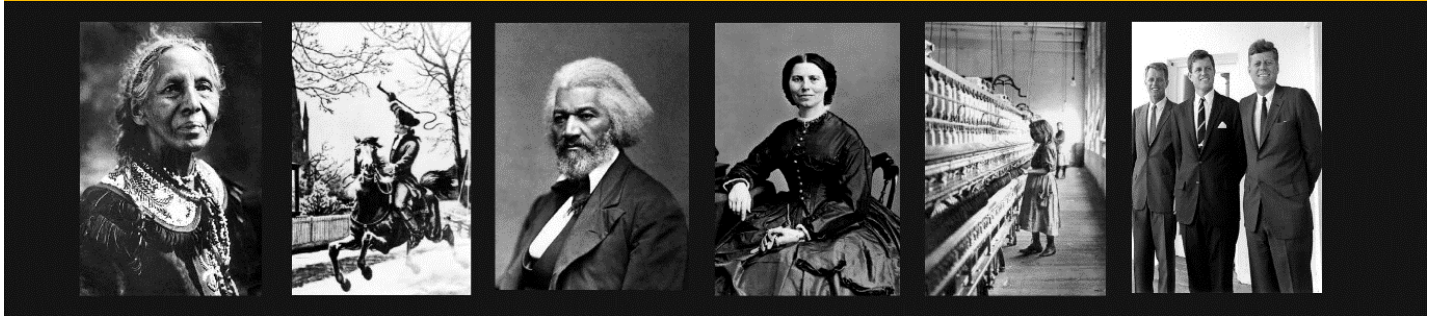


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“This Would Be a Ghost Town’: Urban Crisis and Latino Migration in Lawrence, 1945-2000.”

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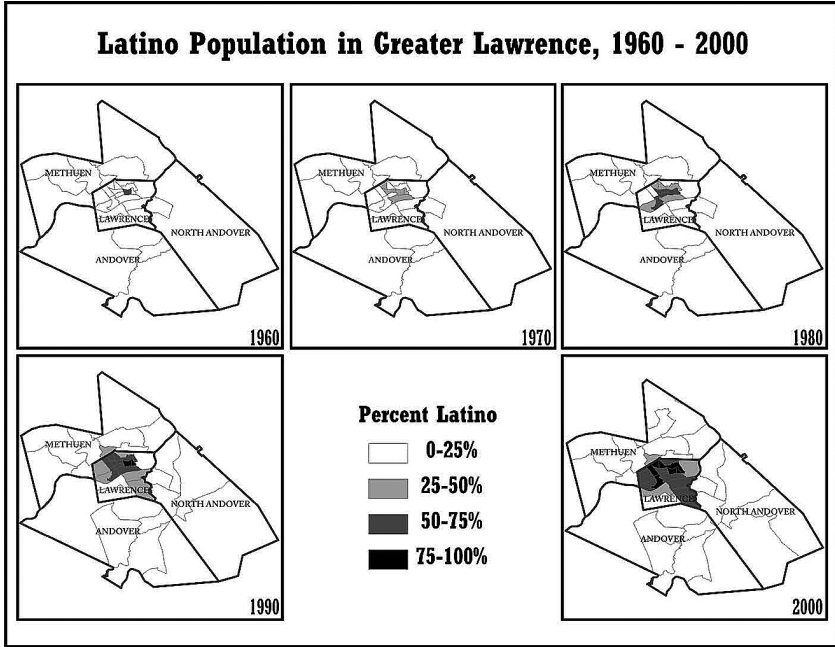


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Latino Population in Greater Lawrence, 1960 - 2000

These maps show the percentage of Latino residents in Greater Lawrence census tracts between 1960 and 2000. With the exception of southwest Lawrence, every part of the city had experienced substantial Latino settlement by 2000 (defined as census tracts that are at least 25% Latino), while with the exception of a small section of south-central Methuen, no area in the suburbs had experienced substantial Latino settlement by 2000. Map by Llana Barber and Nick Bacon; drawn by Nick Bacon.

"This Would Be a Ghost Town": Urban Crisis and Latino Migration in Lawrence, 1945-2000

LLANA BARBER



Abstract: *Historian Llana Barber explores the transformation of Lawrence, MA into New England's first Latino-majority city. Like many industrial cities in New England, Lawrence's economy went into free-fall after World War II due to deindustrialization and suburbanization. Barber argues that an analysis of the city's evolution provides both a paradigm of the extreme impact of deindustrialization and urban crisis, and an unparalleled illustration of the extent to which Latinos have transformed U.S. cities in recent decades.*

While some narratives have blamed the city's economic decline on this new wave of immigrants, Barber concludes that economic decline began decades before Latino settlement gained momentum in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Not only were Latinos innocent of the charge that their presence ruined a once-great city, the truth was quite the opposite: Latinos reinvigorated a city that was in a state of extreme neglect after decades of white flight and deindustrialization. However, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, who brought new life to the struggling city,



confronted a host of challenges. These included limited job prospects, exclusion from local governance, inadequate city services, and hostility from white ethnic groups. In this inhospitable context, Latinos struggled to build lives for themselves in the ruins of industrial America.

Dr. Llana Barber is an Assistant Professor in American Studies at SUNY College at

Old Westbury. This article was first published as a chapter in Confronting Urban Legacy: Rediscovering Hartford and New England's Forgotten Cities, edited by Xiangming Chen and Nick Bacon (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013), pp. 65-84. It has been revised slightly and is reprinted with the permission of Lexington Books. Barber has recently expanded her research into a book, Latino City: Immigration and Urban Crisis in Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1945-2000 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

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There are two very different ways to tell the story of how Lawrence, Massachusetts came to be the city it is today. The first version explains how the textile industry, the backbone of Lawrence's economy, left the city after World War II, provoking an economic collapse. The city's population, mainly hardworking mill operatives with an array of European-immigrant origins, declined dramatically after the mills closed. This version of the story claims that the struggling city came to be populated by a motley cast of drug dealers, gang members, and welfare cheats. The huge brick mills that had formerly attracted international attention for the scale of their industrial output began to crumble with decay, becoming the haunt of addicts and arsonists. Nearby residents drove in an arc around the city, rather than driving through to get to the other side. Lawrence soon earned the moniker "the armpit of the Northeast" and was widely derided throughout the region.

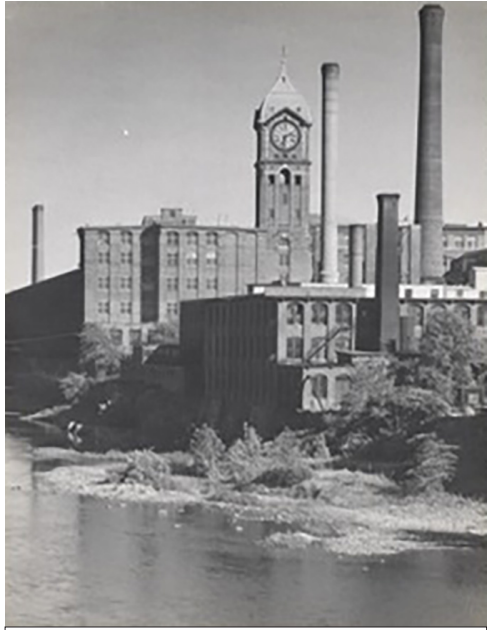
The second version tells how Puerto Rican and Cuban immigrants were drawn to Lawrence in the early 1960s to work in the few low-wage manufacturing jobs that still remained in the city. Migrant networks beckoned others to Lawrence, and family and friends of the original Latino

settlers joined their kin in the city. This version of the story explains how the diverse Latino population of the city swelled, with Dominicans coming to predominate. By 2000, the U.S. census reported that the majority of residents were Latino.

An array of Latino-owned businesses sprung up in New England's first Latino-majority city. Some provided transnational services like shipping, travel, and money transfers. Others provided bilingual/bicultural services and products for local Latinos, Latin American foods (either in groceries or in restaurants), local taxi services and transportation by van to Latino neighborhoods in New York City, bilingual/bicultural health and legal services, assistance obtaining a home or access to government

social services, and Spanish-language and bilingual media. Still other Latino-owned businesses provided leisure sites, such as bars and nightclubs that catered to a Latino clientele. Latinos came to the forefront of Lawrence's public culture as Spanish became the main language of commerce and conviviality in the city, as *bachata*, *merengue*, and *reggaeton* regularly floated through the summer air, and as the streets and parks of the city became the sites for public celebrations of Latin American and Latino cultures.

These two versions of Lawrence's recent history, the one emphasizing Lawrence's crisis and the other its Latinization, are both true in most respects (although the story of Lawrence's descent into criminality and decay has often been wildly exaggerated). Lawrence is both a shocking example of the extreme impact of deindustrialization and urban crisis, and an unparalleled illustration of the extent to which Latinos have transformed U.S. cities in recent decades. Two questions remain, however. The first is how do these two



The Ayer Mill

Built by the American Woolen Company in 1909 with a clock tower nearly the size of Big Ben, the mill closed in the mid-1950s. Its physical deterioration came to symbolize Lawrence's economic decline.

versions of Lawrence's history relate? In other words, what does Lawrence's crisis have to do with Latino settlement in the city? And the second is why should anyone care? Lawrence is a tiny, seven-square mile city with less than 100,000 residents on the border between Massachusetts and New Hampshire; should anyone be invested in learning its history? This article will attempt to answer both of these questions, exploring the relationship between urban crisis and Latino settlement and will also propose that the history of such small cities is emblematic of larger changes in globalized urbanism.¹

As Lawrence's economy and social infrastructure decayed alongside its physical infrastructure, many longtime residents blamed Latinos for the city's decline. Some white residents believed that Latinos had brought with them the poverty, crime, and deterioration that plagued Lawrence. To those who scapegoated Latinos for the city's problems, the connection between the city's crisis and its new Latino population seemed obvious. Yet this facile explanation for the city's decline obscures far more than it reveals. In fact, the city's economic decline began decades before Latino settlement gained momentum in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Not only were Latinos innocent of the charge that their presence ruined a once-great city, the truth was quite the opposite: Latinos reinvigorated a city that was in a state of extreme neglect after decades of white flight and deindustrialization. As the title of this article suggests, without Latino settlement in Lawrence, many speculated that the city was on its way to becoming a "ghost town."²

SUBURBANIZATION AND URBAN CRISIS

The invisible thread that connects the city's economic decline with Latino settlement is the national history of suburbanization and urban disinvestment. The decades after World War II saw a massive public and private investment in suburban home ownership and development throughout the United States. Former industrial cities in the Northeast and Midwest experienced a massive exodus of their white residents as Federal Housing Administration loans, the GI bill, and government-constructed highways facilitated homeownership in the new suburban developments that were springing up like mushrooms after the rain across the American landscape. A range of legal and extra-legal practices restricted these new suburbs almost exclusively to white residents, while communities of color were concentrated within the deteriorating urban centers that white residents were leaving behind en masse.

The late 1940s and 1950s, a peak period of suburbanization across the nation, saw a dramatic decline in Lawrence's population as well as unprecedented growth in the population of Lawrence's surrounding suburbs,

with nearby Salem, New Hampshire almost doubling in population in a single decade. Historians have extensively chronicled “white flight” from large urban centers like New York, Chicago, Oakland, and Detroit, but this process remains somewhat under-studied for small cities.³

Lawrence, like many small cities in the 1950s, was nearly 99% white; it had never developed a sizable African American community. The traditional history of white flight from large cities generally chronicled white residents leaving the city as a means to avoid racial integration, when people of color, particularly African Americans, moved into previously all-white neighborhoods. But this simply does not apply to Lawrence in the decades after World War II, as there was no substantial community of color in Lawrence. Yet, Lawrence still lost 12% of its population between 1950 and 1960. Indeed, between the 1940 and 1980 censuses, Lawrence lost a total of nearly 40% of its white residents, before substantial Latino migration to the city was even underway.⁴

In this sense, Lawrence encourages us to look at the “pull factors” of white flight to explore what *drew* white urban residents out into the suburbs, not what *pushed* them from the city. Across the nation, rising wages and federally guaranteed mortgages brought the cost of single family suburban homes into range for many middle- and working-class white families, while federally sponsored highway development kept the city accessible. At the same time, tax incentives and ample space for parking increasingly brought industry and retail establishments out to the suburbs, cutting the commute to work and shopping. Suburban growth, in turn, swelled suburban tax bases, enabling strong infrastructures and effectively segregated public schools flush with resources as well as significant state and national political power relative to urban neighbors. The draw of Lawrence’s suburbs in these early decades was not that they offered an escape from the racial tension of the city, because there was not really any racial tension yet. Rather, the pull of the suburbs related to changes in the metropolitan political economy that developed the suburbs at Lawrence’s expense and enabled the suburbs to limit economic diversity through exclusionary zoning practices, such as restricting multi-family housing and apartments.

Lawrence is completely surrounded by three suburbs: Andover, North Andover, and Methuen. I also include Salem, New Hampshire, directly over the New Hampshire border from Methuen, in this analysis. Lying just north of “Greater Lawrence” (i.e., Lawrence and its suburbs), Salem would become the closest major retail center in tax-free New Hampshire and a heavy retail competitor with Lawrence. As a result, it was often considered part of Greater Lawrence. The four suburbs had somewhat different trajectories;



Salem, New Hampshire, c. 1960s

Home to Canobie Lake Park (shown above) and a burgeoning shopping district along Route 28 that charged no sales tax, Salem attracted many former Lawrencians, almost doubling its population between 1950 and 1960.

Andover and North Andover, lying to the Southwest and Southeast of Lawrence, respectively (in other words, on the Boston side of Lawrence), were significantly more prosperous than Methuen and Salem (lying to the North). Yet they all shared a development path between 1950 and 1980 that was substantially different from that of Lawrence. Between 1950 and 1960, the number of people living in the Greater Lawrence metropolitan region remained relatively stable. This stability, however, obscured substantial shifts in urban and suburban populations. While Lawrence lost 12% of its population, or almost 10,000 residents, Andover's population increased by 28%, Methuen's by 15%, and North Andover's by 29%. The increase was even more dramatic just over the New Hampshire border, where Salem (soon to grow into a commercial hub) almost doubled in population during the 1950s, with a whopping 92% increase.

The decline in Lawrence's population continued over the next few decades as the suburbs continued to develop. New highway construction in the 1950s and 1960s facilitated access between the suburbs and the city, and the suburbs had ample open space for development. Housing development was largely restricted, however, to single-family homes, with federally guaranteed mortgage programs and expanded credit opportunities making these homes

affordable for purchase and thus promoting high owner-occupancy rates. Homes in the suburbs were also often newer and in better condition than Lawrence's housing, much of which had been built at the turn of the century or earlier to house immigrant workers in Lawrence's textile mills during its industrial heyday. Federal funds were also far easier to obtain for new home purchases than for renovations.

THE HOUSING DIVIDE

In 1950, at the beginning of this suburban swell, both median home values and median household incomes were similar in Lawrence and its suburbs. Across the Lawrence metropolitan area, urban and suburban residents shared quite similar demographics. As a result, suburban home ownership was in reach for even average-earning Lawrence residents. In 1950, the median value of a single-family home in the city of Lawrence was \$8,989 (\$72,844 adjusted to 2005 dollars, to give a sense of the change between decades),⁵ quite near the median home value for the Greater Lawrence area as a whole, which was \$9,210 (\$74,635 adjusted).

Those Lawrencians who could afford to buy a home in this era most likely had a good deal of choice over whether they purchased in the city or the suburbs. Indeed, considering that much of the federal support for home ownership was geared towards new construction, it may even have been easier for Lawrencians in 1950 to buy a home in the suburbs than in the city. This is significant in the study of suburban development because, at a time when the *economics* of suburban homeownership were so egalitarian, the *racial politics* of suburban homeownership were their most exclusionary. The very federal processes that enabled home ownership for so many white families often explicitly excluded families of color from suburban homeownership opportunities in the pre-Civil Rights era. Although restrictive covenants were made legally unenforceable in 1948 and explicit references to race were removed from the Federal Housing Administration materials in the 1950s, discriminatory practices continued, such as the federally established bank policies of redlining (refusing to provide mortgages within an entire non-white or integrated neighborhood) and denying mortgages to non-white applicants based on the perceived risk of the loan. Housing discrimination by realtors continued as well. By the time an (imperfect) enforcement mechanism existed in the 1970s to try to ensure equal-opportunity lending and prevent housing discrimination, a chasm had opened up between urban income and suburban housing prices.

As mentioned above, the median home value in Greater Lawrence in 1950 was \$9,210 (\$74,635 adjusted), just over three times the median annual household income of Lawrence residents. Suburban housing was economically accessible to a large number of white urban families looking to buy their own single-family homes in this era that celebrated domesticity and the nuclear family. By 1980, however, the difference between urban wages and suburban housing prices had become dramatic. In Andover, in 1980, the median housing value had grown to \$80,684 (\$191,234 adjusted), nearly six times the median household income in Lawrence, and by 2000, to \$344,895 (\$391,161 adjusted), nearly twelve times the median household income in Lawrence!

Even in a less wealthy suburb such as Methuen this process occurred. By 1980, the median home value had only grown to \$50,004 (\$118,517 adjusted), just three and a half times the median household income in Lawrence. But by 2000, it was \$159,000 (\$180,329 adjusted), or five and a half times the median household income in Lawrence. Average household incomes in Lawrence declined slightly over these decades, but the true responsibility for this major gap lays in the exponential growth of suburban housing prices. As Robert Self has noted in his study of Oakland and suburban Alameda County, at the same time that explicitly racial barriers to suburban living were being eradicated in the 1960s, “property value differentials hardened across space.”⁶ As the decades advanced, discrimination was no longer necessary to ensure that the suburbs remained racially and economically homogenous, as low-income, urban workers (as most Latinos in Lawrence were) had been effectively priced out of the market for suburban homes.

Unable to *buy* homes in the suburbs by 1980, could working-class Lawrencians at least obtain *rental* housing in the suburbs? This was also quite difficult. Zoning standards and public opposition had dramatically limited the quantity of both multifamily rental housing and subsidized (or “public”) housing in the suburbs. By 1980, between 87% and 94% of houses in Andover, Methuen and North Andover were single-family dwellings.⁷ Families looking to rent an apartment would be hard-pressed to find one in the suburbs.

Those reliant on subsidized housing were even more constrained to the city. Although Massachusetts had passed landmark legislation in 1969 to encourage the development of subsidized housing in its suburbs, such development remained slow and the suburban units that were built were most often for the elderly, not for low-income families.⁸ In 1976, Andover had 232 units of subsidized housing, North Andover had 154, and Methuen 308. All of these units combined, however, do not even come close to

Lawrence's 2,203 units of subsidized housing. Not only did the suburbs have dramatically less subsidized housing than Lawrence, but the majority of units that were located in the suburbs were reserved for the elderly: 76% of Andover's subsidized units, 87% of North Andover's, and 81% of Methuen's. By contrast, only a quarter of Lawrence's subsidized units were for the elderly; the rest were for low-income families.⁹

By 1980, subsidized and even private multi-family rental housing was overwhelmingly concentrated in the central city, dramatically constraining renters' choices. Median home prices in most suburbs were beyond the means of the average Lawrence worker, and particularly beyond the range of the average Latino worker, whose wages were substantially lower than the Lawrence median. As a result, the overwhelming majority of Latinos who settled in the Greater Lawrence region had little opportunity to find a home outside of Lawrence. Not only did this residential divergence constrain the settlement choices of Latino migrants, it also had a dramatic impact on the quality of public services available to them. The skyrocketing property values in the suburbs contributed to their expanded tax bases, supporting more solid school systems and more effective government services in other realms as well, such as public safety.

SEISMIC SHIFT: FROM TEXTILE CITY TO HIGH-TECH SUBURBS

Residential property values were not the only rapidly-growing source of suburban prosperity in the decades after World War II; suburban industry also experienced a dramatic acceleration. The new highways and ample parking space in the suburbs drew formerly urban manufacturers to relocate in the suburbs throughout the nation, particularly in the Northeast and Midwest. The security priorities of government defense contracts, which emphasized decentralization in Cold War weapons production, also drew production out of central cities. Some suburbs offered substantial financial incentives for industries to relocate as well, including tax breaks that many struggling cities could not afford. Suburban competition for industry dramatically accelerated urban deindustrialization. Although many manufacturers moved to the South and eventually off-shore, many others remained tantalizingly near – within the metropolitan region but outside of municipal boundaries, outside of the urban tax base, and beyond the reach of many urban workers.

Lawrence's deindustrialization began as early as the 1920s and 1930s as the textile industry moved to the non-unionized South, fleeing a city that was famous (or infamous) for its militant labor activity since the 1912 "Bread

and Roses” strike (and the less well-known strike of 1919).¹⁰ Although the mills were brought back to life by the textile demands of World War II, within a few years of the war ending, Lawrence was facing massive layoffs. The collapse of New England’s textile industry was not limited to Lawrence. Particularly in Massachusetts, the textile mills that had clothed the nation and provided the backbone of the region’s economy shut down soon after World War II, some heading South and others folding completely in the face of competition from southern industries and synthetic fabrics.

As textile production was in decline, however, electronics production in New England was ascending, aided by government support for education and for defense development. Along Route 128, outside Boston, a high-tech electronics industry corridor began to develop, changing the industrial base of the state from textile manufacturing to electronics, which were in high demand in the post-World War II consumption-based economy and the Cold War-based defense industry. In the decades after World War II, the backbone of New England’s manufacturing economy shifted from textiles to electronics.¹¹

This change occurred slowly throughout the state, but in Lawrence, the change was seismic. As the *Boston Globe* reported, “New England adjusted gradually to the changed economic world, but nowhere was the transition more dramatic, the extremes of prosperity and adversity so marked, as in Lawrence.” As Lawrence had been at the center of the textile industry, it would also come to demonstrate the most significant drawback to New England’s industrial transition. Whereas textile manufacturing had been largely an urban mill-town phenomenon, electronics development and manufacturing would come to be largely a suburban process. As New England’s industrial base shifted to electronics, it also shifted to its suburbs, and this shift from urban textile production to suburban electronics manufacturing left former mill towns grasping for a new economic base.¹²

In the decades after World War II, the largest and most profitable manufacturers in the Greater Lawrence area were located in, or relocated to, the suburbs. Two of the most notable suburban manufacturers in Greater Lawrence were Raytheon and Western Electric (which would become AT&T and then Lucent Technologies). Raytheon was located in Andover and was flush with Cold War defense contracts throughout this era, constructing high-end machinery. Western Electric, however, demonstrates clearly the arch of intra-metropolitan (urban/suburban) competition for industry in the postwar era.

During World War II, Western Electric produced communications equipment for both consumer and defense uses. In the postwar era, the

company expanded into Lawrence, beginning to manufacture and warehouse in the former Monomac Spinning Mill in 1951. Just two years later, Western Electric broke ground on a larger, more modern plant in North Andover. By 1960, the plant in North Andover covered over 150 acres, compared to the six acres of the Lawrence plant, and had enough room for 1,500 parking spaces. By 1978, after years of rumors and decades of gradually transferring its operations and its workers to North Andover, Western Electric closed the Lawrence plant.

Meanwhile, the North Andover plant was thriving, having expanded seven times in the intervening years. Western Electric continued to provide employment for a substantial number of Lawrence residents, including Lawrence Latinos, for almost two more decades. Yet, after its Lawrence plant closed in 1978, Western Electric (like many other Greater Lawrence manufacturers) no longer contributed directly to Lawrence's tax base, to



Groundbreaking for Western Electric Plant, c. 1953

Having outgrown its telephone factories in Lawrence and Haverhill, Western Electric Company, AT&T's manufacturing subsidiary, opened an enormous plant in North Andover, a prosperous suburb to the south of Lawrence. (Photo courtesy of the Lawrence History Center)

the maintenance of any of its old mill buildings, or to Lawrence's rapidly declining reputation.¹³

RETAIL: SUBURBAN SHOPPING MALLS AND THE DOWNTOWN EXODUS

Suburban competition for manufacturing was perhaps less ruinous for urban economies than suburban competition for the region's retail establishments. The postwar boom in suburban malls and shopping plazas devastated urban downtowns across the nation, and Lawrence was no exception. The decline of the city's retail sector began in the mid-1950s as Methuen and Salem gradually became the consumer hubs of the region. Already in 1957, a report commissioned by the city leadership pointed out, "The people of the Greater Lawrence Area are doing business outside [downtown]." The report acknowledged that the economic impact of this was currently small but made the dire prediction that "this point will be the most serious problem faced by [Lawrence's downtown] within the next three years." It speculated that, if Lawrence's downtown "could remain isolated from competition for the next ten years, as it has in the past," the city's retail sector could recover. This isolation, however, was impossible, as suburban shopping centers with ample free parking sprang up across the region and the new highways made them easily accessible to all Greater Lawrence residents.¹⁴

Retail establishments came to line Route 28 in Salem in the 1960s, and the town's growing importance as a consumer site was aided by Massachusetts' decision to introduce a sales tax in 1966, which made the quick drive over the New Hampshire border (to one of the few states left in the country without a sales tax) quite appealing. The *Journal of Greater Lawrence* called the commercial sector along Route 28 in Salem "a sizzling strip of neon and a motorist's nightmare," yet stores like K-Mart still drew shoppers.

The final blow to Lawrence's established retail sector was dealt in the early 1970s with the construction of the Methuen Mall. In late November, 1973, *Journal of Greater Lawrence* reporter Andrew Coburn wrote, "Excuse the messy metaphor, but one hell of a heavyweight is flexing its muscles for the biggest money battle this area has known... the Methuen Mall versus every other shopping scene (particularly plazas) from here to Newburyport." At the time, the mall, which Coburn called "one huge consumer circus with something for everybody," was only partially open, with less than half of its projected seventy-five stores up and running, but Coburn reported that it "already [was] doing damage in downtown Lawrence." The Methuen Mall

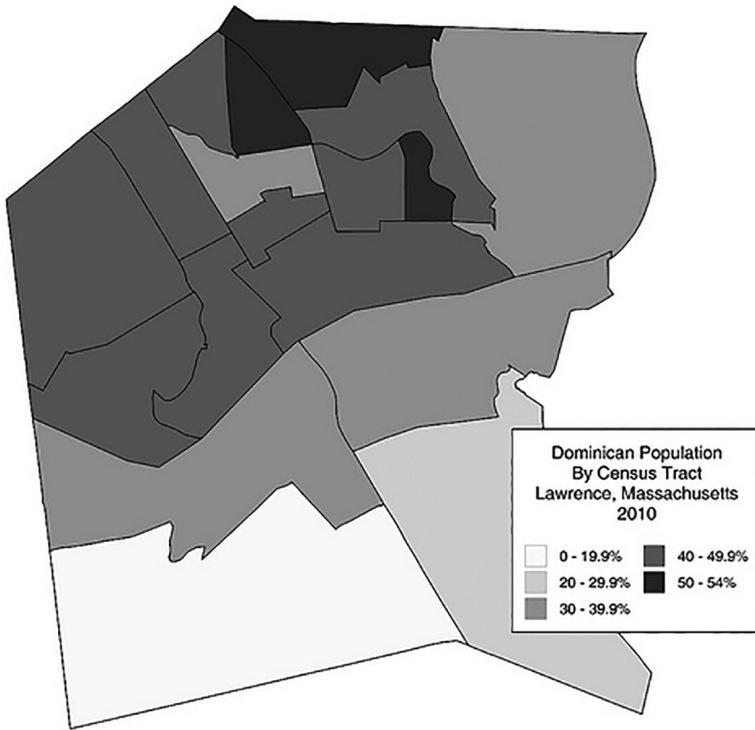


Suburban Shopping Destinations in Greater Lawrence

The development of retail districts such as Route 28 in Salem, New Hampshire (pictured above c. 1960s) and the Methuen Mall dealt a heavy blow to businesses in downtown Lawrence.

would be the biggest of its kind in the region, posing an immediate threat to retail centers throughout Greater Lawrence. Most troubling for the city itself, Coburn predicted that the mall “will touch the core of communities whose downtown districts have little to offer as it is.”¹⁵

Coburn detailed, among the suburban mall’s advantages, “[a] concrete ballfield for free and easy parking, with no chance of a ticket on the windshield.” This was particularly important to those fed up with parking tickets in downtown Lawrence. The Methuen Mall also had “huge stores like Sears and Howland’s, with all the latest gimmicks, advertising money, and promotional fanfare to draw crowds from far and wide.” Sears had just left its longtime location on Essex Street in downtown Lawrence and so its relocation to the Methuen Mall must have caused some Lawrencians particular chagrin. Whatever hope Lawrencians may have had for returning their downtown to its prior prominence suddenly became unrealistic, as the Methuen Mall laid Essex Street down for the count.¹⁶ Even the local



paper, the *Lawrence Eagle-Tribune*, had moved from its downtown Lawrence location to suburban North Andover in 1968 (and in 1987, at a high point in the city's crisis, the paper even removed the word "Lawrence" from its name).

By 1980, the shared demographics of the Greater Lawrence region after World War II had given way to dramatic inequality between the city and its suburbs. The suburbs had effectively won the battle for Greater Lawrence's middle-class residents, its major industry, and its retail sector. The income gap between the city and its suburbs was pronounced, with Lawrence households only earning an average of 57 cents to Andover residents' dollar,¹⁷ and the city was in the throes of severe economic crisis.

LATINO MIGRATION ENTERS

Onto this stage of suburban prosperity and urban decline stepped Latino migrants, beginning with a trickle of Cuban refugees and Puerto Rican migrants in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The Latino population in Lawrence

grew steadily over the next few decades, from dozens in the 1950s to hundreds in the 1960s to thousands in the 1970s. By 1980, census figures reported that over 10,000 Latinos lived in Lawrence, and unsurprisingly, members of the community estimated that the real population was substantially higher. By 1990, the census indicated that the Latino population in Lawrence had tripled to nearly 30,000, and most districts in North Lawrence had already developed Latino majorities. As the local newspaper noted in the early 1990s, "The most dramatic increase in Lawrence's Latino population came in the 1980s, when Dominicans drawn by family ties and the lure of a smaller, safer city streamed in from New York City and other East Coast locales."¹⁸ It is significant that the 1980s were the time in Lawrence when racial tension was at its height, when the remaining industries in the city were leaving and unemployment was growing, and yet was also the time when the Latino population grew the most substantially. By 2000, with the further addition of more than 10,000 Latinos in the 1990s (a portion of which probably occurred through natural increase), the census indicated that Lawrence had developed a substantial Latino majority (59.7%) in the city as a whole. Current census estimates place the proportion of Latinos in the city as high as 73.8% in 2010.

According to census figures, the majority of Latinos who arrived before 1980 were Puerto Rican. Dominicans did not dominate numerically until the 1990s, although many Dominican migrants arrived during the earlier period as well, and by 1980 they were already a close second to Puerto Ricans. Many community leaders, however, argued as early as the 1970s that the Dominican population had overtaken the Puerto Rican population numerically. Undocumented Dominicans may have been reluctant to announce themselves to census takers, and there is evidence that some undocumented Dominicans successfully claimed that they were Puerto Rican in order to stay and work in the United States without fear of deportation.¹⁹ Together, Dominicans and Puerto Ricans made up the vast majority of Latinos in the city, but more than twenty other national origin groups were present in Lawrence as well. Although some Latinos came straight to Lawrence from their home countries, the bulk of Latino settlement in Lawrence before the 1980s was made up of internal migrants, mostly from New York City.²⁰ As long-time Lawrence resident and community organizer Isabel Melendez described, in the 1970s, "Lawrence filled up with New York."²¹ Direct migration from Latin America increased in later decades, but ties and movement between Lawrence and New York remained strong.

In 1992, the director of Lawrence's Minority Business Council, Jose Zaiter, told his family's migration story to the local paper, explaining that

it was typical of how many Latinos ended up in Lawrence. His family had moved from the Dominican Republic to New York City in 1965, and a year later, his uncle left New York for Lawrence and got a job in the city's garment industry. While living in Lawrence, his uncle returned for frequent visits to New York, and he described Lawrence to his relatives as a safe city where jobs were plentiful. In the context of Lawrence's crisis in the early 1990s (when Zaiter was telling his story to the newspaper), as well as the city's reputation for crime, Zaiter found the fact that safety motivated Latino migration to Lawrence "ironic." Yet in comparison with New York City's notorious struggles with crime and drugs in the decades after World War II, Lawrence seemed a more manageable alternative.

The onetime presence of jobs in Lawrence must have seemed no less ironic to Zaiter in the early 1990s, as Lawrence in 1990 had a 25% Latino unemployment rate. Decades earlier, however, when his family first came to the city, he remembered not only that "there were many jobs available" in the city's declining manufacturing sector, but added that companies even used to pay \$50 bonuses to people who recruited new workers.²²

Zaiter's migration narrative demonstrates many of the "ironies" or apparent contradictions of Latino settlement in Lawrence, Massachusetts. Unless one has been to or lived in Lawrence, the idea of a tiny, seven-square mile city on the border of New Hampshire, over a thousand miles away from the nearest Latin American country, becoming home to one of the highest proportions of Latinos in the nation seems preposterous. Lawrence is certainly not a major urban center with obvious name recognition or the home of a longstanding Latino community, like New York City. Further, throughout Lawrence's history, many city officials and white residents worked hard to make the city unappealing as a Latino settlement site, both through official policy and through quotidian harassment and exclusion. Finally, when one considers the dramatic economic crisis facing the city as a result of suburbanization and deindustrialization, the pull of the city for Latino migrants seems puzzling indeed! Why would tens of thousands of Latinos settle in a small, obscure city with a resistant white population and a troubled economy? Why would they choose a deteriorating, often bigoted, New England city over New York, with its longstanding Latino neighborhoods, businesses, and communities, and its reputation for racial tolerance? As Ramón Borges-Méndez has aptly phrased it, "Who in their right mind, looking for a job and looking for better economic opportunity . . . would move to Lawrence?"²³

WHY LAWRENCE?

The answer to the question of “Why Lawrence?” is threefold, and all three parts are related to the development of urban crisis in U.S. cities in the second half of the twentieth century. First, racialized patterns of urban disinvestment in New York City led many Latinos to believe that it was not a suitable place to make a life for themselves and their families. New York had been the major East Coast settlement site for Latinos for generations, but the national postwar process of suburbanization and urban disinvestment left the city, particularly Latino neighborhoods, in crisis. Although slums were certainly not unique to the post-World War II urban landscape, these decades witnessed the development of racialized patterns of concentrated poverty in bleak, barren public housing sites, combined with the flight or demolition of formerly vibrant retail areas, the shift to a two-tier, low-wage service economy with little chance for upward mobility, growing joblessness, and the erosion of basic educational and public safety services.

The perceived hazards of postwar New York City were partially responsible for the dramatic drop in the proportion of stateside Puerto Ricans living in New York. In 1940, an incredible 88% of mainland U.S. Puerto Ricans lived in New York City. By 1970, the city’s share had declined to 59%, still



Latino Children in Lawrence (Date Unknown)

a majority. By 2000, however, less than a quarter of stateside Puerto Ricans lived in New York City.²⁴

This dispersion from New York City was true of Dominicans as well by 2000. Many scholars have looked at factors that determine Latino settlement sites.²⁵ Particular attention has been paid to the “pull” factors that caused this decline in New York’s share of stateside Puerto Ricans and Dominicans; yet these accounts demonstrate that New York’s urban crisis created a “push” from the city as well. This push was largely responsible for the growth in Lawrence’s Latino population. Oral history interviews with Latino Lawrencians confirm that Latino settlement in Lawrence was due partially to a desire to leave New York City. A young Dominican man said, “We had a tough life in New York . . . Lawrence has a lot more to offer.”²⁶ A Dominican woman explained:

I moved to Lawrence because New York is, I don’t consider [it] a nice place for a child to be raised in. You know, I was thinking about my kids to be raised in a nice city, not gangs, stuff like that, bad things.²⁷

A young Dominican man explained to the Eagle-Tribune why his mother chose Lawrence, and the paper reported, “[she] first went to New York for a year and then she found Lawrence. To her . . . the city was like a church – quiet and peaceful. It was a much safer place to send her children to school.”²⁸ Another Dominican woman who came to Lawrence as a child in 1970 believed that her parents came to Lawrence because “[i]t was quieter than New York.”²⁹

This Dominican woman captured the sentiments of many:

One of the reasons so many Dominicans have immigrated to Lawrence is the peace and quiet. You know that Lawrence is small and outside of the large urban centers. . . . the children can play in the streets, they can be outside until late (above all in the summer); this wouldn’t be possible in other cities. The tranquility is what attracts us to come here.³⁰

Although Lawrence today contains some migrants from large Latin American cities like Santo Domingo, many early migrants came from much smaller towns like Tenares in the Dominican Republic and Juana Diaz in Puerto Rico. The relative *tranquilidad* of Lawrence resembled the life many Latinos lived before migration: “Se parece más a nuestros barrios, a nuestro pueblo” [It more closely resembles our neighborhoods, our towns].³¹ Latino

settlers in Lawrence believed that this small-town life provided a safer environment in which to raise children. One Latina explained that she came to Lawrence from New York City in 1981, not because she had been told about jobs in the area, but because she had been told that "it would be more peaceful for my children."³² Many Latinos chose Lawrence because they were specifically trying to escape the urban experience of congestion and crime that they had found in New York City.

Yet, if *tranquilidad* was the goal, why not settle in the suburbs or a small town? This brings us to the second part of the answer to "Why Lawrence?" The racialized suburbanization that had taken place across the nation after World War II constrained the settlement options of most Latinos, making the question of where to settle really a question of which *city* to settle in for all but the wealthiest and luckiest Latinos.³³ Not only had uneven metropolitan development transformed Lawrence from a bustling, working-class city into a sparsely populated, impoverished city, it also dramatically constrained the settlement options of incoming Latinos, as decades of protected suburbanization had created the huge differential in the cost of urban and suburban housing discussed above.

Although Lawrence would come to be known, at least regionally, for its economic problems and its crime and poverty, many of the Latinos who chose to move there were looking for the closest thing they could get to small-town life in the United States. Restricted by the exclusionary practices of suburbanization, Latinos looked for a small city where they could build community, raise children and start businesses in safety, and escape the perceived danger and anonymity of life in New York. The "push" from New York City and the limiting factors of suburbanization were thus essential to the development of a Latino community in Lawrence.

URBAN DISINVESTMENT AND LACK OF GENTRIFICATION CREATES OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMMIGRANTS

However, the development of such a substantial Latino community in Lawrence was not overdetermined by these processes alone, as there existed countless other cities throughout the United States that did not develop such an ethnic profile. Rather, the final critical factor in the rise of Lawrence's Latino community was the impact of urban disinvestment on the city. The process of urban decline in Lawrence opened the city's job market and housing to Latinos. As much of New England transitioned to high-tech manufacturing, Lawrence's remaining non-durable goods manufacturers welcomed and even recruited Latinos to Lawrence in the 1960s and 1970s as



Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal Mi Ebenezer, Haverhill Street, Lawrence, 2017
(Photo by Joanne Despres)



A Latino-Owned Business on Hampshire Street, Lawrence, 2017
(Photo by Joanne Despres)



Essex Street, Lawrence

Pictured above is a section of Lawrence's main downtown thoroughfare in the 1960s, when the city's population was predominantly white. Below, a c. 2010s image of the same vicinity shows a botanica, or shop selling religious objects, named after the patron saint of the Dominican Republic, La Virgen de la Altagracia ("The Virgin of Highest Grace," i.e., the Virgin Mary).



Semana Hispana

First organized in 1979 with the help of activist Isabel Melendez (shown at the center of the top photograph), this pan-ethnic festival celebrates both the diversity of Latino cultures and their commonalities. Over the years, it has grown into the largest event in Lawrence, drawing tens of thousands to the city annually. Bottom: revelers at Dominican night, 2015.

(Photos courtesy of the Lawrence Public Library (top) and *Rumbo* (bottom))



Detail of Festival Poster, 1991

(Photo by Louise Sandberg)



Miss Pequeñita Semana Hispana, 2017

(Photo courtesy of *El Mundo Boston*)

a means of remaining competitive with Southern and overseas manufacturers. This initial migration (demonstrated in the recruitment Zaiter described) formed the basis of a Latino community in the city that was then fed through kinship networks, even after the employment incentive to settle in Lawrence receded after the late 1970s. In addition, white flight made rental housing available in the city, although it was not necessarily “cheap” relative to Latino wages.

Perhaps most critically, urban disinvestment was so thorough in Lawrence that the Latino community was allowed to grow relatively undisturbed by gentrification or large-scale urban renewal. The absence of gentrification in the city enabled long-term community and small-business development, relatively uninterrupted by the displacement suffered by many Latino communities in larger cities. Unimpeded by gentrification, the Latino community grew, Latinos developed an unmistakable public presence in the city, and Latino businesses and organizations proliferated, all of which in turn became factors that drew more Latinos to the city. Latinos came to Lawrence because of what previous settlers were able to build and create there.

In 1988, the *Boston Globe* reported

In a typical week several dozen new families show up in Lawrence, drawn by reports from relatives and friends who have come before. The city’s huge Hispanic population – estimated at 20,000 to 30,000 – seems to be the biggest attraction. Hispanics can find grocery stores, dry-cleaning shops and plumbing businesses run by other Hispanics.

Jorge Santiago added, “The weather is different and the architecture is different but otherwise you could be walking around in your home town.”

In 1992, the *Eagle-Tribune* profiled a young Latino couple, a machinist at Lawrence Pumps Inc. and a nursing aide, who had just married and bought a two-family house in Lawrence, where the husband’s brother would live upstairs. “They have read the stories about Lawrence that have made headlines nationwide this year, stories of stolen cars, fires, teen-aged pregnancy, insurance scams and welfare schemes. They know the city is home to all of those problems and more. But it is also home to their families and friends, their memories and their hopes.” The husband was Dominican and had moved to Lawrence ten years earlier with his parents and seven siblings, all of whom lived in the area. The wife was Puerto Rican but born in Lawrence and considered herself “more Lawrencian than Latina.” The paper

described the couple as “among many people in the city’s Latino community who view Lawrence’s problems as its shadow, not its substance.”

The profile argued that family ties and the potential for home ownership were not the city’s only draw; Lawrence had elected its first Latino official, two hundred Latino-owned businesses operated in the city, and community resources were abundant, including parents’ groups that gathered in homes “sharing information about schools, city government, health and other neighborhood concerns.” The article continued, “Latino churches are thriving, from storefront ministries to established parishes.” Perhaps most shocking to city leaders, who had spent decades unsuccessfully trying to revitalize downtown’s Essex Street, was Lawrence’s fresh development. “Downtown Lawrence has developed a decidedly Caribbean flavor. Clothes boutiques, restaurants and nightclubs catering to a Latin crowd are attracting people from Boston, Lowell, Worcester and New Hampshire.”³⁵

The city was experiencing a renaissance, but it looked nothing like what Lawrence’s old elites had envisioned. Latino migration had brought life to the city, and that life was responsible for drawing more Latinos. Lawrence Garcia was a Lawrence-born Dominican whose parents had named him after the city. He drove a cab for Borinquen Taxi and insisted that Lawrence was a prime settlement spot for Latinos, in spite of its struggles. “Outsiders don’t come in to see what it’s all about,” he observed. “There’s a lot of bad, but there’s a lot of good, especially for Hispanics. That’s why there are so many Hispanics here. It’s the best town in the world for me.”³⁶ By the 1990s, Lawrence was unabashedly a Latino city in most aspects of its public culture, and that in turn attracted more Latinos to the city.

TRANSNATIONAL REVIVAL

For the long-term residents of the city who had viewed the growing Latino population as the *cause* of Lawrence’s problems, rather than the *solution*, the increasing Latinization of Lawrence was just another mark of how far the city had fallen. Indeed, many white residents and city officials had resisted Latino settlement for decades, creating a degree of racial animosity in the city that drew international attention when white and Latino Lawrencians battled each other in the streets in 1984. In the context of the brutal economic devastation of the 1990s, however, the perception of Latinos began to shift, as many Latino Lawrencians argued that empowering the Latino community was the best (if not the only) hope for revitalizing Lawrence.

By 1990, the city had lost more than half of its white population and had experienced massive industrial and retail flight. The city’s economy

had become reliant on Latino-owned businesses and businesses oriented toward serving the Latino community, as well as industries that specifically hired poor Latinos in order to reduce labor costs. Also crucial to the city's economy was the bilingual and bicultural social service industry that was coalescing to provide health, education, and other services to Latino families and served as a bridge between the Latino community and the city, state, and federal governments.



Eduardo Crespo

By the 1990s, it had become obvious that Latinos were consumers, workers, tenants, and most importantly Lawrencians – above all else, the city was reliant on the vitality and public presence that Latinos brought to the city, filling the streets and parks of Lawrence during public festivals and daily activities, public spaces that might otherwise have been deserted. As Latino community leader Eduardo Crespo argued, “Hispanics are bringing Lawrence back to life. . . . If we would, hypothetically, leave the city, this would be a ghost town.”³⁷ In addition, Crespo tied the growth of Latino-owned businesses explicitly to earlier urban flight, noting that “Hispanics are replacing traditional establishments that no longer believe in the city.”³⁸

As Lawrence became an increasingly Latino city, it took on a prominent role in Latin American economies and politics. This is particularly evident in Lawrence’s relationship with the Dominican Republic. Lawrence’s small size was no barrier to it becoming one of the most influential U.S. cities in Dominican politics, arguably playing a more important role than its nearest big-city neighbor, Boston. Ramón Borges-Méndez noted that his interaction with high level Dominican politicians did not occur in the Dominican Republic or even in Boston; “as a matter of fact, I’ve met two of the former presidents of the Dominican Republic and the acting President of the Dominican Republic in *Lawrence*.”³⁹

When Dominican president Leonel Fernández was elected in 1996, he named Lawrence resident Julio César Correa as Dominican Consul in Boston. Although the post was based in the state capital, it was a Lawrencian who filled it.⁴⁰ A Dominican barber from Essex Street, Carlos Jose Cepeda,

won a seat in the Dominican congress in 1995. He had joined the Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (PLD) in 1980 and had been a member of the Lawrence chapter since his arrival in the city nine years earlier. While working as a barber in downtown Lawrence, he was simultaneously building his political career in the Dominican Republic. Cepeda had been elected in the Salceda Province (now called the Hermanas Mirabal province) near Santiago, which contained the villages of Salceda, Tenares, and Villa Tapia. His remarkable success in the Dominican election was directly attributable to transnationalism, as the *Eagle-Tribune* claimed that 60% of Greater Lawrence Dominicans came from that province, particularly Tenares. He noted that local Lawrence support had been key to his success and said that he planned to work on behalf of both his Dominican constituents on the island and his Lawrence supporters. He explained that people in Lawrence “now have a representative and even if they are here, they can come to me for any problems or needs in their towns back home which I can help solve there.”⁴¹

This transnational activity was not confined to politics. Latinos in Lawrence had been writing and calling their home countries, sending money and gifts to friends and family, traveling (and even moving) back and forth, since migration to Lawrence began. Although many white Lawrencians stereotyped Latinos as welfare recipients, from a transnational perspective, it was the complete opposite: Lawrence Latinos were *philanthropists*, sending money and other aid to their home countries, particularly in times of crisis, as when hurricanes struck. This aid was not only for crises, however, but contributed substantially to island economies.

When asked whether Lawrence was important and well-known in the Dominican Republic, Dominican Consul Julio César Correa replied:

The city of Lawrence is widely recognized all throughout the island, but especially so in the region of El Cibao, from where most emigrate. Most important is the economic connection – most Dominicans here left family back in the island and constantly send money back to support them. This money is money that contributes to the economy of the island.⁴²

It was not only the Dominican Republic that benefitted from this transnationalism; transnational economic activities were central to the growth of many local Latino-owned businesses as well. Many Latino businesses in Lawrence were based on moving money, goods, or people between Lawrence and the Caribbean. Money transfer companies, travel agencies, and shipping

companies were important not just to island economies, but to *Lawrence's* economy, particularly in the context of the devastation of Lawrence's retail sector that had occurred in the previous decades. *In spite* of its small size, Lawrence played an important role in transnational politics and economics; *because* of Lawrence's small size, this transnational activity played a disproportionately important role in shaping the local economy and public culture of the city.

The history of the relationship between Lawrence's urban crisis and Latino settlement in the city is complex and much remains to be explored. Yet, at the very least, it is quite clear that Lawrence's struggles have deep roots in the postwar decades and thus cannot be laid at the feet of the city's most recent immigrants. On the contrary, Latino settlement brought crucial labor, investment, energy, and vision to a city that had been deeply undermined by disinvestment; Latino Lawrencians indeed brought new life to a "ghost town."

HJM

Notes

1. For a more detailed account of Lawrence's recent history, including more detailed citations for the material included here, see Llana Barber, *Latino City: Immigration and Urban Crisis in Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1945-2000* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017). For the earlier time period, see Donald B. Cole, *Immigrant City: Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1845-1921* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
2. Eduardo Crespo, quoted in Efrain Hernández Jr. and Adrian Walker, "Hispanic Gains Don't Translate into Power," *Boston Globe*, 24 March 1991.
3. For further information on "white flight" in other American cities, see Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003); Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996); Eric Avila, *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006); Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Random House, 2003); Amanda I. Seligman, *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Kevin Michael Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).
4. All statistics are from the United States Census unless otherwise noted. Census data was accessed either in published form, through the website census.gov, or through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, State of the Cities online database, <http://socds.huduser.org/>.

5. 2005 numbers are used rather than more recent ones because many of the statistics from 1970 and after are from the State of the Cities database, which gives figures consistently in 2005 dollars (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, State of the Cities online database, <http://socds.huduser.org/>, accessed throughout 2009 and 2010). Conversions were done using an online calculator from the Bureau of Labor Statistics website at <http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl> (accessed 6/11/2017).
6. Self, 269.
7. Chamber of Commerce of Greater Lawrence, "Greater Lawrence Economic Profile," John F. Buckley Papers, Lawrence History Center, Lawrence, MA.
8. See Jenny Schuetz, "Guarding the Town Walls: Mechanisms and Motives for Restricting Multifamily Housing in Massachusetts," *Real Estate Economics* 36(3) (2008).
9. Merrimack Valley Planning Commission [MVPC], "Chapter 774 (the Anti-Snob Zoning Law): Its Impact on the MVPC Region" (March 31, 1976).
10. The 1912 "Bread and Roses" strike has been well documented. See, for example: Bruce Watson, *Bread and Roses: Mills, Migrants, and the Struggle for the American Dream* (New York, NY: Viking, 2005) and Robert Forrant et al., *The Great Lawrence Textile Strike of 1912: New Scholarship on the Bread & Roses Strike* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2014).
11. For more on this shift to electronics manufacturing, see David R. Lampe, *The Massachusetts Miracle: High Technology and Economic Revitalization* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988) and Jack Tager, "The Massachusetts Miracle," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 19 (Summer 1991), 111-32.
12. Uncle Dudley, "City That Wouldn't Die," *Boston Globe*, 11 December 1960.
13. Western Electric Company. Merrimack Valley Works documents (courtesy of AT&T Archives and History Center, Warren, NJ).
14. James F. Liebke & Associates, "An Analysis and Recommended Program for the Central Business District: Lawrence Massachusetts" (1957), The Lawrence History Center, Lawrence, MA.
15. Andrew Coburn, "Battle of the Buck: Methuen Mall Flexes Its Muscles and Downtown and Others Flinch," *Journal of Greater Lawrence*, 29 November 1973.
16. *Ibid.*
17. United States Census and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, State of the Cities online database.
18. Hilda Hartnett, "Lawrence's Latino History Diverse, Complex," *Eagle-Tribune*, 20 September 1992.
19. Ray Huard, "Ex-revo," *Eagle-Tribune*, 5 June 1973.
20. Ramón Borges-Méndez, "Urban and Regional Restructuring and Barrio Formation in Massachusetts: The Cases of Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke" (Ph.D. diss., MIT, 1994); Jessica Andors, "City and Island: Dominicans in Lawrence: Transnational Community Formation in a Globalizing World" (M.A. thesis, MIT, 1999).

21. Isabel Melendez, quoted in Ramón Borges-Méndez, presentation at the “Forgotten Cities” seminar series on October 27, 2004 hosted by the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at MIT, 135. Transcript archived with the Department of Urban Studies and Planning, and quote used with permission from the speaker.
22. Quoted in Hartnett, “Lawrence’s Latino History Diverse, Complex.”
23. Borges-Méndez.
24. Carmen Teresa Whalen and Víctor Vázquez-Hernández, eds., *The Puerto Rican Diaspora: Historical Perspectives* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005), 2.
25. For more information on Latino settlement sites see Whalen and Vázquez-Hernández; Virginia E. Sánchez Korrol, *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1917-1948* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983); Ernesto Sagás and Sintia E. Molina, eds., *Dominican Migration: Transnational Perspectives* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004); Sherri Grasmuck and Patricia R. Pessar, *Between Two Islands: Dominican International Migration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Arlene Dávila, *Barrio Dreams: Puerto Ricans, Latinos, and the Neoliberal City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Eugenia Georges, *The Making of a Transnational Community: Migration, Development, and Cultural Change in the Dominican Republic* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Ramona Hernández, *The Mobility of Labor Under Advanced Capitalism: Dominican Migration to the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Peggy Levitt, *The Transnational Villagers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Gina M. Pérez, *The Near Northwest Side Story: Migration, Displacement, and Puerto Rican Families* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Carmen Teresa Whalen, *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia: Puerto Rican Workers and Postwar Economies* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).
26. Unnamed interviewee quoted in “Growing Up Hispanic in Lawrence,” Urban Studies Institute (Lawrence High School/Phillips Academy, 1986).
27. Carolina DeJesus, quoted in oral interview by Joan Kelley (Lawrence History Center, 1995).
28. Unnamed interviewee quoted in “Dominican Student Unhappy with Education, Food, Weather,” *Eagle-Tribune*, 30 April 1979.
29. Ingrid Garcia, interviewed by author, 10 November 2009.
30. Quoted in Andors, 96.
31. Quoted in Andors, 32.
32. Charles Stein, “Lawrence Case Study: A Struggle of the Poor,” *Boston Globe*, 24 June 1988.
33. This is less true on the West Coast and in the Southwest, where Latino agricultural labor and longstanding Mexican-American communities complicate this postwar paradigm of racialized metropolitan development.
34. Stein.
35. Hilda Hartnett, “For Latinos, a Dynamic Time,” *Eagle-Tribune*, 20 September 1992.

36. Hilda Hartnett, "Should It Be Called Latino or Hispanic?," *Eagle-Tribune*, 20 September 1992.
37. Quoted in Hernández and Walker.
38. Quoted in "In New England, Hispanics Have an Increasing Impact," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 21 April 1991.
39. Borges-Méndez.
40. Hernán Rozemberg, "Consul Knows Politics of Two Lands," *Eagle-Tribune*, 18 November 1996.
41. Quoted in "Barber Helps Relatives Help Family Back Home," *Eagle-Tribune*, 11 March 1995.
42. Quoted in Rozemberg.