BEYOND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION: HISPANIC POLITICAL AND LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS

by

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(1988)

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

at the

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ABSTRACT

Hispanic residents of Massachusetts represent the most rapidly growing -- and now the largest -- non-white minority community in the state. Despite its rapid gains in population, the Hispanic community has not made comparable economic or political gains.

The paper reviews the history and development of Hispanic leadership in Massachusetts. Public leadership -- electoral representation, as distinct from other forms of leadership is identified and evaluated in terms of the social and economic status of Hispanics in Massachusetts.

The paper examines why Hispanic leadership remains based in community organizations and why public leadership -- electoral leadership, is so minimal.

Profiles of current elected officials are presented as case studies and provide a form for investigating the exercise of leadership.

The paper reviews current strategies for achieving future electoral gains and summarizes prospects for achieving improved representation in the future.

Thesis Supervisor: Melvin H. King
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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author, Daniel A. Acosta, graduated from UC Berkeley in December 1988. He has an interest in economic development, public management and local, state and national politics. Especially politics of development. He attended Ohlone Community College in Fremont, CA; La UNAM in Mexico City, Carnegie-Mellon University and the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University before attending MIT.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Leading Hispanic politicians and activists, in Massachusetts as well as in other parts of the country, claimed the 1980s as the decade for Hispanics. Predictions abounded at the potential for growth in numbers and its translation into political and economic power. Hispanics waited throughout the 1980s for prosperity and the emergence of political empowerment, yet the decade expired without considerable political change for the Hispanic community. Few political gains were made, while the number of Hispanics nearly doubled.

In terms of living standards, significant social disparities for Massachusetts' Hispanics are evident within the community -- a high rate of poverty, lack of economic opportunity and high school drop-out rates. Such challenges for the Hispanic community call into question the need for the development of organizations and political mobility in order to address public issues. The Hispanic community has done just that, local community agencies in Massachusetts were established in the late 60s and early 70s to provide social services that were either not available or inaccessible to the Hispanic community. Networks and social services emerged in the community and provided a means for improving the social and economic status of Hispanics. Hispanic community leaders were brought to the forefront of public issues through community organizations and public participation. Community organizations developed political

recognition and tangible political influence. A potential political force capable of organizing votes and maneuvering political support was created.

Community agencies are responsible for the emergence of political and leadership development in the Hispanic community. However, community participation has not translated into local or state-wide political office. Gaining "delegated" power, the appointment of Hispanics to public bodies or commissions by elected representatives, as opposed to the pursuit of "representative" power, has often characterized the exercise of leadership for the Hispanic community.

Why have so few Hispanics decided to participate in elected politics? What is the nature of the social context in Massachusetts that inhibits Hispanic public leadership? How are public leaders within the Hispanic community better able to develop political and leadership capabilities?

In order to answer these questions, current elected office-holders were interviewed and their responses evaluated to discover linkages that identify leadership. This information is conveyed in the form of case studies of elected Hispanic officials.

This paper begins by defining leadership. Five general approaches to the study of leadership and their use for classifying

the exercise of leadership by Hispanics in Massachusetts are presented. Characteristics of public leadership are presented in order to relate the exercise of leadership to responses given by Hispanic elected officials.

The history of Hispanics in Massachusetts and the current social context of Hispanics in Massachusetts is discussed. Recounting history enables the reader is to understand how present circumstances evolved and begins to relate current economic and social factors within the Hispanic community. The presentation of the social context sheds light upon the social structure found in Massachusetts and offers insight into circumstances which may inhibit public leadership development.

Interviews of current Hispanic elected officials or formal public leaders are presented as case studies. Their response to questions on political and leadership development are compiled as linkages identifying leadership development. Discussion regarding their personal experiences, opinions and viewpoints reveal similar development stages where points of interest, participation, consciousness and motivations appear. The paper concludes with an evaluation of public leadership and suggestions for enhancing Hispanic political and leadership development.

2 DEFINITION AND APPROACHES TO PUBLIC LEADERSHIP

> A leader is, by definition, an innovator. He does things other people haven't done or don't do. He does things in advance of other people. He makes new things. He makes old things new. Having learned from the past, he lives in the present, with one eye on the future. And each leader puts it all together in a different way. To do that, leaders must be right-brain, as well as left-brain thinkers. They must be intuitive, conceptual, synthesizing, and artistic. [1]
>
> Warren Bennis (On Becoming a Leader, 1989)

The word leadership has taken on new meaning as distinct from its past definition. In earlier times, words meaning "head of state," "military commander," "princeps," "proconsul," "chief," or "king" were more common in many societies.[2] The use of these words differentiated the ruler from other members of society. In terms of a formal definition, the first appearance of the word leadership held its meaning based on the use of the word. The Oxford English Dictionary (1933) notes the first appearance of the word leader, as early as 1300, with the word leadership not

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[1] Warren Bennis, On Becoming a Leader (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1989), p. 143.

[2] Bernard M. Bass, Bass & Stogdill's Hand book of Leadership: Theory, Research and Managerial Applications (New York: The Free Press, 1990), p. 10.

appearing until the first half of the nineteenth century. [3] During the 1800s, the definition of leadership was based on reference to writings about political influence and control of British Parliament.

There are many definitions of leadership. "There are as many different definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept." [4] Many of these definitions are ambiguous and often blur the distinction between leadership and processes which involve other social influences. The areas into which leadership has been applied, politics, business and the military often overlap the meaning of the word and further blur its understanding. Thus according to I.J. Spitzburg (Questioning Leadership, 1986) the meaning of leadership may depend on the kind of institution in which it is found. However, there is sufficient similarity among definitions to forge a rough sketch of classification. Leadership has been conceived as the focus of group processes, as a matter of personality, as a matter of inducing compliance, as the exercise of influence, as particular behaviors, as a form of persuasion, as a power relation, as an instrument to achieve goals, as an effort of interaction, as a differentiated role, as initiation of structure, and as combinations of these definitions. [5]

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[3] Bass, Handbook of Leadership, p. 10.
[4] Bass, Handbook of Leadership, p. 11.
[5] Bass, Handbook of Leadership, p. 11-17.

In terms of most studies on the subject of public leadership and classifying the exercise of leadership in Massachusetts, the emphasis upon one of the following approaches to leadership can be used,

(a) electoral or public leadership;
(b) institutional or appointed leadership;
(c) social participation;
(d) personal influence or opinion leadership;
(e) reputational or nominal leadership.

The above listed categories can be applied to the exercise of leadership in the Hispanic community. Hispanic refers to people of Mexican, Caribbean and Central and South American decent. In order to evaluate the exercise of leadership, the five above categories are separated into definitions which identify the type of leadership exercised. The five approaches are stated as distinct forms of leadership and are meant to provide a category for evaluating leadership development. The five categories and their definitions follow:

Electoral or Public Hispanic Leaders -- individuals elected to an office who exercise public leadership;

Institutional or Appointed Hispanic Leaders -- individuals who have appointed membership status on governing bodies;

Active Hispanic Participants -- individuals who actively participate in various formal and informal

voluntary organizations (i.e., community events, civic organizations, etc.);

Hispanic Influentials -- political-opinion leaders, who in their everyday personal contacts influence others on matters of public affairs;

Hispanic Reputational Leaders -- individuals within the community who are believed to be influential, either by particular segments in the community or by the community at large.

The above categories can be viewed as approaches to the exercise of leadership, however, in order to understand the exercise of leadership as an activity, the characteristics which describe leadership must be presented. Traits of leaders have been observed in many different forms, R.M. Stogdill (1970) compiled findings from research surveys identifying characteristics of leaders and associations to the exercise of leadership. Categories for identifying characteristics of leadership included physical characteristics, social background, intelligence and ability, personality, task-related characteristics and social characteristics.

Five sub-categories from R.M. Stogdill's survey of leadership characteristics and research findings supporting these characteristics are given below:

Participation -- Baldwin (1922), Brown (1966) and Nystrom (1973) all found that leaders surpass followers in the number, extent and variety of group activities in which they participated.

Motivation -- Fielder and Leister (1977) found that leaders with higher levels of motivation were more successful in task-oriented performances than others.

Responsibility -- According to studies by Baldwin (1932), Caldwell (1960) and Barks (1933), leaders rated somewhat higher than followers on dependability, trustworthiness and reliability in carrying out responsibilities.

Energy Level -- According to Willner (1968) and Cleveland (1985), leaders tend to be endowed with an abundant reserve of energy, stamina and ability to maintain a high rate of physical activity. Even when handicapped by physical disability or poor health, highly successful leaders tend to exhibit a high rate of energy output.

Insight -- Brown (1931), Buttgereit (1932) and Dukerley (1941) found that leaders were characterized by alertness and keen awareness of their environment. The results of these various studies suggested that alertness to one's surroundings and an understanding of situation are intimately associated with leadership ability.

Thus the average person who occupies a position of leadership exceeds others in terms of participation, motivation, responsibility, energy and insight.

These findings are not surprising. It is primarily through participation in group activities and demonstrating the capacity for carrying out the work of the group or community that a person

consequently becomes a leader. In other words, the exercise of leadership is always associated with the attainment of group activities. Leadership thus implies activity, movement and getting work done. The leader is the person who occupies a position of responsibility in coordinating the activities of the members of the group in their task of attaining a common goal.

A person does not become a leader by virtue of the possession of some combination of traits. The pattern of personal characteristics of the leader must bear some relevant relationship to the characteristics, activities and goals of the followers or community. Leadership is an interactive process.

It is not difficult to find persons who are leaders. In terms of the Hispanic community, Massachusetts is filled with Hispanics who exercise leadership. However, it is another matter to place these individuals in different situations where they will be able to function as leaders.

The context and socio-political structure in Massachusetts may hold some answers to the question of political and leadership development of Hispanic.

3 DEVELOPMENT OF HISPANIC SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN MASSACHUSETTS

On March 22, 1986, Hispanic community leaders and public officials from throughout Boston and Massachusetts gathered to dedicate a Hispanic cultural center adjacent to the Villa Victoria housing complex in the South End of Boston.

When he took the podium, then-Governor Michael Dukakis spoke about the significance of the center. "Opportunity ... that's what this state is all about folks. I don't know what says it better than this center." [6]

Although Dukakis intended his remarks sincerely, they contain more than a hint of irony, both in 1986 and today. The irony is that while Hispanics in Massachusetts have made progress on many fronts, they have been largely unsuccessful in translating perhaps their key opportunity -- political opportunity -- into actual electoral power at the local and state level. The state remains empty of all but a handful of elected Hispanic office-holders, and only slow progress is being made towards changing that situation. Unlike many immigrant communities before them -- including that represented by Dukakis himself -- the Hispanic community remains disenfranchised when it comes to tangible public leadership within the state.

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[6] Joanne Ball, "A Center Opens in Share the Hispanic Heritage," The Boston Globe, 22 March 1986, p. 10.

Beginning in the 1950s, and particularly since the 1960s, the growth of the Hispanic community in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has been rapid. Massachusetts now ranks among the top 12 states in percentage of Hispanic population, despite its distance from more well-known traditional centers of Hispanic residence and immigration -- states like California and others in the Southwest, Florida and New York.

The Hispanic presence in Massachusetts is now such that Hispanics make up a significant percentage of the population of many of the state's traditional urban centers. 11% of Boston's residents are Hispanic, as are 34% of Chelsea's, 35% of Holyoke, 40% of Lawrence, 21% of Springfield, and 10% of Worcester. [7]

Within these communities, and others throughout the state, Hispanic residents of a variety of backgrounds -- most often Puerto Rican -- have created large and active enclaves. There has been considerable growth in Hispanic community activities and community organizations. Hispanic neighborhoods are clearly defined as part of the ethnic mix of the Greater Boston area and other parts of the state and, in recent years, the local media has started to pay increasing attention to Hispanic cultural activities, needs and issues.

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[7] HOPE, Latino Access Network (Boston: HOPE, Inc., 1990), pp. 1-7.

The issues and interests of the Hispanic community in Massachusetts are similar to those of many ethnic communities throughout the United States: education; defining and affirming cultural identity, particularly among second and third generation immigrants; poverty and economic opportunity; relationships and tensions with other communities, and access to opportunities for economic and political participation.

The problems confronting the Hispanic communities in Massachusetts are acute: a poverty rate higher than in both the population at large, and other distinct ethnic communities; lack of economic opportunity and access to jobs and training, which individuals can use to advance their standard of living; access to quality education, and high drop-out rates among Hispanic youth; a demographically large younger generation that presents economic and social challenges to both the community and the larger society; language barriers.

Members of the Hispanic community and, to some extent, others in Massachusetts, have recognized these problems and sought to vigorously address them. The literature on Massachusetts' Hispanics is filled with exploration of problems and both rhetoric and theories and practical examples and implementation of solutions. A widespread growth of community development and cultural organizations, starting in the late 1960s, supplemented efforts of more traditional social service and religious groups to promote

community improvement, and has resulted in significant social and economic gains in some areas.

By and large, though, the population concentrations and community activism of Hispanic residents in Massachusetts have not translated into representative political gains. Hispanics have not yet successfully taken the course of most other immigrant groups in Massachusetts -- including Irish, Italian, and Jewish immigrants -- in first incrementally capturing representative political power in the communities they have come to dominate demographically, then moving to a tangible and persistent political presence on the state-wide level commensurate with their share of the population.

At present, despite more than 20 years of community activism, there is only one Hispanic representative in the State House -- Representative Nelson Merced of the Fifth Suffolk District who was elected less than two and a half years ago. Hispanic representation at the local level is also practically non-existent. Only three local elected office-holder are Hispanics in Massachusetts -- Doris Cruz of Amherst school committee, Betty Medina-Lichtenstein of Holyoke school committee and Marta Rosa of Chelsea school committee.

Throughout western Massachusetts only four Hispanic individuals hold local or state representative office in areas that are serviced with local community agencies and where thousands of

Hispanic residents live, and hundreds of political offices come up for election on a regular basis.

Aside from these few elected individuals, expression of Hispanic representation has occurred largely through the exercising of "delegated" power as opposed to "representative" power. Representative power comes from the election of individuals to political office; delegated power derives from the appointment of individuals to public bodies or public sector jobs where they have an influence on public policy.

Even access to delegated power has remained limited, expressed mainly through the appointment of "Hispanic community liaison" by some elected officials, such as Boston's mayors and the state's governors, the occasional appointment of a Hispanic to head a government office or commission, and the occasional organization of coalitions of Hispanic groups to press for a particular cause like educational reform or, more often, to react to a crisis such as racist incidents against the Hispanic community or a suddenly intensified economic or social crisis.

The apparent reasons for the current socio-political structure in Massachusetts are complex, but several key influences can be identified and explored. They include the following:

• Hispanic leadership has often been devoted to the creation of community organizations and the acquisition of "delegated" power, as opposed to the pursuit of "representative" power. This focus has resulted in improvements in Hispanic welfare -- better housing, community centers, educational and job training programs, etc., -- but has, to some extent, diverted resources and emphasis away from the acquisition of public leadership that would be able to directly influence -- and, in some communities, control -- the allocation of public resources. Hispanic organizations and leaders in Massachusetts have traditionally been applicants for resources controlled by others, rather that the determinants of where resources such as tax dollars and other public investment will be used;

• social factors -- the language barrier, the relatively young age of the Hispanic population, the geographic dispersion, the newness to country, the active movement between home country and U. S., the high rate of population growth, the emphasis among many older Hispanics on returning to their countries of origin rather than remaining permanently and politically in Massachusetts -- make political organizing and public participation difficult;

• economic factors -- employment in low-paying jobs and lack of better economic opportunities -- contribute to the high poverty rate among Hispanic residents. This situation makes it more difficult to collect and devote both economic and human resources

(campaign contributions, volunteers, community leaders who are financially able to devote time to unpaid or underpaid office) to the political process.

Taken together, Hispanic leadership development has focused on the creation of community organizations and the acquisition of "delegated" rather than "representative" power. In addition, social and economic factors inhibiting public leadership participation describe the present socio-political environment found in Massachusetts. However more details of the history and social context of Massachusetts may reveal circumstances which inhibit Hispanic public leadership development.

Major issues in the social development of Hispanics include migration, population size and growth, relative age, household structure, economic status and the crucial link between income and education. These topics are discussed in detail throughout chapter 4 and lead to an illustration of the social and economic factors associated with little or no public leadership participation.

4 HISTORY AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

Migration --

The history of Hispanics in Massachusetts includes the development of migration and settlement patterns covering the period from the early 1940s to the present, the establish of Hispanic communities in places such as Boston, Chelsea, Holyoke, and Lawrence, and the demographics of migrant settlement in Massachusetts.

Although Puerto Ricans have lived in the continental United States for more than a century, the emergence of a visible Puerto Rican community is essentially a post-World War II phenomenon. Like most ethnic communities in the United States, the Puerto Rican population on the mainland emerged through migration.

Although there existed a small Puerto Rican community in New York before World War II, the major exodus from the island to the continental United States began in the 1940s and accelerated after 1950. The first large migration of Puerto Ricans came to New York about 1950 and spread out from there reaching Boston.

A larger number of migratory workers came to Boston in the 1960s, some recruited on the island to work in factories here. Others worked in the tobacco fields of the Connecticut River Valley and settled in Hartford or Springfield before coming to Boston, to live in the South End and commute to farm jobs in the suburbs.

As a result of this massive migration process, the Puerto Rican population residing in the continental United States increased from roughly 70,000 in 1940, to over 300,000 in 1950, to 893,000 in 1960, and reaching 1.4 million in 1970, 1.8 million in 1980 and 2.3 million in 1990. [8]

In Massachusetts, the number of Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics has grown from 64,544 in 1970, to 141,043 in 1980, to 287,549 in 1990, giving Massachusetts the 10th highest Hispanic population in the nation. [9]

Hispanics in Massachusetts, as in other parts of the country, tend to travel back and forth to their home countries. The circular migration of Puerto Ricans is an example. Due to the convenience of travel, employment opportunities, economic advantages, obligatory military service, and absence of immigration restrictions many Puerto Ricans spend considerable amount of time between both countries.

A crucial difference between Europeans and Hispanics is that European immigration was concentrated in a 40-year period from 1880 to 1929, after which it virtually ceased, leaving the United States 60 years to "assimilate" these massive immigrant cohorts. By contrast, Hispanic immigration has been relatively strong since 1942,

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[8] Frank Bean and Miren Tienda, The Hispanic Population of the United States (New York: Sage Foundation, 1987), p. 26.

[9] Bean and Tienda, p. 26.

and will probably persist into the near future, so that the United States may not have a comparably long period within which to assimilate recent Hispanic immigrants. In addition, Hispanics who have immigrated to the United States are younger, poorer, and less educated than the immigrants who came before them -- the Irish, Italians, Jewish and others.

The economic situation prevailing between 1880 and 1920 tended to concentrate immigrants spatially and occupationally, while the post-industrial economy of the 1970s and 1980s acts to disperse immigrants both socially and spatially. In addition, European immigrants were all white, while Hispanics are a mixture of blacks, Amerindians, and whites.

In other words, the migration of Hispanics into Massachusetts to fill low skilled occupations, the tremendous growth in size of population and newness to the state place Hispanics at a more disadvantaged economic position compared to other social groups in the commonwealth.

Hispanic Population, Size and Growth --

In the early 1950s, the few Puerto Ricans who lived in Boston made their homes in the South End. Today the community is more spread out and has established a noticeable presence in Roxbury, Dorchester, Brighton and Jamaica Plain. The Hispanic population is

11% of Boston, 34% of Chelsea, 35% of Holyoke, 40% of Lawrence and 10% of Worcester. [a]

In other parts of Massachusetts, the number of Hispanics have grown and large communities have been established throughout the state. There is also a considerable number of Hispanics in communities such as Lowell, Leominster, Fitchburg, Brockton, New Bedford, Fall River, Attleboro, Cambridge, Lynn, Woburn, Framingham and Northampton. [10]

The Hispanic population in Boston, 36,430, nearly doubled between 1970 and 1980. By 1985 the Massachusetts' commission on Hispanic affairs estimated that the figure had grown to 51,815 in the city. The largest group being represented by Puerto Ricans, whose population is estimated at 38,000 for the Boston area. [11]

Relative Age --

The Hispanic population in Massachusetts is younger than other communities in Massachusetts. As a result of the search for economic opportunity and migration of Hispanics with the best potential to find work, the young, nearly half of the population living in Massachusetts is under the age of 18. In Boston, 1980, the median age of the Hispanic population was 21.9 years-of-age, 17.2 years-of-

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[a] HOPE, Latino Access Network (Boston: HOPE, Inc., 1990), pp. 1-7.

[10] Robert Jordan, "Latinos Seeking Political Clout," The Boston Globe, 3 Aug. 1986, p. A18.

[11] Peter Anderson, "A Puerto Rican Family," The Boston Globe, 6 April 1986, p. 55.

age in Chelsea, 16.3 years-of-age in Holyoke, 19.6 years-of-age in Lawrence, 17.3 years-of-age in Springfield and 17.6 years-of-age in Worcester. (see Appendix B).

Household Structure --

Household structure reveals economic constraints and cultural factors. Several conditions overlap which constrain Hispanics in terms of living arrangements. Many Hispanics families can not afford to buy homes without the economic resources of relatives or others. In addition, Hispanic cultural traditions tend to stress the largeness of family, as a result, living arrangements may include the extended family. According to TABLE 1, Hispanics in Boston had the highest percentage of households with a married couple and children in 1989. TABLE 1 shows that:

- In Boston, 1989, 28.4% of Hispanic household structures were occupied by single people, compared to 19.7% for black and 54.8% for white household structures.

- In Boston, 1989, 31.6% of Hispanic household structures were occupied by single parents, compared to 39.7% for black and 7.8% for white household structures.

- In Boston, 1989, 6.5% of Hispanic household structures were occupied by married couples without children, compared to 39.7% for black and 7.6% for white household structures.

- In Boston, 1989, 25.7% of Hispanic household structures were occupied by married couples with children, compared to 16.9% for black and 14.9% for white household structures.

TABLE 1: HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE, BOSTON 1989

HOUSEHOLD TYPE	% of HISPANIC	% of BLACK	% of WHITE
Single	28.4	19.7	54.8
Single Parent	31.6	39.7	7.8
Married, No Children	6.5	39.7	7.6
Married, With Children	25.7	16.9	14.9
Other Living Arrangements	6.5	16.3	11.4

Source: The Boston Foundation, In the Mist of Plenty: A Profile of Boston and Its Poor (Boston, 1989), p. 83.

Economic Status --

As compared to others in society, Hispanics have the highest incidence of poverty by households and for children (under six years of age) measured at the federal income standard and 125% of the federal income standard. TABLES 2, 3, 4 and 5 illustrate this condition. According to TABLE 2 and 3:

- In Boston, 1989, 12.8% of single member Hispanic households were at or below the poverty level as measured by the federal income standard, compared to 5.3% for single member black and 2.0% for single member white households;

- 48.1% of single parent Hispanic households were at or below the poverty level as measured by the federal income standard, compared to 23.1% for single parent black and 18.2% for single parent white households;

- 24.8% of Hispanic family households were at or below the poverty level as measured by the federal income standard, compared to 13.4% for black and 5.6% for white family households.

- In U.S. central cities, 1987, 24.3% of single member Hispanic households were at or below the poverty level as measured by the federal income standard, compared to 31.5% for single member black and 15.0% for single member white households;

- 60.5% of single parent Hispanic households were at or below the poverty level as measured by the federal income standard, compared to 58.2% for single parent black and 28.9% for single parent white households;

- 30.7% of Hispanic family households were at or below the poverty level as measured by the federal income standard, compared to 32.3% for black and 7.4% for white family households.

TABLE 2: POVERTY RATES BY FEDERAL INCOME STANDARD, BOSTON 1989 AND U.S. CENTRAL CITIES 1987 [a]

Boston, Federal Income Standard - 1989

	% of HISPANIC	% of BLACK	% of WHITE	% of TOTAL
Singles	12.8	5.3	2.0	3.5
Single Parents	48.1	23.1	18.2	25.9
Families	24.8	13.4	5.6	11.5

[a] Poverty status according to federal income standard: at a household size of 1, the standard is $5,909; for 2, the standard is $7,641; for 3, the standard is $9,056; for 4, the standard is $11,612; for 5, the standard is $13,743.

U.S. Central Cities, Federal Income Standard - 1987

	% of HISPANIC	% of BLACK	% of WHITE	% of TOTAL
Singles	24.3	31.5	15.0	19.0
Single Parents	60.5	58.2	28.9	48.8
Families	30.7	32.3	7.4	17.7

Source: The Boston Foundation, In the Mist of Plenty: A Profile of Boston and Its Poor (Boston, 1989), pp. 74-75.

According to TABLE 3:

- In Boston, 1989, 23.0% of single member Hispanic households were at or below the poverty level as measured at 125% of the federal income standard, compared to 9.0% for single member black and 3.2% for single member white households;

- 78.7% of single parent Hispanic households were at or below the poverty level as measured at 125% of the federal income standard, compared to 35.2% for single parent black and 25.7 for single parent white households;

- 45.4% of Hispanic family households were at or below the poverty level as measured at 125% of the federal income standard, compared to 22.3% for black and 8.4% for white family households

- In U.S. central cities, 1987, 34.0% of single member Hispanic households were at or below the poverty level as measured at 125% of the federal income standard, compared to 37.2% for single member black and 20.9% for single member white households;

- 68.9% of single parent Hispanic households were at or below the poverty level as measured at 125% of the federal income standard, compared to 65.3% for single parent black and 34.3% for single parent white households;

- 38.8% of Hispanic family households were at or below the poverty level as measured at 125% of the federal income standard, compared to 38.2% for black and 10.5% for white family households.

TABLE 3: POVERTY RATES AT 125% OF FEDERAL INCOME STANDARD, BOSTON 1989 AND U.S. CENTRAL CITIES 1987 [a]

Boston, 125% of Federal Income Standard - 1989

	% of HISPANIC	% of BLACK	% of WHITE	% of TOTAL
Singles	23.0	9.0	3.2	5.9
Single Parents	78.7	35.2	25.7	40.5
Families	45.4	22.3	8.4	19.0

U.S. Central Cities, 125% of Federal Income Standard - 1987

	% of HISPANIC	% of BLACK	% of WHITE	% of TOTAL
Singles	34.0	37.2	20.9	25.8
Single Parents	68.9	65.3	34.3	55.6
Families	38.8	38.2	10.5	22.2

Source: The Boston Foundation, In the Mist of Plenty: A Profile of Boston and Its Poor (Boston, 1989), pp. 74-75.

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[a] Poverty status according to 125% of the federal income standard: at a household size of 1, the standard is $7,500; for 2, the standard is $9,500; for 3, the standard is $11,500; for 4, the standard is $14,500; for 5, the standard is $17,500.

According to TABLE 4 and TABLE 5:

- In Boston, 1980, 62.2% of Hispanic children under six years of age were at or below the poverty level as measured by the federal income standard, compared to 44.7% for black and 28.9% for white children under six years of age;

- 41.5% of Hispanic children under six years of age were at or below the poverty level as measured by the federal income standard, compared to 17.5% for black and 11.8% for white children under six years of age;

- 72.8% of Hispanic children under six years of age were at or below the poverty level as measured at 125% of the federal income standard, compared to 53.1% for black and 35.3% for white children under six years of age;

- 73.2% of Hispanic children under six years of age were at or below the poverty level as measured at 125% of the federal income standard, compared to 33.0% for black and 17.5% for white children under six years of age.

TABLE 4: POVERTY RATES OF CHILDREN UNDER SIX YEARS OF AGE ACCORDING TO FEDERAL INCOME STANDARD, BOSTON 1980 AND 1989

Under Six Years of Age	% of 1980 TOTAL BY RACE	% of 1989 TOTAL BY RACE
Hispanic Children	62.2	41.5
Black Children	44.7	17.5
White Children	28.9	11.8

Source: The Boston Foundation, In the Mist of Plenty: A Profile of Boston and Its Poor (Boston, 1989), p. 77.

TABLE 5: POVERTY RATES OF CHILDREN UNDER SIX YEARS OF AGE AT OR BELOW 125% OF FEDERAL INCOME STANDARD, BOSTON 1980 AND 1989

Under Six Year of Age	% of 1980 TOTAL BY RACE	% of 1989 TOTAL BY RACE
Hispanic Children	72.8	73.2
Black Children	53.1	33.0
White Children	35.3	17.5

Source: The Boston Foundation, In the Mist of Plenty: A Profile of Boston and Its Poor (Boston, 1989), p. 77.

Income and Education --

The low level of educational attainment and lack of better English proficiency, place many Hispanics in Massachusetts into menial and low paying jobs. When compared to others,

- the median family income for white and black families in Massachusetts went up more than 80 percent between 1979 and 1987, for Hispanics it declined by 5 percent;

- adjusted for inflation, the Hispanic median family income in Massachusetts dropped by 40 percent in real dollars, compared to 13 to 15 percent real dollar rises for both whites and blacks;

- the poorest households by census track in the Boston area are concentrated in Roxbury, Dorchester, Charlestown, South Boston, Jamaica Plain and the South End. These locations coincides with communities having the largest number of Hispanics. [12]

According to TABLE 6, Hispanics are tied to low paying jobs in Massachusetts. In Boston, 1989, 71.7% of Hispanics worked 36 hours or more per week in low paying jobs, compared to 57.2% for blacks and 55.2% for whites. In terms of wages, 37.1% of poor (measured at 125% of the federal income standard) Hispanic wage earners were

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[12] Janson B. Johnson and Alexander Ried, "Hispanics Said to Feel Brunt of Ax," The Boston Globe, 16 July 1989, p. 29.

employed at $3.50 or less per hour. Furthermore, 34.9% of poor Hispanics wage earners were employed between $5.01 and $7.50 per hour, compared to 41.2% for blacks and 25.5% for whites; and 8.8% of poor Hispanic wage earners were employed between $7.51 and $10.00 per hour, compared to 17.6% for blacks and 13.0% for whites.

TABLE 6: WAGES AND HOURS BY RACE OF POOR (POVERTY STATUS) RESPONDENTS, BOSTON 1989 [a]

WAGE	% of HISPANIC	% of BLACK	% of WHITE	% of TOTAL
$3.50 or Less	37.1	29.2	42.1	36.0
$3.51 to $5.00	17.6	8.6	14.6	12.8
$5.01 to $7.50	34.9	41.2	25.5	34.0
$7.51 to $10.00	8.8	17.6	13.0	14.0
$10.00 or More	1.6	3.5	4.8	3.2

HOURS PER WEEK	HISPANIC	BLACK	WHITE	TOTAL
1 to 20	15.6	21.3	22.3	19.7
21 to 35	12.7	21.6	22.6	19.3
36 or More	71.7	57.2	55.2	61.0

Source: The Boston Foundation, In the Mist of Plenty: A Profile of Boston and Its Poor (Boston, 1989), p. 85.

[a] Income level for poor is measured at 125% of federal income standard determining poverty status.

In terms of education, Hispanics students in Massachusetts are the fastest growing public school population and the lowest academic achievers. Hispanics students dropout of school, are kept back in the same grade and are subject to the school system's worst educational programs more than other students in the state.

From 1980 to 1988, the number of Hispanic students in Massachusetts increased 57 percent, from 35,096 to 55,275. Hispanic students now represent 18% of the Boston public school system and nearly half of the school populations in Lawrence, Holyoke and Chelsea. [13]

Approximately 45 percent of the state's Hispanic students will not graduate from high school -- a dropout rate that is more than twice the average for all racial and ethnic groups and is nearly three times the rate for white students. [14]

Hispanic students are more likely than any other racial or ethnic groups to be found in remedial or special education courses. More than 8 percent of the state's Hispanic students were retained in the same grade in 1989. Furthermore, Hispanic students are not enrolled in the same numbers as other students in advanced or college preparatory courses and may be more likely to attend schools where college prerequisites are not offered.

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[13] Diego Ribadeneira, "Hispanics Demand a Better Effort by City Schools," The Boston Globe, 21 November 1988, p. 18.

[14] Ibid.

In terms of educational attainment, TABLE 7 shows that Hispanics have the lowest level of educational attainment in primary and secondary schooling. Hispanics have low levels of educational attainment in post-secondary education as well. According to TABLE 7:

- In Boston,1989, 64.9% of Hispanic adults in poor families had attained less than 12 years of education, compared to 42.1% for blacks and 31.2% for whites;

- 26.1% of Hispanics had attained at least 12 years of education, compared to 41.1% for blacks and 42.6. for whites;

- in terms of post-secondary education, 6.8% of Hispanics had attained between 13 and 15 years of education, compared to 13.7% for blacks and 9.8% for whites.

TABLE 7: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF ADULTS IN POOR AND NON-POOR FAMILIES, BOSTON 1989 [a]

Educational Attainment

YEARS OLD	% of HISPANIC	% of BLACK	% of WHITE	% of POOR TOTAL	% of NON-POOR TOTAL
Less than 12	64.9	42.1	31.2	48.1	9.5
12 (High Sch. Grad)	26.1	42.1	42.6	36.3	34.6
13-15	6.8	13.7	9.8	9.9	21.7
16 (College Grad)	1.4	2.1	11.4	4.3	19.6
More than 16	0.8	0.0	5.0	1.5	14.7

Source: The Boston Foundation, In the Mist of Plenty: A Profile of Boston and Its Poor (Boston, 1989), p. 81.

Note: Income for poor family measured using 125% of Federal Standard.

The history and social context of Hispanics in Massachusetts reveal severe social and economic factors that require local-based social services. The growth in number of Hispanics, compounded with their lack of access to economic opportunities has tied many Hispanics into poverty and low educational attainment. The socio-political structure and social context in Massachusetts calls into question the need for the establishment of Hispanic community organizations and political leadership.

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[a] Income level for poor is measured at 125% of federal income standard.

5 HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP IN MASSACHUSETTS

In order to address social and economic factors within the Hispanic community, social service agencies were established in Massachusetts during the late 60s and early 70s. Their mission was to improve the social and economic condition of Hispanics in the state. Agencies have been successful in providing a multitude of programs, services and needed resources to the Hispanic community. Many talented individuals are attracted to community agencies -- some becoming extensively involved and eventually becoming executive directors. These individuals are usually politically experienced and astute, energetic, possess motivational and organizational skills and have developed an understanding for the value of public participation. Yet these talented individuals exercise institutional leadership. The work they contribute to the political development of the Hispanic community is based in the community organization they represent. Individuals who otherwise might pursuing public leadership roles, devote their talents to programs and services, rather than to the creation of public leadership development. When institutional based leaders do participate in public issues, coalitions made up of agencies or appointments to public commissions are usually the order of the day. Coalitions may last long enough to address an immediate crisis or provide enough political energy to solve an issue, yet lasting political power is not put into motivation. If representative appointments are made to address public issues, the exercise of "delegated" power rather than

"representative" power results. These issues are discussed and evaluated in this section.

History and Development --

The early 60s and early 70s there was considerable growth in the size of the Hispanic community in Boston. This growth was paralleled by redevelopment efforts that threatened to displace many Hispanics from affordable neighborhoods. In the late 60s, the Boston Redevelopment Authority -- one of the most powerful agencies in the city -- developed an urban renewal plan than included the razing of parcel 19, a stretch of land bordered roughly by Tremont, West Dedham and West Newton streets and Shawmut Avenue that was then the center of Boston's Hispanic community. Although it was filled with run-down housing the area was the port of entry for the majority of Puerto Rican who began immigration to Boston in early 1950s.

Galvanized by the threat to their neighborhood, about 200 Hispanics under the direction of church and community leaders organized to fight the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA). Although this small group of relatively poor Hispanics, who knew little about economic development or how to play politics, was able to organize to challenge the BRA. For many, this was a watershed event for Boston's Hispanic community. The outgrowth of this effort was the formation of the Emergency Tenants Council and Inquilinos Boricuas en Accion (IBA) through which low to middle-income

housing was built on 15 acres of land and appropriately named Villa Victoria -- victory house.

Today Inquilinos Boricuas en Accion (IBA) is one of the most successful community organizations in New England and many consider IBA a model of success for other community agencies nationwide.

The Villa Victoria complex provides housing for 3,000 low and moderate-income residents and a wide array of social services. Through the IBA, Villa Victoria offers its residents and the surrounding Hispanic community services which include drug education, counseling, legal aid, employment programs, and educational services. [15]

Throughout Massachusetts, thirty-one Hispanic community organizations exist which provide social services to the Hispanic community. In the city of Boston, 12 such agencies exist which provide services ranging from career counseling, child care programs, services for the elderly, legal services, redevelopment issues, family violence, drug rehabilitation, policy analysis, educational services, AIDS awareness and advocacy. [16]

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[15] HOPE, Listing of Greater Boston Hispanic Community Agencies (Boston: HOPE, Inc., 1983), pp. 1-17.

[16] Ibid.

Many of the agencies were founded in the late 60s and early 70s. Casa Del Sol, a private non-profit educational institution, was founded in 1971; IBA, an agency incorporated to combat poverty and community deterioration in Villa Victoria was founded in 1971; La Oficina Hispana de la Comunidad, an agency devoted to educational, employment training and community development services for the elderly was founded in 1969; La Alianza Hispana, a multi-service agency addressing poverty and discrimination was founded in 1970; the Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation, an agency organized to plan, coordinate, evaluate and advocate for human services programs was founded in 1970; and la Sociedad Latina, an agency providing recreational and other related services to youth was founded in 1968. [17]

Social services provided by Hispanic community organizations are extensive. Thousands of individuals and families receive a broad range of personal, health and educational related services. The needs of many in the community are met through the efforts of local Hispanic organizations. Services to the community are an essential component of the development of neighborhoods and community vitality. The manifold growth of Hispanics is a primary motivation for providing extensive services to the community.

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[17] Ibid.

Examples of Community Leadership --

Many community organizations have attracted talented and devoted managers, who are committed to improving the social status of Hispanics. One of Boston's top Hispanic activists, Luis Prado, the executive director of La Alianza Hispana in Roxbury, "is a good example of a devoted and conscientious leader. Luis Prado has dedicated himself to the improvement of the quality of life for Hispanics because he believes the Boston Hispanic community has tremendous potential." [18]

According to David Cortella, a policy director for Mayor Flynn, Luis Prado is more than just an advocate for the Hispanic community, "Luis is a coalition builder, a consensus builder and a leader. Put those things together, and you get someone who understands political realties and can make a difference." [19] Many in the Boston area have come to recognize Luis Prado as a representative of the Hispanic community, advocating social and economic justice.

The energy, perseverance, devotion and leadership skills Luis Prado demonstrates is a clear reason the development of the La Alianza Hispana has been very successful. Since arriving at La Alianza Hispana more than five years ago, Luis Prado has been responsible for seeing the budget rise from $904,000 to nearly $2.3 million and the number of employees double. At present, La Alianza

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[18] Person interview, Luis Prado, 22 April 1991.

[19] Frances Robles, "Activist Looks to Success of the Hispanic Community," The Boston Globe, 15 August 1989, p. 15.

Hispana, under the leadership of Luis Prado, provides serves to more than 5,000 Massachusetts residences a year and maintains a staff of over 80 employees. [20]

Another example of a talented community leader who is devoted to making a difference for the Hispanic community is Argentina Arias, the former executive director of South Latin Emergency Services in Framingham. Argentina Arias' involvement with South Latin Emergency Services began with an interest in bilingual education, but then broadened when Argentina Arias realized the needs of Hispanics transcended language barriers.

Since then, Argentina Arias has worked to turn the organization into a vibrant comprehensive social services agency that is now a vital resource for Hispanics in the Framingham area. Members of the Hispanic community credit her with turning the agency into an institution, that in spite of deep budget cuts, boasts an array of employment services, a housing assistance program, a job development project, legal and health referrals and a day care center. In addition, Argentina Arias has expanded the agency's translation services and helped develop an English as a second language course in conjunction with the Framingham Public Library.

According to Francis Garcia, a reporter for a Spanish language newspaper in Boston, "her contributions to this community has been

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[20] Person interview with Luis Prado, 22 April 1991.

so enormous, I don't think anyone could match that. She gets respect from politicians and businessmen, and has encouraged the Hispanic community. Losing her is like losing a member of the family." [21]

According to John Del Prete, chairman of the Board of Selectmen, "Argentina Arias is one of the nice people you meet in politics. She was right in the forefront, always fighting for her people and never in the background. She brought the Hispanic community to the consciousness of Framingham politicians and was a hardworking ground breaker." [22]

Evaluation --

The energy of community organizations are not devoted to direct political organization for electoral purposes. For example, one of the most successful community organizations in Boston was profiled regarding the opening of a cultural center for Hispanics,

> Inquilinos Boricuas en Accion (IBA) began 18 years ago as an expression of the desire of Bostonians from Puerto Rico to establish a permanent place in the community. The desire never waned. IBA became the a model for self-help ventures.

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[21] Doreen E. Iudica, "Director of Local Agency for Hispanics to Step Down," The Boston Globe, 24 June 1990, p. West 6.

[22] Ibid.

> All Boston can be proud of the cultural center, and of the many other achievements of IBA. Hispanics can view the center as evidence that they have succeeded in firmly establishing a place in the community. [23]

These statements reflect the successful fight against redevelopment and the need to provide affordable housing for the Hispanic community, yet there is not mention of lasting political gains or the use of the cultural center to provide awareness for addressing political issues. The emphasis is on cultural issues and community building, but seems to regard establishing a cultural center as a end, not a beginning. Hispanics have "succeeded in firmly establishing a place" in Boston, but still have little or no elected representation.

The success of the IBA and the establishment of the cultural center exemplifies how the best and the brightest leaders of the Hispanic community devote their energy to dealing with community development, rather than public leadership. Attention to public participation remains focused on obtaining money, building facilities and programs, not on pursuing lasting political power.

Coalitions and Institutional Appointments --

In addressing political issues, the Hispanic community has based its leadership in community organizations. Whenever the

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[23] "Hispanic Pride," Editorial, The Boston Globe, 22 March 1986, p. 34.

Hispanic community faces a challenge or crisis in the public policy arena, the political response has been to form coalitions with ties to leadership found in community organizations or for the demand of Hispanic representation to resolve the issue.

In 1985, when Leval S. Wilson, the Boston School Superintendent told the Grater Boston Chamber of Congress in November that he would prefer that all students be taught in English, the Hispanic community took his position as an affront to bilingual education.

The response from the Hispanic community was to form a coalition of community organizations to provide leadership and political pressure in order to resolve the issue. Organizations such as the Association of Educators for Linguistics Minorities (MASTER PAC), the Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation, Bilingual Master Parent Advisory Council, and La Alianza Hispana joined forces to form a political alliance in order to advocate on behalf of the Hispanic community.

In terms of appointments, Mayor Flynn attempted to address the minimal achievement of Hispanics in the Boston school system through the creation of a public commission made up of Hispanic community members.

Mayor Flynn asked five institutional managers from various Hispanic and non-Hispanic oriented organizations to serve on a commission in order to evaluate forms of reversing the current educational plight of Hispanics. Four of the five members who served on the commission were Piedad Robertson, president of Bunker Hill Community College; Lucia David, a staff associate at the Institute for Learning and Teaching at the University of Massachusetts at Boston; Luis Prado, executive director of La Alianza Hispana; and Maria Tezaguic, member of the East Zone Improvement Council.[24]

Miren Uriarte, director of the Gaston Institute for Latino Community Development and Public Policy at the University of Massachusetts at Boston, was asked to serve on the commission, but declined to participate due to the perception that meaningful change would not take place with the use of the commission. In addition, Miren Uriarte believed that the Mayor was only using the formation of a commission to convey an interest in addressing the educational status of Hispanics and not a real means for solving the educational problems of Hispanics.

"Delegated" Power versus "Representative" Power --

A key factor in the role of the Hispanic community in Boston and throughout Massachusetts is that, by and large, the political

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[24] Diego Ribadeneira, "Panel to Study Plight of Hispanics in Schools," The Boston Globe, 15 June 1990, p. 1.

power it has gained in the past and exercises today is the exercise of "delegated" power, as opposed to "representative" power. Delegated power means that there are Hispanics appointed by elected representatives to sit on public bodies and commissions; that a number of important officials and communities have within their official structure, offices focused on Hispanic affairs or "liaison to the Hispanic community;" that there are leaders of stature in the Hispanic community who are consulted by elected officials where Hispanic issues are concerned.

However, because those Hispanics with influence do not have representative power in their own right outside the Hispanic community -- they are not elected office holders -- the arrangement is limiting because it can be cancelled out by other influences and forces. Competition among agencies may leave officials unaccountable. The Mayor of Boston may call in Hispanic advisors -- but he may not take their advice, and, if he does not, they have little recourse except for public protest. And protest, particularly when it fails to accomplish its goals, runs the risk of alienating those in elected positions so they will not be so likely to call on Hispanic advisors or, at least, the same individuals, so readily in the future. According to Representative Nelson Merced:

> I really think we're mistaken, I think we should be backtracking and gaining more representative political power. We have sort of delegated political power. I'm probably the only (Hispanic leader) in Boston who has

> representative political power. We should be duplicating people like myself. We have delegated political power -- we have people who are delegated power by someone who has representative power, to exercise power -- for example, someone who represents the governor, or the director's of agencies.
>
> We really need that representative empowerment. [26]

A typical expression of the limits of delegated power can be seen in this 1985 quote from Chelsea's non-Hispanic Mayor: "Mayor Mitchell said he has concentrated on placing Hispanics in jobs in the city's redevelopment authority, parks commission, and planning board. 'I get along well with Hispanics', he said. 'I've given them their share of jobs. I don't see any problems. I see everybody getting along in this community." [27]

Although members of the Hispanic community in Chelsea were detailing problems of crisis proportions in the city, mainly due to poverty and accelerating housing speculation by developers, the Mayor had noted earlier his belief that "any increased tension in the city was due to current election politics. 'We are politically divided at times, but any tension will blow over.'" [28]

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[26] Personal interview, Nelson Merced, 3 May 1991.

[27] Staff, "Squeeze on Housing Causes Concern in Chelsea," The Boston Globe, 7 June 1985, p. 1.

[28] Staff, "Hispanics Tell State Panel of Problems in Chelsea, " The Boston Globe, 24 May 1985, p. 29.

From his perspective, he was right. At the time he was speaking, perhaps 25% of Chelsea's residents were Hispanic, but they had no elected representatives within the city. After the election Mitchell was referring to, they still had none, and the non-Hispanic politicians could go back to "business as usual," with consultation of, but not power-sharing with, Hispanic leadership. Today Chelsea's population is at least 50% Hispanic, and there is a single elected Hispanic official on the school committee. The complaints about lack of access and inattention to Hispanic problems persist.

Chelsea is not the only community where lack of representative power for Hispanic residents has been a problem. "While there are now Hispanic police officers and firefighters, community leaders point to the lack of Hispanics in decision-making positions in (Lowell) City Hall. The only Hispanic employee there, they said, is a gardener who tends the grounds." [29]

> Most Hispanic leaders agree that the troubles besetting their community cannot be over- come unless Hispanics achieve substantial political power. Hispanics have little clout, activists say, in the State House or in the town or city halls across the state.

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[29] Doris Sue Wong, "Lowell is Seen Not Fulfilling Its Promise for Many Asians, Hispanics," The Boston Globe, 3 November 1987, p. 1.

> Among Hispanics employed in state government, none has the power to really influence the executive or legislative branches, Hispanic leaders say. There are only four elected Hispanic officials in all of Massachusetts....[30]

Access to delegated political power can also become an impediment to vigorous pursuit of representative power, because those who prominently achieve delegated power can be reluctant to let others become empowered, especially if it means that their own influence will become secondary. The executive director of a community agency will not be as directly influential and prominent as a Hispanic member of the Board of Aldermen or school committee. Nelson Merced notes that:

> to a certain extent, political empowerment in Boston is not seen as a priority in the Hispanic community because there are a lot of people, who are leaders, who are already connected, who feel they are in power personally. [31]

Many of the occasions when Hispanic individuals have sought to exercise political power these efforts have been in reaction to threats to the community. For example, in the mid-1980s a long

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[30] Diego Ribadeneira, "Massachusetts Miracle Bypasses Hispanics Living in the State," The Boston Globe, 5 June 1988, p. 1.

[31] Personal interview, Nelson Merced, 3 May 1991.

running dispute occurred with Boston's black school superintendent; the superintendent wanted to de-emphasize bilingual education. Hispanic leaders disagreed and formed coalitions and committees that lobbied to have bilingual education reinforced. They were ultimately successful, but once the crisis was past much of the organizing energy and prominence of their effort evaporated.

Thus the Hispanics community has created an elaborate network of community service organizations to improve the well being of thousands of Hispanics residents. However, political power is based in the exercise of institutional leadership and delegated authority, rather than representative power. Given the socio-political structure, the social context and the history and development of Hispanic community leadership in Massachusetts, how can the Hispanic community develop an insight into public leadership? How can a community begin to understand the hidden traits and social development of existing public leaders? How can the community begin to unfold political talents which when exercised in the public realm can lead to public decision-making, access to public resources and the ability to create innovative policy solutions holding public support.

Many studies concerning leadership review characteristics of personality and social skills to identify the exercise of leadership. However, the most any existing study has done is to link personal and social skills with an association to leadership. The exercise of

leadership remains elusive. The most a social study of leadership can do is provide linkages with experience, talent and social interaction.

6 CASE STUDIES AND AVENUES TO POLITICAL SUCCESS

Profiles of Individual Leaders: Personal Backgrounds --

Electoral successes for Hispanics in Massachusetts have been few. However, there are a small number of leaders who have succeeded in winning public office. Four Hispanics currently hold elected office in Massachusetts, all of them in communities with significant Hispanic populations.

The most prominent office-holder is Nelson Merced, the first Hispanic elected to the State Legislature, representing the 5th Suffolk District in a heavily black and Hispanic area of Boston. The other three -- Doris Cruz, Betty Medina-Lichtenstein, and Marta Rosa, are all members of school committees in Amherst, Holyoke and Chelsea, respectively.

This section will profile these leaders and discuss motivations for their political involvement, their views on politics and community empowerment, their opinions on the avenues Hispanic's should follow to achieve further electoral success and political constraints affecting the Hispanic community in Massachusetts.

The four individuals range in age from 33 to 43, with Marta Rosa the youngest and Nelson Merced the oldest. All are married, with children. All four are well established in their communities, homeowners, with solid records of civic involvement.

Three of the individuals, Doris Cruz, Nelson Merced and Marta Rosa, spent part of the childhood out of the Continental United States, in Puerto Rico. Betty Medina-Lichtenstein grew up on Long Island.

All three had early lives that followed the pattern for many Puerto Ricans. Nelson Merced was born in New York City, but his family moved back to Puerto Rico when he was 14. Doris Cruz came from a middle-class family in Puerto Rico and lived there until she was six, when her father moved the family to New England and became a tobacco worker. Marta Rosa's mother came to Massachusetts when she was 8, "basically in looking for a better life, a better economic situation." [32] Her mother brought her to Chelsea a year later, at the age of nine.

In Puerto Rico they had early exposure to passionate democratic politics. Nelson Merced recalls the "ongoing debates" over the status of Puerto Rico he heard at family gatherings. Most of his family favored statehood (Puerto Rico is now split, with the two largest groups favoring either statehood or enhanced commonwealth status, and a much smaller minority favoring independence).

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[32] Personal interview, Doris Cruz, 23 April 1991.

All three found some problems and frustrations on moving to the mainland. Doris Cruz and Marta Rosa in particular recall their difficult experiences in school. Because both spoke Spanish as a first language they were held back -- they came to Massachusetts before bilingual programs were well established. Doris Cruz had been considered a gifted student in Puerto Rico, but was held back two grades, from the third to the first, when she arrived on the mainland. She recalls that as a frustrating experience; "that time was when I first began to get disillusioned with the situation in the States." [33] Marta Rosa was held back from the sixth to the fourth grade which, she says, "socially killed me" because all of her peers were in higher grades. "It made me angry", she says "because at that age you don't speak up for yourself a lot, especially if you don't know the language, if the person enrolling you in school doesn't know the language." "But what it did for me," she adds, "is that it forced me to do better, because I was going to make it -- 'against all odds', that kind of thing." [34] She excelled academically.

Participation as Youths --

Each of the office-holders were involved in activities at an early age. Their experience helped shape their ability to work cooperatively and take leadership roles. Nelson Merced was involved in the Boy Scouts. Doris Cruz found a haven in Hartford, where her family then lived, in a community center run by the local

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[33] Personal interview, Doris Cruz. 23 April 1991.
[34] Telephone interview, Marta Rosa, 4 May 1991.

chapter of the NAACP. Marta Rosa was, from the age of 11, a leader in church and youth groups. As the oldest child among four, she was given responsibility within the family. "Since I've been very young I've always been in leadership type positions where I've had to organize an activity or program or get people motivated to do things." [35] Betty Medina-Lichtenstein became very interested in sports and student government while in high school.

Education and Early Political Experience --

All of the individuals went to college. Their college experiences and the activities that grew out of them, played a major role in shaping their political consciousness and commitment to political activism. Nelson Merced, for example, despite earning a four-year degree in two and a half years was very involved in student politics at the University of Connecticut. "I became very active in the Puerto Rican student movement. We started an organization called the Puerto Rican Federation and we started organizing students ... we started challenging the Administration around a number of affirmative action issues." [36] After college, Merced served in the Navy for a few years, then became involved in movements for economic justice in Puerto Rico. A pivotal event in his life was involvement in a squatter's camp which successfully took over vacant land for affordable housing.

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Personal interview, Nelson Merced, 3 May 1991.

Doris Cruz, who attended the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, became involved, with her husband, in the Third World Student Senate and with the Hispanic student organization, Ahora. As a woman of color, she had a challenging time. "I think in part what led me to get involved with the organization was the sense that these macho men had expectations for themselves which were greater than what they had for women ... within that community it was my first sense of responsibility to myself and to Latino women." [37]

Motivation and Consciousness --

What motivates the four office-holders as political and community leaders? All point to experiences in their background and their attitudes about life as motivational forces. Nelson Merced says,

> you're listening to your conscience ... it goes all the way back to having had people say to me, 'it's part of your responsibility to do things about things you're interested in' You have to be an activator. Life is not just 'hold on'.... I gained a lot of political consciousness empowering the Hispanic community, and your consciousness requires you to do something....
>
> It's just an inner motivation to get things done ... things that I perceive are correctable by the people in our community, things that

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[37] Personal interview, Doris Cruz, 23 April 1991.

> are happening to our community.... I think that's the sort of inner motivation. [38]

Being familiar with the realities of the Hispanic community and the problems it faces is also a powerful motivation. Nelson Merced says "from the moment that I became politically conscious about the situation on the island (Puerto Rico, in the squatter's camp fight), I've been motivated to really get involved in organizing the community to take political control of its destiny." [39]

Doris Cruz and Marta Rosa both refer to their own unhappy experiences as Spanish-speaking children thrown into a school system that could not serve them well, as partial motivations for being involved in education today. Marta Rosa notes that even though she and others persevered, "for other people, what it's done is frustrate them, and they drop out of school." [40] In terms of exercising leadership, Marta Rosa works to create an educational environment so that discouragement is less likely to happen.

The three school committee members derive motivation and fulfillment from being able to create conditions in which students, particularly Hispanic students, with all the disadvantages they face, can be successful. Betty Medina-Lichtenstein, for example, says "I get satisfaction from serving when a kid, especially a Hispanic kid,

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[38] Personal interview, Nelson Merced, 3 May 1991.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Telephone interview, Marta Rosa, 4 May 1991.

struggles right along through all of their years and is successful. I get satisfaction from that. It's for them that I'm doing this." [41] She talks about experiences like having parents come to her door and tell her that their children are finally graduating and asking her to come to the ceremony.

Other experiences in the Hispanic community are also a factor. Marta Rosa talks about:

> watching what happens when those people who don't speak English go to the welfare department, or go to the different social services agencies to try and get services and they get the run-around or they get treated with disrespect, or people treat them like they're giving them a handout. Watching people struggle through that and helping them with those problems and thinking about how unfair it is, and to hear these agencies are serving a large minority community, and yet nobody is representative of that community within the staff, getting into those issues and working on different task forces and committees throughout the city where everybody is speaking up for the needs of minorities, yet its not the minority people themselves; that's how I got involved, I guess. [42]

Marta Rosa also dates much of her involvement to the late 1980s when Boston University was proposing to operate the Chelsea

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[41] Telephone interview, Betty Medina-Lichtenstein, 23 April 1991.
[42] Telephone interview, Marta Roas, 4 May 1991.

school system. "The most push that I got was watching the way Boston University came to Chelsea.... It (the proposal) was a 10 year contract, and nothing was done to outreach the (Hispanic) community, who make up most of the school's population." [43]

All of the office-holders see themselves, to some extent, as leaders of the Hispanic community and examples of how Hispanics can achieve in politics. They are careful, however, not to inflate themselves as the only leaders of the community, or as "Hispanic leaders" only. They do not view themselves apart from their communities, in that they understand that they have a dual role of representative of the communities interests, and motivators of community involvement to promote those interests.

"Leadership is getting back to this whole issue of understanding what is happening in society, reflecting on what is happening, and then devising solutions or alternatives for correcting those situations and basically becoming actively involved in pushing them and organizing and mobilizing individuals to back you," says Merced. [44] "I'm the vehicle for the community" Betty Medina-Lichtenstein explains, "I don't see myself as one of the power brokers myself ... I always try to keep connected with people that have their issues, that are community based, and I try to stay involved...." [45] To Marta Rosa, "leadership is having the ability to guide, to mobilize, to

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[43] Ibid.
[44] Personal interview, Nelson Merced, 3 May 1991.
[45] Telephone interview, Betty Medina-Lichtenstein, 23 April 1991.

organize, to plan, to have vision. A leader has to have vision, has to be able to set goals, realistic short-term and long-term goals. Having the ability to motivate others. Having the ability to instill in people the importance of getting involved." [46]

Concept of Government --

They all see government as an intensely participatory process that they are working to open up to involvement by more people. They have a strong sense of individual commitment to involvement in government. Doris Cruz describes government in an intensely involved sense,

> I think that in the past participation was something that was handed down to you and you reacted to it ... you weren't pro-active in some sense -- you engaged, but in a very limited way -- it was an orchestrated way, others made decisions on how much of it you were going to do ... you were on the outside looking in, and then there was the other part, the participants were on the inside looking out.
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> Ideally, what I'd like to see is to make that a revolving door; you're outside, you come in, you do it, you come back out.... [47]

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[46] Telephone interview, Marta Rosa, 4 May 1991.
[47] Personal interview, Doris Cruz, 23 April 1991.

Overall, each of the elected officials sees himself or herself as being in office to accomplish something, not merely being part of the democratic process, but to bring about significant changes: to improve the educational system; to change economic conditions; to do away with social injustices. They are issue-oriented individuals, not people content to serve their time.

Concept of Political Office --

A healthy sense of political ambition also comes through from some of them. Betty Medina-Lichtenstein talks frankly about the possibilities of running for higher office. While Marta Rosa does not identify future offices she would consider, she is clearly heavily involved in the process of grooming and choosing candidates for offices in the Chelsea area, and could easily run for other positions if she so chooses. Doris Cruz is comfortable in a highly political community -- Amherst, and has a firm grasp of the issues and strategies that would allow her to seek other office if she decides to leave the school committee. Interestingly Nelson Merced, the highest ranking official, is also the most diffident about political ambition.[49] He had considered running for the Legislature early in the 1980s, but appears to have been talked into his successful bid by friends and associates, not individually planned and decided on being a candidate.

Merced said he never set out to be a politician. In fact, his resume includes work as a contractor, the leader of a squatters' movement in Puerto Rico and working as a high-ranking official in the state's Department of Public Welfare. "I've gotten bored with things and have sought out new challenges," he said. "Being a legislator could be the biggest one." [48]

Merced talks about having been encouraged to run for higher office, perhaps Congress, but says he has turned down the opportunities and wants to stay in the community and represent Roxbury and Dorchester.

Opinions and Avenues To Political Success --

Because of their awareness of themselves as not just elected officials in a vacuum, but leaders of the Hispanic community and the vanguard of a Hispanic advance into electoral politics, all four officials have a great deal to say, and share similar views, on how to bring about a more meaningful Hispanic role in representative government. Several themes appear -- (1), educational improvement, (2), promoting new leadership, and (3) maintaining Hispanic unity.

1. Educational Improvement: improving the education system is a key to improving the general welfare of the Hispanic community, by training Hispanic youth to play meaningful roles in American society

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[48] Diego Ribadeneira, "Latino Scales Beacon Hill: Merced Bears the Hopes of an Ethnic Community," The Boston Globe, 6 December 1989, p. 29.

and improve their economic standing. It is no surprise that three of the four elected officials are members of school committees -- all of the three chose to run for the school committee not solely as a strategic political decision but because they had children, were involved in educational issues, and saw education at the center of the Hispanic community's needs.

> When I first ran for school committee, a lot of people said, 'what are you going to do there, Boston University is here, you're not going to be able to do anything, you should run for Alderman at Large, that's where the power is'. In my mind, the power is in education, in having a good educational system, because those are the means of creating opportunities for those kids who are in school now. If you can impact education and create a better system, then you're going to get good candidate's for the political arena.[49]

Although Marta Rosa did not decided to run for an elected position with Chelsea's Board of Alderman, she serves on the Board of Alderman as the school committee's representative.

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[49] Telephone interview, Marta Rosa, 4 May 1991.

2. Promoting New Leadership: while all four individuals are relatively young themselves, they see educating and training younger Hispanic individuals to take leadership roles as an important part of their mission. This is in contrast to what they see as the role of some older Hispanic community leaders. Marta Rosa gives respect to older leaders, noting that "I think everybody has added ... the different leaders from 30 years ago also added to where we're at now, they've been part of the process." But she also expresses some frustration,

> the past is important to the present, but you can't dwell on it. Many times what happens in meetings is that the new leadership is looking ahead; what's happening now and where are we going. And the old leadership is still saying, '20 years ago when I did 'x', 'y', and 'z' ... that's why it doesn't work.' So what I've had to do with the people I'm working with in leadership in Chelsea is say, 'yes, and we've learned from that, but now it's a new era, let's move forward.' [50]

Nelson Merced also hints at some frustration with references to established leaders who have achieved some individual delegated power and comfortable political positions, but may be reluctant to give up their pre-eminent role, even if the overall political standing of the Hispanic community can be improved as a result.

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[50] Ibid.

The school committee members, with their focus on youth, have an intense interest in bringing forward younger Hispanic leaders. Marta Rosa talks about "identifying those people with potential, and taking that potential. Someone who has leadership qualities, someone who cares about people, who wants to do something about it." She refers with pride to two younger Hispanic individuals in her community she is helping to groom for runs at public office, saying, "my work with those people has been helping them to prepare their speeches and helping them when they're going to speak in public ... all of those things, organizing activities, organizing events, getting out to the people, guiding them along the way, and providing a role model for them, that this is something that can be done." [51] Betty Medina-Lichtenstein says that "somebody has to say, 'it can happen, it can happen' ... and when you're in one particular seat you've got to be training those than can take your seat for you (when you move on)." [52]

They also see a difference between the perceptions of older and younger generations of Hispanics in Massachusetts. Like many first generation immigrants, many older Hispanics do not focus so much on the local community because their identification is with their home country. Marta Rosa says of her mother, "she's here physically, but in her heart and in her soul she's back with her family in Puerto Rico." With younger Hispanics, many of whom have

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[51] Ibid.

[52] Telephone interview, Betty Medina-Lichtenstein, 23 April 1991.

lived their whole lives in Massachusetts, the state is home and they are willing to commit to involvement in its political future. "Chelsea is my community -- this country is really my country," says Marta Rosa. "And you don't forget where you came from, and you're proud of that and you're proud of your culture and your heritage, but this is where I'm going to fight for it." [53]

The office-holders have a keen sense of their significance as the first Hispanic elected officials in their positions. "A lot of people think that political office is unattainable.... We have proven that it can happen, that if you organize and you work together as a community, you can move forward," says Marta Rosa. [54] When Nelson Merced first took office he commented, "I'm very excited and anxious to get started. I realize that there are a lot of expectations because of my being the first Latino state representative, and I hope I can live up to them." [55]

3. Maintaining Hispanic Unity: another common theme among the Hispanic officials is maintaining unity and common purpose within their community. Although they recognize and easily acknowledge that the Hispanic community has a diverse set of elements, they also stress the need for all parts of the community to work together and avoid infighting, especially public infighting that could drive people apart and make the achievement of electoral and political gains more

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[53] Telephone interview, Marta Rosa, 4 May 1991.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Diego Ribadeneira, "Latino Scales Beacon Hill: Merced Bears the Hopes of an Ethnic Community," The Boston Globe, 6 December 1988, p. 29.

difficult. Doris Cruz understands the need for unity within the Hispanic community, however she notes that:

> there's a lot of infighting within the Hispanic community and sometimes the fighting produces a situation where there are rival candidates ... we end fighting against each other; and neither of us is going to win because the Caucasian candidate is out there while we're fighting.... I think that's really damaging for us as a community; we have to be able to do what the black community has done -- if you've got a viable candidate, let's all muster our energy behind this candidate, let's all support this candidate, -- next year, we'll all support you, you run next year. Don't divide the rope; don't triangulate the community; don't air out all your dirty laundry in public. I think this way, the Hispanic community becomes more sophisticated; through organized strategy we can become more successful. [56]

The reference Doris Cruz makes to the actions of non-Hispanic candidates is significant. One concern that comes through strongly from the office-holders that while disagreements should be expected to occur within the Hispanic community, fighting them out in public will empower opponents to keep the community from making gains.

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[56] Personal interview, Doris Cruz, 23 April 1991.

Political Context: Mainstream Political Constraints Upon Hispanics --

Politically, the fact is often overlooked that many Hispanics in Massachusetts come not from places with single-party systems, but from multi-party democracies such as Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. In the eyes of some Hispanic observers, this has tended to slow electoral participation by the Hispanic community. Unlike immigrants coming from countries where political pluralism was or is denied, many Hispanic immigrants in Massachusetts are not participating for the first time in a democratic system. "Latinos are not fascinated by the presence of a Latino candidate in any race, simply because they are used to voting for Latin candidates in countries where they come from." [57]

Three of the four Hispanic office-holders spent parts of their childhood in Puerto Rico, and note that politics, particularly the politics of statehood vs. commonwealth status vs. independence, are almost a national religion. They were exposed to local and national elections at an early age. However, the Puerto Rican political system differs from what is found in Massachusetts, in that elected officials in Puerto Rico are often much more accessible and personally known to the voting population, and office holders are much more able to handle any sort of political issue or constituent problem that arises.

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[57] Robert Jordan, "Latinos Seeking Political Clout," The Boston Globe, 3 Aug. 1986, p. A18.

Betty Medina-Lichtenstein, office-holder on the Holyoke school committee, for example, points out that in Massachusetts:

> there are so many different elected people, each controlling a different thing. How can one act? So people from Puerto Rico come here and don't get involved ... people say, why should I vote, what can they do to change my life? And you say, the governor does 'x', 'y', and 'z'; but in Puerto Rico, the governor knows everybody, the mayor knows everybody. Here, people have all these representatives and they've never met them. [58]

The consequence is often that Hispanics often feel alienated from the political system and unsure of how their votes can directly affect their lives. Marta Rosa, office-holder on the Chelsea School Committee, spent part of her childhood in Puerto Rico, observes that,

> a lot of people don't understand the process, don't understand the value of the site, or in their countries it's done very differently, so it takes a lot of educating and a lot of organization. [59]

It is also difficult to involve many individuals in local elections because they are not always in the area. "It's a very transient community, especially in the Puerto Rican community, where you

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[58] Telephone interview, Betty Medina-Lichtenstein, 23 April 1991.
[59] Telephone interview, Marta Rosa, 23 April 1991.

have people who are travelling back and forth to Puerto Rico all the time, and that's your voting population mostly. If you're going to count votes, you're going to count them in Puerto Rico, you see, because they're citizens." [60]

Even when Hispanic voters are successfully oriented to the Massachusetts electoral and political process, and available to vote, it is sometimes difficult to overcome barriers in the election system. For example, polling stations in predominantly Hispanic or Spanish-language precincts often do not have poll workers who can speak Spanish. The same is true for municipal clerks and voter registration staff. Marta Rosa notes that in her community, Chelsea,

> we registered 300 people and, come January, if those people don't return their local census, they're thrown off the voting rolls, so that when they go to vote that year their names are not on the list. It's a very frustrating process. We have had to do a lot of intermediary action with lawyers at the city level because the City doesn't understand -- or doesn't want to, actually, it's a very racist community. [61]

All of these issues and obstacles have resulted in the fact that although "the voter turnouts in (Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic) are unbelievable, 80 and 90 percent ... the same fervor that

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[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

we exhibited in our own countries has not taken hold here ... there was no connection between the Spanish speaking community and electoral politics." [62]

7 CONCLUSION

As Massachusetts enters the 1990s, it is clear that the Hispanic community still has very far to go in terms of achieving representative political power. Rapid growth in population has not been matched by a similar increase in the number of elected Hispanic officials. A class of elected Hispanic leaders is finally beginning to emerge, but it is still very small and fragile. Looking at reports and analysis of Hispanic political power over the past several years, it is interesting to note that most contain predictions of electoral gains that were not realized. Articles from the mid-1980s predict that this or that community will have a Hispanic Mayor, or town councilor, or school representative in the next election. In very few cases did those results come to pass. It would not be prudent, then to make the same assumptions and predictions from the perspective of the early 1990s. Instead, it is more useful to consider the factors that could retard or advance Hispanic representative power in this decade.

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[62] Robert Jordan, "Latinos Seeking Political Clout," The Boston Globe, 3 Aug. 1986, p. A18.

First, the Hispanic community still faces considerable obstacles in generating successful public leaders. The community must be aware of, and seek to avoid, the trap of tokenism -- getting single Hispanic representatives elected to various public bodies, and having others consider their positions "the Hispanic seat" on those bodies. The goal must be to elect candidates in the mainstream who will be able to achieve real representative power. Hispanic candidates and office-holders must also be perceived as attentive to all issues, not only those of the Hispanic community. As some of the school committee members noted, voters do not mind if candidates have some special focus or interest, but also want them to demonstrate concern for all issues, rather than be single issue candidates or office-holders.

The accomplishment of representative political power should be a foremost goal. As the experience and perspectives of the currently elected Hispanic officials shows, there is a growing awareness of the need to elect leaders who can control political power directly, not simply place individuals in positions of influence where they will have access to resources, but not the final authority or control over them. The Hispanic community must, within itself, reach agreement that representative power is a key goal, and organize itself to achieve it.

Organizations within the Hispanic community may not be sufficient, by itself, however, to achieve Hispanic political goals. The

Hispanic community must also network with other disadvantaged and underrepresented communities in coalitions that can achieve common goals. This is recognized by those in elected positions; for example, Rep. Nelson Merced's efforts to network with other non-white legislators and groups to work on both common goals and Hispanic goals. The elected representatives from the Hispanic community must demonstrate political maturity in realizing that politics that self-isolate groups entirely by race or ethnicity are a formula for staying out of political power.

Elected representatives also recognize that achieving a "level playing field" is an important -- perhaps essential -- element of achieving representative power. The vigorous pursuit of both legislative and legal action to achieve fair districting that will give Hispanic candidates an equal chance at the polls has been an element of Hispanic political success elsewhere in the country and should be in Massachusetts as well. The victory of Nelson Merced as the first Hispanic legislator in Massachusetts was, in great part, due to redistricting in Boston which grouped enough Hispanic voters and voters from other minority groups together in a district so a Hispanic candidate would have a credible change of victory.

As they pursue electoral strategies, Hispanic political and community leaders must realize that their organizational bases must include political as well as community organizations. The Chelsea Committee on Hispanic Affairs is a good example -- unburdened

with the responsibility of focusing on social and community programs, it has been able to direct attention at the political dimension of Hispanic issues and nurture new, young Hispanic leadership. Community organizations that provide services are an important part of any community -- particularly one facing severe economic problems -- but if they are the exclusive focus of community activities they will distract needed attention from the political dimension of solving economic and social problems.

An additional factor in achieving Hispanic representation is the way in which Hispanic candidates and organizations present their issues. They must be concerned about framing issues and campaigns in positive ways and proposing pro-active solutions to problems, not simply identifying problems and their sources. A positive approach will reinforce consistency in Hispanic political gains and political progress because it will allow candidates to credibly seek office at all times, not simply when there is some crisis to motivate their constituency. A crisis can help in focusing issues and motivating constituents, but if a candidate waits for a crisis -- a problem in the schools, tensions with the police or other communities, etc., -- on which to base their candidacy, he or she may find themselves at election time without any basis for a credible campaign.

The Hispanic community in Massachusetts still faces major challenges in achieving credible political power. It is also starting from a point of disadvantage in respect to other groups seeking

political power, both currently and historically. Economic conditions, the relatively young (non-voting) age of the Hispanic population, language barriers, racial issues and the circular migration of many Massachusetts' Hispanics are all factors that make it more difficult for the Hispanic community to steadily and consistently develop public leaders.

However, strategies and emerging leaders are slowing becoming available and the Hispanic community is on its way to accomplishing political gains and making the critical transition from a community waiting for "delegated" power to one wielding "representative" power in Massachusetts politics.

This paper has sought to examine the background and circumstances of Hispanic politics in Massachusetts and discuss challenges facing the Hispanic community and ways in which Hispanic public leadership can be achieved. Without predicting sudden and dramatic gains, it is reasonable to say that in the 1990s a steadily increasing number of Hispanic public leaders will emerge with good chances of winning election in Massachusetts, particularly in those communities which are increasingly demographically dominated by Hispanic residents and voters. However, translating the emergence of a new leadership into actual political gains will be a difficult process.

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APPENDIX A:

Census Data for Massachusetts, 1980 and 1990

Boston

Population, 1980 (%)	46,430 (6.5%)
Population Increase -- 1970 to 1980	103%
Estimated Population, 1985	51,315
Median Age	21.9 years
Median Education	11.6 years
Median Income	$9,627
Unemployment Rate	9.9%

Chelsea

Population, 1980 (%)	3,602 (14.0%)
Population Increase -- 1970 to 1980	228%
Estimated Population, 1985	6,520
Median Age	17.2 years
Median Education	8.5 years
Median Income	$7,027
Unemployment Rate	17.1%

Holyoke

Population, 1980 (%)	6,111 (13.7%)
Population Increase -- 1970 to 1980	227%
Estimated Population, 1985	11,061
Median Age	16.3 years
Median Education	7.7 years
Median Income	$6,580
Unemployment Rate	20.0%

Lawrence

Population, 1980 (%)	10,289 (16.3%)
Population Increase -- 1970 to 1980	342%
Estimated Population, 1985	21,610
Median Age	19.6 years
Median Education	8.7 years
Median Income	$6,614
Unemployment Rate	11.8%

Springfield

Population, 1980 (%)	13,917 (9.1%)
Population Increase -- 1970 to 1980	155%
Estimated Population, 1985	22,210
Median Age	17.3 years
Median Education	8.7 years
Median Income	$6,250
Unemployment Rate	33.7%

Worcester

Population, 1980 (%)	6,468 (4.0%)
Population Increase -- 1970 to 1980	286%
Estimated Population, 1985	12,707
Median Age	17.6 years
Median Education	9.2 years
Median Income	$6,302
Unemployment Rate	23%

Source: State Committee on Hispanic Affairs, "Report on the Status of Hispanics in Massachusetts," October 1985.

APPENDIX B:

Profile of Hispanic Population In Six Massachusetts Cities

Race - 1980 and 1990

	TOTAL & (% of TOTAL) 1980	TOTAL & (% of TOTAL) 1990	INCREASE & (PERCENT INCREASE)
Hispanic	141,043 (0.9%)	287,349 (4.8%)	146,306 (103.7%)
Black	221,729 (3.9%)	300,130 (5.0%)	78,401 (35.4%)
White	5,362,836 (93.5%)	5,405,374 (89.9%)	42,538 (0.8%)
Asian	49,501 (0.9%)	143,392 (2.4%)	93,891 (189.7%)
Native American	7,743 (0.1%)	12,241 (0.2%)	4,498 (58.1%)
TOTAL:	5,737,037	6,016,425	279,388

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1980 and 1990.

APPENDIX C:

Description of Hispanic Community Agencies In the Boston Area

CASA DEL SOL

"Casa del Sol is a private, not-profit educational institution -- the oldest Latino school in Boston. Founded in 1971, by Sr. Carol Putnam and a small group of nuns. Casa del Sol was developed to give Latino students sound basic education and to develop marketable job skills."

Serves Boston-area Hispanics, focus on South End residents. Services include: assessment and career counseling, vocational training in bookkeeping, accounting, and word processing, college preparatory and high school equivalency training, and English as a Second Language education.

ESCUELITA AGUYBANA

"Escuelita Agueybana was founded in 1978, to respond to the need for adequate child care services for Hispanic families in Boston. The program operates on bilingual/bicultural basis and strives to enhance understanding and respect among the children it services (77% Hispanic, 23% of other backgrounds). Escuelita has obtained funding from the federal Head Start program for operation of a second day care center in Dorchester."

Serves South End, Roxbury, and Dorchester residents primarily. Services include: the South End and Dorchester Day Care Centers which offer 10 hours per-day of child care programs, and provides a range of educational, nutritional, and other activities.

INQUILINOS BORICUAS EN ACCION

"Iquilinos Boricuas en Accion (IBA) is an agency incorporated to combat poverty and community deterioration in the Villa Victoria area (and vicinity) of Boston's South End. The formation of IBA was a direct by-product of the struggle of local community residents

against urban renewal. Besides sponsoring, leading, and coordinating the effort to develop Villa Victoria and its community institutions and resources, IBA is a provider of multi-disciplinary services to this low income, predominantly Puerto Rican community."
Serves approximately 3,000 residents of Villa Victoria and other residents of the South End and Lower Roxbury.
Services include: physical development of the neighborhood and related economic development; counseling, case management, and advocacy; family life education; services for elderly and physically impaired adults; legal services; youth services; cultural arts programming.

OFICINA HISPANA DE LA COMUNIDAD

"OHC was founded in 1970, by church and community leaders. Its purpose is to provide educational, employment and training, and community development services to Hispanics."

Serves primarily Jamaica Plain residents.
Services include: English as a Second Language; high school equivalency education; literacy instruction; career development; occupational training -- electrical, carpentry, officer worker; housing professions; job counseling and development; renovation of buildings using trainees from housing professions program.

CONCILIO HISPANO DE CAMBRIDGE

"Concilio Hispano was founded in 1969, by Hispanic Community leaders affiliated with the Cambridge Economic Opportunity Council. Its purpose is to plan and provide programs to improve the social and economic situation of Hispanics."
Serves primarily Hispanic residents of Cambridge and its vicinity.
Services include: employment training; high school equivalency and English as a Second Language instruction; youth services; adult substance abuse programs; family and elderly services.

NUESTRA COMUNIDAD DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

"NCDC grew out of nearly 10 years of efforts by community residents and agencies to address the problems created by non-investment in the Dudley Street neighborhood. In 1980, La Alianza Hispana joined forces with HOPE to create NCDC. The mission of NCDC is the

economic revitalization of the Dudley Street neighborhood. Its goals are: the development of the community's awareness and involvement in the revitalization process; the development and rehabilitation of low- and moderate-income housing; the optimal use of vacant land; the development of industrial and commercial enterprises that create jobs and revenues for the community."

Serves the Dudley Street neighborhood around Dudley Station in Boston.
Services include: rehabilitation of residential and commercial buildings, and community planning work.

LA ALIANZA HISPANA

"La Alianza Hispana, Inc. is a community based, multi-service center located in the Roxbury/North Dorchester area of Boston. The organization was established in 1970, to address the problems faced by Hispanic residents resulting from poverty and discrimination."

Serves primarily Roxbury/North Dorchester.
Services include: counseling; elderly programs; family assistance; housing assistance; English as a Second Language and High School Equivalency and Spanish literacy education; after school day care; summer day camps; youth vocational training and recreation/fitness programs; neighborhood and community development.

CASA MYRNA VASQUEZ

"Casa Myrna Vasquez began in 1976, as a Hispanic community based bilingual and multi-cultural organization responding to the needs of victims of family violence, especially battered women and their children. The agency has developed a comprehensive intervention, prevention, sheltering, follow-up, and community education program with a special outreach to Hispanic, Afro American and West Indian families."

Serves the Greater Boston area.
Services include: two shelters; emergency shelter for disabled women and women with children; 24 hour hotline; community education and outreach intervention, particularly addressing family violence.

HISPANIC OFFICE OF PLANNING AND EVALUATION, Inc.

"HOPE was organized in 1970, to plan, coordinate, evaluate, and advocate for human services programs which benefit Hispanic individuals living in Massachusetts. The agency combines elements of a non-profit consulting and research organization, a human services support agency and a civil rights advocacy group."

Serves Massachusetts.
Services include: research, advocacy, policy analysis and publications; Hispanic leadership development training; placement of trainees in the non-profit sector, on public boards, and commissions; identification and counseling for Boston area youth about educational programs, careers, and financial aid.

EL CENTRO DEL CARDENAL

"Founded in 1958, by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Boston. The main purpose of El Centro is to facilitate the access to socioeconomic self-sufficiency of the low-income Hispanic population, or to ameliorate their living conditions through education and supportive social services. The agency attempts to reach its goal by providing a comprehensive network of services and specific projects."

Serves Boston, with focus on the South End.
Services include: youth drug prevention and remedial reading programs; family and individual counseling; assistance to adolescent mothers; employment training; family life education; emergency referral.

CASA ESPERANZA

"The first Hispanic bilingual/bicultural 'House of Sobriety' in the commonwealth of Massachusetts. A capacity of 25 residents. Offers services based on the principles of Alcoholics Anonymous coupled with cultural sensitivity."

Serves Massachusetts, primarily Greater Boston.
Serves recovering alcoholics, primarily Hispanic; focus on developing personal strengths and social skills.

SOCIEDAD LATINA

"Founded in 1968, as Sociedad Latina of South Boston. The organization moved to Mission Hill in 1975, and began providing recreational and other services to the predominantly Hispanic youth of that neighborhood. Sociedad has continued its focus on youth services and has expanded its scope to include adults and the elderly."

Serves primarily Mission Hill and other parts of Boston.
Services include: recreational and physical fitness programs; job placement; youth counseling; drug abuse prevention/education; counseling; advocacy and referral; community development advocacy and planning; assistance to local business.

(The above description was condensed from Listing of Greater Boston Hispanic Community Agencies, with Agency Profile Sheets, produced by HOPE, Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation, Inc.)

APPENDIX D:

List of Hispanic Community Agencies

Nueva Esperanza
550 South Summer Street
Holyoke, MA 01040
Executive Director: Miguel Arce

Companeros Unidas en Accion
P.O. Box 6099
Holyoke, MA 01040
Executive Director: Kathy Knoll

Casa Latina, Inc
219 Main Street
Northampton, MA 01060
Executive Director: Paul Quinonez

Gandara Mental Health Center
2155 Main Street
Springfield, CA 01107
Executive Director: L. Phillip Guzman

Spanish American Union
2595 Main Street
Springfield, MA 01107
Executive Director: Juan Cruz

Union Hispano Americana
67 Jefferson Street
Springfield, MA 01107
Executive Director: Cecile Esteves

Casa Maria
81 Plantation Street
Worcester, MA 01604
Executive Director: Maria Tugendhat

Centro Las Americas
11 Sycamore Street
Worcester, MA 01608
Executive Director: Ms. Gladys Rodriguez

Latin Association/Progress & Action
831 Main Street
Worcester, MA 01610
Executive Director: Mr. Edwin Arroyo

Programa Hispano
350 Essex Street
Lawrence, MA 01840
Executive Director: Ms. Isabel Melendez

Unitas, Inc.
48 Lawrence Street
Lowell, MA 01852
Executive Director: Ms. Dalia Calvo

International Institute of Lowell
79 High Street
Lowell, MA 01852
Executive Director: Ms. Lydia Mattei

Inquilinos Boricuas En Accion
405 Shawmut Avenue
Boston, MA 02118
Executive Director: Ms. Clara Garcia

Casa Del Sol
32 Rutland Street
Boston, MA 02118
Executive Director: Mr. Carmelo Iglesias

Multicultural AIDS Coalition
566 Columbus Avenue
Boston, MA 02118
Executive Director: Mr. Wyan Right

Cardinal Cushing Center
1375 Washington Street
Boston, MA 02118
Executive Director: Ms. Elizabeth Zweig

Nuestra Comunidad Development Corporation
391 Dudley Street
Roxbury, MA 02119
Executive Director: Ms. Evelyn Friedman-Vargas

La Alianza Hispana
409 Dudley Street
Roxbury, MA 02119
Executive Director: Mr. Luis Prado

Casa Esperanza, Inc.
P.O. Box 546
Roxbury, MA 02119
Executive Director: Mr. Ricardo Quiroga

Oficina Hispana de La Comunidad
125 Armory Street, Building A
Roxbury, MA 02119
Executive Director: Mr. Jaime Talero

Sociedad Latina
1554 Tremont Street
Boston, MA 02120
Executive Director: Mr. Bill Meinjoffer

Comite de Mujeres Puertorriquenas
65 Lynnhurst Street
Dorchester, MA 02124
Executive Director: Ms. Doratea Manuela

Escuelita Agueybana
1 Leyland Street
Dorchester, MA 02125
Executive Director: Ms. Rosario Gutierrez

Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation, Inc.
165 Brookside Avenue
Boston, MA 02130
Executive Director: Mr. Jose Duran

Centra Hispano
3094 Washington Street
Jamaica Plain, MA 02130
Executive Director: Not Available

Puerto Rican Organizing Center
P.O. Box 3269
Jamaica Plain, MA 02130
Executive Director: Not Available

Albergue Familiar San Andres, Inc.
P.O. Box 2115
Jamaica Plain, MA 02130
Executive Director: Ms. Rayleen Gaudet Ruiz

JP Spanish Speaking APAC
144 Minden Street
Jamaica Plain, MA 02130
Executive Director: Ms. Victoria Posada

Tirando a Matar
1384 Commonwealth Avenue
Allston, MA 02134
Executive Director: Mr. Grey Rivera

Concilio Hispano
16 Cherry Street
Cambridge, MA 02139
Executive Director: Mr. Jorge Luna

I.C.L. (Instituto Cultural Latino Americano)
201 Washington Avenue
Chelsea, MA 02150
Executive Director: Ms. Rachel Wyon