Latino Cultural Expression in Cambridge

Urban Borderlands Project

Tufts University & AHORA

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Tierra

…. In the beginning, when … we had the students together, we had the committee together, [those were] cultural events, because we cooked Puerto Rican lechón, …all kinds of things.
-Roberto Santiago

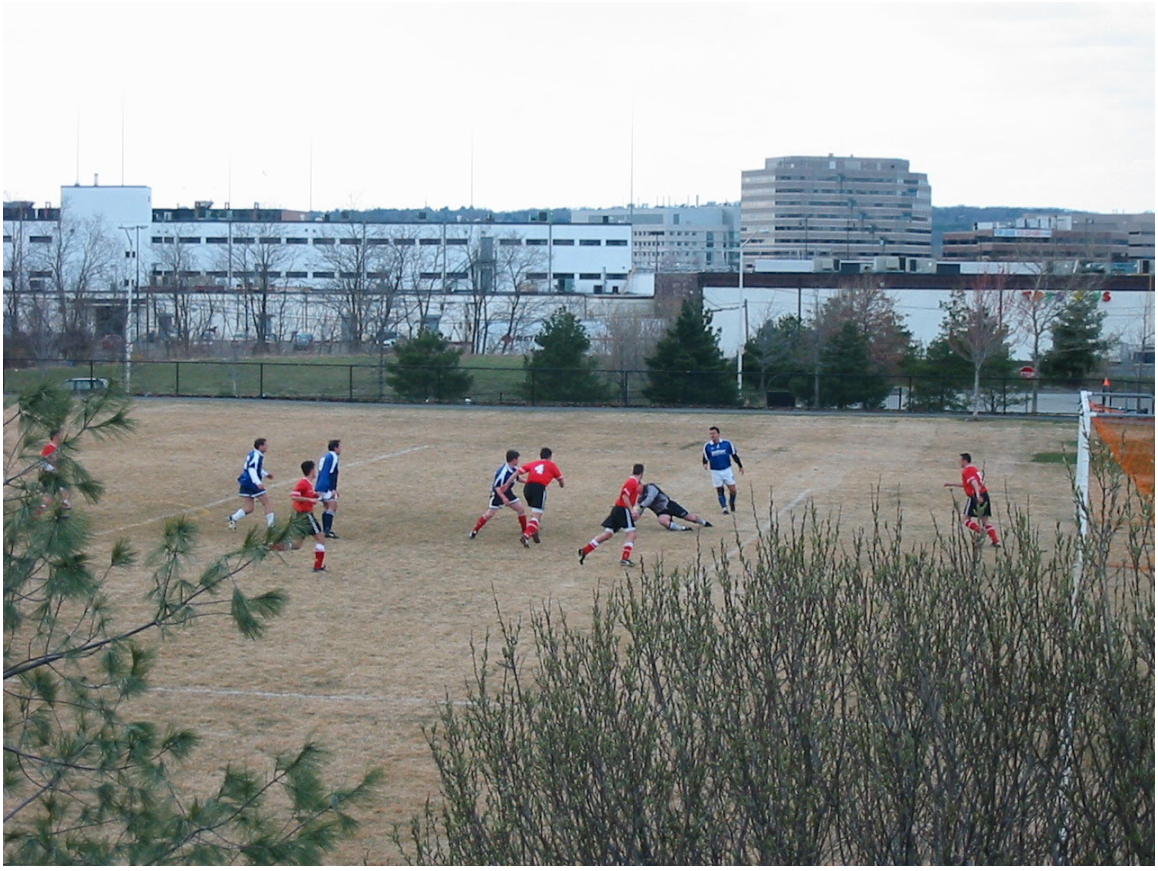
If you want to know something about people, eat their food -Elizabeth Ahsawullah

Tierra

Raíces

When I want to dance … I'm looking for Latin music. When I just want to hang out, I don't care.
– Jaime Mercabo

It happened to be that most of the kids learn for tradition. What happened is that in the past, when they grow up, at home, we spoke to them in Spanish all the time. So then they spoke to us in English. But then when they went to the high school, they changed. Because then they get into the music, other friends, the Salsa...and we had to make arroz con pollo, not spaghetti, and then they started speaking the language. – Roberto Santiago

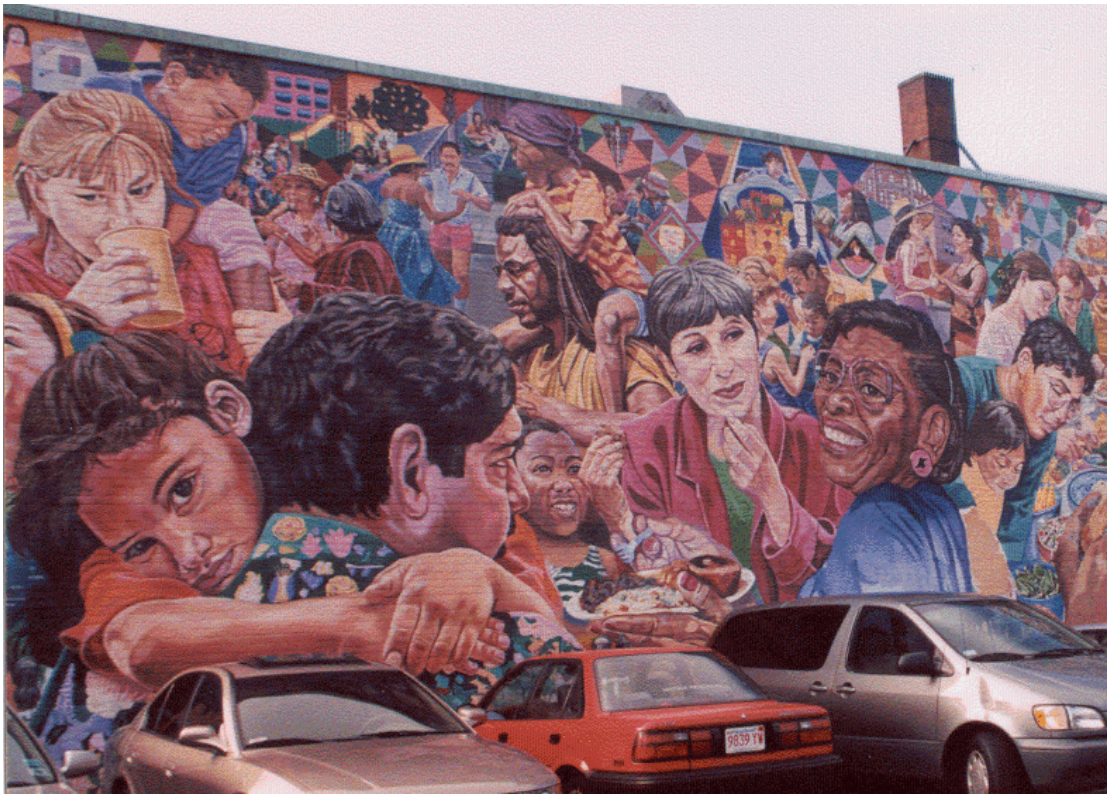


Raíces

Familia

Family [in Columbia Terrace] was very strong.... You could hear parents yelling out the window like, "It's eight o'clock get home!" or yelling in Spanish, saying it through the window, "Que carajo estás allí?"

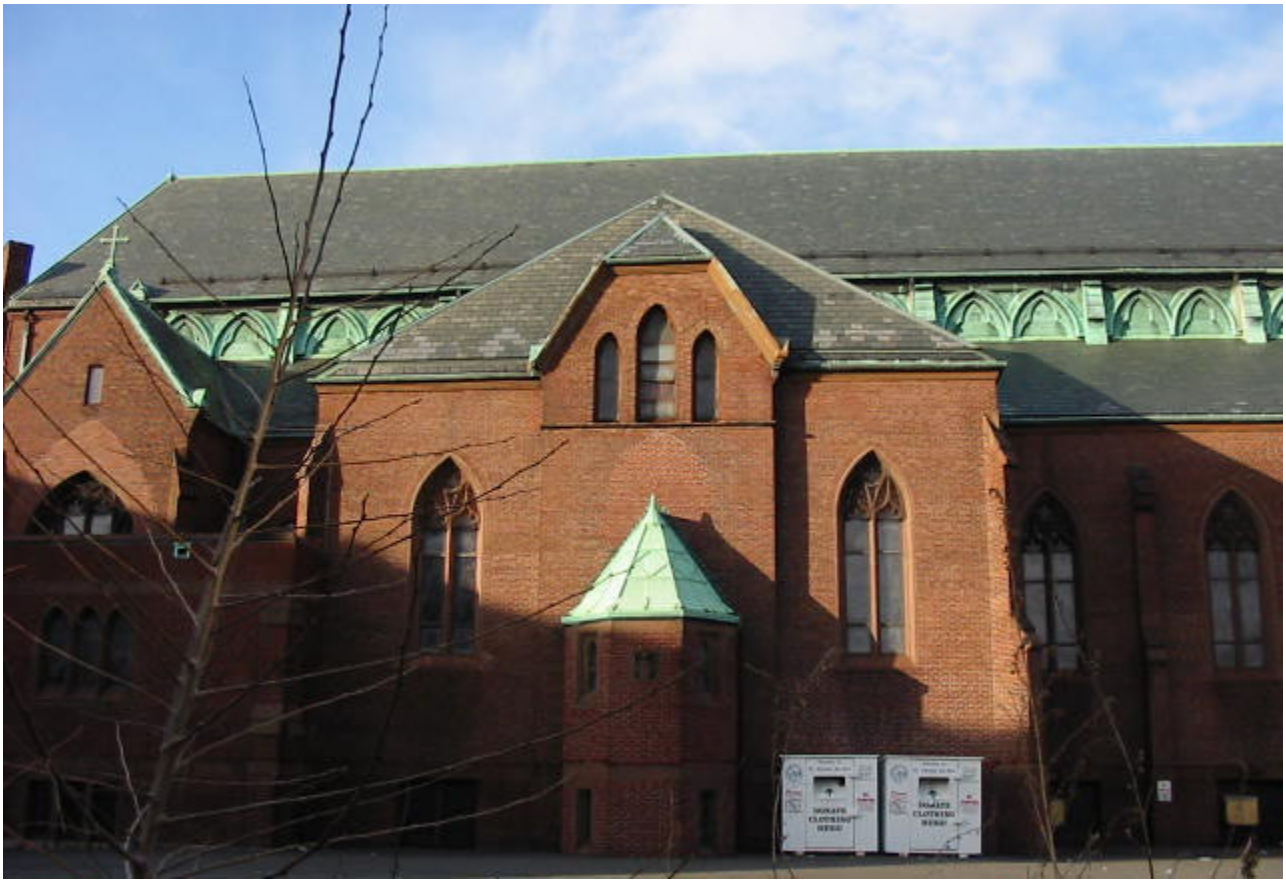
And also if you were doing something wrong and another parent saw you, it was okay for them to come to you and tell you, "I'm going to tell your mother," and we would respect them. – Dennis Benzán



Familia

Fé

Yo vengo aquí todos los domingos. Esta es mi iglesia. Esta es mi (se ríe) como se llama, esta es mi raíz. Aquí, porque yo comencé y … desde '62, yeah. Hace treinta y cuantos años, estoy aquí. Y ahora me mudé pero ya regreso. Pero, como se llama, mi raíces están aquí. – José Ortíz



Fé

Ambiente

We were affected by the whole hip-hop thing growing up in the Terrace… because the Terrace had one of the best break dancing groups the majority were Latinos... It all came from the streets; it all developed in the streets.
– Dennis Benzán

How do you define community? …I mean, I have my own community, which is my house … where my Salvadoran community... – Nelson Salazar

Ambiente

Juntos

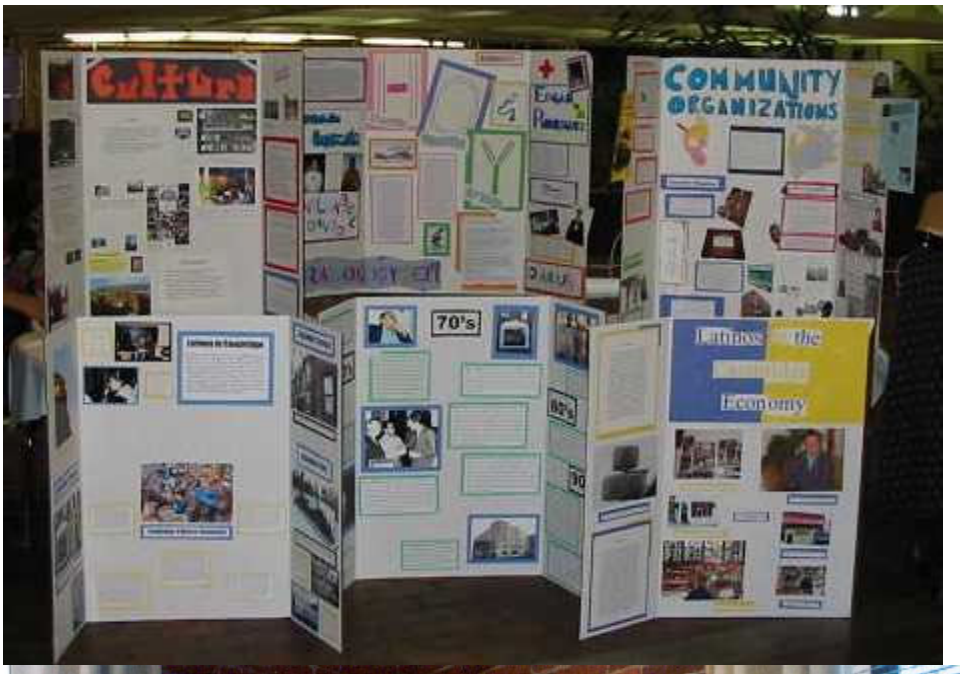
Cuando yo vine sí... allí... estaba la Columbia street, había muchos latinos en la Columbia. Eso le decían "el pueblo-", ah, les decían "el pueblo puertorriqueño" (se sonríe). Porque todos eran de Puerto Rico, todos eran de mi pueblo. Entonces... la Columbia y después...en la.. ¿como se llama?, se me olvida la calle... la River street, también. Y todos nos juntábamos en un parque, comenzábamos hablar, entonces, comenzábamos el equipo de jugar de béisbol... y todo lo que jugábamos de béisbol... vivíamos... veníamos...

Por ejemplo, la pronunciamos un equipo, venía otro equipo a jugar y estamos todo el rato, (se sonríe) jugando hasta la tarde. Y fue un tiempo muy, muy hermoso cuando nos reuníamos. Todo bien, todo bueno. – José Ortíz

[Staff commitment to our work is built from the base] fact that they are here, they are like me, even though we could be doing something completely different, we are here. – Elena Letona

Juntos

The Urban Borderlands Project



INTRODUCTION

Urban Borderlands Project Goals

The Urban Borderlands oral history project is a joint effort between undergraduates from Tufts University and high school students from Concilio Hispano's AHORA program of Cambridge Rindge and Latin School. The purpose of this project is to develop, through interviews and field research conducted by the students, a history of the Latino community of Cambridge, Massachusetts and to enhance the awareness and appreciation of its contributions to the city. To gain as comprehensive a picture of the community as possible, the students were divided into four different subject groups: history, business, social organizations, and culture.

Culture Focus

What is culture? Some would think of culture as high culture, restricted to theater and art and music. However, culture exists in the bedtime stories you tell your children, the way you make rice, the radio stations you listen to, and the things you do when everybody gets together for holidays. Culture is expressed in the way people live their daily lives.

While culture is a real and undeniable presence, it evades simple definition. Many elements contribute to culture. Demographics, such as age and gender; region; history; social values and a number of other factors contribute to the development of

the identity known as "culture". Furthermore, culture is a shared characteristic; it is the way a *people*, not an individual, generally interacts with their world. The concept of cultural community, designating exactly who is that *people*, is very complex. A culture can be shared by members of a political party, musicians, people from a certain city or region, people of a certain age, etc. So, what goes into culture and who culture includes can be ambiguous.

It would be limiting and inaccurate to try to describe *one* culture that encompasses all Latinos in Cambridge. For one thing, the members of the Cambridge Latino community come from many different cultural traditions themselves; based on city or region of origin, country of origin, religion, and so on. Besides background, the members of this community have such a wide variety of interests, pursuits and characteristics of their lives that they could not possibly all fit into one single cultural category. To avoid the under-representation that would be caused by trying to examine the "Culture" of the Cambridge Latino community, the Urban Borderlands Culture Group has focused on the cultural expression of that community; the ways in which members of the Latino community manifest their different and shared cultural identities.

Although culture is a complicated to define and discuss, it is nevertheless important to examine. Culture, or cultural expression, draws people together in activities where they can feel part of a community providing an outlet through which individuals can express and celebrate their ethnic identities. Shared cultural practices,

such as music or food or festival, link individuals by their commonalties and foster a sense of community. Those same cultural practices can at the same time enable an individual to affirm their personal identity and celebrate their history and values. Furthermore, cultural expressions such as sports or food or dance can serve as a vehicle through which the Latino community can interact with the larger community of Cambridge.

Document Aims

The purpose and intent of this document is to provide a multi-faceted, though by no means conclusive, description of the cultural expressions of the Latino community in Cambridge. This description would hopefully increase the awareness and appreciation of those cultural expressions, by both Latino and non-Latino readers from Cambridge and other areas. Like the cultural activities that Latinos share with the larger Cambridge community, we hope to provide a window into both the rich heritages of Latinos and new cultural expressions initiated by Latinos in Cambridge. Where possible we attempt to let the words of Latinos interviewed tell this story and hope most of all to inspire others to go back to the source of those words and ask the Latino community themselves.

Approach

In its investigation of the Latino community in Cambridge, the Culture Group focuses on six categories of cultural expression: religious practice, food, sports, growing up in Cambridge, music and dance, and interaction with the larger Cambridge community through education, activism, and festivals. Latinos interviewed raised such cultural expression and interaction as significant aspects of their life that was shared with others. We find these topics must fruitful when analyzed with respect to a common repertoire of themes that relate cultural expression to upbringing and heritage. The issues considered within each category include: attention to an individual's country of origin (*tierra*), the interpretation of that home country's culture (*raíces*), the way that culture is manifested in Cambridge, as well as the influence of other Latino or non-Latino cultures encountered in Cambridge[1] (*ambiente*), the personal background, experience and values of the individual (*familia* and *fé*[2]), and the fact that cultural expressions Latinos emphasized to us were characterized by people coming together (*juntos*).

The Culture Group recognizes the varied cultural traditions that come together in the Latino community of Cambridge and strives to recognize that rich diversity and avoid stereotypes. Elizabeth Ahsawullah came to Cambridge from Puerto Rico in the

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[1] This focus considers the ways in which one Latino culture can interact and overlap with other Latino cultures in terms of shared traditions. It also examines non-Latino interest in aspects of Latino culture, such as the recent increase in Latin-themed dance nights at clubs.

[2] *Fé* includes, but is not limited to, formal religious practices. Values and beliefs also constitute *fé*.

early 1970s and got involved in the Latino community, especially in mobilizing Latinos to vote. When she first arrived in Cambridge, Latinos were often not recognized as having come from different parts of the hemisphere; to many non-Latinos, "anybody who speaks Spanish was Puerto Rican". Ms. Ahsawullah elaborates that each Latino culture, from the preparation of food, to the way Spanish is spoken, is unique (Elizabeth Ahsawullah, interviewed by Radhika Thakkar, February 4, 2002). Both *tierra* and *raíces* are important in considering culture.

While *tierra* and country of origin play a significant role in an individual's cultural heritage, it is also important to consider *raíces*, an individual's background, taking into account his/her upbringing and personal experiences. For example, part of an individual's *raíces* is where and how he/she grew up. Angel Perez, who recently moved to Cambridge from Puerto Rico explains 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" (Angel Perez, interviewed by Rachel Long, March 11, 2002. Transcript). In light of these observations, the Culture Group reports on the cultural expressions of the Cambridge Latino community in general, but with an attention to the contributions of different Latino cultures and personal histories.

CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS

The data presented here incorporates the field research of the Culture Group as well as the Urban Borderlands project collectively.

Religious Expression

Religious practice, especially joint religious practice, creates a sense of community as well as an opportunity for cultural expression. Partially based on *raíces* (what religion one was raised in) and *fé* (what religion one has chosen for himself/herself), people come together, *juntos*, to worship in shared religious practices. This unification can lead to a sense of community. Since most religious practices leave some space for interpretation, such as music, the details of worship services often show cultural influences. One of these cultural influences is the language in which the service is conducted. The fact that those Latinos in Cambridge raised with Spanish as their first language can access worship services in their primary language is very important. Because spirituality and *fé* are so complex and personal, Spanish language worship that incorporates elements of Latin American culture can enable Latinos to better relate to these deeper issues.

The Culture Group's examination of religious expression of personal faith focuses predominantly on active participants in two churches, St. Mary's Catholic Church and Congregation Lion of Judah Evangelical Church. These two churches are important institutions in the cultural and community life of many Latinos in

Cambridge. Nevertheless, the Culture Group is well aware that there are a variety of other institutions and religious practices that are equally important to members of the Latino community in Cambridge. Also, there are Latinos that do not participate in any organized form of religious practice. The two churches focused on, St. Mary's Catholic Church and Congregation Lion of Judah, were chosen, in part, on the basis of significance to certain individuals that the Culture Group interviewed.

There are a number of churches in Cambridge and the surrounding area that offer services in Spanish, indicating a strong Latino audience for organized religion services. Spanish language worship helps provide important ties to cultural heritage, but can also be an important link to a local community that share language, place, and worship practices. It is this link – to family, to friends, and to strangers in the US – which Latinos who attended these churches spoke about in interviews. Worship by Latinos incorporated heritage (raíces) and took advantage of organized religious service (fé), but worship allowed participants to contribute to and draw strength from a whole community that shared these practices and the current link to Cambridge, Massachusetts.

SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Before there was actual building in which they could hold Spanish language mass, Catholic Latinos in Cambridge formed a community based, in part, on their shared language. As Roberto Santiago, a longtime resident of Puerto Rican descent, recalls:

> "So then those days, you know, we wanted to go to church. And the only Church around was in English. And sometimes we went in and people were looking at us, you know, like we was from space. So many people came to explain to us, 'I think you are in the wrong place. You have to maybe go to Boston.' So then as soon as we had a bigger group, we went to Boston to find a priest to come to Cambridge. But we could not find a place…. So finally, the years went by. Maybe '68, '69[3]. Then we had a priest who came to Boston…. So then we went to the… uhh… Riverside… by 3rd Street, Brookline on 3rd Street…. So then, we got the community – the community was Catholic, we went there." (Roberto Santiago, interviewed by Radhika Thakkar, March 9, 2002. Transcript)

Roberto Santiago goes on to explain that this religious community had to move from East Cambridge to North Cambridge and eventually to St. Mary's Catholic Church in Area 4. And there, at first, they only were allowed to use the basement, even for weddings. Now Latinos are welcomed to an well-attended noon Spanish mass in the main section of the church. The strength of this parish today is supported by statistics in the church newsletter which showed the collection from the Spanish masses significantly exceeded that of English language services (St. Mary's Catholic Church Newsletter, February-March 2002). The element of *juntos*, of people-based (versus building-based) community that characterized the founding

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[3] There were several conflicting reports on when Spanish language Mass began to be held at St. Mary's. It was suggested that the former Priest Father Chiance would be able to provide the best history, but we were not able to locate him for an interview.

population of St. Mary's Spanish-speaking parish continues through the history of the parish.

While many of St. Mary's Latino parishioners no longer live in Cambridge, interviewees emphasized that many return regularly to worship, maintaining the community. After the referendum ending rent control in 1994 and with the increasing cost of living in Cambridge, many Latino families have opted to move to surrounding towns[4]. Nevertheless, many parishioners living elsewhere continue to attend mass weekly and participate further in church activities maintaining that longstanding community. Longtime parishioner José Ortíz came to Cambridge from Puerto Rico in 1962 but has since moved to Malden. Discussing why he continues to return to St. Mary's Church, Mr. Ortíz says, "*Esta es mi iglesia…esta es mi raíz. Aquí, porque yo comencé…desde '62*" ("This is my church…this is my root. Here, because I started…since '62" – José Ortíz, interviewed by Brigid Brannigan, February 17, 2002. Transcript). María Bermudez, director of religious education and a longtime parishioner, explains that many who have left Cambridge return to the Church because it represents their first sense of community in the United States (María Bermudez, interviewed by Radhika Thakkar, February 17, 2002). St. Mary's Latino parish is an example of a community derived

[4] See History Group's *Evolution of the Latino Community in Cambridge* for a more detailed description of the end of rent control in Cambridge and its implications.

from personal relationships. People coming together, *juntos*, to share in religious practice creates a community that exists beyond physical spaces.

Worshipers at Congregation Lion of Judah Evangelical Church demonstrate similar loyalty to their community, not restricted to location or building. The history of the Congregation exemplifies this characteristic. Founded in 1982 in Cambridge, the Congregation Lion of Judah originally operated out of the First Central Baptist Church on Magazine St. In 1996, Congregation Lion of Judah moved to its own facility at 68 Northampton St. in Boston's South End, to offer "evangelical ministry and social service in the Boston metropolitan area" (Congregation Lion of Judah pamphlet, see Appendix). Despite the move to Boston, many Cambridge-based members continue to attend services at Congregation Lion of Judah and be active participants in church activities.

CHURCH COMMUNITY AS A SOCIAL SPHERE

This sense of community also fosters personal relationships and serves as a social outlet. Felix Perez says that most of the other immigrants he knows he met through St. Mary's church or already knew them from El Salvador (Felix Perez, interviewed by Ariana Flores, February 3, 2002). María Bermudez's 81 year old mother, Marta, relies on church as her one social place since she does not leave home much; there she sees her closest friends (Bermudez, interview). Reflecting on his experience at St. Mary's, Rafael Benzan, who arrived in Cambridge in 1961, says: "usually the church helped us with social activities…. Sometimes they had Bingo,

the lottery, they had dancing…[with] Hispanic music" (Rafael Benzán, interviewed by Seán Kennedy, February 16, 2002. Transcript). Some parishioners were attracted to St. Mary's for this sense of community and specifically for the activity that characterizes the parish.

Lina Aguirre moved to the Boston from Colombia in 1998. When she first moved to Cambridge a couple years ago, she became a member of St. Mary's church. She came upon the parish herself and liked the atmosphere and size of the parish (approximately 700 in the Spanish-speaking parish). In the past six months Lina has become more active in some of the church activities such as the Young Adults Group as well as teaching catechism (Lina Aguirre, interviewed by Brigid Brannigan, April 16, 2002).

CHURCH ACTIVITIES PROMOTE COMMUNITY

The activities sponsored by churches are another way of people coming together, *juntos*. In addition to the social contact surrounding worship services, churches often offer social activities such as youth programs, religious education classes, and festive events. These activities, whether through coordination or just attendance, offer the churchgoers an avenue for deeper integration into and more influence in the formation of church community.

Congregation Lion of Judah is a tight-knit community where newcomers are formally welcomed during the service and new faces are greeted by ushers and churchgoers alike. An observer notices that many congregants meet and know each

other. After services, many people stop and talk with one another (personal observation, Brigid Brannigan). There are also formal social and educational activities that unite church members.

In terms of Christian education, classes are offered about the Bible as well as the fundamentals of the Christian faith. In addition to these classes for adults, youth and children, Congregation Lion of Judah offers a summer Bible camp for children age four to twelve, instructing the "Word of God through musical activities and crafts" and culminating in a theatrical production. "Christian Click" youth ministry "involves the active leadership of young people and seeks to develop the members for spiritual maturity and academic excellence". Activities include a weekly worship service, Bible study and discussion as well as outings, retreats, and a regional conference during the summer. (Congregation Lion of Judah pamphlet)

Congregation Lion of Judah has a variety of ministry and fellowship groups for different demographics; youth, married couples, and women. Family groups, known as "cells", are small groups that gather weekly in various homes in the Boston area to promote fellowship, serve as a forum for Bible instruction and service. (Congregation Lion of Judah pamphlet)

In addition to these social and religious activities, Congregation Lion of Judah provides social and community services including legal services, counseling, prison outreach and higher education services. Congregation Lion of Judah cooperates with the Higher Education Information Center as a Church-based Higher Education

Resource Center; offering English as a second language classes, computer training, individual tutoring, career counseling and college preparation classes including SAT preparation. (Congregation Lion of Judah pamphlet)

St. Mary's Catholic Church also offers a variety of social and educational activities to its parish. The CCD religious education program serves grades kindergarten through eighth and enrolls approximately 300 students. María Bermudez, the director of the CCD program, highlights CCD classes and church-sponsored summer programs as contributors to a sense of community within the parish. These are ways for children to come together; children from various backgrounds are able to relate, for they have a common language and experience in the community (Bermudez, interview). Bible study classes are also offered. In addition to the Catholic education available through St. Mary's parish, the Parish has offered English language classes to the Latino community.

St. Mary's Spanish-speaking parish also supports certain fellowship groups. A young adults group, for ages 18 to 30, was just organized this past February with the aims of community service, involvement in the church, and fellowship. Community service involves visiting the sick and creating a youth program for twelve- to eighteen-year-olds. Members of the young adults group videotape the mass for television and read the liturgy at mass. To formally welcome the young adults group, several of the groups founding members put on a play based on the experiences of a Latino immigrant coming to the United States and the emotions and

challenges that often accompany that journey. Lina Aguirre noted that while many of the members of the young adults group, came from different *tierras* and different *raíces* (some having been born in the United States), nonetheless all could relate to the themes presented (Aguirre, interview). The shared practice of religious worship and the common language that it is conducted in brings Latinos of different cultures and backgrounds together and encourages the expression of cultural traditions.

CULTURAL EXPRESSION ACROSS NATIONALITIES AND TRADITIONS

The most obvious characteristic of Spanish language religious services is that they are conducted in Spanish. Because worshippers from regions as distant as Andean Peru and Puerto Rico share a common language (barring occasional vocabulary differences), services offered in Spanish end up bringing together a wide variety of Latino cultures. Furthermore, the community constructed provides an opportunity to share and combine cultural traditions.

María Bermudez, St. Mary's parishioner and director of religious education, explains that because St. Mary's was and is the only Spanish Catholic mass in Cambridge, it brings many diverse Latino cultures together (Bermudez, interview). While Spanish Caribbeans constituted the majority of the Spanish-speaking parish in the 1960s and 1970s, now a strong Central American influence is being felt, as well. For example Father Canavan drew a contrast between services at his previous parish in Lynn and St. Mary's. The former had a very specific Dominican orientation and St. Mary's has incorporated influences from several Central American countries. The

cultural expression of the Spanish mass at St. Mary's stems from both country-specific traditions as well as shared Latino traditions.

Religious traditions from different Latin American countries of origin are incorporated into the celebrations of St. Mary's parish. For example, the current priest presiding at the Spanish masses is Father Alonso Macías, who arrived at St. Mary's about six months ago from Baja California, Mexico. This is the first year that St. Mary's is formally celebrating the feast day of the Virgin of Guadalupe, Mexico's patron saint. Formerly, a Colombian priest conducted the Spanish mass and at that time, more influences from Colombian Catholic practice were celebrated such as feasts of relevant saints (Aguirre, interview). In addition to formal aspects of Catholic worship, some church activities provide an avenue for cultural expression.

Food often accompanies church social gatherings and represents the different cultures present in the church community. Lina Aguirre, a Colombian parishioner, has been exposed to Central American culinary traditions through her work as a catechist (religious educator). Often, her students will invite her to their home for dinner and she always accepts, "*nunca digo no*" ("I never say no" she says with a smile – Aguirre, interview). Through these meals, Lina has become familiar with Central American cuisines.

The food available at church social functions and festivals is a testament to the variety of cultures present in St. Mary's Spanish-speaking parish. At these functions, people can try new dishes and get to know the food of a different Latino culture. In

addition to food, music is an important element of cultural expression that comes out in the religious practice.

The music at St. Mary's Church reflects a Latino influence. Most English-language Catholic masses traditionally utilize organ music. However, instruments such as percussion instruments and guitar, as well as the rhythms they produce, are distinctive to the Spanish-language mass and its cultural background. The Latin American heritage, *raíces*, of the Spanish-speaking congregation and their religious practice are reflected in our research into Congregation Lion of Judah.

The majority of the members of Congregation Lion of Judah are of Latin American descent. The congregation "reflects the great cultural and socioeconomic diversity of South and Central American immigrants, as well as Caribbeans who have lived in the United States all or most of their lives. There are also Brazilian, Anglo and African-American members" (Congregation Lion of Judah pamphlet). This rich cultural makeup of the congregation lends itself to different cultural expressions within the service. For example, at one service, a preacher visiting from the Dominican Republic was invited to sing. Included in the songs he performed was a religious merengue (personal observation, Brigid Brannigan). Some congregation members accompanied songs with hand percussion instruments and musical portions of the service by and large involved the whole congregation. In such ways, religious practice offers worshippers opportunities to express their cultural traditions, be they distinct or shared.

OTHER RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

These institutions are not the only outlets for Latinos to express faith (fé); a number of other churches are important to the members of the Latino community, as well as a number of other religious practices. Sylvia Saavedra, director of Concilio Hispano comments that a number of Latinos in Cambridge worship at the Mormon temple near Harvard Square and discusses another church organization involving Latinos which held a national telethon drive. (Sylvia Saavedra, interviewed by John Keogh, March 26, 2002. Transcript).

Any attempt to discuss all the religious outlets of the Cambridge Latino community would inevitably be inadequate. However, the examples of St. Mary's Catholic Church and Congregation Lion of Judah demonstrate the vitality of Latino congregations and the role faith (fé) plays for Latino worshippers that participate in organized religious practice.

Church and other group religious practices create a sense of togetherness that extends beyond the physical establishment and is rooted in the connectedness felt by the members, *juntos*. The common primary language of Spanish shared by these religious communities is the starting point for sharing further cultural practices. Many different Latino cultures coming together to celebrate their faith (*fé*) creates an environment conducive to inter-cultural awareness and exchange. Religious and cultural traditions rooted in Latin American culture (*raíces* and *tierra*) are integrated into the services and are an important form of cultural expression for many Latinos.

Food

"If you want to know something about people, eat their food" (Ahsawullah, interview). The foods people eat are often determined by the environment, the *tierra*, in which they live and the historical influences on their culture. Because food is often the occasion or the accompaniment to social and family gatherings, it brings people together, *juntos*, and can be an important element in family traditions (*familia*). Food, like religious practice, can foster a sense of connection and is also an outlet for the expression of cultural traditions. One of the qualities that distinguish food from other categories considered here is the extent to which it serves as a catalyst for social interaction.

DIVERSITY OF LATINO CULINARY TRADITIONS

The wide variety in available Latino products in Cambridge represents both the many cultures and the many traditions that come together in Cambridge to form the Latino community. Because Latin America is so ecologically diverse, the produce from different regions can vary dramatically (*tierra*). The way individuals choose to prepare such ingredients can be related to their historical and cultural influences (*raíces*). As such, the traditional foods of the Dominican Republic can be quite different from the traditional foods of highland Mexico. Special ingredients and cultural application make each cuisine distinctive. It is thus instructive to look at how

Latinos obtain necessary ingredients and any changes the make to their diet in Cambridge.

AVAILABILITY OF LATIN AMERICAN PRODUCTS

When early Latinos settled in Cambridge, specialty products and staples from Latin America were often hard to come by. Some early residents mentioned going to Boston for specific groceries. José Ortíz recalls going to John's Supermarket[5] on Tremont St. in Boston to buy Latin food and household goods (José Ortíz, interview). Within Cambridge, Latin groceries were available if one knew where to go.

There were a few bodegas run by Latinos that supplied key staples. A few long-time Latino residents mentioned one store next to Harvard Street Park on Harvard Ave. near Prospect St. (Marie Deravil, interviewed by Seán Kennedy, February 5, 2002). Rafael Benzán was involved in founding Wild World Foods, an early specialty store on Prospect St. (R. Benzán, interview). Also, there was "la bodega de Juanito[6]" on Brookline St. off Central Square. Juan Cabrera, the Cuban owner of the store has since moved to Miami but now there are a number of specialty Latino markets (Bermudez, interview). Columbia Market and Brea Market (formerly

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[5] John's Supermarket disappeared when the South End, including Tremont St., experienced urban renewal. Latinos in Boston: Confronting Poverty, Building Community would provide more information on the changes in Villa Victoria during this time; see Appendix.

[6] Interviews with several early Latino residents regularly referred to this Bodega and the Latin Quarters above. As of 1985, the Latin Quarters club was upstairs from the Latin-O Restaurant, both run by Juan Cabrera. It is unknown when, or if, the bodega became a restaurant.

El Coloso) can be found along Columbia St and are just two of the smaller grocery stores specializing in Latino foods.

The 1994 Cambridge Community Development Council Department report "Supermarket Access in Cambridge" designated portions of Area 4 and the Cambridge Street as "underserved" based on proximity to markets, with Area 4 neighborhood also having the least families with access to a car. The subsequent closing of the Purity Supreme Supermarket in Central Square left virtually no supermarkets in the immediate vicinity of Area 4 neighborhood until the Star Market opened at University Park. One of the adaptations that some Latinos made was travelling to adjacent areas like Union Square, Somerville to handle major grocery shopping. Several interviewees indicated they continued to shop at DeMoula's Market Basket in Somerville today because they felt it had better prices and a good selection of produce.

The availability of specialty Latino products in the Cambridge area reflects the changing composition of the Cambridge Latino community. Since most early Latino residents of Cambridge were of Spanish Caribbean descent, the bodegas catered to those needs and stocked products necessary for Spanish Caribbean cooking. The arrival of Central and, later, South American immigrants to Cambridge, beginning in earnest in the 1980s, highlighted the Caribbean orientation of most markets which initially did not stock many maize-based products. Today, a variety of Latino products, encompassing the different regional traditions of Latin America, can

be found both in Latino grocery stores and supermarkets. Yucca, found in some Caribbean and South American cuisines, as well as corn flour and tortillas, more typical of Central American cuisines, is sold in the Cambridge area. While Central American and Caribbean foods tend to be more available (to a limited extent), Latinos of South American descent have commented that it is somewhat harder to find the ingredients of their culinary traditions. José Barriga, from Lima, Perú, explains that the cuisine of his coastal city of origin consists mostly of seafood and therefore he does not have too much trouble preparing Peruvian dishes like ceviche for himself. He does note that Andean Peruvians have a much harder time finding their traditional ingredients in the area (José Barriga, personal communication). Summer farmer's markets in Central Square also offer locally grown produce used in Latin American cooking (Personal Observation, Seán Kennedy). Sylvia Saavala reports this market finally allows her to obtain seasonal produce that is not imported from Chile, specifically shell beans which are sold at the market during the summer (Sylvia Saavala interviewed by Sarah Boyer, Cited from Crossroads: Stories of Central Square, pg. 258).

INTERACTION OF LATINO CULINARY TRADITIONS

Food is yet another space in which the different Latino cultures of the Cambridge community come together. As was mentioned with the variety of food available at church functions, food can serve both as a cultural representative and a

cultural diplomat; food affirms culture traditions and invites others to participate in those traditions by sampling it.

In adapting to the available products and produce in Cambridge, some Latinos have been introduced to and even adopted other Latin American food traditions. Corinne Varón, is from Lima, Peru and has been living in Cambridge since 1977. She says she has basically adopted Puerto Rican and Mexican food as her own and today only rarely does she prepare Peruvian food. Ms. Varón feels influenced by Central American and Mexican cultures and now identifies more with being Latina rather than being from a particular region (Corinne Varón, interviewed by Brigid Brannigan, April 8, 2002).

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ROLE OF MEALS

Food serves as a context for many gatherings. Evenings out on the town, barbecues and family dinners all revolve around food. Within the family shared meals can serve an important role in passing traditions directly from one generation to another. The customs associated with these gatherings are just as much a cultural expression as the type of food that is served.

The situation in which food is eaten has cultural bearing. For example, Lina Aguirre has noticed, through her catechist students, that many families are only able to eat dinner all together on Sundays because of schedule conflicts, such as working late. In contrast, Lina remembers eating both breakfast and dinner with her whole

family when she was in Colombia (Aguirre, interview). Besides family meals (*familia*), food is present at social gatherings.

Although soccer games are fundamentally a sporting event, they function as important social gatherings for many Latinos. Marcos García, league president, estimates that some 100 people attend any Sunday game of the Central American Soccer League. Whereas before, stemming from traditions in El Salvador (where Mr. García and many players are from), men were the only spectators at soccer games. Now, players and fans are bringing their wives and children (Marcos García, interviewed by Brigid Brannigan, April 24, 2002). Entrepreneurial women prepare Salvadoran foods such as pupusas, tacos, which they sell, along with sodas and water (José Pinto, personal communication). Food is present at other sports events, as well.

After home softball games, the two teams of the Roberto Santiago Softball League (RSSL), the Roberto Santiago softball team and the Coamo team, host a meal with the opposing team. The team invites the opposing team over for food and drinks at the coach's house. Wives and friends participate in the preparation of the food and the celebration that follows. There is music and dancing and dominoes. At Tomás Rivera's (coach of the Coamo team) house, he sometimes plays the congas and sings with his band. As in this case, food is the basis for a gathering that further includes the local community, beyond just players, in the celebration associated with the ballgame. The sporting event becomes a social gathering which incorporates the

community widely, incorporates multiple cultural traditions, and shares the celebration, win or lose, with the visiting community.

FOOD INTERACTS CULTURALLY WITH WIDER COMMUNITY

Food not only creates a space for social interaction and expression within Latino cultures, it can also open avenues for cultural communication between Latino and non-Latino cultures. Restaurants and caterers are easily accessible points of contact for non-Latinos with Latino foods. At public festivals, food is an easy and common way for a culture to be represented.

There are many Latino restaurants in Cambridge. Izzy's Restaurant and Sub Shop, serving *comidas criollas* (Puerto Rican food) and sandwiches, has become a virtual institution in Cambridge, especially within the Latino community (Bermudez, interview). On the corner of Harvard and Windsor St., Izzy's draws a diverse clientele, crossing ethnic, socioeconomic and age lines. Asked who comes into his restaurant, Mr. Maldonado replies, "Oh, in here, all kinds of people. From everywhere. Not only Spanish or black but all kinds of people; Japanese, Chinese, from India, Greek, all kinds of people. Italian, Brazilian…." (Israel "Izzy" Maldonado, interviewed by Rich Nightingale, February 11, 2002. Transcript). Izzy's attracts people from all over the Boston area as well as many school kids on their way home. In addition to attracting customers from different origins, Mr. Maldonado's staff includes Latinos from El Salvador, Honduras, Spain and Puerto Rico. Izzy's specialties offer a first taste of Puerto Rican culture to people who have never

experienced Puerto Rican cooking and allows others that do not cook Puerto Rican food to make it a regular part of their diet.

Catering is another means through which both Latinos and non-Latinos can become more familiar with the variety of Latino culinary traditions. In the case of catering, Latino foods reach even more people, some of who might not have necessarily tried that cuisine at home or in a restaurant.

Roberto Santiago indicated that the Latino Board Committee hosted a festival at MIT that was attended by a thousand people and catered by individuals from the community. A respondent to our questionnaire regarding quinceañeros celebrations replied that her mother and aunt catered her quinceañero.

Food plays an important role in public cultural festivals. Cambridge hosts a number of multicultural festivals. A visible and popular way to access/represent cultures is to feature the foods of those cultures. The Noche Latina celebration, sponsored by Concilio Hispano's AHORA program, at Cambridge Rindge and Latin High School features a variety of Latino foods donated by local restaurants.

Food is an important expression of cultural heritage because it reflects the roots (*raíces, tierra*) of Latin American cultures in addition to creating a basis for people to come together (*juntos*). Food practices of Latinos in Cambridge testify to the interaction of Latino cultures as well as the cultural mix and history of the Latino community.

Sports

"Es algo de nuestra cultura" ("It's something from our culture" – Garcia, interview). Sports offer an opportunity to build community around activities that represent part of cultural traditions. Whether formally organized or informal, sports bring people together. Often, it represents people's efforts to come together around things that are important to them. In Cambridge, there have been obstacles to organizing sports activities. However, community mobilization has not only overcome those obstacles, but the community has formed active sports leagues that continue Latin American traditions, while building ties within the community and beyond. Sports can allow players to embrace their ethnic identities and traditions as well as come into contact with other cultures and traditions. In competition with other teams, Cambridge sports organizations have forged ties with other communities in the area and beyond.

PEOPLE COME TOGETHER: Formal and Informal Sports Organizations

In Cambridge there is a history of people coming together informally to play sports. José Ortíz recalls Cambridge in the 1960s when many Puerto Ricans and Dominicans would get together to play baseball:

> *"Y todos nos juntábamos en un parque, comenzábamos hablar, entonces, comenzábamos el equipo de jugar béisbol… y todos los que jugábamos de béisbol…vivíamos…veníamos… Por ejemplo, la pronunciamos un equipo, venía otro a jugar y estamos todo el rato (se*

> *sonríe), jugando hasta la tarde.… nos formábamos a nosotros mismos. Bueno, puerta por puerta. Que '¿tú juegas béisbol?', '¿te gusta jugar béisbol?', 'sí', 'ya pues, te espero mañana en la cancha de Donnelly field, acá en la Cambridge St.', o 'te espero allí en la cancha de Santa María', y allí nos juntábamos. Y entonces nos formábamos todos un equipo…. Y fue un tiempo muy, muy hermoso cuando nos reuníamos. Todo bien, todo bueno."*
>
> ("And we all got together in a park, we started to talk, then we started a baseball team… and all of us that played baseball… we lived… we came… For example, we pronounced one group a team, another came to play and we were there for a while (smiles), playing until the afternoon…. we formed ourselves [into teams]. Well, door to door. It was 'do you play baseball?', 'do you like to play baseball?', 'yeah', 'alright then, I'll wait for you tomorrow at Donnelly field, here on Cambridge St.', or 'I'll see you there on St. Mary's field', and we got together there. And so we formed a team out of ourselves…. And it was a really, really beautiful time when we all got together. It was all good, all good." (José Ortíz, interview. Transcript)

Informal sports have continued through this day.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, when Dennis Benzán was growing up in Columbia Terrace, he and other kids used to play stickball in a nearby lot which would later become Columbia Park. When Columbia Park was built in the early 1980s, its basketball courts hosted some talented players (Dennis Benzán, interviewed by Ariana Flores, February 24, 2002). Today, neighborhood kids will tell you that there are still serious games at the park in the summer time (personal communication

with Andrew Hara). Julio Pabón no longer plays soccer in the Wellesley league he was once a part of, but now participates in pick-up scrimmages at Brighton's Cleveland Circle or in Cambridge at fields near Harvard (Julio Pabón, personal communication).

While informal sports continue to this day, Latinos participate in and have founded a number of formal sports organizations in Cambridge. In 1979, the Cambridge-based Roberto Santiago Softball League was formed. Today there are two men's teams -- the Roberto Santiago Softball team and the Coamo team (Carlos Ortíz, personal communication). In 1994, Marcos García helped found the Central American Soccer League (CASL), which now has twenty-eight teams from the Boston area (García, interview). CASL and the Latino-American Soccer League of Massachusetts (LIMAS) are two premier leagues associated with the Massachusetts State Soccer Association, Inc (Massachusetts State Soccer Association, Inc. web page). Participation in and organizing of formal and informal sports in Cambridge provide numerous examples of Latino community members taking important elements from their culture and coming together across backgrounds to share these cultural expressions.

OBSTACLES FACED BY THE LATINO SPORTS COMMUNITY

Despite the mobilization and energy of interested community members to organize sports, they have faced certain obstacles. For example, Roberto Santiago talks about discrimination in Cambridge during the late 1960s and early 1970s

affecting Latinos who simply wanted to gather to practice sports. Mr. Santiago and other Latinos would get together to play softball in the park but encountered resistance from Anglo kids there who did not want them to use the park (Santiago, interview). Dennis Benzán recalls the sports facilities at Harvard University and MIT were closed to the community: "I know when we would venture to places like MIT or Harvard – because we wanted to use their facilities, like the track or the gym, we encountered a lot of resistance" (Dennis Benzán, interview. Transcript). Today Cambridge has expanded available recreation space of which Latinos are major users, but there are logistical obstacles to obtaining this space.

Nelson Salazar previously ran a soccer league and comments on the challenges faced by those organizing soccer in Cambridge. First of all, there are not very many soccer fields in Cambridge (Nelson Salazar, personal communication). Our research indicates that currently there are four operating fields: three at Danehy Park (one is temporarily closed down) and one at Glacken Field. Kevin Clark, of Cambridge Parks and Recreation, explains that youth programs book about 70% of the space and it can be difficult for other teams to reserve fields (Kevin Clark, personal communication). Mr. Salazar recently started a youth league in Somerville because many children were not getting to play in existing leagues. He attributes this to limitations such as the necessity of registering children for programs as early as May in order to secure a spot to play in the fall (Salazar, personal communication). Despite the challenges to organizing and participating in sports leagues, Latinos in

Cambridge have created opportunities for community members of all ages and backgrounds to express their culture through sport.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE LATINO COMMUNITY

Concilio Hispano sponsored a women's softball league in the 1970s and 1980s (Carlos Ortíz, personal communication). In the 1970s, María Bermudez played volleyball and softball through the Concilio Hispano sports program. Concilio created a youth program that included a teen center with a gym and classrooms (Bermudez, interview). A youth sports center was established by Latinos at a building on the corner of Harvard St. and Prospect St. Now this facility houses the Cambridge-run Area 4 Youth Center, which offers after-school activities and sports. About 15 (of 39 students, total) Latino pre-teen and teen youth participate in the program (Area 4 Youth Center director, personal communication). The Area 4 Youth Center is an example of how Cambridge's diverse population has taken advantage of the outgrowth from Latino efforts to provide you activities to their youth.

AN AVENUE FOR CULTURAL EXPRESSION AND UNDERSTANDING

Sports are activities where players can celebrate their own ethnic identity and at the same time learn about other cultures. Sports can strengthen an already existing community as well as join communities separated geographically. For example, many teams will be comprised of individuals from the same country or even the same town. Giving a name such as Coamo to a softball team ties that team to the roots of

many of its players in Coamo, Puerto Rico. CASL soccer teams bear names like San Vicente or Chalatenango. Players give their team this name to celebrate their origins in these Salvadoran towns. "Ellos quieren identificarse [de] donde ellos vienen… porque ellos no quieren perder su identidad" ("They want to identify where they came from…because they do not want to lose their identity" - García, interview). In the Massachusetts State Soccer League, an open-age men's competitive league based in greater Boston, teams are often named according to ethnic identity. Names range from Boston Honduras to Blarney Stone Athletics to Boston Ethiopians (Massachusetts League web page). In addition to acknowledging one's heritage through a team name, Latinos can also embrace their ethnic identities by playing the sports most celebrated in their countries of origin.

While sports offer an opportunity to celebrate one's personal heritage, they also allow individuals to participate in a diverse community. Little league baseball, as Dennis Benzán remembers it, "brought together blacks, whites, all of the other ethnicities" (Dennis Benzán, interview. Transcript). The Roberto Santiago Softball League has Latino players of Cuban, Guatemalan, Puerto Rican and Dominican heritage (Carlos Ortíz, personal communication). Marcos García mentions the variety of nationalities that participate in the Central American Soccer League, ranging from Guatemalan to Cape Verdean, from Mexican to Brazilian, from Honduran to Salvadoran. Part of the goal of the league is to diminish racial discrimination and by introducing players to different ethnicities and cultures in a supportive environment.

The league's materials state, in English, "All are welcome to play soccer" (García, interview). Speaking of the diversity of the league, Mr. García reflects: "*Aprendemos de otras culturas y nos ayuda a enriquecer… por eso, es que… que nosotros estamos acá, en este país, pienso que hace… muy rica la vida en este país, muy rica en términos de tradiciones y cultura…por que nos juntamos, verdad*" ("We learn from other cultures and it helps to enrich ourselves…that's why, it's that… we are here, in this country, [and] I think that makes…life rich in this country, very rich in terms of traditions and culture… because we all come together, no?" -- García, interview). In addition to building community across ethnic lines, Cambridge sports activities also build connections to other Latino communities.

For eight or nine years in the 1970s and 1980s, Latino families in Columbia Terrace hosted Puerto Rican marathoners. In this instance, sports serves as a way of linking the Cambridge Latino community with the island Puerto Rican community. Dennis Benzán mentions a "proud sense of culture", when discussing the practice of hosting Puerto Ricans who were running in the Boston Marathon (Dennis Benzán, interview. Transcript). Roberto Santiago of Concilio Hispano met with the marathoners' organizer in Coamo, Puerto Rico. The marathoners had been coming for years but were staying in hotels, which was not working out quite right. So, Mr. Santiago and the island-based organizer initiated the process and Columbia Terrace community came together to welcome and house the marathon runners (Santiago,

interview). The Latino community involved the larger Cambridge community, having Mayor Vellucci supply a bus:

> "…We would load a couple of school buses in front of the Terrace, and we would all travel to the airport. We would wait for the marathoners to come, and they would come and share a couple days with us. We would spit them up between families. I recall we had one or two marathon runners in our house…. And we would all go to the marathon and cheer them on. It was the kind of thing that obviously made you feel proud about, again, being Latino." (Dennis Benzán, interview. Transcript)

Through sports, the Cambridge Latino community not only strengthened ties to Latinos from Puerto Rico but also to Latinos in other areas around Boston.

SPORTS LINK CAMBRIDGE LATINO COMMUNITY WITH OTHER LATINO COMMUNITIES

Both through formal sports competitions with other towns as well as informal festivities, the Latino Cambridge community interacts and connects with other Latino communities. An annual Hispanic[7] Festival was held in Columbia Park, starting around 1985 and continuing for as many as ten years. Part of the Festival was a short marathon. Runners would start in Villa Victoria, a largely Latino community in Boston, and run back to Cambridge (Dennis Benzán, interview). Johnny Ruiz, who won the WBA heavyweight title in 2001, grew up in Chelsea. His signed photograph

hangs on the wall of Izzy's Restaurant in Cambridge. Izzy Maldonado, owner of the Puerto Rican restaurant, explains that Johnny Ruiz, as well as other famous Latino athletes like Jose Conseco and Juan Gonzalez, have come into his restaurant a couple of times (Maldonado, interview). Sports have linked the Cambridge Latino community to other Latino communities through competition, as well as pride in the world-class accomplishments of sports heroes who share a common heritage.

Competitions organized by Latinos have linked teams in Cambridge with teams from Lowell, with teams from New York, with teams from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. Carlos Ortíz and Tomás Rivera are the coaches of the Roberto Santiago softball team and the Coamo team, respectively. The teams alternate home and away games -- while one of the teams plays an away game outside Cambridge, the other plays a home game at either Hoyt field or at Donnelly Field. The teams from the Roberto Santiago Softball League (RSSL) play Latino teams from Lowell, Springfield, Brockton, New York, and beyond. Tomás Rivera explains that personal networks are used to organize games – people associated with the league use their contacts in other towns to arrange games (Tomás Rivera, personal communication). Connections such as these are strengthened via post-game activities where the two communities collaborate to celebrate regardless of the game's outcome.

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[7] This was commonly referred to as the "Latino Festival" by interviewees, but was recorded in newspapers and fliers as the "Hispanic Festival" and that terminology has been used in this document.

After home games, RSSL teams host the visiting team, either at Mr. Ortíz's home or at Mr. Rivera's. Wives of players provide food and there is drink and music. Sometimes, Mr. Rivera plays the congas and sings with his band. Some participants play dominoes. Fundraisers for the teams include raffles and monthly dances held at the Veterans of Foreign Wars post on Green Street. Part of the funds raised at these events goes toward sending the winning team to Puerto Rico to play a team there (Rivera and Carlos Ortíz, personal communication). This tradition continues from the time when José Ortíz played: "*Y después cuando, es que, él que quedaba campeón, se iba, por ejemplo, si era dominicano, se iban a Santo Domingo. Si era puertorriquenño, van a Puerto Rico para jugar con el mejor equipo que hubiera en Puerto Rico*" ("And then, it's that, the team that was champion, went, for example, if the team were Dominican, they went to Santo Domingo. If it were Puerto Rican, they go to Puerto Rico to play the best team that there would be in Puerto Rico" – José Ortíz, interview. Transcript). In these multiple ways, sports link the Cambridge Latino community with other Latino communities in the Boston area and beyond.

The history of sports in the Cambridge Latino community mirrors some of the struggles faced by the community in general, as well as some of the initiative and internal mobilization to overcome those challenges. People come together, *juntos*, to play or watch sports that are culturally related to their Latino roots (raíces) or are evidence of their cultural experiences in Cambridge (*ambiente*). Social occasions develop out of sporting events and involve the community widely. These occasions

allow individuals across communities to celebrate common cultural traditions. Sports are an example of Latinos proudly upholding cultural traditions and celebrating their identity, while organizing within their local community to bring individuals from different backgrounds together in cultural expression.

Latino Family Traditions and Generations in Cambridge

The majority of first-generation Latinos interviewed for this project had to leave their family behind when they moved to the United States. However, with early residents interviewed and many of those who came in the 1980s, relatives and immediate family members already living in Cambridge strongly influenced their decision to specifically come to Cambridge. Elizabeth Ahsawullah, José Ortíz, Filipe Vaquerano[8], and Izzy Maldonado all mentioned siblings that proceeded them. Other interviewees had siblings and even parents that followed them to Cambridge. Roberto Santiago suggested that the Puerto Rican community during the 1960s consisted of only a few nuclear families and a large community of "cousins" whose presence had drawn other cousins. When it came to organizing these family ties played a strong role and helped shape the community.

> It was in the 1969-70. You will see most of these letters start in 1970; these documentations. We, in the community, put a committee together. And they elected me president. And then my cousin vice president, and then my other cousin! (…laughter). You know family.

[8] Mr. Vaquerano teaches in Cambridge, but has not lived here. Family in Chelsea influenced his decision to move there and he has also lived in Somerville.

> All these people start to come from Jayuya, and then you have all these…and then people got married, and then you have a community! (Roberto Santiago, interview. Transcript)

Thus family (*familia*) ties were the starting point for new roots (*raíces*) in Cambridge, furthered when individuals married and started families. Family also provided a tie to ethnic identity with gatherings serving as an opportunity to continue traditions, and the arrival and departure of relatives facilitating interaction with the changing cultures of origin countries (*tierra*).

New Roots in Cambridge: The Latino Family

Starting a family in Cambridge was a significant event for many Latinos interviewed. In addition to the effect of raising a child on lifestyle and finances, parents had to consider the influence of the environment (*ambiente*) on children being raised in Cambridge. Raising their family brought Latinos in touch with the larger Cambridge society in a way that working at a job alone did not. It is significant and no accident that Cambridge today has programs citywide that assist both students and parents take advantage of opportunities for the second-generation, but also serve a role in maintaining and celebrating cultural roots. The Latino community, which faced the challenges of raising children in Cambridge, played the major role in initiating new programs and revamping existing services to youth in Cambridge.

In some cases Latinos decided to leave Cambridge in order to raise their children in a different environment. Rafael Benzán, an early Dominican resident, moved his

family to Malden and schooled his children in parochial schools. In interviews individuals indicated that some families from the early Latino community may have returned to Puerto Rico or the Dominican Republic in order to raise their children closer to their family roots.

However, several Latinos interviewed indicated that these processes of raising a family and interacting with Cambridge also brought them closer to their traditional culture. Corrine Varón and the Perez parents both expressed a feeling of stronger ties to their own cultures and also some sense of pan-Latino identity, after having settled in Cambridge and started to raise their family. Roberto Santiago mentioned that his children's rediscovery of traditional culture while in high school required their family to cook traditional meals more often. Raising a family in Cambridge required parents to interact with other cultures in Cambridge, but many interviewees felt the process brought them closer to their roots and served to plant those roots (raíces) permanently in the Boston area.

The point where Latinos begin raising a family is a turning point that requires they interact with Cambridge itself differently and consciously choose whether they will, or could, raise their family in Cambridge. To date, those Latinos that stayed in Cambridge, and the ways their children came in touch with both local and traditional cultures, have continued to influence the cultural makeup of the Cambridge Latino Community. This section looks at the role of the family in Cambridge, programs that

support raising a Latino family in Cambridge, and cultural expression of the second-generation.

FAMILY ROOTS AND SECOND-GENERATION LATINOS

Dennis Benzán recalled that many Puerto Rican children used to return to the island during the summer to stay with relatives. Interaction with family such as visits like these or with members who later moved to Cambridge played an important role exposing Latinos growing up in Cambridge to cultural traditions. However, even for families that were able to travel back to the parent's country of origin, these family roots were not developed as they might be traditionally.

José Massó in his lecture *Raíces Latinas: A Look at Latin Music* emphasized a central role for the grandmother, drawing on his own experiences and playing the song *Abuelita* by Hector Lavoe and Willie Colon; the grandmother, in that tradition, embodied the root where individual and tradition were joined. In most cases, the grandmother(s) for Latino families in Cambridge was (were) far away, even for those who could travel to their homeland easily, and was unable to centrally root these new satellite families, now best connected through cousins. In order to understand the role of family traditions we asked Latinos how the role of family in Cambridge differed from their home country and investigated how second-generation Latinos developed their sense of cultural identity in Cambridge.

Interviews highlighted three significant changes to family traditions. There were modifications to the role of the extended family in day-to-day life in Cambridge. The

second-generation sometimes learned to embrace their traditional culture through interaction with means outside the family root system. Families came together in Cambridge around providing the second-generation opportunities their parents did not have. However, taking advantage of those opportunities often meant moving away from the family. Family ties remained very important for the Latinos we interviewed in Cambridge; however, it cannot be assumed that family continued to root individual and tradition in one place like in the song *Abuelita*.

LATINOS REPORT CHANGES TO FAMILY ROLE

In many origin countries the family played a central role in daily routine. Filipe Vaquerano and Lina Aguirre both indicated that their families ate together so frequently in their home countries that such gatherings had almost been taken for granted. Other interviewees indicated such gatherings would regularly include individuals outside the nuclear family, bringing children in regular contact with aunts, uncles, and grandparents. These gatherings followed an informal, but steady schedule, with family members working similar shifts and hours. As previously noted, existing family already settled in Cambridge was a significant factor which drew Latinos there. However, in Cambridge, interviewees recounted that even siblings living together did not regularly eat meals together because of different work schedules. Some of these modifications extended to Latinos who raised their family in Cambridge where parents had to make choices between the hours they worked and spending more time raising their family.

Our limited survey of current Latino high school students indicated their nuclear families rarely eat together. This included a mother and daughter that lived together, but who ate separate meals at different hours. This was a change from reports by earlier Latino families; Dennis Benzán recalled mothers along Columbia Street calling out the window nightly to bring their children in to eat dinner as a family. This trend was further supported by the interview with Lina Aguirre whose catechist students, she suggested, only found time to eat as a family on Sundays. In both earlier and current reports, the extended family would only eat together on a special day such as Sunday or holidays. While Cambridge provided opportunities for Latino youth and many parents chose to raise their family there, maintenance of family traditions were sometimes relegated to a lessor position compared to the practical necessities required to provide for life in Cambridge.

The Second-generation Discovers its own Roots

Not only did large distances separate families from the root of tradition grandparents represented, but also the struggle to succeed and forge a new life in Cambridge has made it more difficult to share both traditional and new experiences between family members. Family (*familia*) provides the most direct link with cultural traditions (*tierra*), but the manner in which second-generation Latinos come to use and update those traditions (*raíces*) is significantly affected by the environment surrounding them. Our research indicated these traditions were often updated via new roots formed through interaction with cultural expression outside the family.

Interviews with Roberto Santiago and Dennis Benzán, respectively, discuss the second-generation showing cognizance of family tradition in the house by communicating with family members in Spanish and displayed in the respect shown by the second-generation to their parents. However, each interviewee opines that this second-generation did not fully embrace their culture until their traditional roots became part of their life outside the household too. Roberto Santiago's children developed their appreciation for cultural traditions through interaction with their friends in high school. Dennis Benzán had difficulty reconciling his combined Dominican and Puerto Rican roots – the union of mother and father in his case was not fully accepted by some in the community because of their different ethnic backgrounds. It was at university that Dennis was able to study the history of both countries and fully embrace the unity of both traditions that he embodied. Today Dennis is able to draw strength from both these traditions.

The family in Cambridge introduced second-generation Latinos to traditional culture and provided their basic tools of cultural expression such as language and food. The roots (*raíces*) of a second-generation Latino do incorporate traditions drawing on their parent's experiences. However, traditional roots (*tierra*) were sometimes accessed and fortified through new traditions established in the United States outside the family (*ambiente*).

MEMBERS OF SECOND-GENERATION THAT TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OPPORTUNITY INTERACT WITH INFLUENCES OUTSIDE THE FAMILY

Schooling was an oft-mentioned priority for Latinos raising a family in the United States; it was expressed in that a university education in particular offers members of the second-generation opportunities not available to their parents. A family would come together to ensure their children the chance of a university education, but watching children move out to a dorm at 18 years old is a break from tradition. Seemore Johnson, a Latino from Costa Rica who teaches in Cambridge, could not understand his cousin from Dorchester moving from the family home to a dorm at Tufts University[9]. In Cambridge, taking advantage of opportunity sometimes meant moving away from the family during what were still formative years.

University experiences served to further introduce the second-generation to additional cultural experiences, including new interaction with aspects of their own ethnic background that they may have been shielded from living at home. Roberto Santiago told a story of a Puerto Rican college student joining members of the community for a beer in a working-class bar and getting ignored by the waiter. The

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[9] In traditional Criollo culture children would have lived at home until they got married and multiple interviewees commented about this. However, we must note that this tradition has been modified at least in those Latin American countries that have experienced modern wars, or significant political or economic dislocation. Cuban children for example both left home to participate in the Cuban Revolution's education campaign and some sent their children alone to live in the United States during "Operation Peter Pan." In Central and South American countries, military recruiting, violence, and economic dislocation have all served to separate families.

student was outraged and he could not fathom how this might have been a regular occurrence for other Latinos. Roberto Santiago felt such experiences served to teach future professionals[10] true lessons they would need to provide professional services to the community, as they introduced them to what life was truly like for members of the community. "When you come to community that's the real [learning]… I encourage young people to volunteer… because it's a real way to learn."

Kristin Morales, a Tufts University student echoed these sentiments when asked about her experience organizing volunteer activities within the Latino community. Ms. Morales said the Hermanas volunteered in Cambridge and Somerville "to offer cultural education to the community, create a sense of community, and encourage networking." While bringing their experiences to the community, the Hermanas[11] of Alpha Rho Lambda Sorority ended up receiving significant benefits in return. (Personal communication with Seán Kennedy).

Past activities arranged by the Hermanas included tutoring students, such as those in the AHORA program, and performing during Noche Latina at Cambridge Rindge and Latin School. Although tutoring was only one of many activities Hermanas conducted within the community, Kristin's personal experience (*ambiente*) tutoring has inspired her to consider a career in teaching, possibly becoming a

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[10] Mr. Santiago made general references to lawyer or doctor for emphasis, but what the student was studying was not clear. The student was the son of an important Puerto Rican politician.
[11] Members of the sorority, the Hermanas of Beta Chapter are members of Alpha Rho from Boston area Universities.

permanent member of a community (*raíces*) such as the one we studied in Cambridge.

The children of several Latino business owners interviewed work in the family business; however, even in these cases it was not obvious the parent considered that to be the best opportunity available to their children. Several of these children with their parents' encouragement had also studied or otherwise lived outside the community, before returning to work in the family business.

Lastly, our research came into contact with a number of recent residents that had been university-educated in Latin American countries. Many of these individuals emigrated without the family and ethnic ties in Cambridge that earlier residents described. In some cases these individuals accessed existing social networks by interacting directly with the existing Cambridge Latino community. Examples included participation the St. Mary's Parish and the Pan-American Society of New England (PASNE), which also draws second-generation Latinos from the community. These individuals brought their own family and ethnic traditions directly from Latin American countries, sharing those roots with the community, but they were also influenced by Latino cultural expressions and traditions established in Cambridge.

Although families provided access to traditional culture and fostered opportunity for young Latinos, taking advantage of the environment in Cambridge often required adapting those traditions and the creation of one's own roots (*raíces*) involving influences from outside the family. Young Latinos taking advantage of opportunity,

whether they came from Cambridge or pursued that opportunity there incorporated elements into their personal roots (*raíces*) accessed outside the traditional family structure. Latinos that returned to work in the community or similar communities were influenced not only by their upbringing (familia), but also personal interaction with their culture (ambiente) outside the household.

GROWING UP IN CAMBRIDGE: Further Investigation into Cultural Identity and Family Life for Young Latinos

In researching the Latino community in Cambridge it became clear that we could not assume a static role for family across the whole community. In particular while family provided a starting point for new community and helped tie one to ethnic traditions, its role was being changed over time by other factors. Those include changes in housing and community organizing, occupational demands on parents, and the new roots sown by the second-generation.

Interviews with early residents indicated that despite moving into a tightly knit community oriented around family ties, settling in Cambridge required modification of family and cultural traditions. The Urban Borderlands investigation suggests that the Latino community today is more diverse ethnically and professionally, and it is more spread out across the city, than the early community. The sections that follow attempt to further test the prior conclusions regarding individual roots (*raíces*) with additional research on young Latinos in the community today.

Latino high-school students from Councilio Hispano's AHORA program were active participants in this research and, with their assistance, we investigated several aspects of family life from the perspective of second-generation Latinos.

Three aspects related to growing up in Cambridge were pursued in our research. The first is the evolution of community-initiated educational and cultural development programs for young Latinos, such as AHORA - a program run by Concilio Hispano[12] for high school students. We discuss non-Latino cross-cultural influences and this generation. We present data gleaned from the second-generation about quinceañero[13] coming-of-age celebrations and regular family gatherings over meals.

PROGRAMS FOR LATINOS GROWING UP IN CAMBRIDGE

The early residents of Columbia Terrace described a tight community where neighbors knew each other and that featured strong family bonds among the community members. These characteristics of the community proved important to finding jobs and housing for new residents, securing rights for the community, and through these ties community members were able to look out each other's children. Family ties and traditions helped many second-generation Latinos succeed in school, professions, and other personal achievements.

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[12] Concilio Hispano offers a variety of support programs for Latino Youth and parents, we focus on AHORA as it joins cultural activities with efforts to improve academic success of Latinos in Cambridge.

There were, however, pressures on young Latinos from negative forces outside this network in Cambridge. Crime and street drugs had a heavy presence in Area 4 where many community members we interviewed settled. If you were Latino the nearby Kennedy middle school might automatically have placed you, without consideration to skill, only ethnic background, into programs that focused on English-language assimilation. Such programs neglected Spanish language training and cultural development, as well as non-humanities disciplines such as sciences and math.

In interviews, long-time residents presented examples where the guidance counselors at the high school had discouraged Latino students from specific career paths. Several also mentioned that a "bilingual" counselor in the Cambridge Rindge and Latin (CRLS) bilingual program would have been someone who spoke some Spanish, but probably came from a different cultural background, such as one counselor who was an Italian-American. Dropout rates of Latino students at CRLS in the early 1990s were alarming to many in the community, likely around 9%[14]. The school system was not providing a complete education to the whole community and it

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[13] We choose to refer to the celebration using the masculine form, although the celebrant in all cases was a quinceañera, or 15-year old woman.

[14] Antionette Basualdo from Concilio Hispano indicated that the dropout rate has dropped 67% since the AHORA program started to its current 2-3% rate. Those numbers were extrapolated to come up with this approximate number. As we went to press an article by Annery Miranda in the AHORA newsletter *Why No*t, quotes Ms. Basualdo that the rate was 8% in 1991, 3% in 1995, and 2.1% in 1998. Although others such as Dennis Benzán have suggested the number might have been higher and getting Latinos a high school education was still problematic. Dennis stated in a presentation that 70% of Latinos at the Kennedy school failed MCAS in recent years.

was up to the family to provide the support that was not available in the school system.

Trying to provide for a family in Cambridge kept many parents out of the household for long hours, making it difficult to help children with their studies. Further these hours and cultural barriers made it difficult for parents to meet with teachers. Despite broad educational opportunities available to young Latinos in Cambridge, it was not easy for Latino parents to ensure a good education for their children.

The environment (*ambiente*) of Cambridge influenced the cultural expression of second-generation members of Cambridge's early Latino community. Some Columbia Terrace residents took up breakdancing, incorporating the hip-hop movement of the street into their cultural expression. But this street influence also led some to become involved in street drugs and crime (Dennis Benzán, interview, paraphrased).

It was up to parents to recognize negative influences and, if they could, remove their children from the situation. For parents working multiple jobs or single-parent families, ensuring their children took advantage of the positive aspects of the school system and city environment, but avoided the negative influences present on the street and in the education system, was difficult to assure. Parents bore the bulk of the responsibility for ensuring their children's success, assisted in the most part solely by neighbors and family members.

For young Latinos their family provided motivation for them to succeed, as well as a way to access traditional culture. However, for the early community, success in school meant assimilation into US English-language studies and the institutions supporting this did not respect traditional culture. Not all parents, likewise, might have realized the full significance that their children were growing up in a different society and sometimes resisted their child's adoption of local cultural expressions. Growing up in Cambridge offered young Latinos opportunities to succeed and guidance from parents was essential, but providing for these non-fiscal needs in a bewildering new society was difficult even for the most supportive and active Latino parents. Young Latinos thus bore significant responsibility to manage these different influences and expectations.

YOUNG LATINOS HAVE TO BRIDGE CULTURES

Young Latinos bore significant responsibility to facilitate interaction between their families and the larger Cambridge community. Success meant satisfying these multiple influences separately, leaving the individual which joined these influences feeling alone sometimes. Individuals who successfully incorporated and enjoyed each of these influences, such as Dennis Benzán, are successful and they express significant pride in their upbringing. However, even for Mr. Benzán, the reconciliation of personal identity did not come until after he went to university. The street may have been attractive to some young Latinos because it was one place

where it was comfortable to express individuality, to bring together many influences, instead of having to satisfy those, sometimes conflicting, influences individually.

Family members continue to play an important role in motivating children to succeed and take advantage of opportunities provided to them. However, the Latino community recognized the challenges the environment presented to both parents and children in Cambridge. It initiated programs that shift the burden of bridging cultures from the individual child to a group facing such issues together guided by counselors. These systems support parents to interact with the school system and ultimately provide their children with a good education in an unfamiliar environment. These programs also provide a place, away from the street, where mixed cultural expression can be practices and celebrated.

AN INTRODUCTION TO PROGRAMS SUPPORTING YOUNG LATINOS

These programs respect the student's traditional roots, as well as cultural influences of Cambridge and promote successful students that take advantage of their culture and the cultures around them. Latino students are able to develop culturally and academically while incorporating bicultural expressions, with this process occurring in school and in after-school programs instead of on the street.

These programs also assist parents by playing a role somewhat akin to a cultural translator – they know how the school system works and understand the influences of other US cultures, likewise respecting the importance of ethnic tradition. The programs have the ability and are scheduled to allow comfortable

communication with both parent and teachers, facilitating parental involvement in their children's development. Alma Miranda for instance looks forward to events such as Noche Latina, a bilingual event hosted by the AHORA program, as an opportunity to further understand and gain confidence in her daughter Annery's educational experience (Alma Miranda, interview, paraphrased). Noche Latina also serves as a celebration of Latino culture within the school system. These programs for young Latinos help parents understand and respect their children's cultural and academic development, as well as introducing the teachers and deans of the high school to Latino cultures.

These programs facilitate interaction among the cultural influences on young Latinos in a way that reduce conflict and frustration. They focus on development of the successful individual who joins these multiple traditions, respecting all cultural influences, instead of favoring particular ones to the exclusion of others. By bringing together (*juntos*) the individuals and expressions that influence Latino students, bicultural programs offer a way for Latino families to come together with the larger Cambridge community (*ambiente)* in advocating success for the second-generation.

PROGRAMS HELP LATINO STUDENTS SUCCEED, WHILE MAINTAINING THEIR CULTURE

Interviews with current parents recounted experiences with the larger population of Cambridge and the education system that were more positive than those recalled by early residents. A series of programs around the schools that were

initiated by the Latino community now respect a student's culture and provide support to overall academic development, watching out for signs of students who need additional support to succeed. This improvement and an embrace of ethnic and racial diversity by a large portion of Cambridge's residents today, has led parents to recount positive experiences such as that of Corrine Varón.

Ms. Varón thinks that the school system has helped her "daughter maintain her heritage, language and culture" and has helped Ms. Varón celebrate who she is. When she was working in Boston, it was more about assimilation and how you can hide who you are. But Cambridge says, " 'hey, who you are is really great'; people celebrate it, there are a lot of Americans who speak Spanish and celebrate your culture." (Corrine Varón, personal communication)

SUPPORTING BICULTURAL STUDENTS: Programs that encourage interaction with multiple cultural traditions

Ms. Varón works in the AMIGOS program, a Cambridge City bilingual education program that emphasizes instruction in both English and Spanish equally. This program is available to native English speakers, of Latino and other descent, and Spanish speakers.

AMIGOS strives to establish not just English language facility, but rather bilingual proficiency. AMIGOS considers art, drama, and language as complementary factors to academic development; thus cultural expression is a strong component of the program.

Centro Presente's Pintamos Nuestro Mundo (We Paint Our World) is a program offering after-school arts and leadership activities to girls and boys, ages eleven to fourteen. The four main objectives of the program are to "provide an in-depth art experience, cultivate civic participation, promote positive cultural and personal understanding, and [to] have fun" (Centro Presente pamphlet). The students work on a public art project of their choice, "rooted in some kind of collective experience that the kids have" (Elena Letona). The teaching draws on art created by Latino and Latin American artists, but the result is something local that all the students can relate to. Pintamos Nuestro Mundo brings together students from a variety of Latino cultures whose cultural traditions are also shaped by their experience of living in Cambridge.

SUCCESS WITH THE AHORA PROGRAM: Bilingual and Bicultural Expression

At the Cambridge Rindge and Latin School (CRLS), Cambridge's high school, the AHORA program has played a role in reducing the number of Latino students dropping out of high school[15]. However, Nelson Salazar, a former AHORA coordinator, felt this program was ineffective for Latinos and viewed as belligerent toward the system by CRLS administrators in the mid-1990s. He believes that efforts initiated to encourage cultural expression by Latino students helped turn the program

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[15] There are a number of unique factors to CRLS that are worth studying, going back to its inception. There have been significant recent changes as an attempt to make education more uniform across students from different backgrounds. However, those changes, such as the revamping of the "House

around so that it was effective for students and in the eyes of the school. These changes in AHORA emphasized a bilingual and bicultural experience for Latino students respecting not only a student's traditional culture in AHORA, but also encouraging Latinos to participate in cross-cultural activities at the school.

Two of the five AHORA students helping to conduct this research sing in the school's Gospel choir, which performs African American originated music. They also have a singing group within the AHORA program, where the members arrange and sing a repertoire including Latino and current US popular music. Noche Latina, an annual celebration that AHORA holds for the community, this year featured student performances that included song and poetry from the Dominican Republic, as well as breaking[16] (Personal Observation, April 2002). An interview with Annery Miranda revealed that groups of Latino student regularly gather with other students at the high school after-school to rap and break. Bicultural expression is an essential part of the cultural identity of young Latinos interviewed and it is something encouraged today by programs available within the school system.

The discussion with Nelson Salazar about the 1994 origins of Noche Latina indicated that Latinos at the high school were not always encouraged to pursue bicultural expression.

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system" occurred significantly after the dropout rates of Latino students had been lowered, so our analysis only focuses on programs in place at that time such as AHORA.

[16] It was suggested that the term breaking is preferred to "breakdance" and is used for current expressions, whereas Dennis Benzán's use of "breakdancing" was maintained when discussing Columbia Terrace.

> Noche Latina… I realized that there were a lot students who had different talents… and …Even though there's a drama department, there's a music department, there are all these different departments, a lot of Latino students did not really connected with these programs, you know? And… yet they do have talents…. I think that, first of all, they didn't know about it. Secondly, I don't think that the counselors were, by any means, identifying what were the skills. So you could say, "Oh so you know how to sing! Well, you should sign up for this class." Nothing like that, you know? And so there were a lot of talented [Latino students] in the school and they were not doing anything about it.
>
> So, what we decided to do was… to ask [the students]… "If we [put on] an event, will you participate in it?" … A lot of kids [said] "yes." There was singing, dancing, poetry, drama, you know all those kind of things… … there was a girl who did a ballet thing. Because there's… I don't know… I guess there's a perception that we don't know anything about ballet, the perception that no body knows how to play piano. You know, things that they think solely white people know how to do and… not necessarily. They wrote poems. People wrote poems and those kinds of things. (Roberto Santiago, interview. Transcript)

Family and schoolmates continue to play a strong role in the development of cultural identity for Latinos, but the programs available in the schools assist this process by providing counseling aware of and supportive of the student's heritage. Although these programs have a broader pan-Latino focus, they can support the

student in understanding specific ethnic identity. It is the students themselves who ultimately decide how their family's transplanted roots will serve them.

Interviews with several professional Latinos in Cambridge who recently came here from Latin American countries revealed sentiment that there were cultural differences between themselves and adult second-generation Latinos of the same ethnic background. However, the young Latinos we interviewed that grew up in Cambridge were well aware of their individual ethnic backgrounds, despite an interaction with and usually an appreciation of multiple Latino and non-Latino cultures. These students knew that while family provided the most direct ties to their culture, that culture was not static in the home country and often supplemented these ties through friends and other events. The professionals describing these differences in culture themselves enjoyed being able to listen to American blues as well as dance in local clubs on Latin music nights. Although their different cultural backgrounds led to different results, young Latinos either from Cambridge and Latin America developed individual cultural identities (*raízes*) incorporating influences of family (*familia*), heritage (*tierra*), and other cultures available in Cambridge (*ambiente*).

FAMILY CELEBRATIONS AND GATHERINGS: Questionnaire Results

The majority of interviews in this project focused on long-standing residents and workers in Cambridge. To supplement these interviews, we were interested in the opinions about family and Latin American tradition from the perspective of second-generation high-school students. With the assistance of Concilio Hispano, a

number of questionnaires were distributed to Latino high school age constituents. Given the likelihood the responses would only comprise a small sample, the questionnaire was focused on answering two questions we felt would display strong trends. Students were also asked several "description" questions and for information about their family's heritage to aid interpretation of the responses.

The primary questions were whether the respondent had attended a quinceañero celebration, held either in their honor or celebrating a friend, and whether their family regularly ate meals on particular days together and if so whether these gatherings would include other family members in the area. The quinceañero celebration was chosen over others celebrated locally as one that would include respondents from this age group directly and is also widely celebrated today by families in many Latin American nations. Prior interviewees had described elaborate quinceañero celebrations rivaling or surpassing weddings. Lastly, this celebration is one that the family itself would initiate and might plan themselves.

Ten of the eleven individuals reported participating in quinceañero celebrations either for themselves and a friend. These respondents came from a variety of Caribbean and Central American backgrounds. The events reported on were universally conducted on the 15th birthday of the celebrant, a Quinceañera in all cases. All reported celebrations were large and most were held in a function hall, usually outside of Cambridge. In all cases the celebrant and, usually, her court wore dresses bought specailly for the occasion. Many respondents reported professional

photographers were hired, food was catered, and either a DJ or band provided music. The one area of significant reported differences was whether or not a special religious ceremony accompanied the fiesta. In approximately half the questionnaires it did, and in the other half there was no specific religious celebration.

The questions regarding whether the family ate together regularly received 8 responses. These responses were equally split 3 and 3 between those who never did and those who regularly did, the other two responses specifying occasional family gatherings. Two respondents indicated their family was only comprised of themselves and their mother, one of those pairs eating together every day and the other irregularly. Affirmative responses for larger families specified Sunday and holidays as days when their family got together. These three affirmative responses all mentioned participating in Church worship as a shared activity and two respondents indicated other family members or friends that did not live with the respondent regularly joined their family in these activities.

These responses indicate that young Latinos in Cambridge are aware of common Latin American celebrations[17]. Reading the responses provided the impression that family life and tradition are important, but it is still difficult for Latino families living together in Cambridge to regularly share meals and activities together.

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[17] The AHORA program also Celebrates the traditional January 6th, Three Kings Celebration. We did not encounter mention of specific celebration of Day of the Dead or country-specific Latin American

Going Out And Staying In: Latino music and performance

The strong expressions of community and ethnic roots through Faith, Food, and Family show a strong awareness of Latinos to tradition, combined with the flexibility to incorporate new practices and new acquaintances (*ambiente*) into their cultural expressions. Latinos are not bashful about sharing their cultural heritage with others, whether the presentation is for an audience in Carnegie Hall or something enjoyed with family members in the home. Since its inception the Latino community has emphasized music and dance representing its the roots, such cultural expression playing a key role in all aspects of community development. Today Latino music and dance are a very visible component of the cultural makeup of Cambridge itself.

Many Latin American rhythms and dance incorporate influences that span the world, creating something distinct that has local significance. In different regions of Latin America these rhythms bear similar traits particularly in how they are enjoyed socially. In bringing these rhythms to Cambridge, musicians and promoters have overcome challenges to bridging different cultural practices between Latin American and the United States. These challenges fall along similar lines as those faced by Latinos organizing worship and sports to Cambridge, as well as the challenges young Latinos faced growing up in Cambridge.

Holidays, but this was not specifically researched.

Dance, for example, has a different social role in US society, than some Latin American nations. Latino establishments, such as Latin-o's, faced licensing problems because local law dictates that a certain number of individuals dancing in a bar requires a difficult to obtain entertainment license, yet in the tradition where the owners came from dancing was a natural part of getting together. Today, however, regular social dances based on Latin American traditions are hosted in Cambridge locations as varied as the Green Street Grill, Rialto Restaurant, and the John F. Kennedy Park at Harvard.

In creating something distinctly regional, subtle nuances play an important role in many Latin American styles. Like the food you cook and the vocabulary you speak with, the music and events around you affect the rhythms you play. Latin American music styles are very much alive and change over time. Musicians in Cambridge creating their own musical style, like the second-generation separated from their grandparents, had to search out traditional roots, access new ideas from modern interpretations of those roots, and potentially create music that also reflects the environment in which its being performed. Latino performers have managed to perform music that satisfies these factors, yet at the same time offers paying gigs in the larger community. Today Latino music is well represented in Cambridge and Cambridge based artists like Sol y Canta and Inca Son have respectively brought their performances incorporating these roots to the White House and for the Atlanta Olympics.

Latin American music beautifully joins (*juntos*) many musical and cultural traditions. Music created and promoted by Latinos in Cambridge witnesses people from different traditions coming together. It is an essential component of sports, faith, and family gatherings. Music and dance are part of growing up in Cambridge for many young Latinos. Through festivals, concerts, and music-related education the Cambridge Latino community interacts with many other groups and traditions including Latinos in other cities in the area, and new influences from Latin American countries.

Local bands such as Inca Son provide visibility to traditions, such as those from the Andes, which the community they perform in might otherwise never experience directly. Programs such as those by JAM'NASTICS situated in Area 4 incorporate multiple cultural influences into dance expression and gymnastics, while providing a sense of community and bringing youth into contact with individuals from other regions. Classes on Afro-Cuban dance and music conducted by "Rey" Gonzalez[18] introduce Latinos and other Cambridge residents to aspects of Caribbean culture that were not mentioned by interviewees during our research into Latino cultural expressions in Cambridge. Latinos going out take full advantage of the

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[18] A former dancer with Afrocuba de Matanzas, who offers dance classes at the Dance Complex. Afro-Caribbean culture left strong influences in the food and music Latinos listened to, but aside from performances at festivals in the 80s by the Areyto Bomba y Plena Ensemble, we were not told of community events featuring more folkloric Afro-Caribbean culture. There was no mention of Guaguancó or other rumbas, no mentions or signs of Orishas from Santería homes or bodegas, and the nearest Botanicas are in Jamica Plain or Lowell. Haitian and English-Caribbean markets did appear to

environment, frequenting clubs on Latin music nights, seeing performances of touring Latin American musical acts, and also attending clubs featuring other live music such as Cambridge's many jazz and blues clubs.

Early members of the Latino community in Cambridge arranged dances and performances in rented venues. These pioneers made a specific effort to include acquaintances from the larger community in such celebrations and today similar cultural activities that are now widely available across Cambridge. Modern cultural expression by Latinos in Cambridge displays awareness of roots, incorporation of local influences, and new creations. Music and dance are essential aspects of many activities celebrating Latino heritage, but they also serve a role in providing a bridge between different communities. When social and political activism has been necessary, music has also been an important component of those efforts.

THE EARLY YEARS: Music and Dance Bring the Community Together

The Pagán family was mentioned as being one of the earliest nuclear families in Cambridge. An interviewee suggested this family might have resided in the Windsor St. area of Cambridge. Several interviewees named the father as the first organizer of social gatherings for Latinos in the 1960s, presenting dances and renting a theatre on Tremont St. to present Latino films. Rafael Benzán an early Dominican

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sell some related items, so at least some of these traditions probably do exist in the community, but the second-generation may have grown up without direct interaction with these traditions.

resident also put on events during the 1960s and with several acquaintances he helped found a club called “Hispanic Club” where Latinos could gather.

María Bermudez, who grew up in Cambridge during the 1970s, mentioned the Latin Quarters club on Brookline Avenue as a venue place where Latinos of multiple generations could gather, but also recounted that the Boston area in general sported many strong connections to current musical culture from Puerto Rico. Bands from the island would tour the Boston area performing in locations such as the Wonderland Ballroom or a rented hall; specific locations that were mentioned in interviews included Killian Hall and Sala de Puerto Rico at MIT.

Roberto Santiago discussed that when the community enlisted the help of Latino college students starting in 1970 it provided cultural activities for the students including traditional Puerto Rican foods, music, and dances. As detailed in the Urban Borderlands report *Evolution of the Latino Community in Cambridge*, these students helped the community in their efforts to improve working conditions and secure rights for Latinos in Cambridge. Hosting dances and musical performances allowed the community to repay the students for their assistance. At the same time such events were a way for those in the community to keep in touch with their heritage while working together with others from the community.

Mr. Santiago indicated that events featuring Celia Cruz and El Gran Combo at the Latin Quarters[19] might have drawn a thousand people. Like later festivals organized by the community these events drew individuals from other Latino communities across the area linking those communities through shared cultural expression.

On June 22, 1975 José Massó began presenting the weekly Con Salsa program on WBUR in Boston. This show initially sported a dominantly Puerto Rican audience, Mr. Massó indicated that today it is listened to by a broad spectrum of individuals in reach of WBUR's signal in New England and beyond, via the Internet.

The 1980s: Diverse Latin American Regions Represented in Cambridge

Research regarding Cambridge in the 1980s divulges signs that music and dance involving the Latino community increased in terms of nationalities represented, diversifying influences, and inclusion of interested members of the wider Cambridge community.

Dennis Benzán reported that the Latino community in Columbia Terrace during the 1980s sported some of the best break-dancers in the city. Music has been no stranger to activism and we believe it played a role in meetings conducted by organizations to spread awareness about the severe effects of war and human rights

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[19] According to the Cambridge Chronicle, the Latin Quarters applied for, but did not receive a permanent license for entertainment and dance. Thus, these events were likely petitioned under temporary event licenses and details maybe on file with Cambridge City Hall.

abuses in Central America during this decade. The 7-piece band Huellas[20], was featured at several activist fundraisers in 1984-85, and in 1985 performed a multicultural dance and music piece with the Performing Arts Ensemble of Cambridge (Cambridge Chronicle, 4/18/84, 7/3/84, 1/9/85).

Orquestra Salvadoreña, a 13-piece ensemble based partly in Somerville, began performing around the area in the mid to late 1980s. Listings in the Cambridge Chronicle indicate that in 1985 the Cantares Club in Inman Square featured Latino music and dancing two nights a week.

In around 1985, Concilio Hispano initiated the Hispanic Festival in the newly commemorated Columbia Park near Columbia Terrace (where a number of early residents who were interviewed by Tufts students lived). At its height, Roberto Santiago reported that this festival drew 3000 individuals from all around the Boston area.

The local band Flor de Caña actively recorded music on the nationally distributed Flying Fish label in the 1980s, presenting a wide variety of Central, South American, and Caribbean originated songs in their own personal style. The first performance of theirs that we could identify via printed sources was January 30, 1986, at the Modern Times Café in Inman Square.

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[20] We were unable to learn anything about the music played by this ensemble, however, a picture of the band in the Cambridge Chronicle prominently featured the Puerto Rican Cuatro.

The 1990s: Latin American and Latino Music

By the dawning of the 1990s, the Latin Quarters club in Cambridge is reported to have closed its doors when the owner of the club[21] and associated restaurant the Latin-O moved to Miami. Changes such as the elimination of rent control in 1994 significantly affected the Latino Population of Cambridge[22], causing some Latinos to move from Cambridge. However, the decade also brought wider interest in the traditions and cultures of Latinos, bringing new outlets of cultural expression and interaction that continue to actively promote Latino cultural offerings today. To maintain an oral tradition in communication across these communities which were dispersed more widely across Cambridge and the Boston area, Latino communities took advantage of leased-format radio.

In 1991 the radio station WRCA (1330AM), which had recently moved from Waltham to Cambridge, adopted a leased-time format (Boston Radio Archives, AM Dial). This format of radio has become very important for Latinos and is used to maintain communication and traditions across close ethnic communities that are dispersed geographically today. This format of radio has permitted the creation of

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[21] The Cambridge Chronicle indicates that Juan Cabrera, owner of the Latin-O Restaurant and Latin Quarters agreed to cancellation of his liquor license for the Latin Quarters in 1986, although it is unclear when the club and restaurant closed their doors.

[22] The general opinion of all interviewees was that this affected Latinos greatly and caused many to move, either within Cambridge or beyond. It should be noted that Dennis Benzán supports this idea in general, offering statistics about Latino enrollment in Cambridge schools, but felt that this did not have a specific effect on the Columbia Terrace Latino Population. It was this community who had hosted the marathon runners and come together initially to start the Hispanic festival. For other reasons he

regional specific programs on the AM dial which present specific music programming and information targeted at specific communities such as the Salvadoran community in Boston.

Among the musical acts of note formed in the 1990s were Sol y Canta and Inca Son. Founded by members of Flor de Caña, Sol y Canta received national acclaim for their 1994 and 1996 CD releases. Their performances of roots-oriented music from many Latin American countries has been presented in high schools, Lincoln Center, and the White House. Inca Son brings the music of Andean Peru to similarly diverse audiences and was a featured performer at the Summer Olympics in Atlanta. The founder Cesar Villa Lobos makes his home Cambridge because of its convenience to so many Universities and Schools where he can teach young people about diverse cultures (Cesar Villa Lobos, Cape Cod Times 1/5/02, Paraphrased). His efforts to increase awareness of Incan cultural traditions and spread understanding of all cultures earned Mr. Villa Lobos the honorary title "Cultural Ambassador of Peru" from the National Press of Peru. These two groups provide an example of Latino cultural expression bridging communities.

In accessing traditional rhythms, these performers also access the folkloric use of music to communicate and to express faith in a shared destiny, such as a good harvest. In a modern world where so many communities come into contact via global

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felt this community was already in decline and pointed to organizations like the Roberto Santiago Softball League as the best current representations of what that community once had been.

trade the resulting interdependence can mean the same problem or event will easily traverse many communities, ignoring political borders. A soft North American market for produce may affect Andean farmers as much as a year without rain. The scourge of drugs faced by young Latinos in Cambridge even more drastically changed rural villages in the Andes. These performers like many other Latinos we spoke with, respect tradition, but also the effect of modern interaction between many cultures. They invest in researching and preserving authentic tradition, but through performances and teaching bring these traditions and ideas into dialogue with modern societies. As Corrine Varón indicated, Cambridge welcomes cultural diversity and this is perhaps a reason why a number of Latino artists have chosen it as a base to explore their roots and use them to teach about the modern interaction of many cultures.

Venues for cultural expression changed significantly in the 1990s. In addition to the Latin-o, other clubs such as Jack's, Cantares, and Nightstage permanently closed their doors. In 1991 the Joy of Movement Center closed and several Churches that had previously hosted musical performances stopped, such as the First Unitarian Church in Harvard Square (Personal Observations, Seán Kennedy). Replacement venues, instead of catering to just one community, offered diverse activities and took advantage of Latino cultural offerings available in Cambridge.

The Green Street Grill owner John Clifford credits a combined offering of live music and Caribbean influenced cuisine for projecting that business into profitability

(John Clifford, interviewed by Sarah Boyer, Paraphrased from Crossroads). The Green Street Grill began offering Latin music during the 1990s, first on Thursday nights and then on Saturday (Personal Observation). This location became popular with a number of Latinos who felt the music and performance space promoted a pleasant mix of dancing and conversation. Thursday night regulars proudly drew a comparison between the scene at Green St where individuals traded dance partners and found out about each other's culture, as opposed to clubs which catered to a narrower age group and night club scene (Personal communication patrons of South American descent, Seán Kennedy, 1999). The Green St. Grill was one location where individuals of different ages and backgrounds could interact in a social setting that promoted sharing of cultures.

The owner of the Green St. Grill, John Clifford, has helped make these traditions of sharing cultures a priority for the Central Square Business Association, an organization that has sponsored the Central Square World Fair since 1994. As noted with relation to food, fairs and festivals make available a wider variety of cultural items and expression to the public, cultural items that may not be common in commercial establishments. The World Fair has drawn touring and local musicians representing styles that are not as common in area clubs and theatres. Examples include the Colombian rock group Bloque who performed in 1999. The local group Babaloo, formed in Jamaica Plain in 1994 and who perform "punk mamba" was also featured that year, as well as in subsequent years. Local dance troupes, which include

Latinos, have performed their own modern cultural expressions (Personal Observations).

Community gathering and helping fund community events were among the services that early Latino clubs such as the Latin-o had offered back to the Community[23]. A third service provided by the club was space at affordable rates for community and charity events; events Latinos had indicated were previously held at MIT and Churches. Today this need appears to have largely been addressed by venues such as the VFW Post on Green St., which is used by various groups for fundraisers and banquets.

The combination of dining and music that the Green St. Grill credited for its success became more common in Cambridge, locations adopting this often using Latino performed music or dancing. Gian Carlo Buscaglia, whose bands were featured at the Green St. Grill, performed Caribbean, Nueva Cancion, and Nueva Trouva songs at the Forest Café Mexican Restaurant weekend nights throughout the late 1990s and for a period of time at Café Soho in 1997 (Personal Observation & Communications with Staff). The Rialto restaurant in 1999 started offering light dining and tango dancing to patrons wishing to dance in that environment.

Although the 1990s brought changes to Cambridge real estate, which caused many Latinos to leave and some Latino-owned businesses to close, Cambridge itself came to adopt Latino originated cultural traditions much more widely during this time

period. Not only were Latino acts presented on the main stages of festivals and local theatres, but also some Cambridge businesses adopted Latin American social conventions regarding gathering, music, and dance. Several offered a complimentary environment where individuals could eat, converse, and dance to live music away from the disco balls and the blinding lights of nightclubs. Latinos also initiated use of leased-format radio to maintain oral traditions across a community that was now dispersed across a greater geographic area.

TODAY: Part of Cambridge Culture, Still Part of the Community

Any attempt to exhaustively document the available entertainment in Cambridge with Latino/Latin American roots at the time of this paper would surely fall short. The salsa and merengue of early residents with roots in the Caribbean is featured by clubs and activities offered both for Latinos and the wider Cambridge community. Likewise cultural expression by Latinos includes activities not only within the community, but includes events across the Boston area and expressions drawn from many cultures. Latinos interviewed take advantage of clubs all across the Boston area, but also frequent venues in Cambridge because of the wide variety of available musical entertainment. Promoters across Boston bring touring acts to perform specific regional styles of music from Central America, South America, and

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[23] See Cambridge Chronicle 6/25/85.

the Caribbean. Such acts might play Plaza Garibaldi in Lynn, Sanders Theatre at Harvard, or Boston's Symphony Hall.

The vision of the part-Latino-owned café and restaurant Mama Gaia's seeks to unite activism and cultural activities, and create a community space that encourages individuals to share their cultural expression. The Saturday night *Noche Latina* program features open-microphone performances and explanations of the history of cultural expressions presented. Other events are booked that encourage the sharing of cultural expression between community members.

While traditional music performed by Cambridge-based Latinos continues to shine in venues comparable to the White House and Kennedy Center, music continues to play an essential role in community and family settings. Enthusiastic parishioners and congregation members from St. Mary's and Lion of Judah both mentioned the music sung in their church as a compelling component of worship.

Carmen Perez, a Salvadoran interviewed by this project, emphasized that the joy she experiences raising her family is without par. However, when she moved to Cambridge she longed for El Salvador, a strong feeling that was hard to escape because she was unable to hear the music she was familiar with and was separated from her family. Weddings and birthdays were the only chance she had to partially experience these ties to her country. Today she is able to hear Salvadoran music on the radio and share her roots with her children who were born here in Cambridge. Maira and Maricella Perez, her daughters, both noted that their parents sing

Salvadoran music regularly in the house. Sunday is an important family day, where they are able to worship together at St. Mary's Catholic Church and celebrate family (*familia*), faith (*fé*), and music *(roots*). Sra. Perez's husband Antonio Perez calls Cambridge his home, indicating he no longer thinks of returning, his interview identified church and family as essential components to this home he has forged for himself in Cambridge.

The Latino population of Cambridge has grown and diversified from the original residents studied by this project. However, music remains important for individual and community cultural celebration, interaction with the wider Cambridge community, and activism on behalf of causes affecting members of the community. The musical cultural expressions of Latinos in Cambridge incorporate the roots of people from many backgrounds together in one place, facilitating interaction between and among cultures. Not only does music bring individuals together (juntos), but it also an integral part of other Latino Cultural expressions, including family and faith. Latin/o music is also featured along with Latin American inspired cooking in a number of Cambridge restaurants.

Interaction of the Latino Community with Cambridge at large

The Urban Borderlands project at large has documented how Latinos have come together (juntos) to make Cambridge their home. This process of obtaining housing, rights, and education for Latino youth has required interaction with the larger Cambridge community. As previously discussed Latino cultural traditions

have become widely celebrated in Cambridge. Cambridge's current acceptance of ethnic diversity is due in part to Latino activism -- while struggling for basic rights Latinos still were willing to share their cultural expressions with the larger community. Cultural expression has been a key element in community organizing – bringing the community together and, at the same time, educating the larger Cambridge population about Latino culture, easing some of the initial racism and discrimination faced by Latinos in Cambridge. This section documents some of the ways Latino cultural expression has been shared with the larger community and the involvement of the community itself in holding festivals that welcomed people from many communities across the area.

Historically individuals in the United States were classified on the basis of race. Immigrant communities were assumed that they would settle in certain areas on the basis of color and assimilate into a US identity based on color. Although this analysis has always been faulty with respect to "assimilation," it is the case that historically racial mixing was much more common in Latin American then the US and Canada. María Perez y Gonzales writes (Perez y Gonzales, pp 115-117) that Puerto Ricans in the in the Northeast often settled in buffer areas between African American communities and non-Latino white communities. Although the relationships were complex, Columbia Street in Area 4 roughly fits this description when Latinos began settling there. Newtowne Courts and Washington Elms to one side were considered to be predominantly African American. Cambridgeport and

Mid-Cambridge on the other side housed many working class white families. With respect to culture, early Latino residents recounted experience with a kind of "one drop rule" where any Spanish speaking individual in Cambridge was considered Puerto Rican.

Gentrification of Cambridge has impacted many ethnic groups and any ethnic enclave may be a thing of the past for Cambridge. This process of gentrification has lead many interviewees to comment about Latinos leaving or fleeing Cambridge, despite census numbers showing an increase[24]. While census trends are difficult to analyze, it is certain that Latino culture remains visible in Cambridge. Furthermore as Corrine Varón stated, Latinos are able to celebrate their personal cultural heritage. This shift is in part due to the interaction between Latino culture and other Cambridge residents. Cambridge overall has come to value ethnic identity and cultural expression as important characteristics that individuals can maintain, while still achieving the necessary language and social assimilation expected in both work and school situations. This section looks at the interaction between Latino cultural expression and the Cambridge population at large.

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24 City of Cambridge Census data indicates "Hispanic population" was 4.8% in 1980, 6.8% in 1990, and 7.4% 2000. Many Latinos have moved from Cambridge and there are other factors such as increased efforts to document immigrant populations, as well as the inclusion of non-racial ethnic categories in 2000 which make analysis of such numbers more complex. However, Latinos do continue to reside and raise families in Cambridge, which is counter to some opinions expressed during this study.

City Wide Festivals and Celebration

Around 1985[25] Concilio Hispano began holding an annual cultural festival centered at the newly completed Columbia Park. Roberto Santiago a founder of Concilio Hispano emphasizes that while Concilio sponsored the festival, it was individuals from the community who organized the festival. This 3-day festival ran for approximately 10-11 years and grew to encompass 3000 people at its peak. This 3-day event drew individuals from Somerville and Boston to participate in expressions of tradition, unity, and to celebrate the local community. As previously noted this festival was kicked off by a mini-marathon run from the Latino neighborhood Villa Victoria in Boston to Columbia Park, symbolizing how this festival represented the sharing of cultural expression across communities.

While Cambridge has become more accepting of diversity, negative stereotypes of Latinos persist in US media outlets. Presenting art that informs on social concerns affecting Latinos and art aimed at breaking stereotypes is a cornerstone of the Cambridge Latino Film Festival started in 2002. José Barriga, the Peruvian born director, stated that achieving these aims and encouraging local filmmakers to produce art related to the Latino community are the primary objectives

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[25] Exact dates for the festival were not identified. In an interview one individual stated 1983 with some certainty, but then in a later interview said 1985. Roberto Santiago reported the last festival was 5-6 years ago and that there were 10 or 11 events, although he places the start of the festival in the 90s as a specific high point. Several other interviews also suggested that it has been 6 years since the last festival. Based on this combined information and pending further research an approximate period of 1985-1996 is assumed, likely with the festival starting small and growing to be large. The first known

of the festival. To maintain the relation to Latino roots, but also achieve the aim of informing a wider audience, all films presented at the festival were in Spanish with subtitles in English. To reflect the diversity of the Latino community the film selection committee was comprised of 19 members who came from a variety of backgrounds from manual laborers to the director of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University (José Barriga, Personal Communication with Brigid Brannigan.)

Noche Latina is an annual festival at CRLS organized by the AHORA program. The festival is intended to celebrate the heritage of Latino students, but it also serves a role in bridging different aspects of the larger Cambridge community. This night provides an important chance for parents to meet educators in a bilingual setting. Additionally the AHORA program solicits the participation and support of Latino businesses and, community service organizations also participate in the festival. Most of the restaurants mentioned by this report contributed food to cater the event in 2002. Noche Latina brings these facets of Cambridge's population and business community together in support of encouraging Latino students to succeed. The students themselves cap the event off with performances that share their own personal roots (raíces) with parents and the larger community[26].

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mention of the Hispanic Festival by the Cambridge Chronicle is 1985 and the last in 1989, but coverage of the festival by that publication was erratic and those dates do not indicate a start or finish.

[26] June is when the Community Learning Center, which provides EOSL and High School education for adults, has its graduation ceremony. A similarly important event is celebrated in close proximity date

In addition to these festivals organized by Latinos, Latin American traditions and performances by local Latinos have become a tradition at Cambridge's many cultural festivals. RiverFest, the Danehy Park Immigrant Festival, an Oxfam America Celebration, and many other festivals include Latino music. Food, dancing, and crafts are other cultural expressions that have been likewise represented. The scope of this inclusion and the diversity of the styles presented are a testament to the relevance of Latino cultural expression in Cambridge.

Celebration, Activism, and Education in Cambridge

Our research identified several ties between the cultural expressions that we analyzed and both community and global activism. As these were identified they are documented here, but our research did not seek to compile a comprehensive listing of intersections between cultural expression and activism. Activism does overlaps with a concurrent research project on community organizing, so our reporting focuses on those events with known art performances or cultural exchanges with a Latin American theme, instead of political events[27].

In many cases it became difficult to determine how Latinos in Cambridge participated or even if they participated in such events. However, such events contribute to wider understanding of Latin American cultures and history in

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wise, the Center hosts a culture night where students are asked to bring something that represents their culture to share with others.

Cambridge at large. There is evidence of increased awareness in Cambridge about Latino diversity and also that activism may have indeed affected Latino settlement in Cambridge.

Several early interviews such as that with Elizabeth Ahsawullah suggested that initially some Cambridge residents were not aware of the diversity of Latinos and to them "anybody who speaks Spanish was Puerto Rican". Corrine Varón gave indications that this was changing by the late 1970s and remarked on the openness of the overall Cambridge community to foreigners. Diversity here, when she moved to Cambridge in 1977 and today, makes her feel "comfortable" as a Latina. Many cultural and educational activities in Cambridge, such as the festivals previously mentioned, are geared toward understanding and celebration of other cultures. Combined with the role of direct activism, these increase the awareness of the general Cambridge population to issues affecting Latin America and the roots (raíces) of Latinos.

The Urban Borderlands report *Evolution of the Latino Community in Cambridge* informs that Cambridge's status as a Sanctuary City was an impetus for significant Central American settlement in Cambridge, changing the face of the Latino community. This Sanctuary status was the result of wider awareness in Cambridge of the tragedy affecting Central Americans than in the nation at large.

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[27] An example is the "Community Church" of Boston, reportedly formerly located in Cambridge. This group has been active in the cause of Puerto Rican Nationalism, the Zapatista movement, as well as

Thus activism in Cambridge on Latin American issues can indirectly shape the Latino community. An interview with Roberto Santiago regarding early activism in the community presents clear links between advocacy activities and cultural expression.

> Then we put together the Latino Board in Harvard. We put a Latino Board Committee … to deal with the issues and employment…. So we put the committee together at Harvard University. At that time MIT was to help with the space. You know we had a big ballroom on Memorial Drive. Sometimes we had the community, and we had some people who brought music - Merengue and Salsa from NY. And we had maybe one thousand people in the hall, from Boston and all over the place. And MIT…we was trying to get jobs. You know cleaning; we had people to clean the place. We had people who cook. And then they start to open the doors for…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. (Roberto Santiago, interview. Transcript)

Cultural exchange between Cambridge and Cuba is an area of activism, one that Cambridge uniquely participated in during earlier times and where there is a lot of current interest. The Old Cambridge Baptist Church either hosted or rented their space for a June 1995 event featuring Cuban music from local bands raising money to send CRLS students to Cuba with the interest of furthering civilian contacts between

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other Central American concerns.

the two nations[28] (Event announcement). Judy Cantor wrote an article (Judy Cantor: NewTimes, 1997) regarding criticism aimed at Cambridge record label Rounder Records by Cuban-American groups who were in support of the US economic embargo of Cuba. The article mentions Rounder distributing Ashé Records, a New York label featuring Cuba-based musicians. Further research with Rounder's catalog confirmed that they distribute Messidor, a German label doing likewise, and Corason, a record label producing Son from Cuba. The Cambridge Center for Adult Education (CCAE) worked with CubArtEdu, a North-Shore company, to obtain a state department approval for a trip to Cuba and CCAE mentioned that a number of groups in Cambridge had obtained licenses for the purpose of cultural exchange. Harvard University facilitates student, faculty, and fellow research in, as well as groups travel to Cuba.

The Cambridge Multicultural Arts Center has presented a number of musical, plastic, and performing arts with Latin American themes or events. During our research they hosted *¿Dónde Éstas?*, a performance art project written from the viewpoint of women with disappeared relatives who had protested against the Chilean and Argentine military dictatorships. The Arts center hosted a benefit musical

[28] The name of the student group included "July 26," so it is assumed that this group had a specific political view, but the Church's involvement is unknown and we focus on the presented music and intended cultural exchange.

performance and crafts fair in April 2002 to benefit indigenous communities of Chiapas, Mexico[29].

Mama Gaia's is a new café at the intersections of Main St. and Columbia Street. An interview with one of the owners emphasized their commitment not only to serving foods derived from many cultures, but also products sourced in a way to pay small farmers a livable wage regardless of world market trends and grown according to practices they felt improved sustainability of growing conditions. An example was their relationship with Dean's Beans, their source for coffee that was grown organically and bought using certified "Fair Trade" practices where prices are determined based on the true cost of coffee growing and reasonable needs of the farmer. As previously noted, Mama Gaia's weekly event " Noche Latina[30]" offers an open microphone for performers and an individual from the community named Rafael describes the musical styles and cultural significance of performed works. The owners envision Mama Gaia's serving a role of organizing and educating locally, while practicing business practices which they feel are necessary to improve the living conditions of individuals elsewhere in the world.

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[29] This event was organized in conjunction with Tonantzin, a Boston based advocacy group for Native Peoples in Mexico which has previously co-sponsored educational activities and fundraisers at the arts center.

[30] Note that this is different than Noche Latina, the annual event put on by AHORA.

Latino Gathering Spaces and Communication

Obtaining space in Cambridge has always been a challenge for the Latino community. Whether the space has been needed for housing, businesses, community organizations, or as a gathering space it has come with some difficulty and cost. When the space is made available, such as the athletic fields that Cambridge Parks and Recreation rents, Latinos put the space to very effective use. Similarly many in the early Latino community took advantage of housing in Area 4 and developed a community with a rapid and effective network of communication via word-of-mouth. This section discusses some of the businesses and organizations which today provide space for Latino gatherings, as well as some of the adaptations the community has made to its communications due to dispersion of the population as Boston area real estate prices skyrocketed during the late 1990s.

Gathering Spaces

In conducting this research, we looked at both where Latinos get together today and earlier in the community's history. Today within Area 4 the commercial spaces of Mama Gaia's, Glamourama and Izzy's provide gatherings spaces used by members of the community. Juan Gonzalez mentions in Sarah Boyer's oral history of Central Sq. that he could go into John's Barber Shop on Prospect St. and talk with the barber and patrons, in Spanish, about current events (Juan Gonzalez, interviewed by Sarah Boyer, cited from Crossroads). Community service organizations and churches support educational activities, youth groups, and social gatherings.

On a citywide basis, the Veteran's of Foreign Wars (VFW) Post on Green Street is commonly leased for events. For instance Latino dance instructors rent the VFW several times weekly to hold classes and we documented two events put on by the Roberto Santiago Softball League held in that space. The Dance Complex, a dancers' co-operative, hosts a number instructors who present Latin American styles. The VFW Post on Mount Auburn St. is also used by the Boston Tango Society to host lessons and practices. The Brazilian Cultural Center on Webster Ave. hosts lessons and social gatherings organized by JAM'NASTICS.

Historically community members rented facilities from MIT, although we were not aware of any events held there during this research. There are a growing number of cultural and academic offerings hosted at Harvard's David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies. Several Latinos interviewed attend and organize events through that organization.

Obtaining space for gatherings is not necessarily easy for Latinos, adding obstacles to coming together in cultural expression (juntos). However, Latinos specifically secure available space to further cultural expression and share those expressions with the larger community.

Radio and Communication

Early Latino residents describe communication within the community that was direct and effective. Large numbers of community members could be called

together via word of mouth to initiate meetings at MIT. Housing and jobs were located through these networks for individuals that had recently arrived in Cambridge. Cultural events held in locations such as MIT ballrooms and the Latin Quarters club featured large crowds, yet we did not see any evidence of formal advertising. It is likely that people heard about such events through word of mouth and posters around town. The presence of multiple families in Columbia Terrace, that all knew each other, allowed organizers to call on that community to house marathon runners and Concilio Hispano heavily relied on this informal network to plan the Hispanic Festival held in Columbia Park.

Although there are efforts to try to address issues regarding affordability of housing and remove barriers to Latino property ownership in Cambridge, real estate is an obstacle to creating a new neighborhood community or even new gathering spaces. The spreading out and diversification of the community makes it difficult for some to recognize that any Latino community remains in Cambridge. Our research indicates that active communities do exist today, such as those presented in earlier discussions of faith and sports. However, another way of sharing of culture and coming together to organize is Latino use of leased-time format radio. Boston based WUNR was mentioned as important to reach Latino constituents by Centro Presente and Orquestra Salvadoreña mentioned its assistance in promoting their recordings. Spanish language and bilingual Latino radio programming also serve to educate the

wider Boston community to Latino traditions, as well as serve as an alternate news source.

Our research indicated that radio was an important method of communication for the community. Although there is wide availability of Latin American food products in stores ranging from bodegas to regional supermarket chains, we had much more difficulty confirming consistent availability of specific recorded music, Spanish-language newspapers, and literature. The January 14 Worcester Business Journal discusses how Andres Perez, a local Dominican businessman, significantly cut back on flier advertising and invested in radio, which the journal stated the community embraced. Mr. Perez was quoted as saying "we are an oral culture," with radio supplementing word of mouth advertising.

Annery Miranda, a collaborator in this research, participates actively in several performing musical and dance groups. She has a strong knowledge of Dominican musical traditions, as well as African-American Gospel styles, and current Latin and US-chart pop and hip-hop performers. This knowledge is available to her without the need for a CD player; through participation in live music within her church community and school and her family listening to the radio, Annery is very well schooled in current events and music.

Elias, of Orquestra Salvadoreña, credits a DJ from 1600 AM for helping with distribution for CDs recorded by their 13-piece group. Elena Letona, the director of Centro Presente, emphasized that the community they needed to reach with timely

information "all listened to the radio" and saw it as the essential complement to word of mouth for community organizers.

Laura Soul Brown, the Outreach Coordinator at the Cambridge Center for Adult Education (CCAE), made José Massó of Con Salsa one of her first contacts when she initiated an effort to reach out to the Latino community.

The producers and DJs on Boston radio airwaves play an essential role in tying fluid Latino communities together, disseminating current news and information, and providing the community access to the latest in cultural offerings created both locally and afar. As radio plays a role not only in cultural expression, but also in community organizing and aiding the interaction with U.S. society at large, a directory-style listing of radio stations is included here.

WUNR (1600 AM)

Family-owned 1600 AM, based in Boston near North Station, features a leased-time programming format in multiple languages. It was mentioned several times in interviews and is used by community organizations, Central American groups, and some religious programming presenting Spanish language programming. Centro Presente produces a weekly half-hour program on this station and Elena Letona, the director of Centro Presente, spoke about how the production of that show tries to present information that reflects the diverse Latino roots in the Boston Area. Elias, from Orquestra Salvadoreña, spoke of the role that Daniel Guitierrez's Ritmo Guanaco played in the promotion of their CDs. Elena Letona discussed how this

format allowed radio personalities from Latin American countries to continue broadcasting, drawing on and continuing their specialized skills and helping the community get in touch with its roots. An excerpt from Kathleen Flahive's interview with Ms. Letona discusses newsman Rene Funez from Guatemala.

> The 1600 station owned by a Cuban woman from here, and she sells the air time to people like you and so all day long you hear chunks of airtime that has been bought by people who from El Salvador used to make a living by doing this and back in Colombia, back in Guatemala… Rene Funes, who is in charge of the morning news show from 6 in the morning to 8 in the morning. He is terrific and he was a huge new personality in Guatemala and now he does the news show here. (Elena Letona, Personal Communication, Transcript)

WRCA (1330 AM)

The Beasley Broadcast Group is the current owner of this radio station based outside of Central Square in Cambridge, which features a leased-time format. Morning format is primarily in Haitian Creole, with Spanish language programming dominating the afternoon hours and early evening. Weekends further feature other cultures and a Sunday call-in show in English features a local lawyer answering questions about immigration law and procedure. The afternoon show "La Rumba" features primarily current Caribbean rhythms, with *noticias* offered in Spanish disseminating current local and foreign news. The evening show "La Pausa Romantica" touches on a wide range of romantic Spanish-language music. This

frequency previously hosted the Caliente radio station, reportedly managed by organization producing El Mundo, a local Spanish-language newspaper.

WLYN (1360 AM)

This formerly Lynn-based radio station also operates on a leased-time basis, reportedly from the same Cambridge studios as 1330 AM. Significant Spanish-language programming is presented including religious programming on the weekend. This station also provides Spanish language coverage and analysis for Red Sox baseball games and other sporting events.

WMBR (88.1 FM)

The MIT-owned radio station in Cambridge features World Music programming on Sundays. In recent times a Cuban, music show was offered, but at this writing Compás Sur, which the author believes to focus on Flamenco Guitar, is the only current show dedicated solely to music from the Spanish diaspora.

La Mega (1150 AM)

This Dorchester-based radio, station along with a significant relay station in Lowell (1400 AM), has the largest Spanish-language listener base in the area and features a significant "daytime drive" music and commentary show. Spanish language "CNN Radio Noticias" provides updates on world and Latin American news. The base programming is Bachata, Merengue, and Salsa with various pop, romantic, and rock styles thrown in. Many members of the community expressed

awareness of this station when asked, although no respondent specifically discussed listening to its programming.

Religious/WKOK (1200AM)

Radio AM 1200 offers a wide range of religious programming, including Spanish-language programs. Interviewees were aware of this programming.

Con Salsa WBUR (90.9FM)

Radio host José Massó, from Con Salsa, is among the best-known Latin music personalities in Boston. This weekly program is in its 27th year and broadcasts from midnight until 5am Sunday morning. The show reaches a wide audience and emphasizes a bilingual approach to both news and culture. Mr. Massó indicates his show plays current Salsa-oriented offerings from many Latin American countries, but offers the Latino AM radio station listener a different format where current music is presented and discussed, but also the roots of that music are emphasized.

Conclusions

The analysis of cultural expression by Latinos in Cambridge was performed using interview data in six categories of cultural expression: religious practice, food, sports, growing up in Cambridge, music and dance, and interaction with the larger Cambridge community through education, activism and festivals.

Upon initiating this research we were aware of significant differences in the countries (*tierra*) where families and community members had originated. An individual's country or region of origin can have a large influence on the different cultural traditions they bring to Cambridge. For example, Marcos Garcia explains that while many sports are practiced and are popular in El Salvador, soccer tends to be the one that draws the most fans and that most people either play or watch. For that reason, many Salvadorans come together in the Central American Soccer League (CASL), along with people of other nationalities. However, José Ortiz, from Puerto Rico, brought an appreciation for baseball which was shared by many of the other Puerto Ricans he met in Cambridge, who would come together and play baseball in their spare time. These differences in where an individual's family came from influence different preferences in cultural expression. However, instead of serving to isolate Latinos based on their heritage, such cultural expression is instead the basis for interaction with others, for sharing and interacting across cultures.

The preservation of culture requires significant effort, but evidence indicated both second-generation Latinos and those Latinos who participated in pan-Latino activities still included home-country traditions (*tierra*) in their personal cultural expression (*raíces*). Dennis Benzán recalls that many of the people he grew up with in Columbia Terrace in the 1970s and 1980s spent the summer in Puerto Rico or the Dominican Republic. Their parents would send them there, even if the kids had lived their whole lives in the United States, so that they could actively access the family

roots (*tierra*) directly. Some Latinos maintain contact with their country of origin cultures through modern communication. Lina Aguirre looks up her Colombian City's newspaper, El País (Cali, Columbia), on the Internet. Finding the available selection of Spanish-language books at the Cambridge public library limiting, Lina has her mother send her new releases. Lina finds out about such literature, in part, through the Colombian newspaper she reads. Satellite television makes many Latin American programs available in Cambridge homes. Alma Miranda explains that the Spanish-language news she watches on Univisión and Galavisión offers high quality world news in her native tongue. Latinos are aware that the traditions of their country of origin are changing over time and many choose not only to celebrate those traditions as they have been passed along, but actively incorporate modern elements of that culture too.

The Latino community of Cambridge brings together many different cultures and creates a space for the sharing and interaction of those cultural traditions. Corinne Varón, a Peruvian who came to the U.S. in 1972, remarks that she has been influenced by Central American, Mexican, and Caribbean cultures. Now she identifies more with being Latina than being one particular nationality.

Sharing of culture not only occurred between individuals from different Latin American backgrounds, but also between the Latino Community and Cambridge at large. Latinos enjoyed listening to many types of music and watching US films, while other Latinos developed breakdance routines. In Cambridge lessons in Latin

American dance styles are available any night of the week and several restaurants now cater individuals wanting to combine dancing, dining, and conversation accompanied by Latin American music. This desire by the larger community of Cambridge to access Latino culture has opened new venues to Latino cultural expression. Interaction between communities also occurs through seminars and workshops hosted by the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies. Such seminars include offerings in the areas of culture, politics, history, and other topics that may also allow Latinos to learn about cultural expressions that may not have been part of their personal upbringing. Large celebrations organized by Latinos have drawn upwards of 3000 individuals and today Latino cultural expression is widely featured at Cambridge cultural events, even though there are few City-wide Latino specific celebrations today.

Cambridge hosts multiple diverse Latino communities which cross ethnic, racial, and economic lines. Cultural expression through faith, sports, and music are among the ways those Latinos communities come together to share what they have in common and create new opportunities in Cambridge. This research indicated that despite significant changes to Cambridge, Latino cultural expression is continuing to thrive, with Latinos coming together (*juntos*) at events which often feature multiple forms of expression. Combined these forms connect an individual's heritage (*tierra*), faith (*fé*), family (*familia*), and current environment (*ambiente*) into a cultural package that can be described as their new roots (*raíces*) here in the United States.

Appendix A – Interviews with Community Members

Aguirre, Lina. Ms. Aguirre is from Cali, Columbia and moved to Cambridge in 1999. She is an active member of the St. Mary's Parish, participating in both Young Adults and Youth groups. Interviewed by Brigid Brannigan and Seán Kennedy on April 15, 2002.

Ahsawullah, Elizabeth. A Cambridge resident since 1977, Ms. Ahsawullah is from Puerto Rico. She became involved in encouraging Latinos to vote and now works for the Cambridge Election Commission Office. Interviewed by Radhika Thakkar on March 11, 2002.

Barriga, José. Mr. Barriga is from Lima, Perú and moved to Cambridge eight months ago. He lived for some time in Los Angeles and worked with the Hispanic media there and on the Los Angeles Latino Film Festival. In Cambridge, Mr. Barriga teaches English at the Boston Language Institute and is coordinating the Cambridge Latino Film Festival. Personal communication with Brigid Brannigan on April 23, 2002.

Benzán, Dennis. His mother is from Coamo, Puerto Rico and his father is from Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. He grew up in Cambridge, living in Columbia Terrace and ran for state legislature (28th Middlesex District) in 1996 and 1998. Interviewed by Ariana Flores on February 24, 2002. (Transcribed)

Benzán, Rafael. One of the first Dominicans to live in Cambridge, Mr. Benzán came from Santo Domingo (but was born in San Cristobal) in 1961. He was actively involved in the establishment of the Latino community in Cambridge

and now works in a legal services office in Roxbury. Interviewed by Seán Kennedy on February 16, 2002. (Transcribed)

Brown, Laura Soul. Ms. Brown grew up in Boston and here heritage includes Cuban Grandparents who came to Boston in approximately the 1940s. She is Director of Community Outreach at the Cambridge Center for Adult Education and has been working with the academic and Latino communities to expand cultural offerings at CCAE. Interviewed by Seán Kennedy, April 24, 2002.

Deravil, Marie. From Port-au-Prince, Haiti, Ms. Deravil has lived in Cambridge since the late 1970s. She runs Camie's bakery on the corner of Columbia St. and Harvard St. Interviewed by Seán Kennedy, February 5, 2002.

García, Marcos. In 1980, Mr. García came from El Salvador to Cambridge, where he would live for four years. Mr. García is the director of C.O.R.E.S., Inc. (*Comite de Refugiados El Salvador* – Committee of El Salvadoran Refugees) and the president of the Central American Soccer League. Interviewed by Brigid Brannigan on April 24, 2002.

Hylen, Eva-Marie. Ms. Hylen grew up in Cambridge during the 1970s and lived on Pearl Street, near where the Latin-o Restaurant used to be located. Personal Communication with Seán Kennedy.

Johnson, Seemore. Mr. Johnson is from Costa Rica and has been teaching Latino Dance in Cambridge since 1998. As one of the principles in "Hips on Fire," Mr. Johnson teaches in Cambridge as many as 6 nights a week. Interviewed by Seán Kennedy, April 29, 2002.

Massó, José. Mr. Massó is from San Juan, Puerto Rico and has hosted WGBH's Con Salsa since 1975. Mr. Massó has served as Assistant Director of Government

Relations and Community Affairs, has hosted forums on Sports and Society, and has received many honors including being named a "Hispanic Hero" by Major League Soccer in July 2001. Lecture *Raíces Latinas: A Look at Latin Music* was attended and Personal Communication with Seán Kennedy, April 7, 2002.

Matteson, Bliss. Bliss Matteson is in charge of collection development at the Cambridge Public Library. We spoke with her about the library's Spanish language collection and how they decided what books to add to that collection. Personal Communications with Seán Kennedy, April 2002.

Miranda, Alma. Ms. Alma is from the Dominican Republic and is an active member of the Congregation Lion de Judah Church. Interviewed by Brigid Brannigan and Seán Kennedy on March 2, 2002.

Miranda, Annery. A student at Cambridge Rindge and Latin School, Ms. Miranda was a principle in conducting this research. Individually she was interviewed regarding student activities during an interview with her mother. Interviewed by Brigid Brannigan & Seán Kennedy on March 2, 2002.

Ortiz, Carlos. Mr. Ortiz is the coach of the Roberto Santiago Softball team (of the Roberto Santiago Softball League) and has been involved in the league since its inception in 1979. Personal communication with Brigid Brannigan on April 17, 2002.

Ortiz, José. From Coamo, Puerto Rico, Mr. Ortiz came to Cambridge in 1962. He is a very active parishioner in St. Mary's Catholic Church and has attended services there since 1962. Interviewed by Brigid Brannigan on February 17, 2002. (Transcribed)

Pabón, Julio. Mr. Pabón is from Ayacucho, Perú. A board member of PASNE (Pan-American Society of New England), Mr. Pabón helps to coordinate monthly Latino- and Latin American-themed *tertulias* at the David Rockefeller Center of Harvard University. Personal communication with Brigid Brannigan on April 19, 2002.

Perez, Angel. Mr. Perez has been living in Cambridge for about eight months. He came from San Juan, Puerto Rico in 2000 and is an MBA and member of NSHMBA (the National Society of Hispanic MBAs). Interviewed by Rachel Long on March 11, 2002. (Transcribed)

Perez, Felix. Parishioner at St. Mary's Catholic Church. Mr. Perez came to Cambridge from La Unión, El Salvador around 1980. Interviewed by Ariana Flores on February 3, 2002.

Pinto, José. Coach of an East Boston Salvadoran soccer team. Personal communication with Brigid Brannigan on April 23, 2002.

Rivera, Tomás. Mr. Rivera is from Puerto Rico and has been coach of the Coamo team (of the Roberto Santiago Softball League) since its inception in 2001. Personal communication with Brigid Brannigan on April 18, 2001.

Salazar, Nelson. Coordinator of The Welcome Project in Somerville, Mr. Salazar came from Sonsonate, El Salvador in 1980. He lived in Cambridge for some time and worked in Concilio Hispano for a period. Personal communication with Brigid Brannigan. (Interviewed by Andrew Hara on March 8, 2002. Transcribed)

Santiago, Roberto. Coming to Cambridge in 1956, Mr. Santiago was among the first Latinos to settle in Cambridge and has been very active in the Latino

community, including helping to found Concilio Hispano. Interviewed by Radhika Thakkar on March 9, 2002. (Transcribed)

Vaquerano, Filipe. Mr. Vaquerano came to the United States from El Salvador and is currently an EOSL coordinator at the Community Learning Center. Interviewed by Seán Kennedy, April 24, 2002.

Varón, Corrine. Ms. Varón is from Lima, Peru and came to Cambridge in 1977. She is the Coordinator of Bilingual Education Reform Project with the Cambridge Public Schools. Interviewed by Brigid Brannigan, April 8, 2002.

Appendix B – Suggestions for Further Field Research

This single semester project formed a picture of the cultural expressions of the Cambridge Latino Community. This work could serve as the starting point for a more specific project researching this aspect of Latino life in Cambridge. This section suggests several possible areas of more specific research and possible starting points for initiating those investigations.

Second-generation Latinos

In this research we conducted initial research on second-generation Latinos, utilizing several interviews with Latinos who grew up in Cambridge and the 11 responses to a questionnaire provided to young Latinos living in Cambridge today. Our investigation, however, drew primarily on the information provided by parents. We feel this research could be greatly expanded by subsequent efforts speaking to both parents and children. In particular a project could develop a more detailed

picture of the life of young Latinos, both in Cambridge today and for those who grew up in Cambridge during the 1970s and 1980s.

Interviewing Young Latinos and Latinos that Grew Up in Cambridge

Possible starting places for contacting young Latinos today include the AHORA, Amigos, Juntos, and The Welcome Project. The Area 4 youth center, Centro Presente's program Pintamos Nuestro Mundo, and the churches discussed are also good starting points. JAMNASTICS organization offers instruction and performance opportunities for young Cambridge residents interested in Latin/o dance styles, hip hop, and gymnastics. Any programs directly located within the Cambridge Public School system may have formal requirements for conducting such research, whereas working through other organizations might be less structured but also effective.

Contacting Latinos who grew up in Cambridge proved more difficult because many have since moved from Cambridge. Such an effort would likely rely on a referral process, starting with well-informed individuals.

Two former AHORA counselors and Concilio Hispano employees, Nelson Salazar and Nyal Fuentes, might still maintain contacts with individuals that were in that program during the 1990s. Prior administrators at CRLS, such as 'Doc' McLauren, that interacted directly with students may have remained in contact with those they knew well.

Dennis Benzán greatly assisted all research groups in the Urban Borderlands and offered to provide contact information for childhood friends who have moved from the area. Several online resources that might provide contacts include classmates.com, where several CRLS class secretaries and officers are registered, the Usenet discussion groups soc.culture.{puertorico,cuba}, and several bulletin board sites organized by ethnicity for meeting other individuals (Boricuas Online, Guacanos Online… etc.).

Although it conflicts with school winter break, some former CRLS students with family in the area return to Cambridge over the holidays. St. Mary's and Congregation Lion of Judah draw families that have moved away, so church events might also draw such ex-students with their families. Over the past winter holidays Ryles and the B-Side lounge were utilized both formally and informally for reunions. Lastly, during the temperate months, the Roberto Santiago softball league and associated events draw several generations of Latinos where introductions to individuals might be possible.

Developing a picture of family life in Cambridge

Starting a family in Cambridge was a turning point for many Latinos that caused them to both interact with Cambridge at large differently and view their life in Cambridge differently. Latinos that grew up in Cambridge indicated that children from all walks respected the importance and traditions of family. For both Latinos

who immigrated to Cambridge and young Latinos family ties linked them to ethnic traditions and were an important part of identity.

The importance of family was recognized early on in the research and the Culture group proposed some questions that other investigators could utilize when speaking with Latinos. However, despite the importance of family and specific attention to researching it, the practice of including this in interviews covering broad topics did not divulge consistent results. To address this in future research the Culture group would propose a combination of questionnaire, brief phone interviews specifically about family life, round-table discussions at youth group meetings, and follow-up interviews with certain subjects specifically focused on family life. Practically every interview conducted during the Urban Borderlands project included some personal history component and thus reviewing archived journal entries would offer contacts that have family in Cambridge.

Family Celebrations

This project included a skeletal and focused questionnaire about regular gatherings and celebrations including or organized by the family. The format of asking several specific questions and allowing room for the young adults to offer their opinion provided useful color to the overall responses.

However, more general statistics about frequency of planned events and comparison across a larger sample might be best obtained from those who provide services in support of weddings and quinceañeros. This would include function halls

that are available for rent, DJs, bands, photographers, limousine companies, and caterers.

Several informants specifically mentioned celebrating the US holiday Thanksgiving, including a couple who spent that whole day with relatives locally and said this had been, in fact, the last time they had seen those relatives. An exploration of which religious, regional, and US holidays were celebrated by families with comparisons how regularly the family got together, any similarities or contrasts between traditions here and in the sending country might prove interesting. The mother of one of the authors who emigrated from Ireland has mentioned on several occasions a personal affinity for Thanksgiving because the way it was celebrated here reminded her of how Christmas is celebrated in Ireland.

Youth Organizations

The various organizations supporting young Latinos often split the line between Community Services/Organizing and Culture Expression. A single group researching such organizations from both aspects could easily cover both in one text and provide important information about this aspect of the Latino Community.

Appendix C -- Bibliography

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