For the cadre of "assimilationist leaders," ethnicity provides power and management over resources. For the lower-class ethnic category, though still socially and economically marginal to the wider society, the ideology of community bridges the differences within the ethnic group and provides a modus vivendi with the wider society. Thus the structural contradiction between class and ethnicity is solved at the ideological level.

There are two turning points in the evolution of Puerto Rican ethnicity as an adaptation to a marginal positioning in American society. The first is when Puerto Ricans founded hometown self-help organizations as a strategy of assimilation while attempting to disassociate themselves from other Spanish-speaking groups. The second is when ethnicity began to be manipulated so as to reap the rewards of a welfare state which redistributed resources according to community boundaries imposed upon ethnic categories. A major point of this thesis has been

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that is was only in the second phase, when cultural identities were reinforced by the larger society, that ethnicity became a political tool.[162] A cadre of leaders emerged and derived power from managing capital investments in the ghettos. Its consolidation was strengthened by the fact that leadership positions were so few, and the possibilities for upward mobility quite limited. This leadership cadre has remained dependent upon the larger society. In sum, ethnicity must be thought of as an organizational response of an economically and politically marginal segment of the lower-class, to the existing power structure.

The Case for Internal Colonialism

The assertion that Puerto Rican ethnicity is an adaptation to marginal positioning with a national society implies the belief in the fruitfulness of relating the development of ethnicity to the class and power structure of such a society. In this light, it is valuable to analyze the explanatory potential of the model of internal colonialism.

The Model. Internal colonialism is an analytical category

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[162] Collier's view of the external conditioning of local systems is somewhat mechanistic. We have demonstrated a more dialectical relationship obtaining between the Puerto Rican population and national institutions. In fact, Puerto Ricans did develop hometown organizations long before the Office of Economic Opportunity programs started.

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devised for the study of conflict and exploitation from a structural point of view, while incorporating cultural differences. According to González Casanova: "Internal colonialism corresponds to a structure of social relationships of dominance and exploitation between groups which are culturally heterogeneous, different" (1969:240).

Internal colonialism differs from other situations of dominance-dependency in two respects. On the one hand, the agents of exploitation have changed, from a foreign nation to a national society. On the other hand, this change has structural consequences for the system of social stratification:

> While the national society was extending its control, when the capitalist economy became predominant in the region, the relationships colonizer/colonized, Ladino-Indian were transformed into class relationships... Regional ethnic stratification results from this historical evolution. It reflects the colonial situation that has been maintained up to now. Behind inter-ethnic relations which are visible in the stratification system, there is a social class structure (Stavenhagen 1969:249).

The model has illuminated the processes of inter-ethnic relations in dual or plural societies (for example, Chiapas in Southeast Mexico). It has not been applied, however, to all plural societies. This may be because the model was framed as an analogy to international colonialism and, hence, was not considered useful for the analysis of the internal dynamics of a society. Another reason may be that the orthodox paradigm of ecological analysis in the social sciences has not been sufficiently challenged.

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Internal colonialism, however, does not necessarily operate in all societies with ethnic categories. While "colonial societies have a tendency towards pluralism" (Casanova 1969:235), the reverse need not be true, that is, plural societies need not have a built-in structure of internal colonialism. Internal colonialism operates in plural societies where ethnically diverse groups co-exist regionally and are stratified in relation to one another; one or more of such ethnic groups is structurally underdeveloped, or marginal vis a vis the other ethnic groups.

Accepting this definition, we can understand how the model has been applied to analyze the experience of Blacks in the United States.

The Black Population as an Internal Colony

Blauner (1971) points out that all previous models of Black distinctiveness from other groups (to wit, color-caste theory, ethnicity, class analysis) have failed, when taken separately, to adequately explain the nature of ghetto-wider society relationships. He proposes the internal colonialism model to integrate such approaches, including the elaboration of the colonial model among the Black militants of the 1960s (for whom the common experience of social and racial oppression of Blacks predominated over the innumerable differences between the African and American Blacks' cultural and political contexts). For Blauner, the model of internal colonialism

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serves as a summation of the previous approaches applied to the study of Blacks in the United States.

He applies it to the analysis of "ghetto revolts," which he analyzes as cultural revitalization movements.

> It is my basic thesis that the most important expressions of protest in the Black community during the recent years reflected the colonized status of Afro America. Riots, programs of separation, politics of community control, the Black revolutionary movements, and cultural nationalism, each represent a different strategy of attack on domestic colonialism in America (1971:369).

Yet while the model of internal colonialism is still

> Problematic and imprecise... it gives hope of becoming a framework that can integrate the insights of caste and racism, ethnicity, culture and economic exploitation into an overall conceptual scheme (1971:365).

Tabb (1970) makes a much more poignant case for the fruitfulness of applying the colonial analogy to the Black ghetto. Instead of mistaking analogies for empirical realities ("the black ghetto is in many ways in a position similar to that of the typical underdeveloped nation" 1970: 22), he traces historically the political economy of Blacks in the United States in order to answer the question, "can such relationships [between White and Black] be termed colonial? And to what extent is the issue one of race and how much one of class?" (1970:22).

In making a case for the model of internal colonialism, Tabb demonstrates how Blacks contributed with their slave labor to the capital accumulation phase in American history, and are still an available source of cheap labor when

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needed. The colony is maintained through political processes of domination for which the role of Black middlemen is crucial.

The "problem" with the way in which the internal colonialism model has been applied to Blacks in the United States lies in the attempt to work with a relatively unmodified colonial analogy, that is, with its geographical connotations. Thus, we find repeated reference to the ghetto or the Black community, as the internal colony, and not simply to American Blacks or, more adequately, the Black lower-class.

A Reformulation of the Internal Colonialism Model: The Case of Puerto Ricans

Once we delete the geographical connotation from the model, a case for its applicability can be made for Puerto Ricans as well. To aid us in the discussion of the applicability of the model to Puerto Ricans, we borrow from Tabb's political economic approach:

> There are two key relationships which must be proved to exist before the colonial analogy can be accepted: (1) Economic control and exploitation and (2) political dependence and subjugation. Both necessitate separation and inferior status (1970:23).

We have argued that, like internal colonies, the Puerto Rican population in New York is marginal to the structure of the American economy. Marginal populations are not seen as an expendable labor force but, rather, as an unskilled labor force that is needed in a state

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with an unstable labor market.[163, 164] It can be argued that Puerto Ricans are marginal, yet at the same time integrated into the New York labor market.

One of the salient features of the labor market[165] (and labor process)[166] in the United Staates, and, in terms of our interest here, New York City, is its segmentation.

> Segmentation occurs when the labor market or the labor process is divided into separate sub-markets or sub-processes, or segments, distinguished by different characteristics, behavioral rules and working conditions (Edwards, Reich and Gordon 1975:xi).

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[163] Puerto Ricans dominate the restaurant, garment and hotel trades to such an extent that these businesses would now be helpless without them (Fitzpatrick 1971). This concentration has not been matched by increased unionization, much less by the advancement into top union positions. Some unions discriminate against hiring Puerto Ricans and Blacks (see, for example, the conflicts around the construction of new buildings for City College when Blacks and Puerto Ricans of the area pressured contractors to hire them during a period of high unemployment, New York Times, February, 1974).

[164] The occupational level of Puerto Ricans has not changed much since the onset of migration. Puerto Ricans have always been concentrated in the operative and non-household service categories, which are predominantly unskilled and semiskilled occupations. These occupations experience an above average unemployment rate (United States Department of Labor, 1971). They are also heavily employed in manufacturing industries which, again, are a declining sector in the economy of New York City. For a more thorough discussion of the occupational picture for Puerto Ricans, see Chapter II.

[165] "Labor process" refers to "the consumption of labor power by the capitalist" (Edwards, Reich and Gordon 1975:xi).

[166] "Labor market" refers to the "institutions that mediate the purchase and sale of labor power" (Edwards, Reich and Gordon 1975:xi).

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From the perspective of the theory of segmental markets, we can say that the mass of Puerto Ricans are secondary workers, or concentrated in marginal occupations in peripheral industries and service sectors, which also form a part of the secondary labor market.

Thus, the rationale behind the choice of occupational status of Puerto Ricans as an index of economic marginality is that it brings in the structural dimension of class, and simultaneously shows that most Puerto Ricans are poor. Poverty, in turn, must be understood more in terms of a social relationship of dependency than in terms of income distribution figures.

> To say that lack of freedom is an important element in being poor is to argue not merely that because of low income the poor lack command over goods and services: it is to say also that the poor have less choice as to where and how they will live, how their children will be educated, the occupations they will find (Italics mine) (Tabb 1970:81).

Economic dependency is parallelled at the level of politics. We have already documented the development of a white-collar middle class among New York Puerto Ricans as an adaptative response to the national programs aimed at the development of (lower-class) ethnic communities. The intermediary roles of the Puerto Rican cadre of leaders have had the structural consequence of maintaining the dependent position of the lower sectors of the ethnic category, through such means as minimizing agitation and discrediting the political mobilization of the opposition. The Puerto Rican lower-class is, thus,

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controlled by an elite, even though this elite itself is torn by factionalism, and dependent upon higher non-Puerto Rican levels of authority. Leadership roles have thus "maintained the colony." In Tabb's terms,

> In any colony there is always room for bright natives to hold responsible and important positions though not at the very top. These acculturated natives can serve as minor functionaries in the ghetto, as they did extensively in the British Empire. They can act as middlemen between other natives and the colonist businessmen who can then reside 'abroad'... Their success suggests that others who work can make it as well, and that those who do not are to blame for their own failure (1970:27).

Although it may seem that a case can be made for the applicability of the internal colonialism model for Puerto Ricans, there are some problems stemming from this analogy. Thus, we propose the following modifications of the model for the Puerto Rican case.

1. Let us not forget that Puerto Ricans are still mostly immigrants from a United States colony (in the 1900s part of the Commonwealth), the Island of Puerto Rico, to the metropolitan center. They have been pushed out of Puerto Rico by the historical process of decapitalization of much of its native agricultural population by the planned industrialization program, Operation Bootstrap. Puerto Ricans comprise an internal colony not so much because of their place of birth or residence, but because of the special class relationships that have developed in response to the New York environment.

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2. Puerto Ricans reside in a society that is viewed as stratified into a multiplicity of competing ethnic groupings, each one internally stratified in terms of status and class. This situation differs from that of Mexico. For Mexico, Casanova refers to the "joint exploitation of the indigenous populations by the different social classes of the ladino population" (González Casanova 1969:242).

3. The model of internal colonialism cannot be applied geographically in the United States, as in rural regions in Mexico, because a ghetto is not a unit which chooses to be culturally different from the wider society but, rather, contains a lower-class population which aims to emulate middle class values (Liebow 1969, Valentine 1972, Hannerz 1974). It would be best, then, to refer to internal colonialism, in this case, as an orbit of social relationships characterized by economic and political dependency.

4. One must make clear that the model of internal colonialism cannot be indiscriminately applied to all ethnic groups in New York but only to those which are marginal in both economic and political terms. What all these groups have in common is their structural marginality vis a vis the wider society. Yet, it is apparent that the distribution of resources and dissemination of the official ideology of the national society both emphasize cultural differences between "communities." Thus, the concept of

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"community," as officially stated, corresponds more to the definition of ethnic category by the national society than it does to an actually distinct group.

An implication of adopting the model of internal colonialism, with the proposed modifications, to analyze the development of Puerto Rican ethnicity is that "community development" programs will not be effective in developing the "ethnic community" (or improving the lot of lower-class Puerto Ricans) because the existence and maintenance of an internal colony precludes development, or, is predicated upon underdevelopment. The War on Poverty failed, not because the poor "ethnic" evidenced a slow response to change, but because the drive was crippled by its very conception of national society, i.e., a view that ethnic communities are central in American life, and can reduce class stratification.

A political consequence of the War on Poverty has been the increased emphasis on ethnicity, both through the national ideology of cultural pluralism and the creation of a leadership cadre which has an instrumental role in reinforcing ethnicity. This is a very similar situation to that which Collier describes for Mexico.

> Those in power will recognize the legitimacy of the Indian bloc in Mexico and will strive to heighten and generalize principles of that bloc so as to conform with nationalistic goals. This phenomenon we may call 'national indianism'. In response, those of the Indian bloc will attempt to bend such recognition at the national level to the securing of their entrenched position at the regional level, a stance we may call 'Indian nationalism' (Collier 1975:124).

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A Typology of Internal Colonialism:

Class and Ethnic Relationships

There are several avenues for future research which stem from this study. One problem for analysis is the relative weight given to class and ethnicity by different societies, or in other words, the dialectical relationship between class structure and systems of social stratification in different societies. It would be fruitful to compare, for example, two societies which have experienced a heavy migration, the United States and Argentina, and which are different in the emphasis each gives to ethnicity. Whereas ethnicity has been politicalized in the United States, to different degrees depending on region and class level, ethnicity has been de-emphasized in relation to class in Argentina. Although class levels and ethnic categories broadly coincide, or correlate, in Argentina,[167] the national

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[167]Historically there were ethnic oppositions in Argentina. The first opposition was White/Indian. The second was White Europeans/mestizo. The immigration policies in Argentina were deliberately pro-white, as is seen in ideological statements such as "to civilize is to populate" (Alberdi), that is, with white europeans, and "civilization and barbarism" (Sarmiento), which oppose the white European to the rural mestizo (Ribeiro 1969, Sagrera 1976, et al). These immigrants were socialized to discriminate against the "native" mestizo from the rural areas. This pattern persists today, when migration is largely rural-urban and from neighboring countries (Cabecitas negras, dark heads). Yet political mobilization appealed not to presumed ethnic diacritica but to a lower-class status (descamisados, shirtless) during the populist Peronist regimes. Later,

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ideology has stressed assimilation and has sought to mobilize political supporters on the basis of class alliances and oppositions, not on the basis of ethnicity.

There seems to have been historically a higher degree of assimilation in Argentina than in the United States, partly because the majority of the immigrants were Spaniards, partly because the slave trade was inconsequential, and partly because Indian populations were sparse. An additional reason, advanced by Ribeiro (1969) is that the rural areas from which the migrants came had not identified yet with the national entities of which they were, territorially, a part. Also, the migratory waves to Argentina were not glorified, in terms of the contributions they made to the development of a national society, as they were in the United States. This resulted in a weaker ethnic consciousness[168] among the lower class in Argentina than in the United States.

Valuable research can be carried out if it takes into account the impact of conceptions of political power upon the mobilization of different sectors of the population. Or, in other words, the rise and politicalization of

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military governments have dealt with these populations using the politically neutral term, working class, and have strived to depoliticize this sector by suppressing the legality of the trade unions.

[168] By consciousness, we mean the sharing of a view of the world and society. This gives rise to an ideology.

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ethnicity must be seen in the context of the inter-relationship between the prevailing ideological climate and the categorical variation within a society's population. Ethnicity, then, may prove to be or not to be institutionalized in the society. In the case of the United States, regardless of how or whether individuals might perceive ethnic identity, ethnicity has become legitimized in the cultural pluralist ideology. Only ethnicity's political dimension, however, has been used as a means of assimilating into American society, and this is based on the fact that there exists a fragmented political class representing the various lower-class ethnic "communities."

An implication of the ideology of cultural pluralism, which assumes ethnic communities to be essential for the individual, is the view that society is seen as offering equal opportunities to all individuals. Further, being a member of a discrete ethnic community is a feature shared by all lower-class individuals. The result is that the class structure of society remains hidden from the awareness of the population at large. In the United States, then, the national ideology of cultural pluralism has preserved, or re-created in a new way, cultural distinctions amongst ethnic communities. The greatest impact of official ideology embedded in government programs was upon the lower-class " minorities", the populations most concerned with integration into higher

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social and economic spheres of society. From this perspective, it seems less important to continue studying ethnicity in the United States than it is to relate ethnicity to the class and power structure of the total society seen in historical perspective.

From this perspective, we can compare the situations of the Chiapas Indians, Argentine mestizos and "ethnic minorities" in the United States. All three are similar in the sense of their marginal position within their respective national societies. In all three cases, these populations have a low status and are unable to gain access to resources of wealth, power and prestige. Occupationally, these populations are restricted to labor-intensive jobs; in Chiapas, a technologically backward region, in urban Argentina, where the economic niches of mestizos are in secondary, and tertiary sectors; and in New York City, where Puerto Ricans are needed for labor-intensive declining or secondary industries.

In all three cases, technological backwardness and occupational marginality have political implications. In fact, these populations are linked to the wider society by a class of intermediaries, or an elite (or set of elites, in the case of Puerto Ricans) which mediates between the population and the power structure because its power domains include sectors within both of these levels. Yet, it must be stressed that these elites

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owe their existence to the structurally marginal position of the population within the wider societies. Moreover, the existence of these elites shows that these low-class populations are stratified in terms of differential access to the resources of the wider society and capacity to manipulate them within the wider society. Thus, we have observed in all three cases, several interlocked networks of dominance-dependency relationships. These populations can be seen to constitute internal colonies within nations, but the power broker-elite is, in turn, partly created by and partly dependent upon the national power structures as well.

On the basis of their similarities, we can argue that these cases represent specific instances of internal colonialism; at the same time, we can elicit ideological and structural differences that explain the particular configurations of internal colonialism in each case. First, the differences are found in the ideology of ethnic community. We might argue that the Indians of Chiapas are more culturally self-contained than the populations of the other two cases. This might be due to their regional isolation. The Argentine urban mestizos retain identification that relate them to region of origin, but articulate to the wider society on the basis of class, not ethnicity. The Puerto Ricans, in turn, are more similar to the Indians of Chiapas in their political manipulation of ethnicity than to the Argentine mestizos.

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The diversity of uses made of ethnicity and class can further be seen as related to important structural differences between the three internal colonies. Whereas at this point, we will not enter into a discussion of the unique characteristics of the Mexican and Argentine situations, it can be argued that Puerto Ricans in the United States are in fact integrated into a segmental labor market. In this type of labor market, employers use race, sex, ethnic, educational credentials and other criteria to segment the labor market and process (Edwards et al 1975). In other words, the American labor force is divided in more profound ways than the dual labor market theory would predict, i.e., not only into primary and secondary workers but into a multiplicity of stratified segments.

What can we learn from a typology of internal colonialism, such as the one already briefly presented? When viewed in terms of population segments, and not total societies, one can draw structural parallels between pockets of under-development in both so-called developed and under-developed countries.[169] The significance of these parallels extends into the sphere of policy-making, which may be based on opposing economic theories and

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[169]For the theses of development, under-development and dependency, see Cockcroft (1972), Cardoso and Faletto (1970).

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ideologies for change. Thus, the developmentalist theory has argued that there are dual societies in the Third World, On the basis of this assumption, these theorists have recommended certain types of programs to develop underdeveloped regions and sectors within a society.[170] Similarly, the philosophy underlying the War Against Poverty has involved a dichotomiz ation of society into two categories: the poor and the non-poor, and as a result, government programs aimed to develop the poor segments of the population.

Yet, challenging this approach, are the dependency analysts who argue that developmentalists' programs have led to an artificial change, and not to real, autonomous development. The reason for those programs' failures lie s in the fact that the problem of underdevelopment is based in the structure of the total society and not in the inability of lower-class segments to develop. The Indians of Chiapas share with the Puerto Ricans of New York an existence dependent on a power-holding class and a politicized ethnic group.

Yet, the quest for community is a unique theme in the United States. One might ask what will happen now that the welfare state is breaking down. We believe that

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170 For example, the main thrust of Indigenismo has been to develop the Indian communities in Latin American countries with large Indian populations.

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acculturation into ethnic politics and identity is too strong to disappear. It has become institutionalized within the matrix of American society, especially for the marginal sectors of the lower-class, the "minorities," for whom the positive reassessment of ethnicity has meant the discovery of a tool with which they can compete for power.

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APPENDIX I

METHODOLOGY

We interviewed the organizers of the 1974 Puerto Rican Parade as well as a sizable number of other Puerto Rican figures, publicly salient in that year. The interviews were structured on the basis of a schedule that we kept in mind in order to render responses comparable. Actual questioning, however, was open-ended. Therefore, the amount and quality of information obtained in each case varied with the interests of the informants in being interviewed. Generally, established public figures spoke at length on their private histories and connections. Less important figures or individuals vulnerable at the time in the play of factional politics did not. Before soliciting interviews, we explained to our informants our interest in Puerto Rican organizations and leadership. Not all of the potential informants contacted, however, would accede to be interviewed. In the course of fieldwork, we learned to use connections to introduce ourselves. Even if the connection utilized was an "enemy," A would much more willingly want to say something about himself if he knew B had talked to us about him than if we knew nothing about either B, or A.

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Documentary sources served as important guides in building our knowledge on individual leaders. During the year and a half of fieldwork, we clipped articles from papers (New York Times, El Tiempo, Claridad, El Diario). Of those, El Diario proved the richest. Not only are "community activities" itemized but it also seem to be the chief medium of expression used by the Puerto Rican leadership. Many journalists are connected with Puerto Rican public figures in exchange for favors and an issue of the paper rarely goes to press without publicizing the career of a particular ascendant individual, or announcing the addition of a new position to the curriculum vitae of a "veteran" leader.

As a third complementary source on networks of connections, we relied heavily on what anybody had to say about anybody else. Not for gusto of gossip-although gossip is sometimes an indicator of rise and fall, or changes in careers-but because this information was needed to understand who was connected with whom and what about and how.

The rationale guiding the accumulation of information on individual leaders was to reconstruct career patterns of key individuals, actual leaders or leaders in the making. By career patterns we refer to changes in an individual's life cycle that are publicly noticed and that affect the perception others have of the individual's public performances.

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Schedules

Interview Schedule Used with Members of the Puerto Rican Parade, Inc.[172]

Name - occupation - brief history of migration - position in the 1974 Parade

1. What did the position involve?
2. How did you obtain your position (community activities, friends on the Board of Directors, etc.)?
3. Before being elected for the present position, did you have any relationship to the members of the 1974 Parade Board of Directors?
4. Did you have any other position in previous Parades? Which and when?
5. Did you have any position in other events in the Puerto Rican community; in New York; in other places of the United States; in Puerto Rico?
6. Are you a member of any Puerto Rican organization? Which? And events? Which?
7. What is your position in other Puerto Rican organizations? In Puerto Rican events?
8. Repeat the same questions to cover organizational history, from the time of the informant's migration to the present.

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[172] We kept this schedule in mind while interviewing but the questions were asked in different ways and varied order, depending on the rapport established with each informant.

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9. Are you a member of any organization which is not Puerto Rican? Which?
10. What is your position?
11. Repeat for the period before 1974.
12. What do you think the Parade accomplishes for the Puerto Rican community in New York City?
13. How do you think your participation in a position of importance in the Parade affects your prestige in the community?
14. Why?
15. How would you rate the 1974 Parade in relationship to the previous ones? And to the next? Why?
16. Are there persons with political prestige who are related to this Parade? Who? (Puerto Ricans and non-Puerto Ricans)
17. Would you say they are leaders? What is a leader?
18. What is the relationship among the leaders? What is <u>your</u> relationship to the leader? And what is your relationship to the other members of the Board of Directors?
19. Would you define yourself as a leader? Why? What type of leader?
20. Regarding your community activities with whom would we say that you have the closet relationships (both within as well as beyond the organization of the Parade)? What type of relationships? How did you

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meet? (directly or through somebody?)[173] Since when do you know X? How often do you see each other? When was the last time that you called him/her? On that occasion, did you see each other in person? Did you communicate by means of a letter, by telephone, through somebody?

21. With whom among the Puerto Rican as well as non-Puerto Rican community would you say that you have relationships which are not as close as the first? (The same type of question as above applies here).

Interview Schedule Used with Members of Puerto Rican Organizations

1. What is the purpose of this organization?
2. Who funds this organization?
3. What are the types of services provided by this organization.
4. Does this organization participate in the Parade? Who sponsors its participation?
5. What is the relationship between this organization

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[173] This question applies in case the informant seems shy about mentioning his acquaintances by himself. Since before the interview, the researcher had already outlined a "public" career history on the informant (through the information provided by various media sources), the purpose of this section of the interview was to discuss relationships between the informants and other "leaders of the community" which would not be so public .

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and the Puerto Rican Community Development Project? The Puerto Rican Forum? The United Organizations of the Bronx? Local Community Corporations? The Civic Crusade for the Vote? (and others, depending on the particular organization being researched).

Interview Schedule Used with "Puerto Rican Leaders"[174]

1. I am interested in knowing how Puerto Ricans become organized in order to struggle for their rights in this country.
2. Which are the organizations that you think are most important in attaining those goals? Why? Are those organizations related to each other? If so, in what ways?
3. What is the purpose of the particular organizations of which you are a part? Or those you represent?
4. What is the relationship of those organizations with government agencies?
5. When did Puerto Ricans start to organize? Which factors were important in the process of organization? What was the reaction of the United States Government to the Puerto Rican migration?

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[174] For the three elites of the Puerto Rican leadership, see Chapter VI.

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6. What is the level at which Puerto Ricans are represented in government? In politics? Why?
7. What is your involvement with the Puerto Rican Parade?

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APPENDIX II

ADDITIONAL CAREER HISTORIES

Informant 2-1974 General Coordinator of the Parade

Born in Puerto Rico, Informant 2 followed the path of many unknowns until he made contact with the "clique." "For many years now I have participated in the New York Puerto Rican Community and have been interested in everything of concern to Puerto Ricans." After serving three years in the army in Panama, during the early 1940s he was promoted to Sergeant. "I always make a comparison between myself and what I am doing now. I have always been interested in the welfare of my people."

In New York, he worked for fifteen years as an insurance agent and thus came to know a clientele of four-thousand Hispanics. But, he also became known because of his efforts to help his clients with tasks such as translating letters, filling out applications and income tax forms, and notarizing documents (he is a Public Notary). Thus, "when I arrived to the community, I was already known as a helpful person."

In 1965, Informant 2 participated in Mayor Lindsay's Emergency Repair Program. His function was to verify tenants' complaints against those landlords who failed to

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provide heating or other services, and to give the latter a summons.

His participation in community organizations was first restricted to lodges, and he is still a member of the Faro de la Santilla, the Odd Fellows and Masonic Lodges. He became a member of the Presbyterian Church. Soon, however, he started to identify himself as a member of Puerto Rican organizations, especially the Alianza Cívica Bayamonesa (Bayamon Civic Alliance) and Hijos Ausentes de Luquillo (Luquillo' Absentee sons). In this way, he started "to be known by the community." Though for many years he had paraded in the Puerto Rican Parade bearing no organizational identification, he now started to represent specific associations: first the lodges, and then hometown organizations.

In 1966, he became a Puerto Rican Community Development Project Community Worker at Bethany Community Center in the Bronx. It was there that the meetings leading to the initiation of the Model Cities Program in the Bronx were held. He became a member of the Mott Haven Plan Committee.

Later, he became the Puerto Rican Community Development Project's Coordinator for Brooklyn and the Bronx. By 1973, he had become better known and hence given the position of Assistant to Informant 1. From this more secure position, he campaigned to be elected Treasurer of the Parade but he was defeated.

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In 1974, he ran against Gilberto Reyes for the position of General Coordinator of the Parade and was elected. He was also elected to be the Puerto Rican Community Development Project's Director for the Bronx Region. He now had an office with two secretaries, one Coordinator and an evaluator; his responsibility extended over thirty-five workers. He also became a member of the United Organizations of the Bronx, the Council of Hispanic Organizations of East Tremont and the Council of Hispanic Organizations of Mid Tremont.

He founded, in 1972, the cultural organization, Jalda Arriba, of which he became president; from this point on, he became involved in the Parade. Jalda Arriba is a cultural, civic and religious organization with thirty members. It is registered as a participating organization in the Parade. In spite of its being formally apolitical, Informant 2's organization plays the political role of giving support to certain individuals. Even though it claims that nothing is expected in return for this support, favors are in fact expected to be repaid at a future date. "In our meetings we recognize the leaders and politicians who need our help. We give them our manpower on a voluntary basis without asking for anything in return." Not wanting publicity, Informant 2 has stated, "I participate in community activities without showing it (sin figurar). It is a pleasure to serve the community. I was never acknowledged (reconocido); for example, now in

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the Parade I am the last to be named by the press. My participation flows from my heart."

However, Informant 2 aspires to one day convert his public image into political power. "I've always been known by the community. It is like the case of the political leader: the electorate votes for him because of his power, his merit and his seriousness as well as the benefits that are going to accrue to it." Informant 2 has already started to try out his luck in the political arena. In 1974, he was elected to a political office within District 80's Community Committee. "I defeated two Italians and two Jews. My position does not have that much importance but it definitely opens the barriers so that our people (i.e., the Puerto Ricans) might come to aspire to office." Regarding this position, Informant 2 stated that "Here everything is politics because we look for help to the 'big ones.' For example, in this case i. e., cleaning up three blocks in the East Bronx , we ask Senators, Assemblyment, etc., who do not necessarily have to be Puerto Ricans, to help us in that area." Nevertheless, he states, "I am a community leader; I do not aspire to be a political leader."

Informant 2 is a Democrat. He is very proud to know that he is helping the Puerto Rican community. "Where there is an organization's president who works for the welfare of our people, there one can find me."

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Informant 3
Sub-Coordinator of the Parade

Informant 3 was born in Ponce, Puerto Rico. With regard to his present positions, he states,

> I am among the first who marched along Fifth Avenue, in those times when we had to organize the Parade on the basis of personal sacrifice...Now there are companies who sponsor it...There were times when I myself lent the money because there wasn't any.

Through this participation, he attained positions within the Parade, since its beginnings fourteen years ago. But he never accepted any position when there was competition. "There was one time when I wanted the position of Coordinator, but there were two of my friends who wanted it...I like unity more than disunity so I have taken the position of Sub-Coordinator for the last four years 1970-1974." He also served as Sergeant of Arms for two years (1967-1969) and Sub-treasurer of the Parade in 1969. "When elections are held and we reach the point when a Sub-coordinator has to be named, everybody puts their hands up...There is only one candidate--me."

In 1974, his positions and activities included:

1. Sub-treasurer and President of the Scholarship Committee for the Puerto Rican Folklore Fiesta.

2. Treasurer of the United Organizations of the Bronx and Master of Ceremonies for the Blood Bank organized by the United Organizations of the Bronx.

3. President of the Independent Association of Puerto

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Rican Taxi Drivers.

4. President of the National Association of Taxi Drivers from 1970 to 1974.

5. Vice-President of the Association of Community Services (he is one of the founders).

6. Participant in the San Juan Fiesta.

He has been with the United Organizations of the Bronx for the past nine years (1964-1974). "Some people say it is because I am a good administrator; some people say it is because it is advantageous to me..The truth is that since I have administered the organization, it always has had money." This statement relates to a very common theme amongst Puerto Rican "leaders"--accusations and counter-accusations regarding the inappropriate use of funds.

Informant 3 has said that he "has always been involved in everything related to the community." For example, two years ago he participated in a picket against the Police Commissioner. At that time, he carried a Puerto Rican flag. He and other Puerto Rican "leaders" were opposed to the Commissioner's actions because these did not show respect for the Puerto Rican community. He also picketed Lincoln Hospital in an effort to create a bilingual Board of Directors; this goal was ultimately achieved. Again, he picketed in support of bringing Cándido de Leon, a Puerto Rican, to Hostos Community College. And again, when the St. Francis Hospital was going to be closed down, he participated in a picket in front of Cardinal Spellman's

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house who "agreed to give us some of his jewels." But the hospital was later closed.

Informant 3 remembers when, in 1967, funds normally allocated to the Puerto Rican Community Development Project were cut almost in half. He protested this cut along with others: "If I believe that there is something that they, the Government, are able to give me, I go and ask for it."

Informant 3 has always been active in hometown associations, especially Sons of Ponce, although for a long time he presided over the Sociedad Maricaeña.

Because he has always been active in community affairs, he has been asked to participate in far more organizations, by giving ideas and help, than he could possibly have time for. But, in spite of his full schedule, he managed to become godfather to the Puerto Rican Women's Organization, and has coordinated the Parade de Reyes (Three Kings Parade) for two years.

To Informant 3, present leaders often forget about the first Puerto Ricans who took an interest in the community. In an effort to rectify this situation, he bought a house to be used as the center for a Society of Puerto Rican Pioneers, as he calls it.

He is very proud of his community involvement, but having reservations about present-day leaders, he does not aspire to be one. "I have connections with little people and big people; some devote their time to building and others to destruction. My thing is to build and give

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the people what they want, that is, to struggle so that all Hispanics can live better and achieve unity."[175]

Informant 3 is bitter about the fact that the clique that controlled the Parade did not allow "outsiders" to achieve high positions in its organization.

> That is why I am interested in remaining at the bottom, so that I can be closer to my community. For example, last year I got the majority of votes in the election for the Puerto Rican Folklore Fiesta, but since there was another interested party, I settled for being Sub-treasurer. This year, I asked to be Coordinator but if there was somebody else who wanted the position, then I would say, 'take it.'

Yet, even when Informant 3 criticizes this power-seeking clique, he is a part of it as an officer in all the organizations that it controls.

Of all the organizations in which he participated in 1974, Informant 3 felt most honored to be part of the prestigious institutions of the Parade, even though he states "I am not interested in hommages, in plaques, in positions. I am filled with joy if I am given the opportunity to serve the people. There are individuals who have a hundred plaques and have done nothing. Some even buy themselves plaques." On only one occasion he refrained from participating in the Parade (when Informant 15 was President, six years ago). But "the President

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[175]Though Puerto Ricans usually dissociate themselves from Hispanics (see Chapters IV and V), many informants referred to the category "Hispanic" as a sign of respect to us.

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called me up and I went to help."

Because he has been interested in the "community," he established contacts with all its "leaders." "I have friends and enemies because I am on all fronts...I do not care who you are--if you call a meeting, I go, so that I can evaluate. There are a lot of people who are in only one group and do not get to see what others say."

Informant 3 feels closest to Informant 12 out of all the people in the community. "I consider him like a person in my family. Informant 16, Parade President for three years, is also a good friend, as is Mrs. J. R.

Informant 4-1974 Parade Treasurer

Informant 4 was one of the few cases who did not require a lengthy explanation regarding his interview. He stated, "I am a man in public life and, therefore, what I do and think has to be public."

He obtained his present position as Treasurer in the Parade because of his involvement in the "community." In 1969, he was President of the Youth Committee. In 1970, he retained the latter position and added that of Discipline Officer. In 1972, he did not participate because of differences of opinion with the then President, Marcos Rivera. In 1973, he was Sub-treasurer and in 1974, finally, Treasurer, a position he retained in 1975.

Concerning other organizations, he was President of the Council of Puerto Rican and Hispanic Organizations, a

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position he still retains.[176] Since 1968, he has been a member of Informant 21's Congress of Puerto Rican Hometowns. In 1972, he became Vice-President of the Puerto Rican Folklore Fiesta. In 1973, he was nominated for the Presidency of this event but was defeated, although he was planning to try again in 1975. He was also Vice-President of the Conference of Puerto Rican and Hispanic Leaders.[177]

From 1971 to 1974, he has been President of the Community Corporation of the Lower East Side, and has made efforts to channel federal monies to that area. Now the President is Informant 15, whom he obviously disliked: "He [Informant 15] does not want to seek my advice even though he is now having a lot of problems since he fired the Director of Manpower, disregarding the proper procedure. Informant 15 is now understanding why he has to come to me."

In 1974, he was selected by the Commissioner of Housing as a member for the Board of Tenants of the Two Bridges Building. As part of this job, he reported that on four occasions he took Jewish landlords to

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[176]This is a civic and social organization providing services in the areas of housing and welfare. It receives funds from the Human Resources Administration as well as private funds.

[177]This is a Washington-based organization that groups leaders yearly from all over the nation to seek solutions to problems of Hispanics in the United States.

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court because they did not want Puerto Ricans in the Lower East Side Housing Projects. As a result of the hearings on discrimination, 70 percent of the Latins were allowed to live there.

He has always shown an interest in youth. "I founded the United Hispanic movement in the Lower East Side, wrote a proposal for them and obtained $62,000 for youth affairs. We provide them [youth] with work and training during the summer and after-school activities in the winter."

He envisioned a plan to organize the seventy-eight hometowns of Puerto Rico (which in reality are seventy-nine, if one includes the new one, Florida). As of this time, he and his group have organized only three. They try to get people from the same hometown to know each other. The reason for this is that only forty out of seventy-nine hometowns have their own representation in New York. The others use the locales and, therefore, meet the people who already have representation. His reason for attempting to organize all Puerto Ricans in hometown organizations is to render the Parade greater "so that Puerto Ricans learn what are our means to help them in whatever we can."

He founded the Puerto Rican Mobile Theatre now under Mrs. Mirian Colón. "My reason to get into this was when in 1971 a theatre fired all Puerto Ricans and when one of them asked why, she was told that the only role a Latin woman could be offered was that of a prostitute. I and

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Informant 21 picketed the theatre until they [the owners] were forced to reach an agreement with us."

In 1974, he was Assistant Administrator at Gouverneur Hospital, which he helped to found and has been one of its first Administrators. As such, he was part of the Committee to Select the President. He was also a member of the Board of Directors and Vice-President of the Hispanic Organizations of Gouverneur Employees (who are Hispanic but mainly Puerto Ricans). He also was President of the Association of Parents of the Lower East Side.

He said he participated in many organizations in different capacities. Sometimes as a regular member, sometimes as a member-at-large, with no right to vote and sometimes as an Adopted Son. This role is confered upon a Hispanic who does not meet the requirement of being from the appropriate municipio. It represents an honor. For example, in 1974 the Doradeños Ausentes, Asociación Hijos de Barceloneta, Hijos de Carolinas and Hijos de Mayaguez, named him an adopted son.

He also got involved in philantropic drives. For example, he organized a Marathon to help Cuban refugees, presided over a Committee to help those affected in Nicaragua ("we got $17,000 in private donations"), and has been the Treasurer for the Manhattan Committee to help Honduras.

In 1974, he also was involved in trying to get

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funds for a friend, R. Maurano, an Argentinian, who wants to set up an art association in Brooklyn.

Although he demonstrates to be very entrepreneurish in his own right, there is a big plus in his career: he is a close relative and comes from the same hometown as the present President of the Puerto Rican Senate, Senator Juan Cancel Ríos. He has helped him a lot, for example to establish a chapter of the New York Puerto Rican Parade in Puerto Rico, of which Informant 4 was the President, organized so that the Parade officials could maintain close contacts with Puerto Ricans on the Island.

He was not given the opportunity to act as a liason with City Hall, when that started in 1967-1968, but he did that kind of work since 1973. In 1973, Informant 4 recommended Nirka Torrado, than at the Youth Services Agency, and in 1974 she was Commissioner.

In spite of his participation in so many organizations, he believed that his involvement in the Parade is like "my second home, I could not bear the idea of being outside of it even for one year...(and yet he has, see p.464 above). That does not mean I need to have a position in the institution always, but at least I would cooperate."

His reason for working through the Parade in his stated aim to help the Puerto Rican "community" is that "I believe if I want to help the Puertorrican community, I have to get stronger, my strength is in the Parade,

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because there is where I can seek support so that my ideas on how to help my people can turn into reality."

As in the case with Informant 3, he was part of the two groups that were competing over the Presidency of the 1975 Parade (Informant 20 - Informant 21). "But when the leaders confront each other I make my decisions in terms of the institutions and not in terms of the individuals." Yet he really acted as a member of what he called "the big group," the one around Informant 20.

Not only did the community acknowledge him as a leader,he said, but he also received that label with responsibility: "I believe I am a leader because I have worked in different types of organizations...But I have never done all I did with political aspirations. Presently I am a community and civic leader, that's all."

Yet he did participate in the Democratic Clubs. He was a member of the Nuevo Jíbaro Democratic Social Club which won twelve out of the twenty-two County Committees in the Primaries. Although he was involved politically, he did not consider himself to be a political leader--as yet: "Last year they wanted to nominate me as Assemblyman for Lower Manhattan, but I did not accept because I did not think the time was appropriate."

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Informant 5—1974 Sub-Treasurer for the Parade

She has had this position in the Parade for the last two years. In 1974, she was also the Director of Community Relations of United Bronx Organizations, the Evaluator for the Bronx Region for Puerto Rican Community Development Project. Other positions she was occupying but of lesser executive importance were the following: She was in the Advisory Board of Lincoln Hospital, was a member of Auxiliary Ladies in Lincoln Hospital, was an honorary member of the Asociación La Sultana del Oeste and of Barbell Club, a member of the Feminine Unity Association (Unificación Femenina) and of Ladies United (Damas Unidas). She has participated for the last year in the Crusade for the Vote (in charge of canvassing, going house by house to make people vote) and has been Chairman of Catering at the first Puerto Tican Conference held at Lola Rodriguez Tío school during 1971-72.

In contrast to others, she did not believe her participation in the Parade gave her prestige, it just made her feel "more of a Puerto-Rican." "It helps me establish contact with my people, it gives me a better identity."

Because she feels she was a dedicated worker, sometimes she said, people would nominate her for Committees even if she was not present.

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As with Inf. 3, she was not interested in occupying leadership positions but was ambitious in what concerned establishing contacts with the community. In other words, she was not ambitious for political positions.

Informant 6-1974 Secretary of Brooklyn for the Parade

She came from Puerto Rico in 1950, worked in a bank for two years (American Express) and one year in a Puerto Rican Nursery School as an assistant teacher. She started her career in the "community" in 1969 as a community worker for Puerto Rican Community Development Project. From then on "I made myself known. . . . this agency (PRCDP) is sacred for me because it has taught me so much. Especially to be proud to be Puerto Rican. This agency has given support to all Puerto Ricans. It has employed other Latins but it was founded by Puerto Ricans." She was promoted to Coordinator for the Manhattan region of PRCDR in 1974 and now makes $9,000. Also in 1969, she joined the Caucus of Puerto Rican Women was sent to Washington with them to fight for issues of concern to Puerto Ricans. She has held her present position in the Parade for the last four years, not only as a result of elections but also because she has many friends now among the leadership cadre. For 1975, she was going to be Member-at-Large in the Parade.

She is also a member of the Puerto Rican Folklore Fiesta and a member of the Association of Puerto Rican

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Ladies. Although not a member, she got involved in the Human Rights Association. Since 1973, she is a member of the Círculo cívico-cultural de Mayaguez. Since 1969, she is a member of the Association of Puerto Rican Community Workers. Since its beginnings two years ago, she has been involved in the drives organized by the Crusade for the Vote.

Through her participation in the Parade, she got involved in the "community" and received prestige as a consequence: "I made myself known because I am part of this agency." She says she is not a political leader, but "more of a follower."

Informant 7-1974 Secretary for Manhattan for the Parade

He has held this position for the last three years. He has been involved in the organization of the Parade since 1964-1965 "since the times of Informant 21," although he did not occupy any official position at the beginning. He started to be nominated for positions in a slate since he became a part of Informant 20's group. "To be part of Informant 23's machinery," Informant 7 reported, "is the only way you are sure to win, and, moreover, an added advantage is that you are not forced to campaign for yourself. And, as different from other groups, those who are part of the Informant 20's clique, have the organizations that support them."

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He came from Puerto Rico in 1950 and got involved in sports. He participated as an amateur boxer in Los quantes dorados (the Golden Boxing gloves) sports organizations sponsored by the Daily News and El Diario, in the Liga Boricuita (Little Boricuas League) which grouped childred, he played ball with Liga Progeso (Progress League) Class A. Then he intervened in various religious organizations: he was a monaguillo (acolyte) in Catholic Churches such as La Milagrosa where a Puerto Rican Fiesta is held for Santiago de Compostelas. He was also a cursillista of the New York Archidioce and a Secretary of the Society St. Vincent of Paul. In 1962, he became the personal secretary for Fray José Mujica, a Mexican singer as well as a priest. He was still interested in sports organizations, though, as shown by his participation in Club fanático (Fan Club), José Torres, a boxer, and by the fact that he established a Puerto Rican Boxing Club: José Marques.

When the Programs of the War against Poverty got started, he became a member in many organizations and was eventually, a part of the Informant 20's group ("You have to belong to a group, to a clique, whether communal, political, so that way your name gets written down in slates . . . in Informant 20's machinery we are all united").

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Thus, he became Secretary of the Board of Directors of Puerto Rican Community Development Project, and President of the Lower West Side Community Corporation in 1970-71. Then he became President of one of the Lower West Side Community Corporation's delegate agencies, the Chelsea Action Center, so he had not lost contact with the mother organization. Actually, he had founded the Chelsea Action Center, originally through a contract with the Puerto Rican Community Development Project.

In 1974 he had fallen in disgrace with the Lower West Side Community Corporation: "They put up a Cuban . . . who now controls the Board of Directors with his relatives and friends." Puerto Ricans have been intimidated not to get involved with that Corporation. He bitterly pictured mafia-like meetings when people were coerced into voting for the Cuban nominees. Even the Chelsea Puerto Rican Independent Action Group, which he had founded, was "burnt up," that is, had been cut off from the Corporation because of alleged lack of funds. He interprets this move as a vendetta directed towards him.

Informant 7 defined himself as an anti-communist above all, who had gone to rallies but who now felt, mainly because of his downfall from the Lower West Side Community Corporation, that he was "nobody . . . With all that I had done [for the community] look where I am now."

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Where "he is now" was in a very shabby office of Hunts Point Sanitation Program of the Model Cities Administration. His position there is Senior Programs Community Specialist. But, because he had the "right connections" he felt this was temporary, until opposition to him at the Lower West Side Manhattan Corporation calmed down.

Informant 8 - Public Relations Officer

Informant 8 was not an easy man to talk to. He was very tense and conscious of being a big executive who felt very responsible for the Company he is working for. He seemed to make special and extra efforts so that no "private" piece of information that could potentially harm him or his company leaked through. No wonder he is one of the token Puerto Ricans in the sense that some Puerto Ricans considered he "has made it" in the American society: he was Director of Community Relations of Shaeffer Brewing Co. He defined his task in terms of keeping "informed about the Hispanic Community" but there was more than that--Schaeffer has Puerto Ricans and Hispanics as a high percentage of their customers and, through the mediation of Informant 8, the Company contributed large amounts of money to events of the Puerto Rican "community." In 1973, for example, Schaeffer had donated $17,000 for the Banquet which preceded the Parade.

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Informant 8 came to New York in 1947 and, as Informant 7, got interested in sports first, especially in boxing. This interest he retained, since he was then a judge in the Boxing Commission of New York State.

He also got involved, as everybody aspiring to a public life did, in home town associations, especially in Hijos de Ponce and Hijos de Salinas.

He was part of the group that made possible an all-Puerto Rican Parade and as a result got the position of Parade Coordinator which he held from 1963 to 1966.

In 1966, he got involved in the creation of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. Other community activities in which he took part and in which he is still active were founder and President of the Luis Muñoz Rivera Memorial Association and the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights.

Since 1972 until 1975 (these are three year positions) he has been a member of the Board of Directors of the Parade. In 1974, his specific position has been that of Public Relations official for the Parade. In addition, he is Commissioner for the National Sports Council, Captain for the Auxiliary Police of Upper Manhattan and member of the Hispanic Committee for the U.S. Bicentennial.

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Informant 10 - Executive Secretary for the Parade

Born in Mayaguez, he came to New York in 1957. He wanted to enter community activities but he also wanted to enter through the big door. Since he could not, he went back to Puerto Rico. In 1963, he came back "with recommendations" and became a Coordinator for Rockefeller's Pan-American political drive which had as a goal to involve New York Hispanics in politics. This really gave him the opportunity to meet the Puerto Rican big men--he was asked to carry Rockefeller's proclamation to the new all-Puerto Rican Parade in 1963.

In 1964, he entered the Congress of Puerto Rican home towns where he held the position of Treasurer first and of Coordinator later. He would stay with the Congress until 1967, when he resigned because of what he called ideological differences with its President, Informant 21. But his quick and successful career within Puerto Rican organizations proved in retrospect that quitting the Congress was a smart move, given the fact that the factions headed by Informant 21 and Informant 20 were already in the making and that Informant 23's would become the stronger of the two.

In 1964, he was named Public Relations Officer for the Congress and he entered the Parade in that capacity. So, as different from other individuals, he was not entering the organization of the Parade through the classical escalonamiento de posiciones (position ranking) but as a

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delegate of a key organization (the Congress of Puerto Rican home towns was not only instrumental in dissasociating the PR group from the Hispanic Parade but also in pressuring for the creation of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project).

In 1965, he became a member of the Board of Directors of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project (he would retain such position until 1970). He acceded to such a position when Silverman, President for the Council of Hispanic and Puerto Rican organizations of the Lower East Side, named him delegate and he won the elections. Meanwhile, in 1967, he was named Vice-President of the Hispanic organizations in Brooklyn.

Once inside the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, it became easier to escalate positions in the Parade. In effect, in 1968, he became Secretary for the County of Manhattan, until 1970. From 1970-1972, he was the Sub-Coordinator of the Parade.

From the positions he held in the Parade, he can project a public figure to other Puerto Rican realms. Thus, from 1970-71 he was the first President of the Parade organized by the Council of Hispanic and Puerto Rican Organizations of the Lower East Side. The President of the Council was Feliciano. As a badge of pride, Informant 9 commented in passing that such Parade had not been held since he left as its President.

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However, his involvement in mini-ethnic events was what gained him an entry into the most important ones. Since 1972 (until 1975, the position is for a two to three year period) he has been a member of the Board of Directors of the Parade. Contemporarily, in 1972, he had been elected Coordinator for the Puerto Rican Folklore Fiesta.

Meanwhile, he started to study at night at Hostos Community College where he became involved in student organizations. In 1973, he was elected President of the Association of Hispanic Students at Hostos.

He also got involved with Hispanic artists--he is named Public Relations Officer of the Association of Hispanic-American artists and of the Council of Hispanic-American Organization of Artists.

In 1974, he held a myriad of positions. He considers his most important position that of Executive Secretary for the Parade where "my job is to carry out the orders of the President for the welfare of the Parade, such as establish contacts with politicians, mayors and other important public officers so that they participate with us in the event." His position comes as a result of a confidence nomination (Nombramiento de confianza) effected by the President of the Parade, Informant 1.

But his official position was that of Director of Public Relations for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. He was also involved in the Puerto Rican Community

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Development Project-based Crusade for the Vote in the capacity of Public Relations officer.

Regarding home town and civic associations, he was the Public Relations Officer for Bayamoneses Unidos, of which he is considered an adoptive son, although he comes from Mayaguez. He was also a member of the Club Cívico-Cultural Mayaguez and of the Alianza del Perú.

He considered himself a político, although not yet a political leader, which is what he aspired to be. Even if he was a Republican, he stated: "Regardless of the political party, I have contact with all the leaders."

Informant 10

She was in 1974, and had always been, a member of the Board of Directors of the Parade, while at the same time she was the President of the Ladies Committee for the Parade.

She said she had obtained all her positions through her involvement in the community. She had participated in all the Parades, except one when Informant 16 was President, and then only because she was in Puerto Rico. She had been with the Parade in fact since its beginnings in 1958. She considers herself one of its founders because she had been part of the group that split from the Hispanic Parade. She said, "I am the mother of the Parade, everybody else is young."

She had also been one of the founders of the Puerto Rican Folklore Fiesta together with Colón, Informant 21 and

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others in 1967. The idea had originated in a visit they had made to Chicago after the riots. In that event, she was a member of the Board of Directors and then Acts Secretary. Now the President, F. Lemus, "has left me out" because Informant 10 told her she could not support her renomination. But she is still a delegate from two members organizations of the Fiesta.

Her public position in 1974 was that of Administrator for the Region of Manhattan for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. As such, she coordinated the Community Workers. But she has also been (1966-1970) General Coordinatory for the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, then Coordinator for Manhattan, then for Brooklyn, then for the Bronx. In 1973, she had finally been Official for Contracts.

She considers herself a civic leader because "with a political position I would have to submit to others." However, she has held positions in the Democratic Party. During 1970-1974, she had been Discipline Officer of the Democratic State Committee and in 1974 she was Democratic Party State Committee Woman for the 71st Assembly District. Both of the above were honorary positions.

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Informant 11 - Member of the Board of Directors

He was born in Salinas, Puerto Rico and has been involved with the "community" since his arrival to the United States in the 1940's.

He was one of the founding members of the Parade and, in recognition, he has been a member of its Board of Directors since its creation in 1957. In 1965, he was President, having been a Coordinator in 1964 and a Treasurer in 1963.

He acted in mostly all Puerto Rican organizations in 1974, holding important positions, to wit: President of the OUB (United Bronx Organizations), founder and president of OUB's Blood Bank and member of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project Board of Directors. His official position was Director of Community Affairs for Lincoln Hospital.

He had also participated in civic affairs--in the Human League, with Blacks, and in the New York Auxiliary Police, an organization of which he had been a President in the past. He had been involved in the drive to get bilingual programs funded--he was Community Relations Director for Hostos Community College.

He has held a number of appointee positions in government--night mayor during the Lindsay Administration, member of the U.S. elective service (named by the President), and member of the City of New York Housing Commission.

Although he was a leader for the Republican Party, South Bronx District in 1974, and he was nominated in 1972

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for the Municipal Assembly, he did not want to run for a political position: "I did not accept it because party politics creates enemies and the honest person cannot be a politician . . . I am in civic matters."

Informant 12 - Member of the Board of Directors

Born in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, he carried out volunteer work with the YMCA during 1958-1962. Then he migrated to the United States where, as a student in the College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts (Arkansas University), he became Chairman of the Athletic Society (1960-1961), Chairman of the Phi-Epsilon Chi Fraternity (1961-1962), Reporter for the College Newspaper Campus (1960-1963) and Track and Field Athlete and basketball player (1959-1963).

Once in New York, he joined Fraternidad Mayaguezana in the Bronx and he became an Assistant to Informant 20, in charge of organizing his activities. Later, he stated on this period that "I got tired. There was a lot of fallacy, many banquets, trying to attract attention and come out in the papers. I had to help establish contacts, organize the activities, etc."

However, his close and early connection with Informant 20 was going to determine the rest of his career. In 1966, he became a Member-at-Large for the Parade, "because I was involved in Informant 22's group."

When Informant 20 was Chairman of the Banquet for the Parade, he was the one really in charge, he said.

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In 1969, he entered the United Organizations of the Bronx (OUB) which he termed "the most powerful and biggest Hispanic Council of Organizations in New York," as a member of the Board of Directors.

In 1970, he was made President of the Fraternidad Mayaguezana until 1971. He was also named member of the Board of Directors of the Puerto Rican Parade, position he will hold until the present time. He considered all members of the Board, including himself, "the key leaders in the community." Yet he said he almost did not participate in 1974.

In 1971-1972, he became Director of Public Relations and Chairman of the Blood Bank for the United Organizations of the Bronx. From 1971-1973, he was also a member of the Lincoln Hospital Community Advisory Board.

In 1972-1973, he was elected Vice-President for OUB and member of the Board of Directors of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, a position he has also held until 1974.

Finally, in 1974, he became a Member of the Board of Directors of the Hunts Point Multi-Service Center Corporation.

Since its beginnings, he was also involved in Rodríguez' Crusade for the Vote.

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All of the above were honorary positions, at least theoretically. His actual job, however, was that of Narcotic Parole Officer for the State of New York (Narcotic Addiction Commission-Melrose Community-based Center). He said he was selected to such a position through a system of examinations but of course he also knew Santiago Grevi, the previous Narcotic Commissioner who was the elected "Man of the Year" at OUB, one of the organizations in which Informant 12 held important positions.

Let it be noted, finally, that all the important Puerto Rican organizations in which Informant 12 has participated were all Informant 20-controlled in 1974: Hunts Point Multi-Service Corporation, PRCDP, Parade, OUB, Lincoln Advisory Committee and Crusade for the Vote.

Informant 13 - 1974 Member of the Board of Directors of the Parade

Informant 13 migrated in 1952 from the municipio of Salinas. Since he came, he got involved with many organizations in the Bronx and Brooklyn ("They are so many I could write a book about them."). For example, in Brooklyn, "I founded and helped develop a lot of organizations of which at the present time four still have funds from the War Against Poverty and some have funds from federal agencies on a direct basis."

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Of all home town organizations, he participated the most in Hijos de Salinas, of which he became President and within which he founded Juventud Unida de Salinas (United Salinas Youth) in 1970. But he also worked with Cubans and Dominican associations, on an advisory capacity.

He was also very involved in sports and in 1970 he became an Executive Director for the Committee for Hispanic Sports.

As one of the group that pressured for the creation of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, he became the first PRCDP Vice-President in 1970 and a member of the Board of Directors of the Parade. He will hold both positions until 1974. In 1970, he is also Great Marshall for the Parade and is named Vice-President for the United Bronx Organizations, position he will hold until 1973.

In 1971, he beame Vice-President for the Parade and in 1972, he became President of the Parade. He did not loose contact with the organizations in which he had participated before and became, in the same year, sub-commissioner for the Athletic Commission of the State of New York.

In 1974, he was elected President of the Community Corporation of the Lower East Side, which controls around two million dollars. He was getting involved in politics--in 1974, he organized the E. M. de Hostos Spanish Democratic Club in the Lower East Side.

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Informant 14 - 1974 Member of the Board of Directors of the Parade

He started his career being one of the founders of the Círculo Cívico-cultural Mayaguez, over which he presided for three years.

He has also been Vice-President of the Puerto Rican and Hispanic Sports Council, Vice-President of the Congress of Puerto Rican Hometowns and Vice-President of the Puerto Rican Folklore Fiesta.

Regarding the Parade, he has always been a member of the Board of Directors as well as Vice-President in 1965 and President twice, in 1967 and in 1969. Since then, he has been less involved, because he feels the Parade works more for the welfare of the políticos than for that of the boricuas, or the people.

This is what prompted him to abandon his many positions in Puerto Rican associations. For example, he reports having been a member of the Board of Directors of the United Bronx Organizations and of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project for seven years and having resigned from both of them. He also was a Treasurer for the Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights.

His only "community involvement" in 1974 was aside from the Parade which he does not respect very much but to which he feels a moral commitment to participate, as a member of the Puerto Rican Commission for Assistance of Needy Children in Puerto Rico.

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He is the owner of a printing shop in East Harlem, Imprenta Latina.

Asked to be positioned in terms of leadership, he says "I am not a leader (as those who say they are because they have a public position and yet do nothing). I am worker for the community. Leader is that who sacrifices himself . . . And yet I sacrifice myself for my people. For example, right now I am going to close down my shop and will loose money doing so but I have to go to a meeting with all the people of the Puerto Rican Folklore Fiesta." He was a member of the Board of Directors for such association and a Member-at-Large for the Association of Puerto Rican Independent Taxi Drivers.

Informant 15 - 1971 Member and Director of the Parade

He was born in Fajardo "Into a very large family composed of professional people and persons connected with the politics and social work of their community" (Rives Tobar 1970:433). In Puerto Rico, he was a teacher for 12 years. He was also a local director of Civil Defense in Fajardo and an officer of the National Guard of Puerto Rico.

He came to New York in 1946 where he joined his hometown association and became involved with sports.

He got involved with "Puerto Rican big men" through Informant 21 in the early 1960's. He worked for Informant 20 in a Mayor Wagner-initiated block program designed "to

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help the people help themselves."

Since its beginnings, he has been a member of the Board of Directors of the Parade, position he still occupies in 1974. He has also been its Treasurer.

Since 1968, he has been a member of the Board of Directors of the United Bronx Organizations.

In 1970, he became the Assistant to the Deputy Director of Hunts Point Community Corporation. In 1974, he was promoted to the position of Executive Director of the same organization.

In 1974, he held as well, the position of Treasurer of the Association of Puerto Rican Civil Rights, of which the Executive Director is Bob Muñoz, and Treasurer of the Executive Committee of the Puerto Rican Parade.

He was still very involved with both sports organizations and hometown associations. Regarding the first, he founded the Fundación Hispana Nacional to promote the development of youth through sports and he is an advisor to numerous Spanish-speaking social and sports organizations. Regarding his hometown, he has been conferred the honor of being the first Mayor of Fajardo in New York, mainly because he took the time to find out about the original emblem of Fajardo.

> I am the Mayor of Fajardo in New York . . . recognized by all my people . . . this is the first step our people take to get together to give the Mayor a representation in New York . . . When he cannot come I represent him and that gets fajardeños

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> together. Anything my people might ask I call him and he helps him . . . Now we are helping the basebol team, the baloncesto team in Puerto Rico. Any event that happens in our hometown like floods, hurricanes, etc. . . . anything that creates a necessity . . . the Mayor calls me and I move my people.

He still had a concern for civil rights as well--he is a President over the Pan-American League of Brooklyn and the Spanish-American Society for Equality.

Informant 16 - 1974 Member of the Board of Directors of the Parade

He arrived at New York in 1949 with some experience in public life:

> I had been involved in politics in Puerto Rico and that helped me to develop myself within this community. However, at that time it was not as easy as now when the three governments--Federal, State and City--provide help and it was very difficult to begin. The only means there was was to enter a political club in order to get recommendations to be able to work and make oneself known by the others.

Thus, he was a founder of the New Frontier Democratic Club and of the Robert Kennedy Independent Democratic Club. In 1968, he reaped the benefits of his early political involvement by being elected State Committee Man of the Democratic Party by the 77th District, together with the now Assemblyman Armando Montano as another Puerto Rican Representative. He was also elected to the Judiciary Committee involved in making nominations for judges in that same District. As a result of the connections he made there, he obtained a position as a radio speaker and director of radio programs

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since 1961 to 1963. He worked for a Spanish-speaking program at WEND. He also edited Fuerza (Force), a commercial magazine.

He has participated in the Parade since its beginnings. He has been chosen member of the Board of Directors in 1974. During his first year in the Board, he also presided over the Planning Committee and worked in that capacity for the project to have a permanent house for the Parade. In 1975, he was no longer in any Committee "because Informant 21 did not want to name me. I made the correct moves, however, to get that house." Every new President, he charged, eliminated all previously constituted Committees. He said he proposed to the By-Laws Committee, presided by Informant 11, that the Parade "be given back to the people." This would result, he said, if every Puerto Rican in New York would pay $1 annually to become a member of the Parade and of the Puerto Rican Folklore Fiesta. "If 300,000 Puerto Ricans do that, then we could say that those would be the two major events in the City and we would not have the need to beg the big commercial enterprises and government agencies to sponsor such events."

Since 1955, he has been involved with the Spanish Grocers Association of which he is now General Secretary and Treasurer. His participation in this Association stemmed from the fact that "without any knowledge of business," he bought a bodega, then a restaurant, then a

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hardware store, then a music shop. He then aspired to move up to the Presidency of the Association. He has also participated in the Puerto Rican Folkore Fiesta of which he was then a member as a delegate from the Spanish Grocers Association. He was also Regional Director for the Puerto Rican Society of Mutual Help, to help the Island when there is a catastrophe, such as flooding. Neither the Puerto Rican Society of Mutual Help, nor the Spanish Grocers Association have presented proposals for government aid because "they always bring evil. There were cases where an organization has obtained money from them and a lot of problems among the members have ensued."

He has also been very active in the association to help crippled children in Puerto Rico.

Informant 17 - Member Board of Directors
1974 Parade

Informant 17 arrived from Ponce, Puerto Rico in 1960 where she was already involved in "community affairs" since her father was a politician back home (a member of the Municipal Assembly). Her major involvement was with hometown clubs in Ponce which is the reason why the first Puerto Rican organization she contacted upon her arrival in New York was the Ponce Club. There she met Informant 20 and Informant 11 which partly explains her quick career. Because she has always proven to be a loyalist to this clique, she has occupied positions in organizations controlled by it, as we

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will document below.

By the time she met him, Informant 21 was President of the Orientation Center of the South Bronx and Informant 11 was the President of the Parade (1964). Through Informant 21 and Informant 11, she met Informant 18 and Informant 15 and started to get involved in the Parade.

In 1964, she occupied two positions in the Puerto Rican Community Development Project: Evaluator first and Personnel Director later, and one position at Hunts Point Multi-Service Corporation.

In 1969, until 1971, she was a member at large for the Parade and in 1971 she was named President of the Contest for the Queen. Since 1971, finally, she was a member of the Board of Directors of the Parade.

In 1973, she was elected Member of the Board of Directors of the United Bronx Organizations, President of the United Bronx Organizations' Banquet of the Year, President of the Ladies' Committee of NAPRA (National Association for Puerto Rican Affairs) and Member of the Congress of Puerto Rican Women. In 1974, she was a delegate to the Parade for the United Bronx Organizations and also a Director of Public Relations for the United Bronx Organizations.

In 1975, she was President of the Contest for the Queen again ("a position of trust, not through election, with which Informant 21 has honored me").

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Finally, her official job was that of Senior Personnel Representative at Lincoln Hospital. She said she had worked for Informant 20, Informant 11 and Jim Rodríguez but is identified as well with Informant 15, B. Muñoz and H. Badillo.

Informant 19 - 1974 Member Board of Directors of the Parade

He arrived from Puerto Rico in 1952 and started participating in sports and hometown organizations.

In 1969, until 1971, he was elected Treasurer of the Community Corporation of Brooklyn. In 1972 (until 1974) he was honored as the Sportsman of the Year by Puerto Rican organizations.

In 1973, he became the Treasurer for the Puerto Rican Parade, the same year Informant 18 was President.

Finally, in 1974, he was the Coordinator for Brooklyn of the Hispanic Sports Council. He told us proudly ex-Governor Wilson attended last year's Banquet.

He had been a founder and President of the National Conference of Puerto Rican leaders. Presently, he was a Treasurer for the Puerto Rican Pioneers Parade, which is celebrated yearly in Brooklyn.

He was very related to all radio speakers and program directors. He was associated with El Tiempo as a Treasurer (Informant 24 is the President).

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He did not perceive himself as a political leader or as having political ambitions but he did participate in politics: he was a member of the Seneca Club, a regular Democratic Club.

Since 1974, he has been a Member of the Board of Directors of the Parade.

He owned a restaurant in Brooklyn where a lot of informal community meetings were held.

In terms of his status within the Puerto Rican "community," he was not really committed to any of the existing factions. Although by his inclusion in a position of importance in the organization of the Parade, he is automatically formally acknowoledging the Informant 20's clique, he said he would side "with the leader who needs me." He praised his fellow workers at El Tiempo, Informant 24 and Informant 21 whom he defined as "a man who likes straight things--las cosas rectas . . . A leader in his own way." He has also sided with Informant 14 and Mary Kelles, both with him at the National Conference for Puerto Rican leaders. He also admires Informant 18 whom he defined as a "very good Puerto Rican leader . . . A dynamic young man, a powerful leader, very good."

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APPENDIX III

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK

Elected Officials

Congress (1)

H. B. - for the 21st Congressional District
(regular Democratic Party)

New York State Legislature (2)

Informant 38 - District 30 in the Bronx
(Reform Democratic Party)

I. R. - District 61 in the Bronx
(Reform Democratic Party)

Assemblymen (4)

J. S. - District 75 in the Bronx
(Reform Democratic Party)

A. M. - District 77 in the Bronx
(regular Democratic Party)

L. N. - District 79 in the Bronx
(regular Democratic Party)

D. T. - District 72 in Manhattan
(Independent Party)

City Councilmen (2)

L. O. - District 27 in the Bronx
(Independent Party)

Informant 20 - District 11 in the Bronx
(regular Democratic Party)

NOTE: The officials in the regular Democratic Party related the most with two Party leaders: Patrick J. Cunningham, for Bronx County Committee and President of State Committee, and Meade Esposito, for Kings County Committee for the Independent Democrats (as L.O.).

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Puerto Rican District Leaders for the Democratic Party

Manhattan	District 62	L. P. L. R.
	District 63C	H. A. D. C. L.
	District 64B	M. M. R. P. B.
	District 68D	R. S. R. N.
	District 71	F. N. J. P.
	District 72	F. A. A. T.
Bronx	District 77	Informant 20 T. M.
	District 79	J. R. L. V.
	District 75	J. P. M. R.
Brooklyn	District 59	L. V. V. R.
	District 57	T. M.
	District 54	A. V.

Appointed Officials

Special Assistant to the Mayor - Informant 22
Held positions in Lindsay Administration
Connected to club organizations, to Forum.
Worked for Mayor Beame against H.B.

Assistant to the Mayor - L. C.
Puerto Rican Bar Association
Related to P. Cunningham

Finance Administrator - I. I.
Connections to Cunningham, H.B. and
Councilman Gigante
Has F. M. as Auxiliary Administrator

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Appointed Officials (Continued)

Relocation Commissioner A. G.
Formerly a Housing Authority Member
A. B., then at City Hall, now occuppies
his previous position (Sub-Commissioner)

Sub-Commissioner for Housing & Housing Relocation
Housing & Development Administration - E. A.

Deputy Commissioner of Corrections - L. C.

Deputy Commissioner of Social Services - R. G.

Community Development Agency Commissioner - P. L.

Model Cities Sub-Commissioner - A. M.

Model Cities Sub-Commissioner - G. M.
(G. M. in charge of Model Cities for the Bronx)

Agency for Child Development Sub-Commissioner - O. M.

Police Department Sub-Commissioner - L. N.

Manpower Career Development Agency
Sub-Commissioner - M. P.

Auxiliary Commissioner Community Development
Agency - T. R.

Assistant to Commissioner for Environmental
Protection Agency - A. R.

Commissioner for the Youth Development Agency - N. T.

Regional Auxiliary Director Manpower - E. A.

Vice-President Housing Authority - A. B.

Other Public Figures

Vice-President Board of Directors of the Health
and Hospital Corporation - P. V.

Vice-President Off Track Betting - T. V.

Member Board of Higher Education - M. V.

Member Board of Higher Education - J. R.

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Criminal Judge Manhattan - E. N.

Administrator of Puerto Rican Office in Washington - J. C.

Executive Director Aspira - Informant 31

Executive Director Puerto Rican Forum - Informant 26

Executive Director Puerto Rican Family Institute - A. G.

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