

Latinos
In the
Economy
Of
Cambridge

**A Study of the Various Ways
Latinos Participate in all
Aspects of the Economy**

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Introduction

Latinos have contributed to the economy of Cambridge since the first Latin American immigrants arrived in the area, and while ethnic immigrants still face challenges in the United States economy, Cambridge Latinos continue to contribute in a myriad of ways and strengthen their economic position. When asking an immigrant why they left their home country and journeyed to new surroundings, the answer will almost always include the search for a better job. A person's occupation dictates their lifestyle and is an important part of almost every adult life. People are willing to relocate their families, and start anew if it seems that there are more job possibilities elsewhere. This quest for better employment is what drove many residents from Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean to the United States. Many Latinos could not support their families in the manner they desired in their home country due to weak economic systems and lack of quality jobs that offer decent pay. They turned to their neighbor in the north, the self-proclaimed "melting pot," to enable them to change their lives. Moving to another country is never an easy task, and for Latinos, much determination was necessary to forge new lives in the States. Problems with the language coupled with discrimination made things difficult early on, but Latinos have persevered and become an integral part of both life and the economy of the United States.

History

In researching the presence of Latinos in the economy of Cambridge, it became immediately apparent to us that everyone has their own story. There is no "Latino position" in the economy, but instead Latinos, like any group, are diverse and participate in the economy in many ways. This is partly due to the diversity in people's backgrounds as some Latinos come here with limited skills and ability to speak English, while others may be college educated and advanced English speakers. Immigration to Boston from Latin American countries in significant numbers began slowly around the 1940s, and the first voyagers had not the benefit of knowing what to expect. They battled with the language, the foreign setting, and the job market and laid the groundwork for later waves of immigration. These early immigrants came for a new life, and were determined to get just that. Initially the only jobs available offered poor wages, but life in the States was often still preferable for many Latino immigrants.

When Latino immigration started getting more regular in the 1950s and 1960s, Cambridge looked much different than it does today. It was saturated with factories and offered many low skilled jobs. Housing costs were relatively low and there was more of a working class population in the town. Overtime though, Cambridge experienced an influx of new, more upper class residents. Housing costs rose, and

factories began moving out and being replaced by new, technology driven businesses and office buildings. One resident, Cambridge business owner Israel Maldonado, commented:

Well Cambridge has changed a lot. On the other side of Mass Avenue there used to be a lot of factories, but they are all gone. And on that side there (pointing,) there used to be all factories. But they are all gone... New offices now. I mean everything changed. Broadway used to be a lot of houses, but they are all gone there (Israel Maldonado, Personal Interview, 2002.) Latinos were concentrated in service level jobs and Cambridge's changes threatened the jobs of many working class immigrants. Factory jobs may have left Cambridge, but immigration from Latin America continued to accelerate.

Perhaps more important than sheer numbers, Latinos are the most significant and fastest-growing sector of the working class in the United States. Within a few years, Latinos will make up more than a quarter of the nation's total work force, a proportion that is, of course, more than three times larger than this group's proportion of the total population. Equally important, Latino men and women are increasingly concentrated in the very industries that have been most influenced by the economic restructuring of the United States (Torres and Valle, 2000: 5.)

The economic restructuring this quotation refers to is precisely what happened in Cambridge, and Latinos had to find alternative ways to participate in the economy.

Despite the removal of Cambridge factories, Latino presence has remained. This can partly be attributed to Latinos' ability to find alternative jobs and successes achieved in professional and entrepreneurial ventures, but

it also important to note that the composition of Cambridge's Latinos have changed. The cost of living has risen remarkably in Cambridge and it has become a more exclusive community. Many Latino residents relocated as a result, and much service level labor has been lost. However, it has been displaced by a new wave of immigrants and the sons and daughters of the earlier waves who have greater ability to achieve upward social mobility due to the progress of earlier immigrants. This quotation highlights the example of owning a successful family business:

The point to be made is that, overall, the ethnic economy provides a platform both for its coethnic employees and for second generation to enter the mainstream in positions of advantage whether they actually go into business or not... The economic and social resources resulting from the successful family business are what enables the immigrant children to attain higher levels of education and go on to obtain professional jobs (Halter, 1995: 9.)

The most recent rise in Cambridge's increased cost of living was the 1994 removal of rent control. This policy had required a certain number of units to be available to lower income residents at rates far reduced from the market value. Without rent control, rents skyrocketed. Israel Maldonado explained this phenomenon:

I lived in rent control for almost 15 years. I used to live in an apartment. When I started renting in the beginning it was 85 dollars a month. 85! But after 15 years, the top [most rent] was 355. Now the same apartment would cost 2,000. I mean, it's a big difference. And the house, you could buy a 3 family house for 45, 50

thousand. On Columbia Street there used to be a guy, who used to be a lawyer. He used to have 6 houses, 3 families each one. He sold one to a Hispanic guy for 21,000. The other two he gave for 45,000 with garages in the back, but no one wanted to buy at that time. Now, they're worth about a million dollars. I mean it used to be so cheap, the houses (Maldonado, Personal Interview, 2002.)

Residence in Cambridge has become increasingly expensive and this has resulted in a changing Latino population. Many Latinos left Cambridge and relocated to lower cost communities such as Somerville, Randolph, and Brockton (Maldonado, Personal Interview, 2002.) While the earliest Latin immigrants were primarily working class Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, there is now more diversity among Cambridge Latinos and more professionals are attracted to the area.

Methodology

In conducting our research, we discovered some personal stories that exemplified this history. Only through their recollections can we understand Cambridge's past and provide a context to understand how Latinos have come to occupy their various positions in Cambridge's economy today. Due to our reliance on oral interviews, we were able to hear what it was like to begin life in the United States in the most unaltered form: peoples' own words. We have organized our findings into three categories: workers, entrepreneurs, and professionals. There is, of course, diversity within each classification, but there are also themes which emerge

in utilizing this breakdown. This division can be further rationalized chronology. Any immigrating group begins life in their new land primarily as laborers as this is the only door open to new arrivals. When Latinos arrived in Cambridge they were employed in factories, households, and other service level positions. Eventually, Latinos were able to start small businesses intending to serve the increasingly present Latino community. And most recently, a new wave of young, well-educated Latinos have come to area either for further education and to work as professionals.

Overview

Latinos have established themselves in many different sectors of the Cambridge economy. This is partly because of the varying ways Latinos have adapted to the changing economy of the city, but more importantly because of the diversity of their backgrounds. Some residents remain from the earliest group of Latino immigrants. Many left small towns where wages were no more than a few dollars a month, and have achieved greatly here. Some are second-generation Americans who attended grade school in the States and who have assimilated to American life. Others still are transient residents who will use Cambridge's premier colleges and universities as well as the nearby Boston downtown firms to further educational and professional goals. Whether the primary goal of Latinos in the States is to send money to relatives in their home country or simply start a new life

here, one conclusion is clear: hard work does pay off. Latinos from all different countries of origin and with all different backgrounds have found ways to contribute to the economy of Cambridge. In this essay, we intend to tell their story, and show how Latinos have in the past and continue to be active in the economy of Cambridge.

Workers

Early History

Historically, Latinos in Cambridge working have shared the economic fate of Latino workers nationwide. In the 1950s and 1960s, throughout the United States, Latinos began moving into cities. They left their previous jobs in agriculture and found higher paying jobs in urban areas (DeFreitas, 1991: 66.) This phenomenon of rural to urban migration brought the first Latino residents to Cambridge. Latinos in the United States enjoyed great earning and occupational gains throughout the 1960s. In the following two decades, wage rates stagnated and inequality increased (DeFreitas, 1991: 4.)

Beginning in the 1950s, Latinos came from a variety of home countries to find higher paying jobs in Cambridge. Some of the earliest Latino workers in Cambridge were Puerto Rican women who were hired to serve as live-in maids and nannies by Cantabrigians in the early 1950s. In 1959, the predominant sources of income for Latinos in the Boston area was agricultural work at farms in the outlying towns of

Lexington, Bedford, and Arlington and jobs at car washes in the cities (Santiago: Personal Interview.) There was also factory work available, as over a third of the people working in Cambridge in 1950 worked in manufacturing (*Jobs, Training...*, 1991: 4.) In those years, jobs requiring unskilled labor were very easy to find. Israel Maldonado commented, "You could find a job anywhere. You could quit a job today, and tomorrow find another one (Maldonado, Personal Interview, 2002.)"

Factory Work

Many Latinos in Cambridge found work in factories during the 1960s and early 1970s. Factories in operation during those years included the Consolidated Foil Company, Nabisco, New England Confectionary Company (Necco), Fannie Farmer Chocolates, a library furniture factory, Stride Rite Shoes, and Fenton Shoes. Wages were typically around one dollar per hour at the beginning of that period, although the employers at the Consolidated Foil Company were more generous:

We had people working in the Consolidated Foil Company that was in Somerville. There was maybe about twenty members of [the Latino] community working there. It happened to be that the vice-president of the company was Puerto Rican. So he saw there was a big community right next to the company. . . he had an opportunity to hire someone. [The Latinos that] went there, they'd get \$2, maybe \$2.50 an hour. So that was a big difference! People started moving, and getting

into better jobs. (Santiago, Personal Interview, 2002.)

Work in these factories was often hazardous. Workers in the Fenton Shoe Factory, which was located on the block surrounded by Green, Franklin, Sidney, and Brookline Streets, used hot glue to assemble the soles of shoes. This glue burned workers and aggravated some employees' asthma. In the Fannie Farmer Chocolate factory, some workers were assigned the task of breaking apart still-warm chocolate that had just been imprinted with designs. The hazards of this job included burns and many factory workers stood all day, which hurt their feet and legs. Since employees of those and other factories were paid a piecework wage, they had an incentive to work quickly, which resulted in more workplace injuries (Boyer 2001: 257.) Although they worked difficult jobs for long hours, Latinos in Cambridge, and throughout the United States, were making a higher percentage of the wages of non-Hispanic white Americans than they ever had before.

This progress towards economic equity was reversed in subsequent decades. The changing structure of the US economy encouraged many factories to relocate from urban centers in the 1970s. Roughly one in four manufacturing jobs in Cambridge were eliminated between 1967 and 1971 due to these and other changes. By 1980, the manufacturing sector employed only 13% of the Cantabrigian workforce (*Jobs, Training...*, 1991: 4.)

Many of the Cambridge candy companies, a major source of employment for Latinos, were suffering financial losses during this period. The Cambridge confectionery industry had a competitive advantage during colonial times because ships full of molasses docked in nearby Boston Harbor. As corn syrup and sugar beets became the most popular sweeteners, the industry could not compete with larger companies based in Chicago and Pennsylvania, much closer to the sources of those essential sweeteners (Winslow, 1985: 1.)

There was a small increase in confectioneries in 1985 when Nabisco bought the Charleston Chew factory in Everett and moved its production to Cambridge. Even with that relocation's resultant increase in jobs, it was estimated that the Cantabrigian candy industry employed less than 2,000 people by 1986. Despite the relatively few employees, the Cambridge candy industry was producing large amounts of candy. The Cambridge Nabisco Factory alone produced 100 million dollars worth of Junior Mints, Sugarbabies, Sugardaddys, and Chuckles candies (Winslow, 1985: 1.)

In Cambridge, the decline of the manufacturing industry was also pushed forward by the expansions of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. MIT purchased the Kraft Cheese Company building, a library furniture factory, and a candy factory and converted those buildings into a nuclear engineering center, an instrumentation lab, and offices, respectively. The university purchased the old

Kennedy Biscuit Factory, which Fenton Shoes was occupying at that time, in 1986. In 1988, a massive remodeling project was undertaken as part of the institution's University Park at MIT development plan. The exterior of the factory was preserved while the inside was converted into an apartment complex, the Kennedy Biscuit Lofts (Cambridge Historical Commission.) The NECCO factory was also converted to suit the needs of the new economy. It was remodeled into high-tech laboratories (Ortiz, 2002.)

Service Sector

The percentage of the Cantabrigian workforce employed in the service sector doubled between 1950 and 1980 (*Jobs, Training...*, 1991: 4.) Latinos followed this pattern as well. With the decrease in factory employment, more recent immigrants to Cambridge have found employment in the service sector. In the 1970s, Latino students at Harvard, MIT, and universities outside of Cambridge joined with members of the Cambridge Latino community to form the Cambridge Spanish Council, an organization that persuaded those institutions to hire Latinos for custodial and food service positions. Roberto Santiago explained what occurred with those institutions:

[At] MIT. . . we were trying to get jobs. . . cleaning; we had people to clean the place. We had people who cook. And then they start to open the doors...maybe we began with six or seven people. And they cleaned the grounds, and they did the cleaning. And there was very good pay. Maybe

they paid \$3 an hour. Which for us is good. Same things happen at Harvard (Santiago, Personal Interview, 2002.)

Doors were beginning to open due to mobilizing among Cambridge Latinos.

Recently, students and workers united again to improve Latinos' position in the workforce. Harvard students pressured their university to propose an improved contract to the Service Employees International Union Local 254, which represents the custodians on that campus. On February 28, 2002, Harvard put forward a new contract for its 750 janitors that raised hourly wages to at least \$11.35, which is 67 cents more than the living wage for the city of Cambridge. The contract also included wage parity between full-time university employees, part-time university employees, and contract workers, an increase of workers' hourly wages to at least \$13.50 by November 2005, and free health insurance (Abel, 2002.)

Latinos are currently among the fastest growing segments of the workforce in the United States. The number of working Latinos was expected to grow by 60% from 1988 to 2000, comprising 27% of the increase in the total workforce (DeFreitas, 1991: 3.) Much of this increase in Latino employment has occurred in the service sector. Some Latinos work in hospitals and retail stores while others have worked in restaurants, ranging from fast-food to upscale. A common job for Latinos to hold in those restaurants is dishwasher. Jobs in this field, customer and personal services, are a

rapidly expanding segment of the Cantabrigian job market. These jobs are often hard work with low pay and minimal benefits. By 1990, they accounted for a fifth of all jobs available in the city (*Jobs, Training...*, 1991: 5.)

Learning English

Latino workers are able to dramatically improve their earning power if they become fluent in English. Knowing English allows people to find and keep higher paying jobs. Studies estimate that poor English skills account for between 18% and a third of the wage differential between Latinos and non-Hispanic whites in the US (DeFreitas, 1991: 69-70.) Learning English, although extremely valuable economically, can be a time-consuming and expensive process. It can be a difficult undertaking for a person already working full-time.

Fortunately, there are programs in Cambridge which provide low-cost and convenient English classes. The Community Learning Center, Centro Presente, and Concilio Hispano, all located near Central Square, offer English language classes. In the 1970s, the Community Learning Center provided a small stipend to individuals enrolled in its classes. It was not enough to live on, but it could supplement a household's income, making life more comfortable (Boyer, 2001: 208.) Some have posited that these social service providers attracted Latino workers from outside the city to Cambridge in the 1980s. People

frequently applied for jobs in the retail stores near the buildings that housed the English classes (Boyer, 2001: 236.)

Finding and Keeping Jobs

Patterns emerge when people describe how they found their jobs. Most people found their jobs with the help of an informal network of family or friends. Some have said that when they arrived in Cambridge, they took a relative's job, allowing their family member to return to their home community. Others had family and friends help them find a job. Lucia de Jimenez, a woman from El Salvador, used informal networks to find her first job after she arrived in Cambridge:

When you get someplace, you always find a... friend or somebody who can help you out. It's like somebody is waiting for you there already. People that you never knew -you just come here and... meet them... That's how we start. I met this guy who was my [future] husband's father. I never met him in El Salvador. I met him here. He's the one who took me to start looking for jobs. And then I started working in Fenton Shoes (Lucia de Jimenez, Personal Interview, 2002.)

Mrs. de Jimenez's story is typical of many immigrants trying to begin working in Cambridge.

Some employers encouraged their employees to bring their friends to work alongside them. This was most common in factories in the 1970s, but still occurs today. Israel Maldonado explained his experience with an incentive program instituted by his employer:

'When I worked in the [Fannie Farmer] candy factory they asked me if I could bring people to work they pay me 10 dollars for each. I brought my brother and they gave me 20 bucks because he did a good job. They liked him. He worked there for almost 30 years' (Maldonado, Personal Interview, 2002.)

Through this process, Latinos become more are more common in the workforce. This is how Latinos became predominant in some workplaces. NECCO is one good example. "[NECCO] started hiring Latino [community] members, when they hire one, they want another one. They come to the community - we want some more (Salazar, Personal Interview: 2002.)"

Once people have found a job, their coworkers often help them adjust to their new working environment. Helpful coworkers are especially important when the new employee does not speak English. Mrs. de Jimenez explained how she, who spoke only Spanish at that time, communicated with her English-speaking supervisors during her tenure at Fenton Shoes:

There was a lady from Puerto Rico who spoke English. She's the one who translated when I needed something or the supervisor or bosses needed something from me. He just went to her and she came to tell me (de Jimenez, Personal Interview, 2002.)

There is indirect reciprocity across this informal network. Although Mrs. de Jimenez depended on many other people to help her become established in Cambridge, she has been able to help others who have arrived more recently.

Underemployment

Underemployment is also a major problem facing immigrants. Holding a job for which one is overqualified is frustrating for individuals and harmful to the economy as a whole. Underemployment signifies that people's skills are not being used fully. That is inefficient. If people found jobs in which their skills were used to their highest potential, society as a whole would be better off. It can be difficult for people who were skilled professionals in their home countries to find equivalent employment upon arrival in Cambridge. Even if skilled immigrants have can speak English, they sometimes lack the credentials necessary to work in the United States in the field to which they are accustomed. Elena Letona, a Salvadoran woman who is the executive director of a non-governmental organization, explained this phenomenon:

There is a lot of brain flight [from Latin American sending countries]... These people take menial jobs, but at least here, in the US, people can make a living, they are earning a living and sending money back. . . Computer experts, lawyers, physicians, and all sorts of professionals are coming here and looking for work (Elena Letona, Personal Interview, 2002.)

In addition to underutilizing people's skills and making their job search more frustrating, this "brain drain" hurts sending countries, most of which have a limited supply of skilled labor.

Jaime Mercabo, a Colombian man, is experiencing underemployment. He graduated from college in Colombia with a degree in mechanical engineering, but has been unable to

use his skills since he arrived in the United States two years ago:

I am a mechanical engineer. . . When I was trying to look for [an] internship, my English was not so good. Nobody want[ed] to take a person who doesn't have very good skills in English. . . So I would take English classes and at night working, in restaurants or pubs, whatever, to earn some money. . . And my goal is to save money to go get my master's degree. I already applied to [the University of Massachusetts at] Boston, but my GMAT score was kind of low because I . . . didn't take any preparation class. I just go for it and I did it and the English part was awful, it was terrible (Jaime Mercabo, Personal Interview, 2002.)

Mr. Mercabo's sister shares his predicament. She worked as a dentist in Colombia, but is now working as a dental assistant because she lacks the documents to work as a dentist here (Mercabo, Personal Interview, 2002.)

Racism

Cantabrigian Latinos have also faced problems of institutional racism as they have tried to advance their careers. Nelson Salazar, a Salvadoran man, experienced this while working as a chef:

The last place that I worked was the Copley Plaza hotel. I was the Assistant Banquet Chef. Working there, I realize that in order for you to move up... you couldn't move up. If you were not... if you were Latino, you couldn't move up. You had to be either French... you had to be from Europe (Nelson Salazar, Personal Interview, 2002.)

Reports of such blatant racism are uncommon and have lessened as Latinos became a more visible part of the

Cambridge community. That does not mean Cambridge society today is free from racism.

Future Prospects

The economic forecast for Latino workers is not bright in the immediate future. Latinos are impacted more by economic downturns than are any other ethnic group. After a recession that lasted eight months ended in the spring of 1991, it took Latinos six more years to reach the levels of employment and median household income that they enjoyed before the recession began (Suro, 2002: 2.) Latinos were so greatly impacted because, as an aggregate, they have lower English speaking ability, lower educational attainment, a younger age, and less work experience in the United States than other ethnic groups have. These characteristics have led Latinos to be disproportionately employed in occupations that are less skilled and have a higher sensitivity to fluctuations in the economy. There has been minimal change in Latinos' place in the economy since 1991. This means that there is little indication that Latinos will fare better during this economic downturn than they did in the last (Suro, 2002: 3.) It is likely that Latinos in Cambridge will be even harder hit than Latinos elsewhere because there will be spillover effects from the suffering high-tech industries upon which Cambridge has grown highly dependent.

It appears likely that at least some of the children of workers will follow their parents into similar occupations;

Latinos have the lowest high school enrollment and high school graduation rates of any racial or ethnic group in Cambridge (Batista, 1999.) This is partly reflective of poor academic advising at Cambridge Rindge and Latin High School. Roberto Santiago explains what he sees occurring:

The truth is that the people that I see counseling our children in Boston and across the state of Massachusetts, if they saw a Latino had good grades, they didn't refer them. They would say, "you should go into the army," and, if it was a lady, "you should be a receptionist" (Santiago, Personal Interview, 2002.)

Despite obstacles of this kind, Latinos continue to be an important part of the working class.

Entrepreneurs

Introduction

As Latinos continued to immigrate to Cambridge and a community was beginning to form, a number Latinos were able to enter into entrepreneurial ventures. Their goal was to provide services that Latino immigrants were accustomed to in their home countries. Ethnic business began to become an important part of Latino life in the States.

Ethnicity as a factor of economic life can be expressed in many different forms, such as the marketing of ethnic products, employment of coethnics, relationship to coethnic customers, cultural capital generated through ethnic-based resources, and strategies of capitalization. In general, ethnic enterprise studies found ethnicity to be a highly viable and enduring element of modern societies. They emphasize immigrant cooperation to show that traditional and modern

forms of behavior can be mixed to produce potent economic brew for ethnic entrepreneurs (Halter, 1995: 7.)

While Latino businesses do function in the variety of ways this passage depicts, Latinos continue to face challenges in the small business economy. The changes in Boston's economy did not favor small business ventures as Peggy Levitt documents in this passage from her research of ethnic businesses in Boston:

The opportunity structure during the 1970s and 1980s did not favor minority small business development. In the 1970s, Massachusetts lost 8 percent of all its manufacturing jobs, at a time when 37 percent of Latinos were employed in manufacturing industries (Melendez 1994; Harrison 1988.) The structure of the retail sector was also changing. Between 1960 and 1990 retail sales dropped by \$3 billion, and five thousand retail stores closed or moved out of [Boston] (Levine.) Would-be business owners faced a shrinking retail market and heightened competition for entrepreneurial opportunities from displaced workers. They also needed to go into businesses that required little start-up capital and in which their ethnic attributes were assets rather than liabilities. Most Latinos opened businesses aimed at the emerging, largely under-served ethnic market (Levitt, 1995: 125.)

The changing economy affected Cambridge in an extremely similar manner, but ethnic entrepreneurs have persevered.

Within social scientific scholarship, most had predicted that small businesses in the United States would all but disappear by the late twentieth century; still others predicted that the significance of ethnicity in relation to economic success would greatly diminish by this stage of advanced capitalism... Yet the entrepreneurial spirit has shown itself to be surprisingly

resilient in a postindustrial economy,
particularly in the case of ethnic-based
enterprises (Halter, 1995: 3.)

In this section we will present a number of entrepreneurs
that showed this spirit and either owned or currently own
businesses in Cambridge.

Bodegas

One popular form of business has been the bodega due partly to the fact that they require low start-up capital and also because they specifically cater to the Latino immigrant community. Bodegas are small corner stores which usually sell an array of Latin American products, groceries, and small household items, but have come to be much more than just that. "In the early days of the Puerto Rican community, small businesses doubled as impromptu social centers where people came to exchange news, gossip, or simply pass time together (Levitt, 1995: 134.)" Their presence in Cambridge eases the transition of new immigrants as well as helps to keep customs alive by offering ingredients necessary for many Latin American dishes. While many thought Latinos would only succeed in the United States' economy by complete assimilation, this group shows the importance of keeping an ethnic identity and using it as an asset in the economy.

Popular views often held that immigrants of the earlier wave succeeded by joining the mainstream as rapidly as possible, by losing their distinctive group characteristics. The strategies exhibited by members of today's ethnic economies,

just as in the past, reflect considerable cultural cohesiveness and continuity. The road to successful adaptation and upward mobility depends precisely on *not* assimilating too much. Social resources based on a common cultural identity are maintained as a way to compensate for other disadvantages such as racial discrimination or a lack of sufficient start-up capital (Halter, 1995: 4.)

The area on and surrounding Columbia Street was home to most of Cambridge's first Latinos and it is there where we noticed the largest presence of bodegas. On Columbia Street alone there is Brea Market, Colombia Market, and R&R Market. These three bodegas help maintain Columbia Street's Latin spirit.

Mr. Cruz, the former owner of Brea Market, worked as a medical clinician before leaving his homeland of Cuba. He had never imagined that he would come to own one of the first bodegas in Cambridge. Upon arriving in the States in the 1970s, he worked in factories for about seven years and then began working at a bodega owned by his brother-in-law. Shortly thereafter, he bought space from a Dominican man and opened his own market on Columbia Street, which he called Coloso Market. He was determined to make his business venture work and he worked there for up to 14 hours a day, everyday for 17 years. He taught himself about business taxes and made Coloso a success. Today, Coloso Market still stands on Columbia Street, but it is now under different management. Its new name is Brea Market after its owner, Rene Brea. He is a Dominican man who bought the market one

and a half years ago from Mr. Cruz. He, along with his sister Juana Brea, work long hours like Mr. Cruz used to and keep Coloso alive, which is important to many Latino customers who frequent it.

Rafael Brea, Rene's brother, owned a bodega in Santo Domingo before he immigrated. When he arrived in this area 13 years ago, he worked at another of his brother's bodega, the Happy Super 8 in Dorchester. He spent nine years working there, at the Caribbean Market in Dorchester, the Javier Market in Chelsea, and the Cruz Market in Roxbury. Four years ago, he bought the R&R Market, on the corner of Columbia and Hampshire Streets, from a Dominican family who had owned it for 28 years. His family works at the market with him, much like the arrangement at Brea. He serves a racially diverse clientele and he believes that all traditional Dominican products are now available in the United States. His store plays Latin American music and is filled with products and produce from that region.

The owner of the Columbia Market on the corner of Columbia and Broadway, who wished that his name not be used, immigrated to the Boston area from the Dominican Republic about eleven years ago. He spent his first nine years here working as a janitor for companies such as One Source and Unicco until one and a half years ago when he bought the Columbia Market. He employees one other man, a Dominican, and the shelves are stocked with salsas and hot sauces, as well as plantains and avocados. He buys most of his

products in Chelsea, from Rodriguez's, a Portuguese food supplier that carries an array of Latin American goods. He also believes that there are no products from the Dominican Republic that are not available in Boston.

These men have different stories, but currently have come to coexist and serve Cambridge. All three current owners are Dominican men who have come to own their bodegas in the last five years. They each reported that Latin American products are easily available in the greater Boston area and, in particular, from Rodriguez's in Chelsea. Before this supplier, Roberto Santiago remembers a store, El Platenero, which was the original Boston supplier of Latin American goods. All three commented on the diversity of their clientele and as bodegas have proven to be not only for Latino customers. While some small business owners have previous experience managing a business and others only venture into the field after years of other work, the owners collectively have carved a fairly stable and successful ethnic niche in the area. Bodegas are an important Latin business, but Latinos in Cambridge have come to own many other types of small businesses as well.

Other Businesses

Israel Maldonado is a Puerto Rican entrepreneur who has become a centerpiece in the Latino community in Cambridge because of his restaurant, Izzy's. When he arrived here in 1964 he worked at a series of factory jobs. He recalls the

Square Bread Factory among others. He then worked for Advent, a technology company specializing in closed circuit television systems, but after visiting Puerto Rico and seeing his sister-in-law's corner store restaurant, he came back to Cambridge with the idea to open his own place. He rented a storefront on Columbia and Broadway and began his restaurant, but it was not an instant success. He moved to Tampa, where he tried again, but then returned to Cambridge to try again. In 1987, Mr. Maldonado bought a candy store at the corner of Harvard and Windsor, converted it into a restaurant, and reopened Izzy's. This time business boomed and since, Izzy's has become an important part of the community near Columbia Street. He serves Puerto Rican and American cuisine and has easily found Latino food suppliers in the Boston area, also noting Rodriguez's in Chelsea. He has also bought property in Everett as another business venture. He repaired the houses and rents them to tenants, but the income could not compare to the success of Izzy's, and the restaurant remains his primary concern.

Rafael Benzan, a Dominican, also became a Cambridge entrepreneur. When he first came to Cambridge, he worked at a ladder factory in Waltham. After a few years he became a dishwasher and then an employee for Brighams Ice Cream Company. Eventually, he had earned and saved enough that he decided to start his own business. Mr. Benzan opened a grocery store, Wildworld Food. He also opened the first Latino travel agency in Cambridge, La Borincana, as well as

a moving company. Mr. Benzan soon found himself to be a contact for many Dominicans coming to the area, and he often helped new immigrants find their first jobs.

There are also many Mexican style taquerias in Cambridge. Anna's Taqueria in Porter Square is part of a small chain around the Boston area. The workers are Mexican and the restaurant is filled at most meal times. There is also Boca Grande, which has sites on Massachusetts Avenue and First Street in Cambridge, which offers a larger menu of more authentic foods. Taco Lupita, which is just over the border into Somerville, is worth noting regardless of its location due to its authentic Mexican and Salvadoran cuisine. In addition to these taquerias there are also many more other Latin American restaurants. A few are Olé Mexican Grill on Springfield Street, Tropicco Restaurant on Cambridge Street, Picante Grill in Central Square, and Jose's, Forest Cafe, and Mexican Cuisine on Massachusetts Avenue. For more upscale dining, there is Casa Mexico on Winthrop Street in Harvard Square and a Cuban-French restaurant called Chez Henri. In addition to bodegas and restaurants, Latinos have established businesses in other fields like Glamourama, a Puerto Rican owned beauty salon on Columbia Street. It's extremely popular, especially with Latina women. There have also been places for nightlife such as Latin Quarters, a venue that attracted Celia Cruz and other top performers. There is also a Latin Concert Ticket Agency. One recently established business that

provides both food and entertainment is Mama Gaia's, a restaurant that emphasizes organic and fair trade foods. Pedro Morales is the owner and Juan Carlos Kaiten and Jason Berube are also part of the management. Saturday nights they have an open microphone for local amateur acts, which they call Noche Latina.

Themes

The businesses mentioned do not attempt to be a complete look at all Latino owned business in Cambridge, but instead provide a sample of their entrepreneurial ventures. We would have documented more businesses if so many Latino owned businesses had not closed or relocated in the past decade. Owning a business proved to be a difficult task in Cambridge, where store rents continually rose until finally skyrocketing after the 1994 removal of rent control. Many Latino owned businesses found the greater Boston area to be a tough market.

Whereas 6 percent of the population in the United States was self-employed, only 1.7% of all Hispanics, including 0.7 percent of all Puerto Ricans owned their own businesses (Wladinger, Aldrich, and Ward 1990.) Self-employment rates among Latinos in Boston appear to be consistent with these trends. Between 1969 and 1982, less than 1 percent of the Latino population owned their own business (U.S. Department of Commerce.) In 1985, only 5 percent of all the self employed residents in Boston were Hispanic (Boston Redevelopment Authority) (Levitt, 1995: 120.) Some of the businesses that left Cambridge include El Taíno, a Puerto Rican restaurant that used to be across from

Izzy's, and La Bodega de Juanito, a store that was on Brookline Street, near Central Square. Rafael Benzan mentioned his old travel agency, La Borincana, and another travel agency, Melía Travel, was present in the area as well. Israel Maldonado mentioned Leo's Grocery, and Roberto Santiago remembers a man, Luis Bagan, who owned one of the first bodegas in Cambridge. Cambridge also used to have many places for Latin entertainment, including the renting of one floor of a Massachusetts Avenue building and renovating it into the Spanish American Sport Club. When we questioned Israel Maldonado about Latin nightlife in Cambridge he explained:

Yeah, they have it, but in Boston, but not in Cambridge. Well they got an American bar, Ryles in Inman Square, well that's in Somerville. And places in Chelsea. In Cambridge they rent the place on Mass Avenue and they rent it out on the weekend, but not too often. Not like it was before. Before, it was more parties every night. Now they got so many clubs in Boston, so many clubs in Lawrence. Everybody goes to Boston and Lawrence (Maldonado, Personal Interview, 2002.) While not all businesses remain in Cambridge, the ones that do continue to keep the Latino presence alive and serve the Latino residents as well as all other customers from Cambridge's diverse population.

One aspect that was hard to officially document is the role of women in the Latino economy. Latina women can rarely afford to be housewives, and instead they play an active role in small businesses, even if they are not the official proprietor. "Typically, the husband is the sole

proprietor and the wife works for the business, anywhere from a few hours to full time, performing such tasks as cashier, salesclerk, bookkeeper, cook, or waitress (Halter, 1995: 12.)" Izzy's, Glamourama, and Mama Gaia's, just to note a few, rely heavily on female contributions. Women also undergo small entrepreneurial ventures to supplement family income, and sell crafts and foods that are made in the house and sold informally. One example are the women that sell Salvadoran food at soccer games at Danehy Park on Sundays. Some woman also offer babysitting out of their homes. Whether it is through participation in the family business or in the informal economy, women are an active part of Latino entrepreneurial successes.

The Latino businesses discussed in this section help make residing in the United States more livable for Cambridge's Latino population. They are not passive parts of the community, but instead active structures which helps to create Latino life in the states.

Latino business owners' experiences lend credence to Granovetter's notion (1985) of economic embeddedness. They are not rational self-interested actors who are minimally effected by social relations, nor have they internalized normative standards so deeply that the social relations surrounding them have little impact on their behavior. Instead, Latino entrepreneurs are "deeply embedded in concrete ongoing systems of social relations in which culture is continuously constructed and reconstructed (Granovetter, 1995.)" The embeddedness of their economic activities within their community generates

essential tools with which they conduct business.
(Levitt, 1995: 138.)

These businesses help create what it means to be a Latino, and provide Latinos with a way to keep their Latin American customs alive in new surroundings. They are also symbols of Latino accomplishment in the US and show young Latinos that success is possible. Cambridge would not be the same without its Latino owned businesses and it would be a less attractive area to new immigrants looking to forge lives in the States.

Future Prospects

Unfortunately, Latino owned businesses in Cambridge may be increasingly hard to maintain, and new businesses face high rents. That could lead to the conclusion that Latinos did not succeed in creating a place for themselves in the economy, but that would be misleading. A more accurate depiction would show that Latinos have been able to achieve moderate successes and have established a base for subsequent generations.

One might assume that most entrepreneurs would be frustrated when faced with the prospect of limited growth. In the United States, we tend to equate bigger with better and value only those things that have the potential to expand (Lasch 1991.) Latino business owners seem to be guided by a different notion of success. In general, their goal is to run their businesses so that their economic needs are satisfied but they are still able to follow the community's social rules and fulfill their social responsibilities (Levitt, 1995: 136.)

Looking towards the future, we believe Latino business owners will be able to continue in this manner. While many new businesses do not seem likely due to Cambridge's limited Latino population, the ones that exist should continue to serve the community and maintain good business. However, new business ventures are possible. Some future businesses may choose to capitalize on new groups of Latin immigrants providing products from Central and South America rather than Mexico and the Caribbean. Others may focus on younger immigrants and cater to nightlife. Regardless of what business tactics are employed, Latino entrepreneurs are in Cambridge to stay.

Professionals

Introduction

Latinos are becoming increasingly prominent in the professional classes in Cambridge. Although they are still a small fraction of the Cambridge Latino population, their numbers are growing. By 1999, 11% of adult Latino Cantabrigians had college degrees and 12% of adult Latinos in Cambridge were working in management or professional jobs (Batista, 1999.) Latinos work in finance, law, education, accounting, non-governmental organizations, and many other professional occupations. Professional Latinos have benefited from the great expansion of the purchasing power of Latin American and Latino consumers. In business, some of the success of Latino professionals is said to be

'trickling up' as a response to companies desires to sell to this expanding consumer population (Higuera, 2001: 34.)

Professional Latinos reside in Cambridge for the same reasons as other professionals do. They are attracted to the area because of the wealth of intellectual and cultural opportunities centered around Harvard and MIT. The housing in Cambridge, as well as the city's shopping and dining establishments cater to a professional clientele with a large amount of disposable income.

Personal Themes

There are two distinct groups that comprise Latino professionals. One group is those who were born in this country or moved here at a young age and attended school in the United States. Those who migrated later in life, typically after earning some tertiary education in their home country, comprise the rest of the population. In this section, the characteristics of these two groups will be discussed. Those who were born here or immigrated to this country early, are products of the American educational system. Parental emphasis on academic success and the availability of funding for higher education means that the new professional class of Latinos is an upwardly mobile one, surpassing their parents' class status.

The lack of universal education in most of Latin America means that for a person to obtain the education necessary to become a professional, they must come from a

family with the resources to fund their education. Jaime Mercabo, a Colombian man, came to the US with a mechanical engineering degree. His privileged background is reflective of others in his situation:

My father is a lawyer and my mother, she . . . has a degree in business administration. She has a very, very big background. She used to be the director in . . . one of the biggest electric companies. . . She used to have a very, very good position in one of those companies. Now she's retired . . . already, so she's just enjoying . . . life' (Mercabo, Personal Interview, 2002.)

Oftentimes, when professionals migrate to the United States, it is in search of postgraduate education. Diego Mandia, a Uruguayan man currently pursuing a Masters of Business Administration at Bentley College and working at Deloitte and Touche, an accounting firm, is an example of that pattern. He explained why, after earning an undergraduate degree at Universidad Mayor de la Republica, Uruguay's largest university, he came to the US to attend graduate school:

"I don't think it [my college education] was really different from what I could have gotten in the US. I didn't feel behind my colleagues in the US. [Conversely,] I think at a post graduate level, at a MBA level, there is a difference there. They don't have as significant programs as they have here (Diego Mandia, Personal Interview, 2002.)

Companies, especially those with current or anticipated Latin American operations, seek to hire trained Latin Americans who are fluent in Spanish and familiar with the

business practices of their homeland. Karina Liendo, an economic consultant originally from Peru, sees her multinational and multicultural identity as a competitive advantage when looking for jobs. She knows that many businesses are seeking her knowledge of Latin America (Liendo, Personal Interview, 2002.) Rodrigo Ocampo, the managing director for Latin America at A.T. Kearney, Inc., an international recruiting firm, cites another reason why professional Latin American nationals are currently in high demand in the US labor market:

People in Latin America have had to deal with tremendous upheaval at the macro level - political and economic upheaval. These people are very adaptable, which is a characteristic that the new economy demands (Heines, 2001: 60.)

Many educated individuals from Latin America are finding work in the United States.

This population has to contend with immigration law. Employers may 'overlook' the immigration status of unskilled workers, but professionals cannot count on such inattention. After a person attending school in the US on a student visa graduates, they are permitted to work in the United States for a few years as part of their training. At that point, they must obtain a working visa. Switching immigration status can be difficult, as political factors unrelated to individuals' skills contribute to whether or not they receive guest worker status. This reason, along with family and personal concerns, contributes to many Latino

professionals return migration a few years after they graduate.

Professional Organizations

The informal networks which help workers find jobs are in place among the professional population, but there are also more formal networks: professional organizations. There are Latino-specific professional organizations for many fields. Organizations active in the Cambridge area include the Hispanic American Chamber of Commerce, which caters to small business owners, and the self-explanatory National Society of Hispanic Masters of Business Administration, Association of Latino Professional in Finance and Accounting, Latino Professionals Network, Society of Hispanic Professional Engineers, and Massachusetts Association of Hispanic Attorneys. These organizations provide professional support, educational programs, job listings, and a social outlet for their members. To the business community, they are a source to contact when one is seeking skilled, diverse, or Spanish-speaking employees.

The National Society of Hispanic MBAs (NSHMBA) is the oldest and one of the most respected of the Latino professional organizations. It was founded in 1987 in Los Angeles by Mexican Americans. The organization primarily served that population in its initial years. It has since expanded to offer membership to all Latino MBAs or other

professionals throughout the United States, including Puerto Rico. The society is among the Fortune 500 companies' primary resources when they are looking to hire Latino MBAs and other professionals. The Boston Chapter of NSHMBA, which includes surrounding cities such as Cambridge, became fully incorporated into the national organization in 2000. They hold monthly networking and educational events. Weekly e-mails are sent to the membership containing a list of current job openings (Angel Perez, Personal Interview, 2002.)

Interaction with the Larger Latino Community

Professional Latino Cantabrigians have a variety of interactions with the larger Latino community. Some are active in community activities; others keep to themselves. Angel Perez, a Puerto Rican corporate banker, and Karina Liendo illustrate the two extremes of this spectrum. Ms. Liendo is very involved in community organizations and programs. She serves on the marketing committee of NSHMBA. She frequents the lectures and conferences at Harvard's David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, especially those of the Pan-American Group, an organization primarily composed of Latino professionals. She is currently learning Portuguese at the Cambridge Center for Adult Education. She teaches Spanish with a community organization located near Massachusetts General Hospital. In 2001, she was a panelist for a conference organized by

the Hispanic American Chamber of Commerce on the role of Latinos in the business community. She plans to become more involved in an emerging Latino consultants' network and in Latina organizations (Liendo, Personal Interview, 2002.)

Angel Perez explained that his lack of involvement is due to his different cultural background from most Latinos in Cambridge. He doesn't feel much of a connection to other Latinos:

My background is totally different from anyone from South America or Central America. Even though we speak Spanish, it's like saying all English speakers are the same. A US national is not the same as a UK or Australian or New Zealand national. Those same types of differences that you see between a US or UK or probably a New Zealander, you see it in Latin Americans. All of the countries that comprise Latin America have very very different historical backgrounds, historical references. . . . That's why it's so difficult to really connect with a Latino community because you don't know who makes that Latino community. For example, for me, as a Puerto Rican, I even have a second problem with the Latino community, not only in Cambridge, in Boston and Massachusetts. It's that the Puerto Rican community here, the one that is already established, has a completely different social, cultural, and historical background than my background because I just came directly from Puerto Rico. The Puerto Ricans who live here are already second-, third-, and even fourth-generation. My connection with them - there's none. . . . I know some Puerto Ricans that they've already lost easily more than half of their capacity of speaking Spanish. Then, on top of that, that difference, that historical, cultural, and social difference that has arisen in those who . . . have all of their lives lived in New England

are totally different from [someone] that just came one and a half years ago from Puerto Rico (Perez, Personal Interview, 2002.)

Mr. Perez illustrates that the 'Latino community' is not homogenous and it takes initiative to become involved.

Some Latinos' professional lives lead them to become involved in the Latino community. Elena Letona, a Salvadoran woman who is the Executive Director of Centro Presente, a social service organization for Central Americans, stated that before she graduated from college, she "had no idea that you could actually make a living by doing something good (Letona, Personal Interview, 2002.)" Many of the Latino social service organizations in Cambridge have begun to hire professional staffs, attracting employees from outside of the city. These individuals are highly skilled, with degrees in fields such as public policy, human services, and community planning.

Future Prospects

It appears as though Latino professionals will have a place in Cambridge for many years to come. As Cambridge moves further towards a knowledge- and technology-based economy, the services of professionals will be in higher demand. Forecasters predict that Latinos nationwide have the brightest prospects in finance, marketing (Heines, 2001: 62), telecommunications, and technology, areas of employment which are all present in Cambridge (Higuera, 2001: 34.) Latinos are especially likely to migrate to the area because

the progressive politics of the city means that many local companies place a premium on hiring a diverse workforce.

Conclusions

Progress

Latinos have achieved great economic successes since their arrival in Cambridge, despite facing significant obstacles to life in the States. One man's story that exemplifies this progress is that of Roberto Santiago. His first job upon his arrival in Cambridge in 1956 from Puerto Rico was washing cars. Eventually he opted for factory work, but again wages were not high and Latinos were still excluded from the professional world. He attributes some of the Latino concentration in service level positions to the misguidance of Cambridge high school guidance counselors. Often Latinos would only be referred to two-year programs so they could become secretaries and receptionists. Mr. Santiago knew that change was necessary and began devising ways to get attention to his community.

He noticed that the Cambridge Economic Opportunity Committee, the anti-poverty agency in Cambridge, mentioned the Latino community in their charter, but failed to serve it. This committee was funded federally through the Housing and Urban Development Department (HUD) and after some demonstrations in Cambridge, Mr. Santiago and other activists went to the regional HUD office in New York. The New York office was sympathetic to their pleas, and ordered

them a very small office space in 1962 or 1963, which was the beginning of Concilio Hispano. They hired a secretary who could help people fill out job applications and other forms, and finally Latinos had a voice. The former speaker of the house, Tip O'Neil, was from Cambridge and when he was in town, Concilio would lobby him to speak to companies and universities in Cambridge to push for more Latino employment. He also had an opportunity to meet President Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and many other important figures.

In addition to the creation of Concilio, he also highlighted the importance of young people gaining access to the local universities.

In the past, when I came here, Harvard, MIT, Tufts, all the other schools described to the other students [whites,] had many Puerto Ricans, many Latinos, many Mexicans, but those students were the sons and daughters of the rich people from Puerto Rico, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, not people from the community. So our main focus was to make colleges and universities understand for us to have a share to become professionals (Santiago, Personal Interview, 2002.)"

He said when upper-class immigrants come to Cambridge to attend school, they come, they go to school, and they leave, but when someone from the community is admitted, they stay to serve the community.

Mr. Santiago's legacy, as well as that of a number of other community activists, has left a lasting impact on Latinos in Cambridge. Second generation Latinos are achieving economic prosperity never possible in the past, and increasingly the Cambridge Latino population is becoming

professional. Despite Mr. Santiago's many achievements in mobilizing the Latino citizenry, perhaps nothing gives him more satisfaction than reporting that all seven of his children are now professionals in the Boston area. He believes that Latinos are becoming a power, and that they are forcing their inclusion into mainstream economic systems. "The same banks that gave us problems before now know that we are a force, and all the banks want a share of the business (Santiago, Personal Interview, 2002.)" He laughed while he said that today, banks and other institutions compete for his business. Latinos have certainly come a long way.

Continued Obstacles

While obstacles to Latinos' economic success remain, they continue to immigrate and are constantly developing new ways to participate economically. Despite their achievements, Latinos still have lower incomes than their white counterparts and most earlier immigrant communities. "The main conclusion is that the [Latino] population is growing, and that population includes workers who are poor. It's interesting because people think that people who are poor don't work (Batista, 1999: 1.)" In actuality Latinos have a history of hard work in the States, but suffer from being concentrated in jobs with low wages and poor benefits. In the words of State Representative Jarrett Barrios, "The jobs we have now are the ones that pay \$6 an hour. To get

good jobs, we need to educate ourselves and become involved politically (Batista, 1999: 15.)" In summation, Latinos have achieved greatly, but must continue to gain education and other tools for upward social mobility if they intend to erase a history filled with exclusion and economic denial.

Future Prospects

Latinos in Cambridge have had varied success, but one thing is clear: immigration continues to be a popular solution to escaping poor economic conditions in their various home countries. Making life viable for immigrants in the States is important, but improving economic conditions in Latin America should also be a world priority, especially to the United States who borders the area and will likely receive the largest number of fleeing immigrants.

...The unacknowledged political history of the past few hundred years, the "battle of the colorline," in the words of W.E.B. Du Bois, and is likely to continue being so for the near future, as racial division continues to fester, the United States moves demographically from a white-majority to a nonwhite-majority society, the chasm between a largely white First World and a largely nonwhite Third World continues to deepen, desperate immigration from the latter to the former escalates, and demands for global justice in the new world order of 'global apartheid' grow louder (Mills, 1997: 132.)

Immigration continues to escalate in Cambridge and between 1990 and 1995 the number of Latinos in Cambridge swelled by 19 percent, from 6,506 to 7,766. In 1995, Latinos composed

8 percent of the city's 99,700 total population, and this figure continues to rise (Batista, 1999: 15.) With the continued presence of Latino immigrants, progress should continue. Some economic barriers impeding immigrants have crumbled, and more should as a result of this increasingly mobilized and vocal population. Latinos will continue to assume positions at all levels of the economy and as their presence and success increase, Latinos will gain entry to fields that were previously inaccessible. Cambridge should continue to attract a more upper-class segment of Latinos who can afford its high housing costs and those who are able to gain residence will enjoy the benefits of a good public school system, which should foster for upward social mobility. Now that Latinos have proved their economic worth in the States, only time can tell how many barriers they can dismantle and how much they are able to achieve.

Directions For Future Research

We hope we have supplied an adequate picture of Latinos in the Cambridge economy, but there are many facets to the processes by which Latinos participate in the economy that we have not explored, and future research is encouraged. Some fields which may be particularly of interest are:

- The informal economy
- Latino successes in media
- The government's role in enabling or discouraging Latino achievements
- How Cambridge transformed its economy away from the factory sector

Latinas' role

The economic changes exhibited by sending countries due
to remittances

Work in education

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Mr. Rafael Brea, owner of R&R Market, February 19, 2002

Interviewers: Rachel Long, Richard Nightingale

Mr. Cruz, former owner of El Coloso Market, March 8, 2002

Rachel Long

Mr. Ernesto Galvan, President of the Association of Latino Professionals in Finance and Accounting, Boston Chapter, March 10, 2002*

Richard Nightingale

Ms. Lucia de Jimenez, stocker at Massachusetts General Hospital, February 1, 2002

Rachel Long, Richard Nightingale, Jessica de Jimenez

Ms. Karina Liendo, consultant and NSHMBA member, March 14, 2002

Rachel Long

Mr. Israel Maldonado, owner of Izzy's Restaurant, February 11, 2002*

Rachel Long, Richard Nightingale

Mr. Diego Mandia, accountant and business school student, April 3, 2002

Rachel Long, Richard Nightingale, Jessica de Jimenez

Ms. Angel Perez, corporate banker and NSHMBA member, March 11, 2002 *

Rachel Long

Mr. Roberto Santiago, long time resident and community activist, April 23, 2002

Richard Nightingale

(* indicates transcription available)