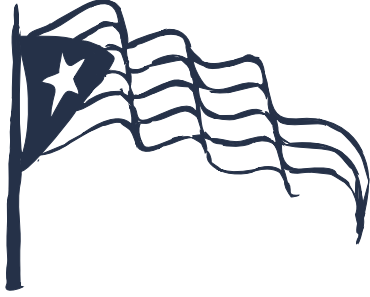




ABOUT THE PUERTO RICAN AGENDA



THE PUERTO RICAN
Agenda
RESEARCH PROJECT

This report has been organized by a community organization, the Puerto Rican Agenda, a volunteer coalition and think tank interested in keeping the issues of Puerto Ricans—and other Latino groups—at the forefront of policy makers in the city of Chicago. Over the past ten years the Agenda has sought to develop and execute a vision for Chicago's Puerto Rican community. At the heart of that vision is the economic health of Paseo Boricua, a business and entertainment district on Division Street between California and Western. Other community wide projects have been studies of diabetes, obesity, and other health issues and the implementation of prevention measures—all this in conjunction with local hospitals and clinics. Most recently, in conjunction with Chicago Public Schools, the Agenda has lead a large-scale reorganization of schooling called Community as a Campus. The Agenda has also been involved in the crafting of immigration reform. The purpose of this report is to fortify and maintain the community development approach of the Puerto Rican Agenda.

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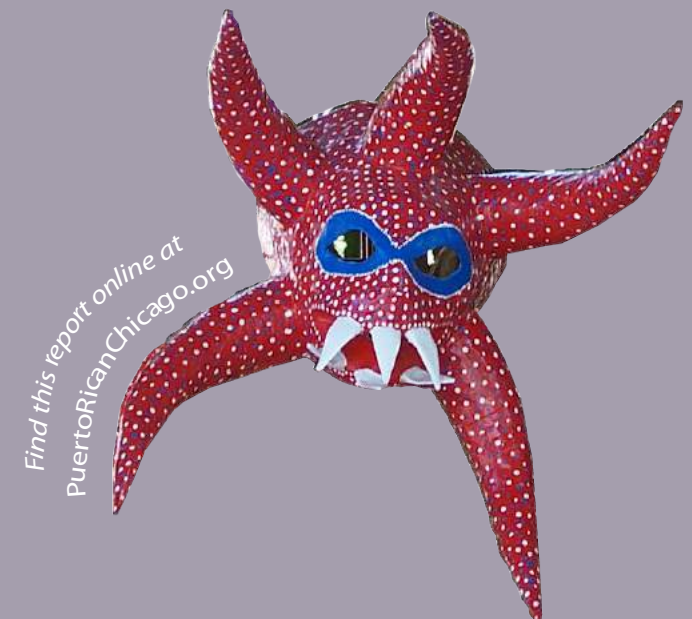


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A note about authorship: the research and analysis that went into this report was highly collaborative. Sections with no author attributed should be considered the collective work of the research team.

A note about citations: this report uses a somewhat unorthodox system of citations to aid readability. Where data are reported, the data source is quickly cited in situ as a footnote for the reader's convenience. Similarly, other sources are listed by author's last name and year. Full citations and web references (where applicable) are available at the end of the report on page 74.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report provides a profile of the Puerto Rican population in Chicago that will help Puerto Rican and Latino elected officials address the needs of the community. Puerto Ricans continue to face significant socioeconomic problems visible across various statistical indicators.

In the spring and summer of 2011 the Puerto Rican Agenda formed a research council and charged it with the task of helping to document the state of Puerto Ricans in Chicago sixty years after their migration. By August 2011 the research council had secured \$45,000 from the Chicago Community Trust, LISC Chicago, and the Institute for Research on Race and Public Policy at the University of Illinois at Chicago. The Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Development at UIC was entrusted with the task of conducting the data gathering, analysis, and preparation of the report.

A core research team—consisting of Ralph Cintrón, Maura I. Toro-Morn, Ivis García Zambrana, and Elizabeth Scott—guided the most significant parts of the research and data gathering process, such as securing IRB approval, drafting research instruments and coordinating quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. Although the core research team collaborated most intensely in the writing of this report, other researchers contributed to the work. Members of the core research team also met regularly with the research council and members of the Puerto Rican Agenda at different stages of the research process. These meetings served as a way of keeping the Agenda informed of the research progress as well as asking for their guidance. All in all, this report represents a unique collaboration between these various groups.

This report tries to capture the present conditions in the Puerto Rican community through different aspects of community life: housing, economic development, education, health, youth and justice, culture, women, and the non-profit sector. It reveals a complex and nuanced picture of progress and struggle.

At the national level, this report confirms that Puerto Ricans are a significant group within the Latino community, representing the second-largest population group within this growing segment of the population. In 2012, there are more Puerto Ricans in the U.S. than there are in Puerto Rico. This finding matters politically and demographically for a number of reasons. As U.S. citizens, Puerto Ricans are poised to contribute politically to current and future state, local, and national elections. This is also true in Illinois where Puerto Ricans have a track record of political service and public office at local and state levels.



This report includes a series of “snapshots” comparing conditions on the island to those on the mainland across key Puerto Rican communities. It is clear that in some measures Puerto Ricans in Chicago, collectively, fare better relative to Puerto Ricans in other US communities and those who live in Puerto Rico. For example, Puerto Ricans in the Chicago MSA have the fourth highest median household income (\$35,638) and the second lowest rate of poverty (19%) after Miami. Overall, Puerto Ricans in Chicago seem to be doing better than Puerto Ricans in the Northeast, where one finds deeper pockets of poverty, higher rates of single-headed households, and less homeownership. But these interpretations of Puerto Rican progress in Chicago dissipate when Puerto Ricans are subjected to a city-wide analysis that compares them to other groups in the city.

The history of migration and the early community struggles offer yet another way to measure progress. The brief overview of Puerto Rican migration to Chicago offered in the first pages of the report is a reminder of the long-term and arduous efforts in the process of community building. A section of the report also highlights the role of women in community development efforts. But life for Puerto Ricans in Chicago has not been easy; this report provides evidence of past and continuing difficulties. In Chicago, we report that Puerto Ricans fare better—in some respects—in contrast to Mexicans and African Americans, but never in contrast to whites. The bulk of the analysis confirms the informal knowledge held by members of the Agenda: a range of social issues threaten the ability of Puerto Ricans in Chicago to continue to make significant socioeconomic progress in the city, thus the need for political and policy interventions geared toward Puerto Ricans as a community.

This report shows that education continues to be an issue requiring community involvement and political leadership. Overall the school dropout rates have decreased, but Puerto Ricans are still more likely to leave school early and, more importantly, are least likely to pursue higher education.

Demographics point to the social issues Puerto Ricans continue to face in the city and the need for political and community involvement in new and innovative ways. These statistics also point to the need to disaggregate data collection according to ethnicity in order for community advocates to address the needs of specific communities. In addition, data collected at a disaggregated level, such as by the American Community Survey, must be preserved in future Congressional appropriations bill.

Of course, as with all research reports, there is much that was not covered. For instance, the work of Chicago-based LGBTQ activists has been quite significant in changing policies and attitudes in both the city and the island. In addition, the health data that was available to us is older than we would like, and educational data by ethnicity, though available, is not public. But the Puerto Rican Agenda has been clear from the beginning that this document is a first stage in a longer process of both refining what is known about the community and mapping out beneficial political strategies.

The Agenda, then, sees this document as stimulating critical reflection at a series of retreats that would include elected officials and community members. If recent events are any indication, it would seem that Puerto Ricans, who have always been treated as a racial minority, are steadily forming political coalitions raising important questions about the future of politics in the city and suburbs and at the state and national levels. How can these coalitions leverage capital on behalf of the poor? What are the fissures within these coalitions? What are the fissures among Puerto Ricans themselves in terms of class and political ideology? Can small business owners and aspiring business owners exert force on existing financial institutions or grow their own institutions? How do we address the problems of poor schools, or the police and judicial systems, or the structures of street gangs? What transformative work can popular culture perform in the making of hopeful ideologies? How can the island as both a real space and imagined space contribute to the political and economic work occurring in Puerto Rican Chicago? For activists invested in identity-shaping what are the positives and negatives of such work? And specifically how do we address immigration reform, which has become a central issue for many Latinos, in order to encourage major changes in north-south relations?

A SAMPLE OF RELEVANT FINDINGS:

- *37% of all Puerto Ricans in Chicago today are homeowners (up from 25% in 2000)—equal to African Americans but less than Mexicans (49%) and whites (55%).*
- *The current high school dropout rate among all Puerto Ricans in Chicago (32%) was substantially higher than for non-Latino African Americans (20%) and white (8%) but still lower than Mexicans (48%).*
- *72% of Humboldt Park Puerto Rican adults (the area with the highest concentration of Puerto Ricans) are overweight or obese, as are 67% of their children. 85% of the caretakers of overweight or obese children thought those children were a healthy weight.*
- *In 2010, Police District 25, where Puerto Ricans are concentrated, had the second highest number of total Latino juvenile arrests in the city of Chicago, and the highest number of Latina juvenile arrests.*
- *About 52% of all schools in the Puerto Rican Influence Area ranked between 1 and 2 on the National Great Schools Database. 1 is the lowest possible rating, whereas 10 is the highest. This means that 80% to 90% of the public schools in Illinois achieve better educational outcomes than the public schools in the heart of the Puerto Rican community.*

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Acknowledging that alleviating poverty involves creating wealth and that economic success requires access to economic tools—including credit, counseling, financial education, and business development—the Agenda seeks:

1. To establish a credit union committed, but not limited, to the Puerto Rican community. This place-based credit union will support community control of the economic future of Paseo and neighboring areas by using the community's savings to provide opportunities for local real estate and business lending.
2. To establish a community benefits agreement (CBA) with national and local financial institutions in order to assist all those who are unbanked and under-banked on the northwest side of Chicago, particularly within the Puerto Rican community. Unbanked or under-banked individuals and businesses often have poor or unconventional credit histories frequently based on a record of informal economic practices. These types of risk profiles require flexible, creative interpretation by loan officers with a commitment to serving low-income depositors. In order to better serve these clients—and to meet federal Community Reinvestment Act regulations—this CBA bank will design and market financial products and services aimed at providing the unbanked and under-banked with opportunities to build credit and take advantage of conventional financial products if they so choose.
3. To initiate an exploratory study and secure funding for a Special Service Area (SSA) feasibility study for Paseo Boricua. SSA designation is a taxing tool that allows communities to generate and control funds for district and business improvement projects such as streetscaping, additional cleaning, security, and marketing through the voluntary addition of a small property tax surcharge.
4. To promote and support the Paseo Boricua business district as a commercial corridor, particularly its restaurants, through initiatives such as state and city tourism efforts, small business improvement funding, marketing and media promotion opportunities.
5. To promote the further development of Puerto Rican art and culture institutions—particularly the Institute of Puerto Rican Arts and Culture as the only national standing Puerto Rican museum in the United State—by including it in the framework of Illinois and Chicago tourism planning.

COMMUNITY-DRIVEN SOLUTIONS

Advancing opportunities for transformative, community-driven solutions to problems in Humboldt Park—the heart of the Puerto Rican community in Chicago—the Agenda seeks:

6. To support and obtain resources for the “Community as a Campus” underway with Chicago Public Schools. Community as a Campus will align educational opportunities in Humboldt Park from cradle to career, assuring that the structural elements are in place to leverage existing community assets, streamline educational transitions, and provide a wide variety of educational opportunities designed to meet the needs of a diverse array of life-long learners. This vision will be accomplished by creating a sub-network which will connect community stakeholders and will be anchored by three innovative educational institutes: Parent Popular Education, Youth Leadership, and Teacher/Administrative Leadership.
7. To support at federal, state, county, and city levels a current working group that is reviewing and renewing the “Greater Humboldt Park Community of Wellness” in order to advance health as a dimension of community development. The Community of Wellness encourages collaboration between Humboldt Park health care providers, community organizations, and residents in order to provide information and access to coordinated, culturally sensitive and affordable healthcare and services with respect to asthma, active lifestyles, behavioral health, diabetes, HIV/AIDS, oral health and school health. Returning veterans, especially, need a coordinated response linking health, economic, and social issues: affordable family housing, support services for Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, substance abuse, family/

community re-acculturation, and employment training and referrals. This working group composed of non-profit stakeholders, hospital administrators, government representatives and vocational educators are engaged in supporting and obtaining resources for the Community Diabetes Empowerment Center as outlined by the NIH driven research project of the 72 Block initiative in order to move toward a continuum of care for all in Humboldt Park.

8. To establish a task force to build a “Community of Justice” based on principles of restorative justice on the northwest side of Chicago to address youth crime. Restorative justice—a response to outmoded, ineffective methods of punishment currently in place—is a framework in which victims, offenders and the larger community engage in an intimate dialogue concerning the hurt associated with transgressions. Members of this task force will include representatives from the community, Chicago Public Schools, Chicago Police Department, and relevant state, county, and city agencies.

AFFORDABILITY

In order to preserve opportunities for all persons with limited financial means, especially Puerto Ricans and other Latinos in the city of Chicago, the Agenda intends:

9. To advocate for funds for affordable housing preservation and expansion on the northwest side of Chicago—especially within Humboldt Park, Logan Square, Hermosa and Belmont Craigin—and to promote especially the efforts of Hispanic Housing, LUCHA and Bickerdike. These four communities constitute almost half of the Puerto Rican population in the city of Chicago. In order for these communities to prosper, it is essential to allocate tax credits and other housing funds to non-profit housing developers building income-restricted, family-sized rental and rent-to-buy units in these neighborhoods. Additional solutions should include funding and programs that mitigate home foreclosures that are currently devastating families and neighborhood infrastructure in our Latino Community initiatives to support the development of a Paseo Boricua arts building as a live and work space for artists; and the further development of El Rescate LGBT transitional living space, and Casa Norte Homeless Shelter Initiative.

10. To preserve the long-term affordability of public institutions of higher learning for Puerto Ricans and other Latinos in Illinois. Higher education is a gateway to opportunity. During this period of unprecedented increases in the cost of tuition in Illinois, affordability is as important as traditional concerns with recruitment and retention. Hence, it is essential to fully fund Illinois colleges and universities as well as City Colleges and vocational training institutions such as the Humboldt Park Vocational Education Center.

DATA COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION

Recognizing the substantial differences in educational, economic and health outcomes among Puerto Ricans and other Latino origin groups, the Agenda strongly advocates that:

11. Public agencies at the federal, state, and local levels disaggregate the collection and dissemination of data according to Latino origin. While some efforts at disaggregated uniform data collection have been advanced, more must be done to support reporting requirements that allow advocates to identify the needs of specific communities. In addition, data collected at a disaggregated level, such as by the American Community Survey, must be preserved in the 2013 Senate appropriations bill.

SOLIDARITY

In continuance of the Puerto Rican community’s long-time solidarity with all migrants—Latino or otherwise—the Agenda urges all Latino elected officials:

12. To oppose the expansion of immigrant detention centers in the state of Illinois;

13. To allow undocumented immigrants the right to a driver’s license;

14. To support ordinances and laws that prevent police from inquiring into a suspect’s immigration status and, further, to prevent officers from collaborating with U.S. Immigration and Customs enforcement (ICE).

METHODOLOGY

This report has emerged from an intense and rich collaboration between a community organization, The Puerto Rican Agenda, the Voorhees Center at the University of Illinois-Chicago, and a group of Puerto Rican academics. In doing so, this project represents yet a new chapter in the long and rich history of collaboration between community groups, research institutions, and committed academics. Examples abound about the benefits of community-academic partnerships in addressing health care, education, and labor issues. This project builds upon the insights of such collaborations and also breaks new ground. In a deep sense this report is not just “about” a community; it is the product “of” a community with the intention of becoming a roadmap for shaping future action.

Quantitative Data

We compiled and analyzed data using Geographical Information Systems and SPSS available on the Internet: Decennial Census and American Community Survey (ACS); Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council: Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA); GreatSchools' Rating; Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) US Postal Service Vacancy; HUD's A Picture of Subsidized Households; National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS) at the Urban Institute; TRF Study of Limited Supermarket Access (LSA) Areas, and other databases. These data sets have limitations. For example, with the exception of the Decennial Census and American Community Survey, all other datasets previously mentioned do not distinguish between race and ethnicity—meaning that one cannot find information for Hispanics disaggregated by origin (e.g., Mexican, Puerto Rican, etc.). Whenever data was not available for Puerto Ricans, the geographic area where Puerto Ricans are concentrated was used as an alternative. For the purpose of this report we have labeled that area, the Puerto Rican Influence Area (PRIA)— which is comprised of census tracts in which Puerto Ricans account for more than 10% of the total population according to the 2010 census. By collecting data within the PRIA boundaries and comparing it to the rest of Chicago, we can make geographically based assumptions about Puerto Ricans that would otherwise be impossible. A more detailed description and application can be found in Part II: Zeroing in Policy Issues on page 16.

Qualitative Data

Qualitative research methods included one-on-one interviews, focus groups, and participant observation. We conducted five focus groups and open-ended qualitative interviews with more than sixty community members, leaders, and business owners. The focus groups with Puerto Rican leaders were videotaped, while all others were audio taped. Copious notes were taken at all encounters. Puerto Rican leaders and business owners were not paid to participate in the focus groups, while community members were compensated with \$25 for their time. Participants were asked to reserve two (2) hours, but the interviews and focus groups took approximately one and a half (1.5) hours on average. During the focus groups, while people waited for others to arrive, they would enjoy refreshments, fill out a small survey and sign an Internal Review Board (IRB) consent form for the University of Illinois at Chicago. The surveys did not measure the opinions of participants and were not meant to be a representative sample of the population. Its purpose was to document the characteristics of focus group attendants. The facilitator or interviewer used a guide to direct the conversation. In keeping with IRB protocols, we protected the anonymity of all respondents. Given linguistic practices in the community, we were flexible in our use of Spanish and English in the process of data collection. Participant observation and in-depth conversations with the Puerto Rican Agenda members were also part of the data-gathering methods of this report. These conversations with members of the Agenda helped researchers and Voorhees staff to learn more about the organization and shape the research to their needs. Interviews and focus groups were transcribed by a transcriber service. We combed through interviews and focus groups to understand the issues that matter to community members.

PUERTO RICAN CHICAGO: MIGRATIONS, DIASPORA AND ACTIVISM

In keeping with the overall objectives of this report, in this section we review the structural causes of Puerto Rican migration to Chicago. We also seek to connect the Chicago experience to larger discussions about the Puerto Rican diaspora. Finally, we recognize the community activism connected to the growth and maturation of the Puerto Rican community. This section draws from the broad body of social science literature produced by academics, many of whom have contributed extensively to the study of Puerto Ricans in Chicago.

PUERTO RICO: POLITICAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC CONTEXT OF MIGRATIONS

Throughout much of the twentieth century and into the present, complex political, economic, social, and cultural dynamics have stimulated mass Puerto Rican migration to the United States. Although there is evidence to suggest that Puerto Ricans migrated to the United States during Span-



Women sorting and packing tomatoes at the Yauco Cooperative Tomato Growers Association, Puerto Rico, 1942

ish colonial rule (Whalen, 2005), the undisputed consensus from decades of scholarly research is that Puerto Rican migration to the United States has been a fairly continuous process, with peaks and return movements at particular points in time. Today, it is difficult to find a Puerto Rican who has not been touched by migration, either directly or indirectly. Of the nine million who define themselves as Puerto Rican, over 56 percent live outside Puerto Rico—*estan afuera*, as the term goes—but many move back and forth between the Island and U.S. communities (Census, 2010). Underlying the mass migrations of Puerto Ricans is the U.S. colonization of Puerto Rico, which began with the Spanish-American War of 1898. Existing scholarship (Melendez and Melendez, 1993; Grosfoguel, 2003; Whalen and Vazquez-Hernandez, 2005) has documented how U.S. colonial rule helped to create the social and economic conditions that propelled Puerto Ricans into a multiplicity of migrations, including those to Chicago in the middle decades of the previous century. Historically, Puerto Rican migration has been primarily a working class phenomenon. This group has been most severely affected by the reorganization of Puerto Rico's economy as demanded by new colonial exigencies. By the first two decades of the twentieth century, the U.S. had managed to monopolize agricultural production—sugar, tobacco, and coffee—to generate high profits for U.S. corporations. The landless rural proletariat that emerged in the first 20 years of U.S. colonization survived by migrating internally as seasonal employment became available. Poor and working class Puerto Rican families felt the brunt of these changes in profound ways. Subsistence employment stripped men of needed wages and shaped women's employment patterns (Azize, 1987; Acevedo, 1993; Ortiz, 1996). Poor and working class women became integrated into a sex-segregated labor market that closely related to the needs of U.S. colonial capitalism (Toro-Morn, 2001; Ortiz, 1996). During the first three decades of the twentieth century, women worked as tobacco strippers, home needle workers, and makers of straw hats, work that was an extension of their reproductive roles in the home.

In the 1950s and 60s, the colonially imposed economic program, Operation Bootstrap (Operacion Manos a la Obra), led to the largest migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States (Padilla, 1987; Alicea, 1997; Toro-Morn, 1993). Operation Bootstrap reconfigured economic life in Puerto Rico by attracting outside capital and jobs to the Island in the name of improving the standard of living of Puerto Ricans. Incentives such as tax exemptions, subsidized factory space, and lax environmental laws were given to private concerns to lure capital to the Island. As part of a Cold War strategy, the United States government projected Puerto Rico as the “showcase” of the Caribbean, tempting other countries in the hemisphere to follow Puerto Rico’s example of free enterprise capitalism (the precursor to contemporary neoliberal economics). Yet, it is well known today that alongside high levels of economic growth, there were also high levels of unemployment on the Island. This contradiction was noted by the Puerto Rican and American architects of Operation Bootstrap who attempted to resolve it through government sponsored migration (Toro-Morn, 1999).

Feminist scholars have also noted an additional contradiction inherent in the export-processing model underlying Operation Bootstrap. The program was designed to improve the employment opportunities of men, yet the kinds of industry attracted to the Island (i.e., export oriented manufacturing) resulted in a strong demand for women workers (Rios, 1990; Safa, 1995). While the industrialization program incorporated women as workers, the surplus labor (i.e., mostly men) was absorbed into the U.S. labor market via migration. In fact, these pressures to migrate coincided with the growing need for cheap labor in urban centers throughout the United States.

Immediately following the Spanish-American war, but intensifying in the post-WWII period, Puerto Ricans were heavily recruited laborers. Historian Carmen Whalen (2005:20) reports that in 1920, the American Manufacturing Company, a rope factory in Brooklyn, recruited 130 Puerto Rican women. In 1926, more than 1,000 families were also recruited to work in Arizona with promises of abundant work. The first group of Puerto Rican workers that migrated to Chicago in the 1940s was recruited by a local employment agency. This complicated history, which we have only sketched, contributed to the formation of the Puerto Rican diaspora and its specific manifestation in Chicago.

CHICAGO AND THE PUERTO RICAN DIASPORA

Chicago occupies an important place in the larger history of global migrations as a destination point for immigrants. At the turn of the twentieth century, the city of “big shoulders,” welcomed hard-working European immigrants to crowded meat-packing factories. Two decades later, African Americans migrated north searching for work opportunities and a “piece of the pie.” Around the same time, Mexican immigrants were lured to the city with similar promises. In the mid-decades of the twentieth century, Puerto Ricans began to arrive to work in the declining industrial sector of the city, followed by newer immigrants from Mexico, and other parts of Central and South America. The later arrivals were quickly absorbed by the new political economy of post-industrial, service sector jobs.

This ethno-racial history of immigration, labor, and community life can be seen in the physical landscape of the city as one drives west from Michigan Avenue along Division Street. At Milwaukee and Division, a reminder of that history has been inscribed in the Nelson Algren fountain: “For the masses who do the city’s labor and also keep the city’s heart.” Driving west along Division Street away from the tourist and commercial attractions of Michigan Avenue, a complex story of migration, political activism, and community development emerges from the landscape. Crossing Western Avenue, a graceful, fifty-ton steel Puerto Rican flag spans the street and marks the beginning of what is now known as Paseo Boricua, the heart of the Puerto Rican community in Chicago. One mile later, a companion flag establishes a beachhead—“¡Aquí luchamos! ¡Aquí nos quedamos!, 1966-1996”—an encapsulation of the gritty history of Puerto Rican migration to and within the city.

The first scholarly study of Puerto Rican migration to Chicago, conducted by Elena Padilla, a student at the University of Chicago, studied their arrival. Men came to work in the steel mills and women came to work as domestics. Contracted workers were dissatisfied with the wages and working conditions and many abandoned their contracts in search of other work. In keeping with the Chicago School of urban community studies, Padilla also documents the settlement patterns of the early Puerto Rican migrants to the city. Many moved in with Mexican friends and neighbors in transient hotels on South Clark and State Streets in the Loop, thus placing in historical context the long-term relationships that have existed between Mexican and Puerto Ricans in the city of Chicago. The recruitment of Puerto Rican men and women to do contract work in Chicago became known as the “Chicago experiment” and government officials used it as a way to rationalize the movement of Puerto Rican men and women to other parts of the United States (Toro-Morn, 2005).



The flags are raised on Division Street, marking Paseo Boricua, 1995

In the 1950's and 1960's news about employment opportunities in Chicago spread fast among immigrant networks and very quickly Chicago became an important place of settlement for working class families. By 1960, Chicago was home to 32,371 Puerto Ricans. Ten years later, there were approximately 73,000 Puerto Ricans living in the city. By the 1980s, the number had grown to 112,074. By then, Chicago's reputation as the second largest Puerto Rican community in the United States was well established. We know that Puerto Rican men and women migrated to the city as families. Drawing from interviews, Toro-Morn (1995) found that Puerto Ricans moved to Chicago in stages. Husbands came first, to secure employment and housing arrangements, and then sent for the rest of the family. Some women came as “brides-to-be” and joined their future husbands in the city. Toro-Morn (2005) argues that even within the constraints of a deeply patriarchal culture, Puerto Rican women used migration as a way to escape gender oppression. Research conducted for this project continues to bear witness to the role of family members in facilitating the migration process and the pull of community as a source of support. Toro-Morn (1995) reports that in the 1980s, professional and educated Puerto Ricans were recruited to work in the city.

Anthropologist Gina Perez (2004), reminds us that initially local newspapers in Chicago represented Puerto Ricans as a “model minority.” As she writes (2004:73), “by the late 1950s and 1960s, Chicago media consistently praised its Puerto Rican residents for their strong families.” One newspaper article profiled a local family, the Medinas, by highlighting how their social life centers around the family and helping other newcomers adapt to city life. The Mayor's Office and its agencies focused on the Puerto Rican family as model urban family, earning comparisons with European immigrant families. There were problems in the “ghetto” such as overcrowding, language difficulties, and unemployment, but “Puerto Rican families were stable and organized in the ‘Spanish tradition’ (2004:74).” The Office of the Government of Puerto Rico Migration Division helped maintain this view of Puerto Ricans through public relations campaigns. In another light, the Migration Division also had the added responsibility of collecting data about the discrimination and mistreatment faced by Puerto Ricans in Chicago. Later on, the Division Street Riot—a pivotal moment—shattered the model minority image. (The Division Street Riot is discussed below.)

Research on the Chicago Puerto Rican experience has helped to document the struggles Puerto Ricans have faced: as workers (Toro-Morn, 2001); with gentrification (Alicia, 2001; Rinaldo 2002); in regard to inter-Latino relations (Rua, 2011; Perez, 2003; Rodríguez-Muñiz, 2010); and for the symbolic

and political importance of Paseo Boricua as a community space (Flores-Gonzalez, 2001; Rinaldo, 2002). Though Puerto Ricans have settled in numerous parts of the city, Humboldt Park/West Town emerged in the 1960s as the center of community life. Here, Puerto Ricans have established Puerto Rican-focused businesses, organizations, and cultural festivals, which remain significant despite considerable displacement from the community over the past two decades. To understand these developments, it is necessary to examine the role of activism and community-building initiatives in Chicago's Puerto Rican community.

PUERTO RICAN ACTIVISM AND COMMUNITY BUILDING

Puerto Rican activism in Chicago can be traced back to the political and cultural atmosphere that Puerto Ricans confronted when they migrated to the United States beginning in the late 1940s. Although Puerto Rico was politically and economically tied to the country of their migration, they inhabited a foreign land with a foreign language and foreign customs. Many of the migrants found much hostility and racism when they arrived and as such began developing survival and resistance mechanisms in order to navigate the turbulent waters of the racist society in which they now found themselves. Puerto Ricans experienced sub-standard housing, housing discrimination, police brutality, sub-par education, and displacement.

On June 12, 1966—as Puerto Ricans were celebrating the first Puerto Rican day parade in Chicago—an incident of police brutality against a young Puerto Rican man sparked a three day rebellion in West Town/Humboldt Park, known now as the “Division Street Riots.” Many activists emerged from this riot to continue the struggle for fair housing, education, and other community issues tied not only to local struggles, but also to the situation in Puerto Rico. Of course, their newfound political consciousness was brought about not only because of their day-to-day situation and the colonial reality of Puerto Rico, but also the broader political upheaval of the 1960s, which witnessed the civil rights and Black Power movements and anti-colonial third world struggles.

Following the Riots, Puerto Rican residents and leaders fought for the creation of the community-oriented Roberto Clemente High School. They also carried out struggles for better and affordable housing, public housing access for Puerto Ricans and other Latinos, bilingual education, and employment access. They organized against police brutality and gentrification and countless other issues that directly affect the community. This activism gave birth to Puerto Rican political representatives serving at all levels of government: federal, state, county, and city as well as appointments of key Puerto Ricans to various agencies within government.

Years later, in the Lincoln Park area, the Young Lords were founded in Chicago, later spreading to New York and the Northeast. Gina Perez (2004) documents that the Young Lords protested the City's urban renewal plan which displaced Puerto Ricans, African Americans, and poor Appalachian whites from Lincoln Park. In 1960, they took control of the Armitage Street Methodist Church, renamed the People's Church. From this facility, the Young Lords offered community members needed services such as child care and free health care, as well as establishing a cultural center and newspaper. By the late 1970s the organization weakened considerably, but many of its leaders stayed involved in other community groups.

In Humboldt Park, the Riots led to the formation of a new generation of grassroots organizations, such as the Spanish Action Committee of Chicago, the Latin American Defense Organization, Spanish Coalition for Housing, Segundo Ruiz Belvis Cultural Center, the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos Puerto Rican High School, and ASPIRA of Illinois. In the decades that followed, other Puerto Rican-based organizations formed, including the Division Street Business Development Association, the Puerto Rican Parade Committee, Puerto Rican Chamber of Commerce, the Puerto Rican Arts Alliance, and, most recently, the Institute for Puerto Rican Arts and Culture.

Puerto Rican activism in Chicago, however, was not limited to barrio concerns. Rather, Chicago Puerto Ricans have been active in many of the defining issues of the broader Puerto Rican diaspora. For instance, Puerto Ricans in Chicago were at the forefront of securing the release not only of the Puerto Rican Nationalists in the 1970s, but also most of the Puerto Rican political prisoners in 1999. Puerto Rican Chicago's own Congressman Luis Gutierrez was instrumental in pressuring the US Navy to leave Vieques, Puerto Rico in 2003, after over 60 years of abusive military practices.

At the same time, Puerto Ricans have participated in broader social justice movements. From the Young Lords' involvement in the original Rainbow Coalition to the movement for immigration reform, Puerto Ricans have been active in causes greater than those that serve their community alone. Some of the most prominent voices for immigration reform in the nation are Puerto Ricans from Chicago. Elvira Arrellano, a young undocumented single mother, took sanctuary to resist her deportation proceedings at a Methodist church in the heart of Paseo Boricua, where she was supported by the local community. Puerto Rican organizations have also supported LGBTQ issues, access to education, housing, employment and other issues that not only impact them but also impact other communities. In short, they have worked in solidarity with diverse communities across the city, country, and world.

In recent years, Puerto Rican activism has once again focused on the issue of displacement and gentrification. In 1995, under the leadership of former 26th Alderman Billy Ocasio, Paseo Boricua's two massive steel flags were erected. In the eyes of many community leaders we talked to as part of this research, Paseo Boricua represents an important "logro" (success) for Puerto Ricans in Chicago. It is viewed as evidence of the struggle and desire for community in Chicago. As one community leader put it, "one of our major assets is that we've learned how to do community building and we've done it ourselves." Although our research suggests that many Puerto Ricans have moved away from the area that is commonly identified as the "heart of the community," Paseo, nevertheless, continues to function as a "home." It also functions as a set of rhetorical maneuvers aggressively claiming space against outside developers and gentrifiers who do not wish to build affordable housing for community residents or who do not value Puerto Rican themes. All in all, Paseo and its related initiatives are, indeed, spectacular successes, but underneath the surface there are numerous fragilities and ironies, for it has not been easy for these under-funded activists to shape a politics and economics that fight other visions of what the city and these specific neighborhoods ought to be. In short this report hopes to capture some of this complex story.



Cruz-Orsorio murder demonstrations in front of the Dirksen Federal Building in Chicago, 1979

1950s – Early settlements of Puerto Ricans during this time are found near Madison and Clark streets, including near and within the Cabrini Green homes .

1955-1960 – The construction of the Carl Sandburg Village destroys completely the Puerto Rican communities of La Madison and La Clark, displacing tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans start moving into Lincoln Park and Wicker Park. The Caballeros de San Juan and Damas de Maria form church councils in order to address the needs of the growing Puerto Rican community.

1960-1965 – Poverty, lack of supervised youth programs and the destabilization of neighborhood support networks caused by Urban Renewal turns many youth clubs into hardcore street gangs.

1966 – On June 12, 1966, as Puerto Ricans celebrate the first Fiestas Puertorriqueñas in Chicago, an incident of police brutality against a young Puerto Rican man ignites a three day rebellion, now known as the Division Street Riots.

1970s – Puerto Ricans parents and community leaders fight for the establishment of Roberto Clemente High School at the corner of Division and Western in 1974.

1980s – Harold Washington, first African American Mayor of the City, is elected. This leads to many Latino political appointments, including the creation of Luis Gutierrez's aldermanic position in 1986. In 1987, Miguel Del Valle is elected the first Latino Senator in the Illinois General Assembly. He goes on to become the first Latino to hold the position of Assistant Majority Leader in the Illinois Senate.

1990s – The Puerto Rican community starts to increase in Logan Square, Belmont Cragin, and Hermosa, while also decreasing in West Town due to encroaching gentrification.

1993 – After years of struggle with the City of Chicago, the flags of Paseo Boricua are erected on Division Steet. Billy Ocasio is appointed 26th Ward alderman by Mayor Richard M. Daley to fill the unexpired term of Luis Gutierrez, who was elected congressman.

1999 – Puerto Ricans in Chicago, leaders of the longtime struggle for the release of Puerto Rican Independence Political Prisoners, are instrumental in the 1999 release of 11 prisoners.

2003 – Puerto Rican Chicago's own Congressman Luis Gutierrez is instrumental in pressuring the US Navy to finally leave Vieques, Puerto Rico in 2003 after over 60 years of military practices that included the use of toxic chemicals.

2012 – The Institute of Puerto Rican Arts and Culture was designated as a Museum in the Park, the first national Puerto Rican museum on the mainland United States.



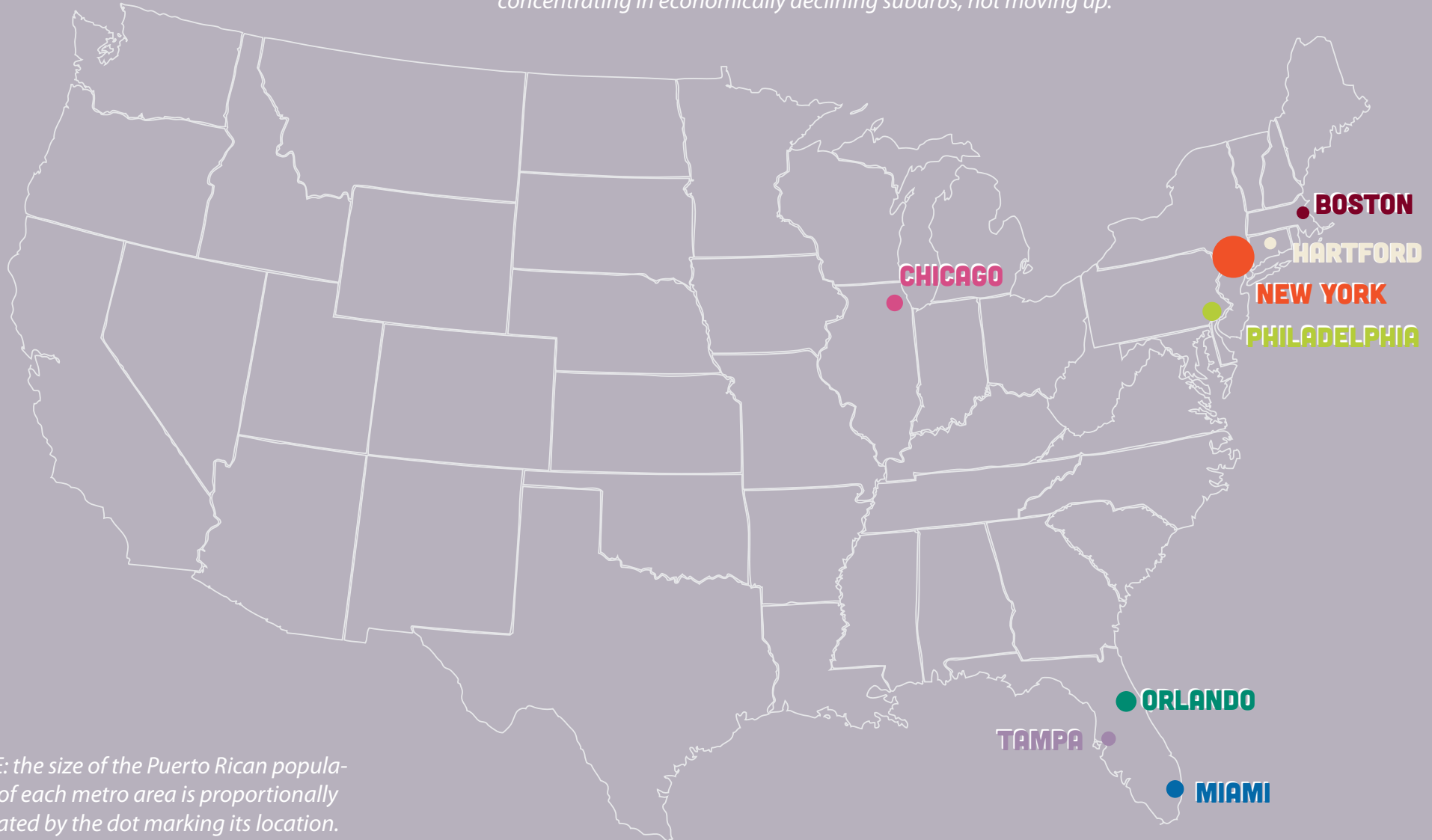


PART ONE: COMPARING PUERTO RICANS

Snapshot:

PUERTO RICANS ACROSS MAJOR US METRO AREAS

This section uses data from the 2010 American Community Survey one-year estimates to examine the socioeconomic characteristics of the 8 largest Puerto Rican Metro Areas outside Puerto Rico. The United States Office of Management and Budget (OMB) defines a “Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)” as one or more counties that have an urban core of at least 50,000 people. In addition to raw population numbers, this definition takes into consideration the social and economic interconnectedness of the geographical region as a whole. This analysis was conducted at the MSA level because Puerto Ricans across the US have been moving out of urban centers and dispersing throughout metropolitan regions. Although the trend of moving to the suburbs has been historically associated with upward mobility, the reality is that for minorities moving to the suburbs—including Puerto Ricans—this has not been the case. Instead, they are generally re-concentrating in economically declining suburbs, not moving up.

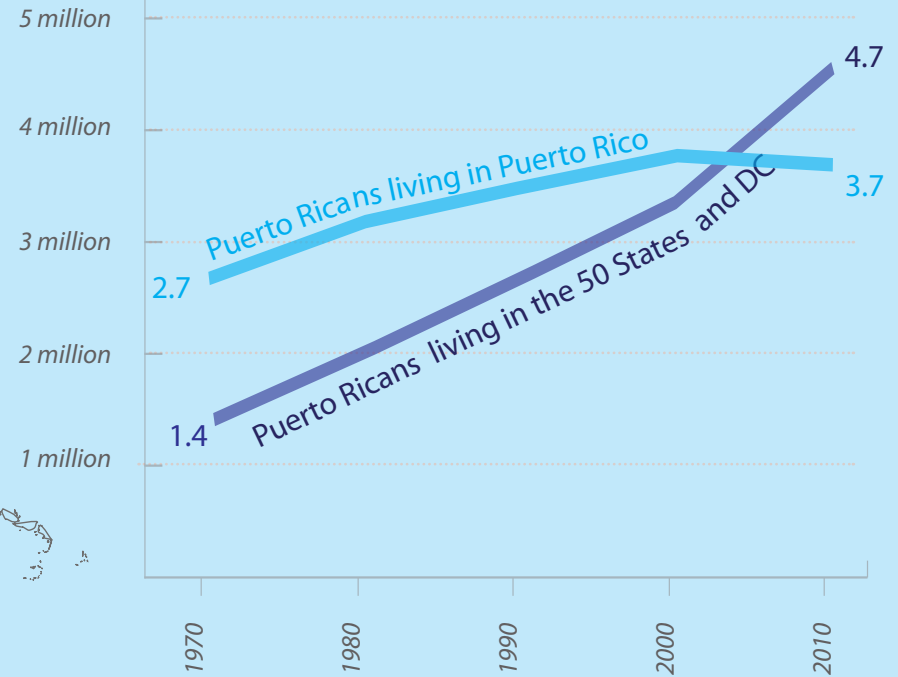


NOTE: the size of the Puerto Rican population of each metro area is proportionally indicated by the dot marking its location.

1970 - 2010:

PUERTO RICAN POPULATION TRENDS

source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulation of Census data, 2010

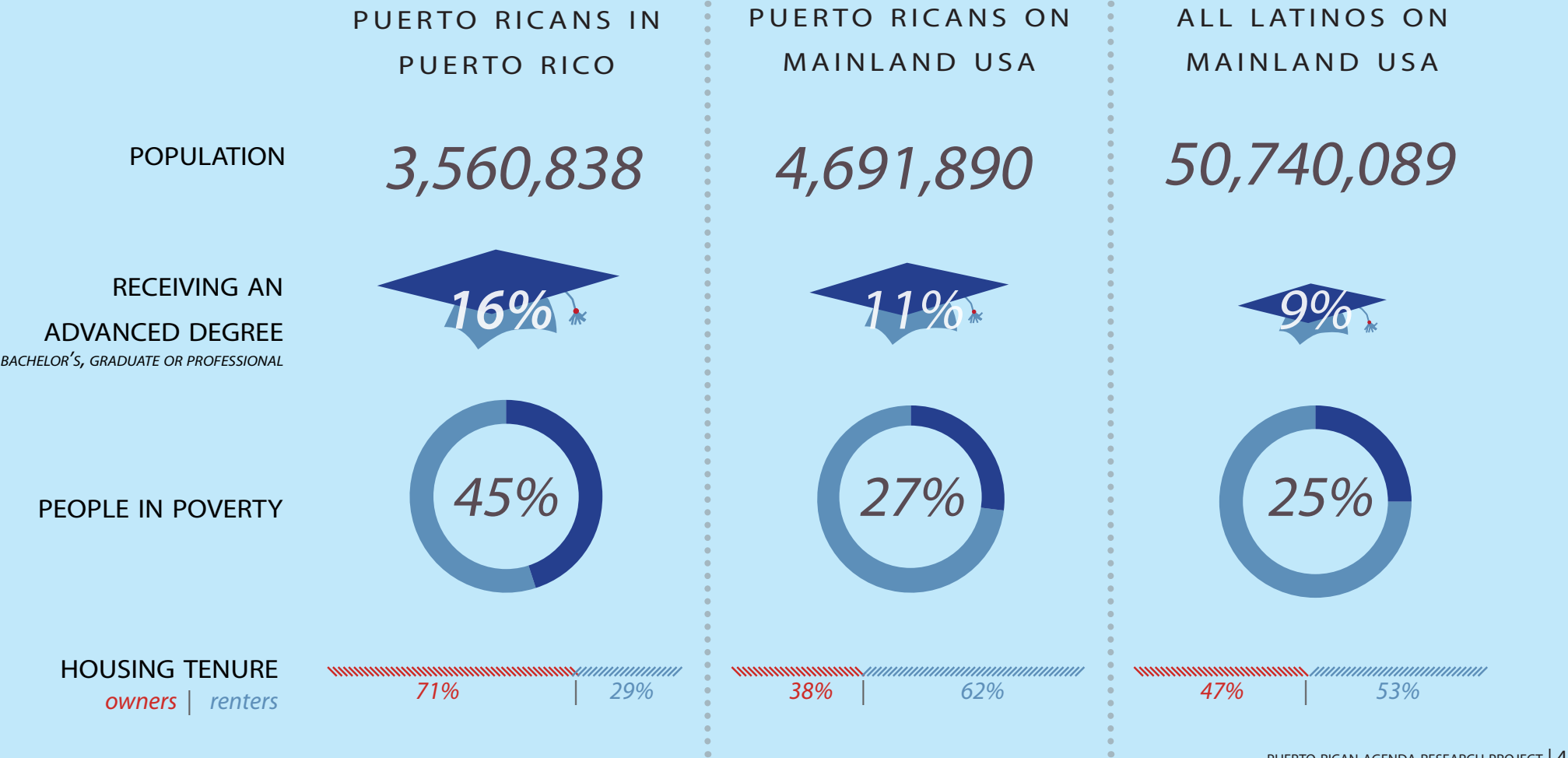


According to 2010 American Community Survey one-year estimates, there were a total of 3.6 million Puerto Ricans on the Island of Puerto Rico and 4.7 Puerto Ricans in the US, totaling 8.3 million. Fewer (43%) live in Puerto Rico. Between 2000 and 2010, the US Puerto Rican population gained about a hundred thousand, while the Puerto Rican population in the Island lost about a hundred thousand. Long-standing and complex political, economic, social, and cultural changes experienced by Puerto Ricans have led to waves of migration with a multiplicity of destinations that continue to this date. Today, it is difficult to find a Puerto Rican that has not been touched by migration, either directly or indirectly. The Puerto Rican diaspora has been over 100 years in the making.

Puerto Ricans are the second-largest population of Latino origin living in the US, accounting for 9.2% of the U.S. Latino population in 2010. The following statistical profile compares Puerto Ricans living in Puerto Rico, to those living in the US, and to Latinos living in the US. Puerto Ricans living in the US have levels of education in between the other two groups. For example, about 31% of Puerto Ricans living stateside—compared to 25% of Puerto Ricans living in Puerto Rico and about 40% of all U.S. Latinos—have obtained less than a high school diploma or equivalency certificate. 81% of Puerto Ricans living in Puerto Rico speak English proficiently, while 18% of Puerto Ricans living in the US reported speaking English “less than very well,” compared to 35% of all Latinos.

snapshot:

PUERTO RICANS IN PUERTO RICO COMPARED WITH PUERTO RICANS AND OTHER LATINOS ON MAINLAND USA



This section compares Puerto Ricans in the largest Puerto Rican Metro Areas on the mainland US. These Metro Areas are specifically: the Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI MSA; the New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA MSA; the Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL MSA; the Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE MSA; the Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL MSA; the Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA; the Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH MSA; and the Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford MSA.

PUERTO RICAN POPULATION

MEDIAN PUERTO RICAN HOUSHOLD INCOME

PUERTO RICANS LIVING IN POVERTY

PUERTO RICAN HOUSING TENURE
renters | owners

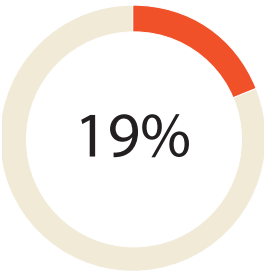
snapshot:
PUERTO RICANS IN
MAJOR US METRO AREAS

CHICAGO

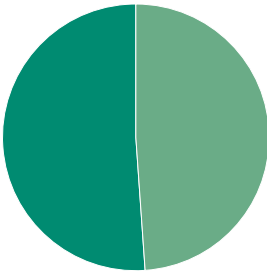


196,913

\$35,648



19%



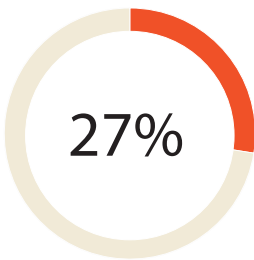
51% | 49%

NEW YORK

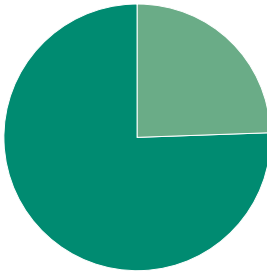


1,204,103

\$45,638



27%



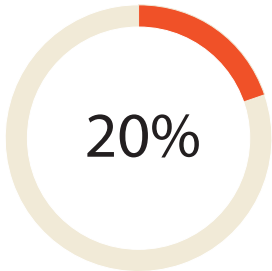
75% | 25%

ORLANDO

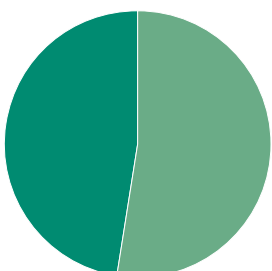


278,072

\$37,461



20%



48% | 52%

The Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI MSA, with 196,113 Puerto Ricans, ranked fifth in population after the New York, Orlando, Philadelphia and Miami MSAs. The Puerto Rican population in the New York MSA was 6.1 times larger than the Chicago MSA. Nonetheless, the City of Chicago itself—not counting its surrounding suburbs—ranked as the mainland US’s third most-populous Puerto Rican city (102,703) after New York City (723,621) and Philadelphia (121,643). In the New York, Philadelphia, Orlando and Tampa MSAs, Puerto Ricans were the largest Latino origin subgroup. For example, while there were 577,823 Mexicans and 882,902 Dominicans in the New York metro, Puerto Ricans—with a population of 1,204,103—made about 28% of the total Latino population. In the Philadelphia, Orlando and Tampa MSAs, Puerto Ricans made up about 50%, 50%, and 31% of the Latino population.

PHILADELPHIA

MIAMI

TAMPA

BOSTON

HARTFORD



239,582



215,001



139,771

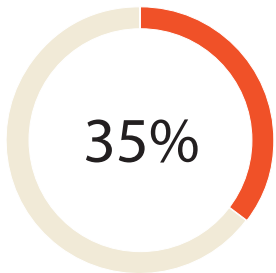


113,112



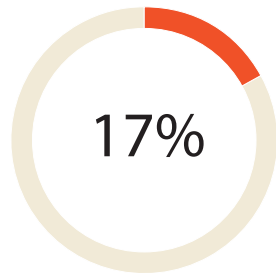
102,509

\$32,243



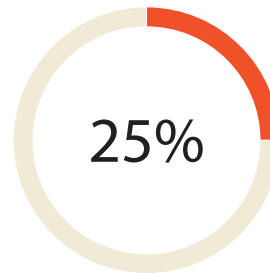
35%

\$44,481



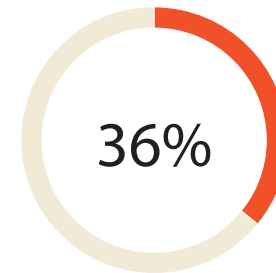
17%

\$25,700



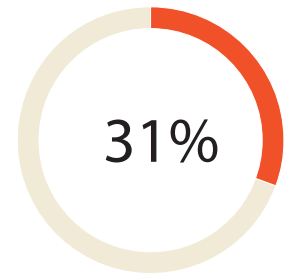
25%

\$34,978

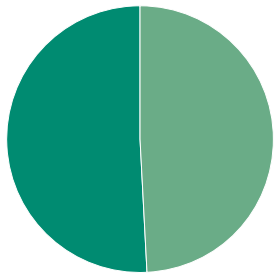


36%

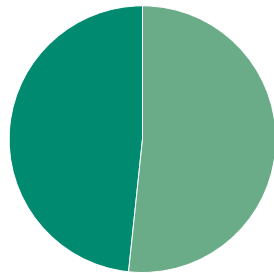
\$28,872



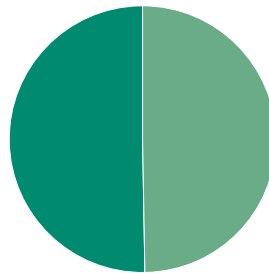
31%



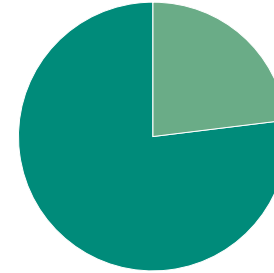
51% | 49%



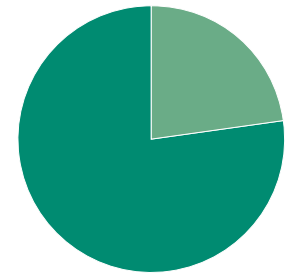
48% | 52%



50% | 50%



77% | 23%



77% | 23%

For decades, the Northeast and the Midwest of the US—the more traditional regions for Puerto Rican migration—have been experiencing relatively slow growth in Puerto Rican population, while newer sites in the South, like Florida, have been gaining Puerto Ricans at a rapid rate. This is due, primarily, to two factors: the exodus of young professionals from the mainland joining the labor force, and seniors from the Northeast and Midwest seeking a place to retire. Despite pronounced population growth in Florida, the majority of Puerto Ricans are still concentrated in the Northeast, where 50% of all Puerto Ricans nationwide live.

Given that recent college graduates from Puerto Rico are moving to Florida, it is not surprising that the ACS 2010 showed that Puerto Ricans living in the Miami and Orlando MSAs had higher rates of individuals with bachelor's degrees than any other MSA (24 and 18%, respectively). The Chicago MSA ranked third among those MSAs with high rates of Puerto Rican college graduation, with 15% receiving 4-year degrees.

PUERTO RICANS NOT
FINISHING HIGH SCHOOL

PUERTO RICANS GRADUATING
WITH FOUR-YEAR COLLEGE DEGREES

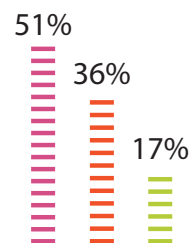
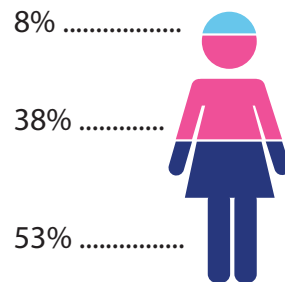
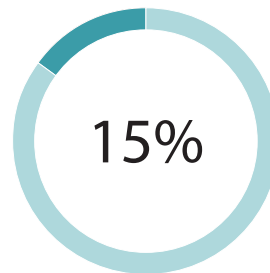
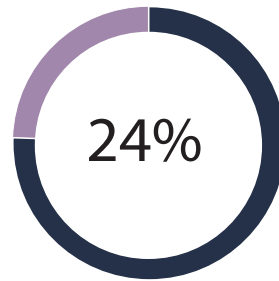
HEADS OF PUERTO RICAN FAMILIES
WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18
single fathers
single mothers
married couples

PUERTO RICAN HEALTH INSURANCE*
private health insurance
public health insurance
no health insurance

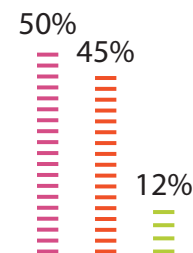
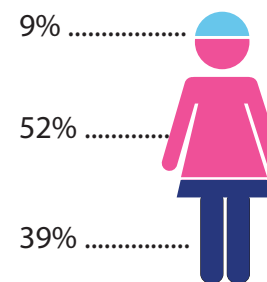
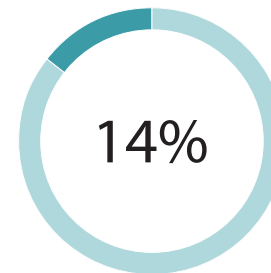
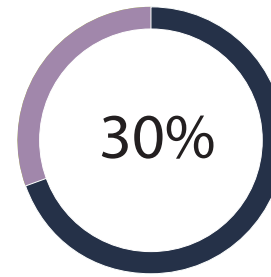
snapshot:

PUERTO RICANS IN MAJOR US METRO AREAS

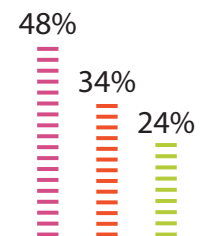
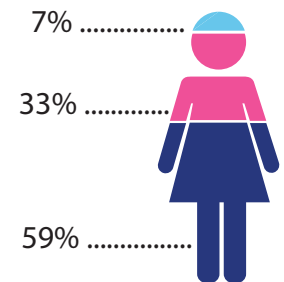
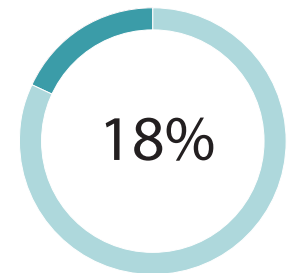
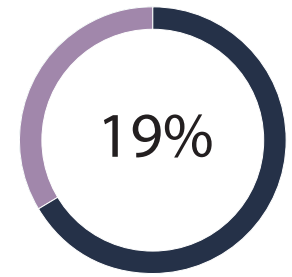
CHICAGO



NEW YORK

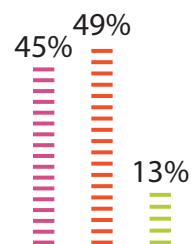
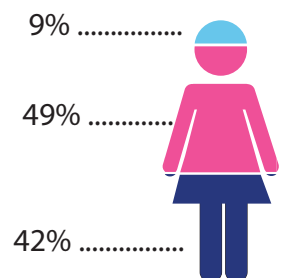
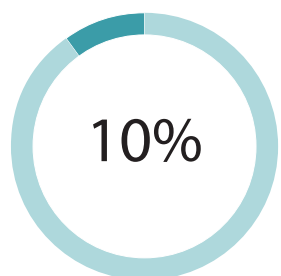
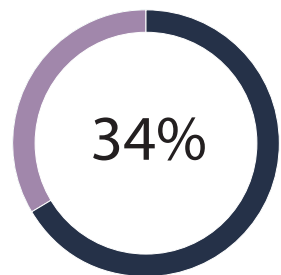


ORLANDO

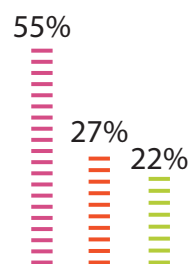
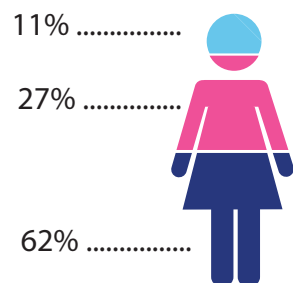
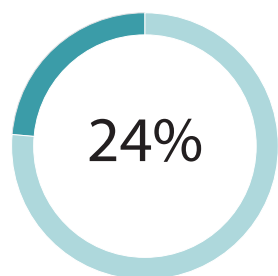
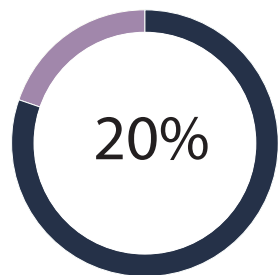


Puerto Ricans in the Chicago MSA also had the fourth highest median household income (\$35,638) and the second lowest rate of poverty (19%) after Miami (17%). Puerto Ricans based in Florida MSAs (Miami, Orlando, and Tampa) had higher homeownership rates than any other MSA. Of the MSAs outside of Florida, Chicago and Philadelphia stood out as having about 50% of the Puerto Rican population being homeowners. The difference in homeownership rates are a reflection of the housing markets in these regions, for example about 45% of the total population of Chicago were homeowners in comparison with Miami, where, about 70% were homeowners. The Boston MSA had the highest rate

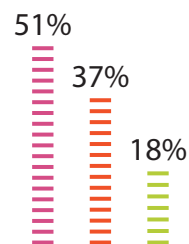
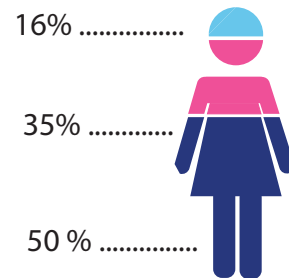
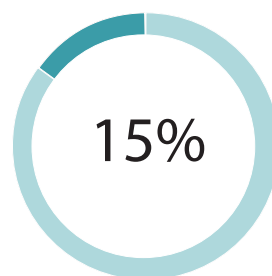
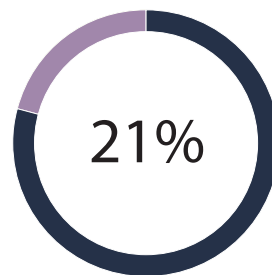
PHILADELPHIA



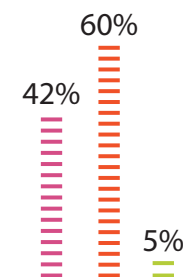
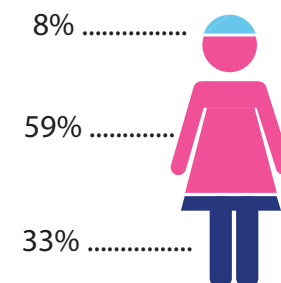
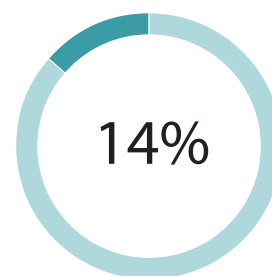
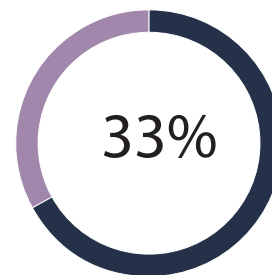
MIAMI



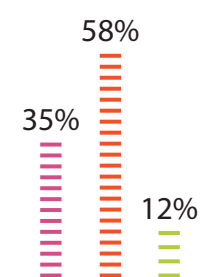
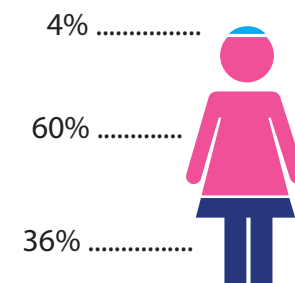
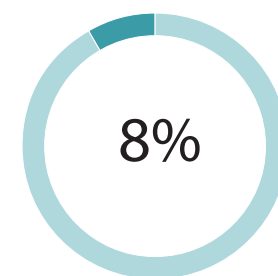
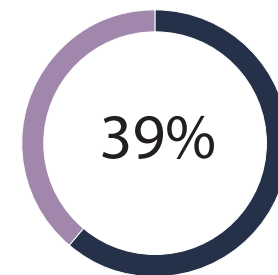
TAMPA



BOSTON



HARTFORD



of Puerto Rican poverty, as well as the lowest incomes and homeownership rates. In addition, the Boston MSA had the second largest percentage of single female households (59%), after Hartford (60%), which also had the lowest rates of college graduates (8%).

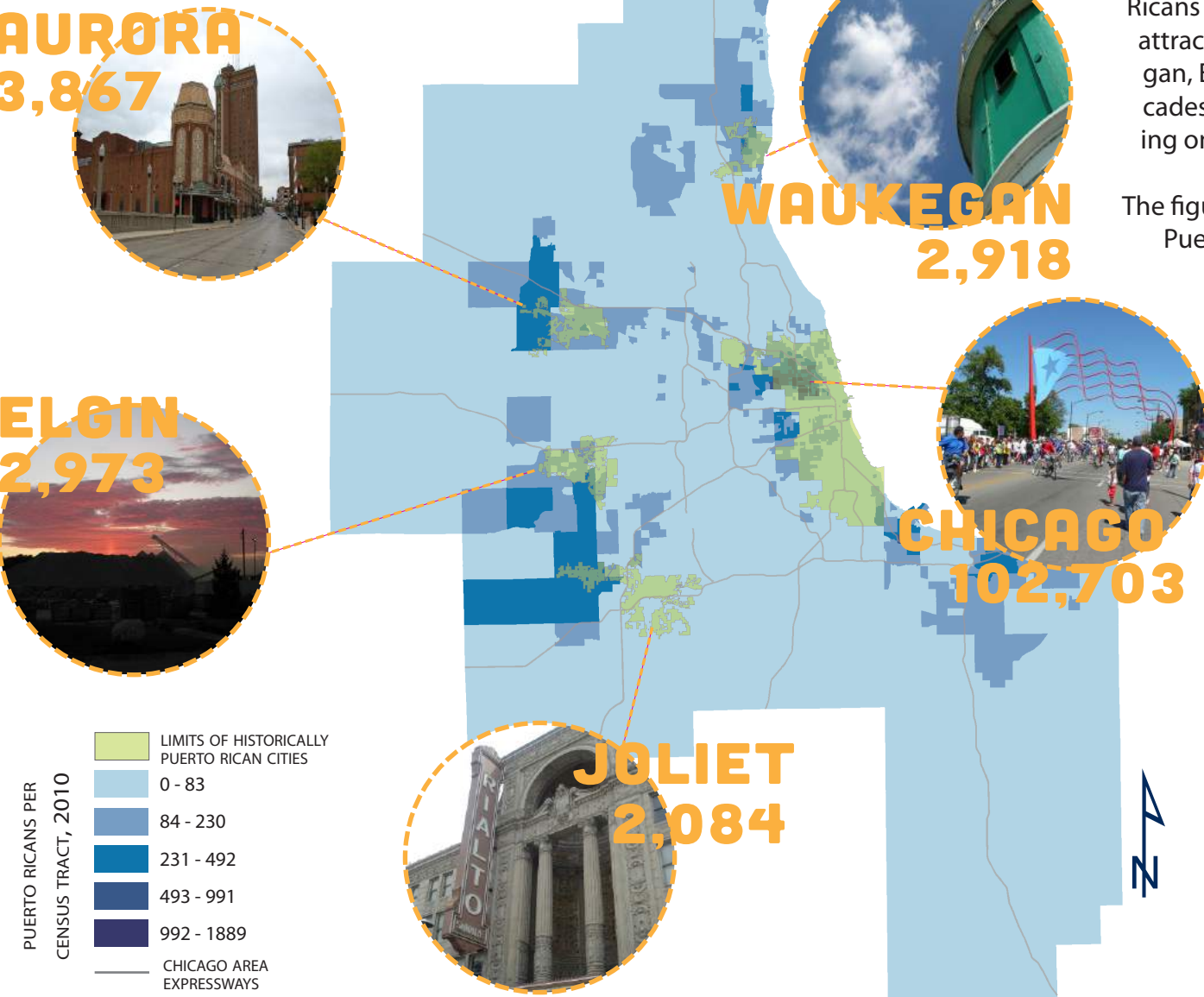
When looking across all these socioeconomic characteristics (income, poverty levels, percent of population with bachelor's degrees, etc.) in traditional to less traditional regions of Puerto Rican migration, Puerto Ricans in the Chicago MSA are doing very well in comparison to other MSAs.

* Note: it is possible for health insurance percentages to add up to more than 100% because some people have more than one form of insurance.

As of 2010, the state of Illinois had 182,989 Puerto Ricans, ranking 9th of 52 States. About 93% of these Puerto Ricans (170,353) were living in Chicagoland, which includes the city and a 7-county metropolitan area (Cook, DuPage, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, and Will Counties). Of the 93%, 60% were living in the city of Chicago and 40% were living in the suburbs.

Although it is beyond the scope of this report to address the migration of Puerto Ricans to the suburbs, it is important to note that the presence of Puerto Ricans in the suburbs responds to key demographic and economic issues. The Puerto Rican diaspora led to the migration of working class

Chicagoland Puerto Rican Population, 2010



Puerto Ricans to cities like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and some went directly to suburbs where established industrial companies offered Puerto Ricans jobs. In Illinois, four suburbs near Chicago attracted early migrant families: Aurora, Waukegan, Elgin, and Joliet. Migrations in later decades seemed to go in both directions depending on job opportunities or family concerns.

The figure to the right shows the population for Puerto Ricans from 1960 to 2010, divided as a percentage of the total population. In comparison to other cities where Puerto Ricans are concentrated in the Chicago Metro Area, the suburban cities of Aurora, Waukegan, Elgin and Joliet had the largest share of Puerto Ricans as a percentage of their total population. As the figure shows, Puerto Ricans made up 8%, 2.5% and 2% of the entire population of Waukegan, Aurora, and Elgin respectively in the year 1980. In comparison, the Puerto Rican population in the city of Chicago peaked in 1990 both in terms of gross numbers (119,866) and concentration (4.3% of a total population of 2,783,726), while the city of Joliet has continued to concentrate, growing its Puerto Rican population almost 75% from 2000 to 2010.

snapshot:

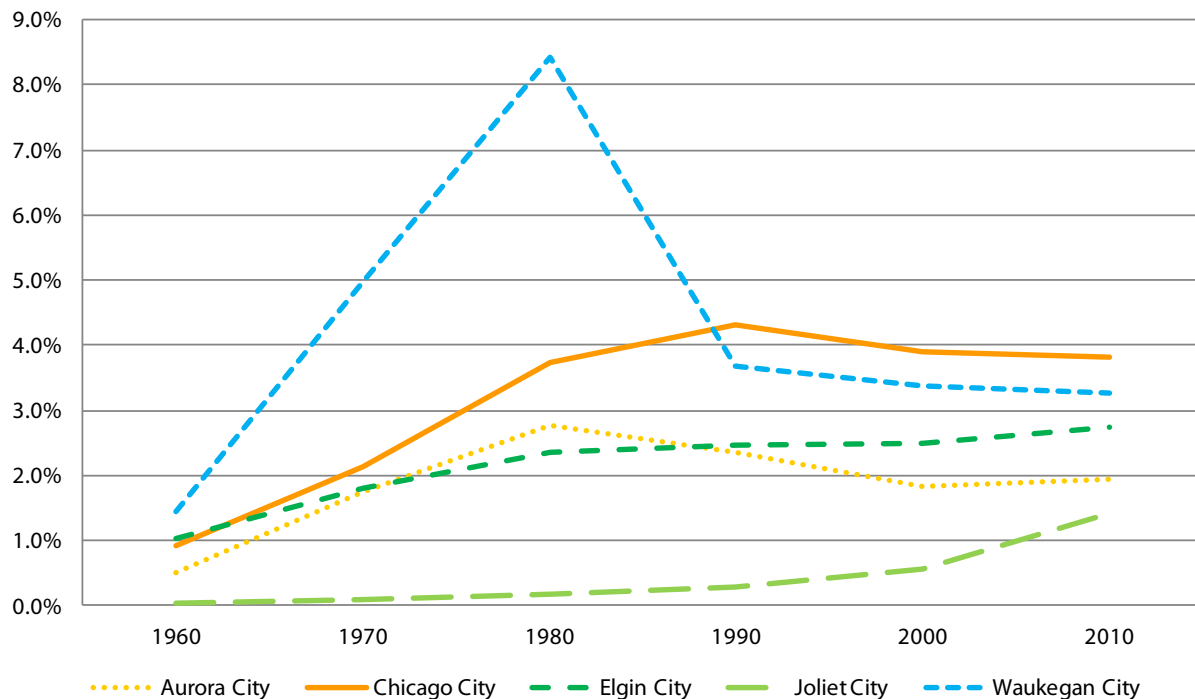
PUERTO RICANS IN THE CHICAGO METRO AREA

According to our focus group discussions, one of the major challenges for the Puerto Rican community in most of these enclaves is the dwindling numbers of Puerto Ricans. Local residents are older, and young people are leaving the area in search of new opportunities. In addition, focus group participants noted that the third generation has assimilated to the extent that many may no longer identify as Puerto Rican. Some mentioned that there is a lot of intermarriage between Puerto Ricans and whites or Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. Focus group members were concerned that, with the loss of young people, the ability to maintain Puerto Rican institutions such as Waukegan's Puerto Rican Society (founded in 1957) and the Aurora Puerto Rican Cultural Council (founded in 1967) would become increasingly difficult.

Although most focus group participants are generally optimistic about upward mobility, our research showed that Puerto Ricans in the suburbs continue to lag behind whites and Mexicans in both median household incomes and homeownership rates. For example, in Waukegan in 2010, 65% of whites owned homes, compared with 56% of Mexicans and only 42% of Puerto Ricans. Income trends for the year 2000¹ look very similar with about \$45,000 for whites, \$43,000 for Mexicans, and \$36,000 for Puerto Ricans. Nonetheless, Puerto Ricans have been able to achieve higher educational levels than Mexicans. In Waukegan, for example, 14% have a college or graduate degree compared to 9% of Mexicans, which may give Puerto Ricans some advantage when competing for professional jobs¹. In fact, in these suburbs many Puerto Ricans are in middle management positions. They work as school principals, government employees, public officials, business owners, and so forth. Participants in our focus group acknowledge that

many of them are hired because of their bilingual skills that allow them to serve the incoming Mexican population.

Chicagoland : Puerto Rican Concentration 1960 - 2010



source: 1960, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010 Decennial Censuses; 1970 was interpolated by allocation.

It is important to note that Puerto Ricans living in the suburbs tend to be wealthier than their city counterparts. For example, the median income in the Chicago MSA in 2010 was \$45,638 in comparison to \$39,290 for the city. Puerto Ricans who live in the suburbs also tend to be more educated and have higher rates of homeownership, participation in private healthcare, and lower poverty rates. However, the meanings of these numbers may be more complex than we expect. The four suburbs that we have paid special attention to—Waukegan, Joliet, Elgin, and Aurora—are old industrial cities that attracted working-class Puerto Ricans. These populations are roughly comparable to Puerto Rican Chicago, but scattered throughout the region are other Puerto Ricans whose incomes may be raising the MSA aggregate. There are numerous questions here that could use more research.

1. 2000 data are used because—as of the publication of this report—2010 data were not yet available for small geographies.

POPULATION

PUERTO RICANS
102,854

ALL CHICAGOANS



MEDIAN HOUSHOLD INCOME

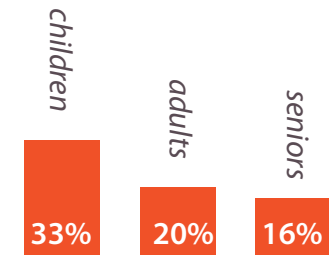
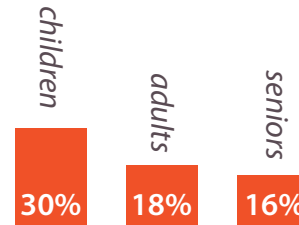
\$39,290

\$44,776

HOUSEHOLDS RECEIVING FOOD STAMPS



INDIVIDUALS LIVING IN POVERTY



INDIVIDUALS WITH INCOME
THROUGH EARNINGS



snapshot:

PUERTO RICANS IN CHICAGO

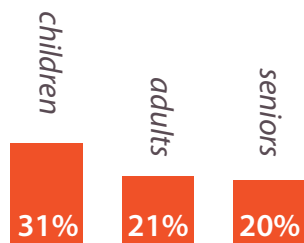
COMPARED WITH OTHER RACES AND ORIGINS

Relative to the total City of Chicago population, as one might expect from any other minority group, Puerto Ricans have lower incomes, educational attainment, homeownership rates, labor participation rates and lower levels of individuals with income through earning—while, at the same time, higher rates of poverty for adults, single-female householders and households receiving food stamps. However, there is more nuance to be discovered when we start to compare Puerto Ricans with other races and ethnic origins. In order to understand the

MEXICANS

562,192

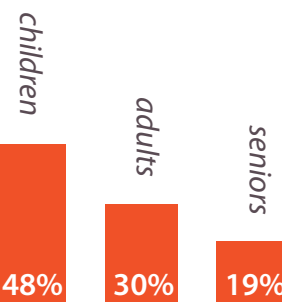
\$39,988



AFRICAN AMERICANS

905,799

\$29,371



WHITES

1,256,175

\$58,750



current socio-economic condition of Puerto Ricans this section utilizes several comparison groups: Mexicans, African Americans and whites.

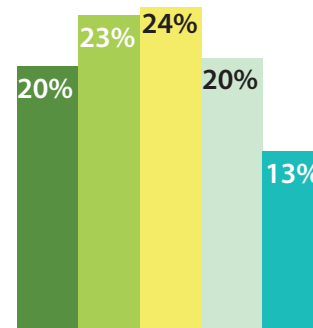
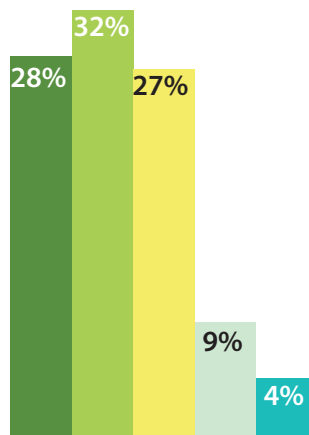
The 2010 ACS one-year estimates showed that Puerto Ricans had a lower rate of individuals with income through earning (78%) than Mexicans (92%), but higher than African Americans (68%). However, Puerto Rican median household income (\$39,290) was similar to Mexican income (\$39,988) but substantially higher than African American median household income (\$29,371). Nonetheless, Puerto Rican households still made \$19,460 less than the median white household. Because Puerto Ricans are American citizens, and historically the island of Puerto Rico has had high rates of individuals receiving public assistance, the participation rates of mainland US Puerto Ricans in welfare benefits, although lower, tend to look more similar to those of African Americans—for example, in Chicago, 6.7% of Puerto Ricans receive public cash assistance and 26.8% of Puerto Ricans receive some sort of food stamp assistance. These percent-

PUERTO RICANS

ALL CHICAGOANS

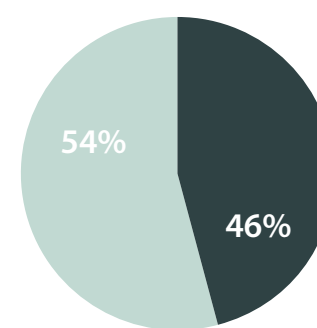
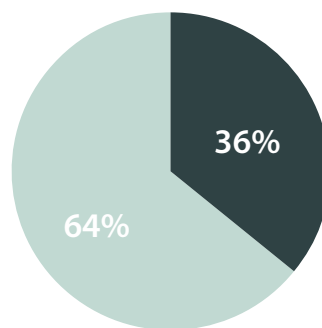
HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

LESS THAN A HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA
 HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA (OE EQUIVALENCY)
 SOME COLLEGE OR ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE
 BACHELOR'S DEGREE
 GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL DEGREE



LABOR FORCE STRUCTURE

NOT IN THE LABOR FORCE | IN THE LABOR FORCE



HOUSING TENURE
 renters | owners

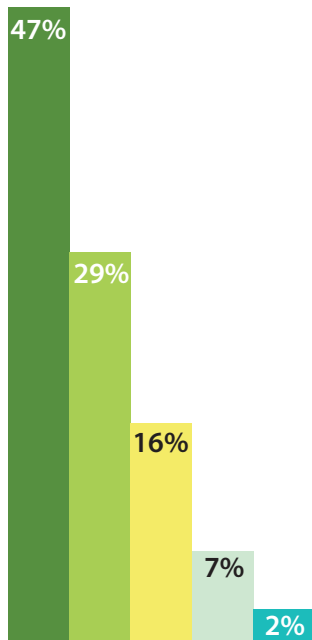
snapshot:

PUERTO RICANS IN CHICAGO

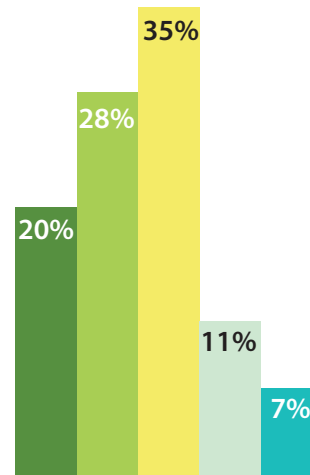
COMPARED WITH OTHER RACES AND ORIGINS

ages are more than twice the average share. Since many Mexicans are recent immigrants, they tend to have lower levels of public assistance participation and lower rates of educational attainment. One could partially explain higher educational attainment among Puerto Ricans compared with Mexicans through the historical relationship between the US and Puerto Rico—at the time of migration they received more bilingual education and, as US citizens, can also access federal student

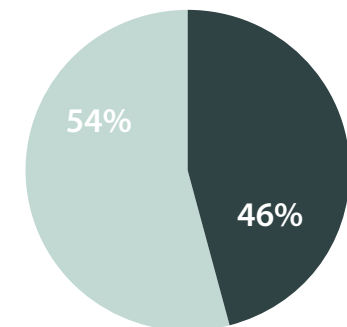
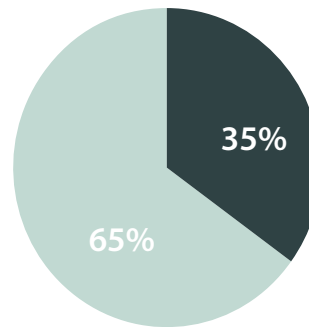
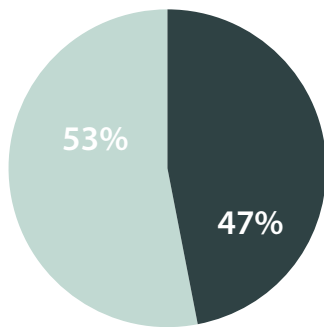
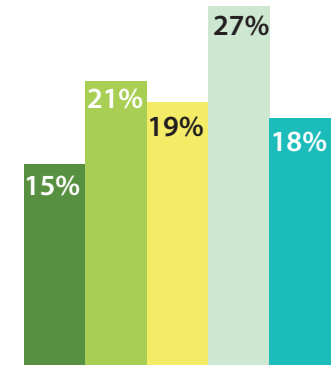
MEXICANS



AFRICAN AMERICANS



WHITES



aid. Nonetheless, fewer Puerto Ricans achieve high levels of educational attainment than African Americans; 13% of Puerto Ricans age 25 and older held an advanced degree in 2010 (e.g., bachelor's, master's, Ph.D., M.D. or J.D.). The African American average is 18%.

Sixty years after the Puerto Rican great migration, as a group, whether as a demographic of minorities in Chicago or as a sub-group of Chicago Latinos, this study shows that Puerto Ricans have not fared as well as the general population in indicators of social status and wellbeing. This analysis has also shown there are important social differences between Puerto Ricans and other Latinos—these differences raise questions about social policy and justice in relation to the persistence of poverty and its allied consequences among all other racial and ethnic groups.

PART TWO: ZEROING IN ON POLICY ISSUES

The second section of this report provides a portrait of Puerto Ricans in eight critical areas: Housing, Economic Development, Education, Health, Youth and Justice, Non-Profit Capacity, Women, and Culture.

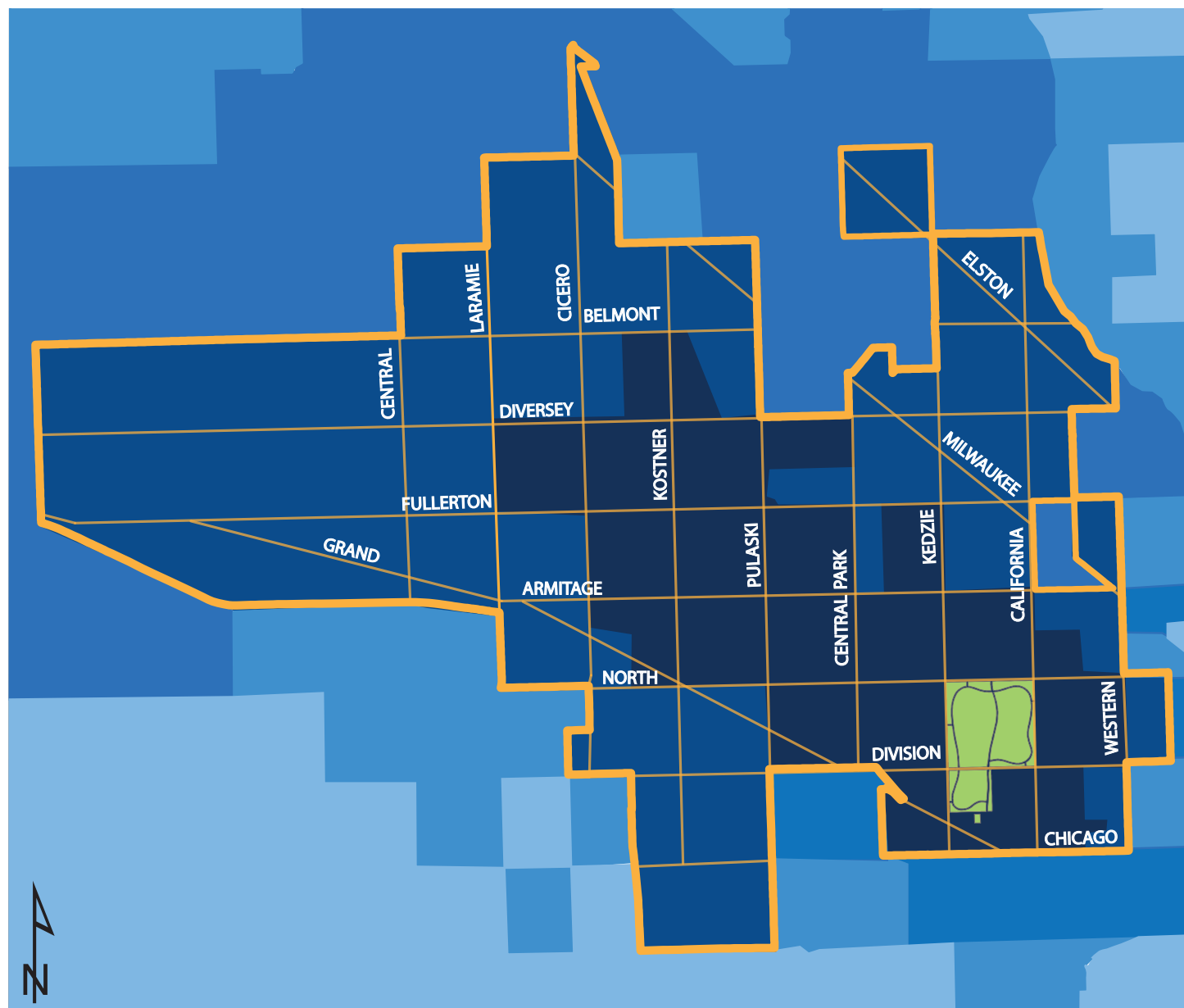
Although this project is primarily about Puerto Ricans who are dispersed throughout the City of Chicago, Humboldt Park, its surrounding areas, and the northwest side of Chicago have become an important focal point for this research for a number of reasons:

- 1. It is home to about 50% of Puerto Ricans in the City of Chicago;*
- 2. Most Puerto Rican institutions and organizations are located there;*
- 3. The area stands as a symbol of Puerto Rican identity and history;*
- 4. Methodologically speaking, there are considerable amounts of data that are not collected on Puerto Ricans specifically, and therefore the geography that delimits concentrations of Puerto Ricans may serve as a proxy for looking at Puerto Ricans in general.*

In addition, public policy has emphasized the dispersal of minorities as a response to poverty alleviation. However, a growing number of scholars have also argued that concentrated populations—functioning, for instance, as ethnic enclaves—can better exert their power to make their communities better (Varady, 2005). The Puerto Rican Agenda is interested in addressing policy issues regarding Puerto Ricans in Chicago first where Puerto Ricans are concentrated and then, and only then, where they have dispersed. The Puerto Rican Agenda has already had an impact well beyond the Puerto Rican community in many of the policy issues that will be discussed in this section, and they have helped to leverage resources for the community as a whole—not only for Puerto Ricans. The purpose of this project is to fortify and maintain a community-development approach, which is based on addressing issues in place.

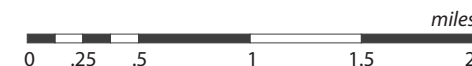
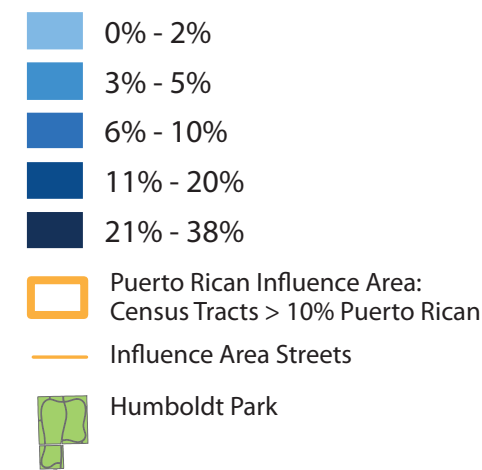


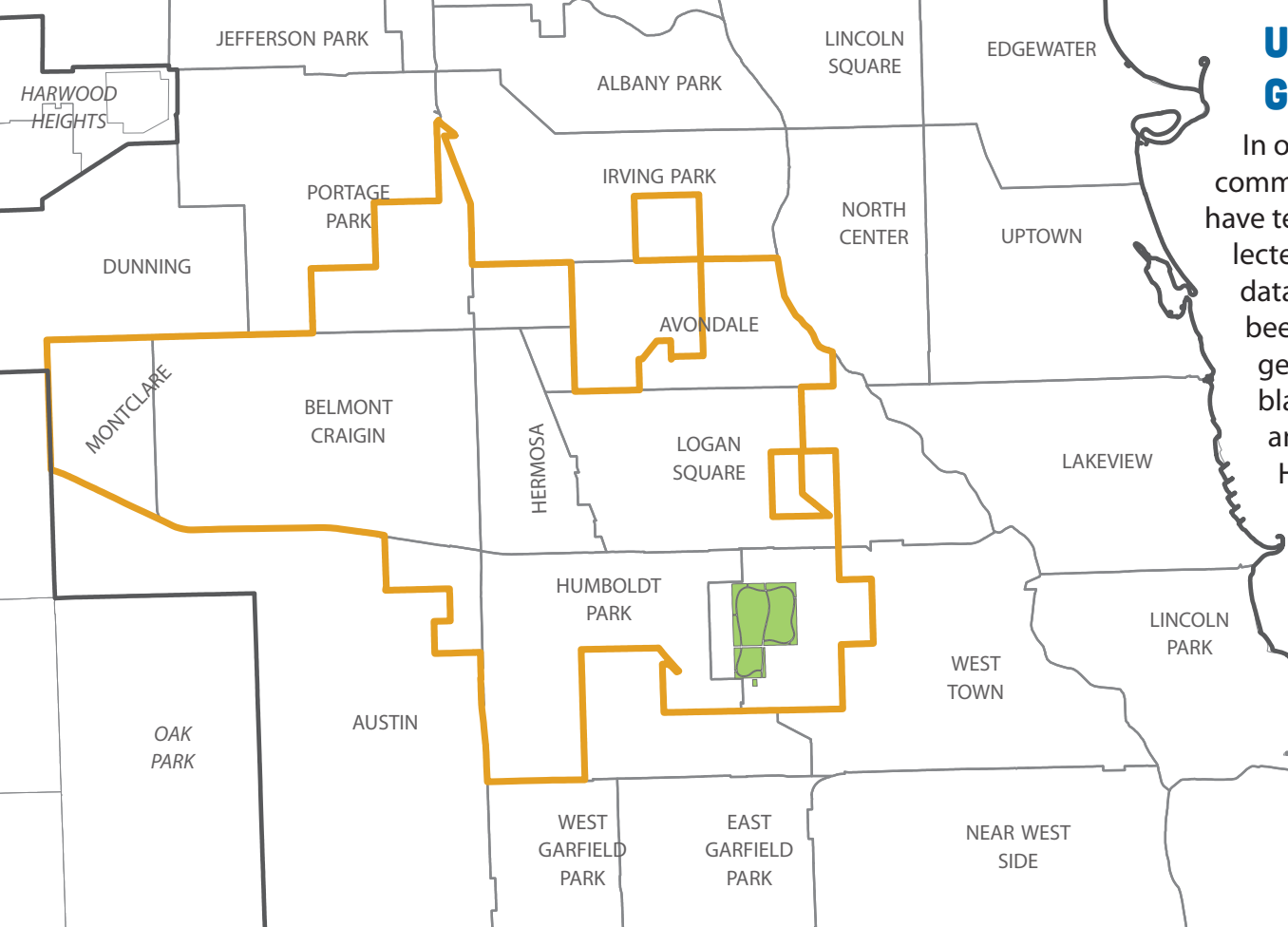
The highest concentrations of Puerto Ricans are on the northwest Side of Chicago, specifically in the neighborhoods of Logan Square, Hermosa, Humboldt Park, Belmont, Cragin, West Town, Avondale, Portage Park, Montclare and, to a smaller degree, portions of Austin and Irving Park. This study has termed the area with census tracts representing the maximum concentration of Puerto Ricans in the city of Chicago as **the Puerto Rican Influence Area (PRIA)**. The PRIA is comprised of census tracts where Puerto Ricans make up more than 10% of the total population according to the 2010 Census. The maximum concentration of Puerto Ricans in the PRIA (and the City of Chicago) is 38%. In 2010, there were 48,390 Puerto Ricans living in the PRIA, which accounted for nearly half (47%) of the total Puerto Rican population living in Chicago. The other 53% are dispersed across the city in numbers that do not indicate significant concentration. See pages 18 - 21 for a description of the other races and origins that compose the PRIA.



Chicago Puerto Rican Influence Area, 2010

*Puerto Rican Concentration
per Census Tract*





USING THE PRIA AS A PROXY TO GATHER DATA ON PUERTO RICANS

In order to flesh out data relevant to the Puerto Rican community living in Chicago, this study uses what we have termed “the PRIA” to zero-in on data that are not collected explicitly for Puerto Ricans. The majority of the data on Puerto Ricans presented in this report have been collected from the US Census Bureau, which generally distinguishes between race (e.g., white, black, Asian), ethnicity (Hispanic or Non-Hispanic) and ethnic origin (e.g., Mexican or Puerto Rican). However, there were a number of questions we wanted to answer where no data were available specifically for Puerto Ricans. For example, data on home values or crime incidents are not disaggregated by race, while other data—such as subsidized housing participation rates or juvenile arrests—are available only for Latinos in general.

In order to get around these data roadblocks, this study sometimes looks at where Puerto Ricans live. In the PRIA, there are 18,129 Puerto Rican households, which constitute almost 20% of the 96,058 total households. We assume, then, that the impact of any event in the PRIA—such as rising or falling home values—will also impact the Puerto

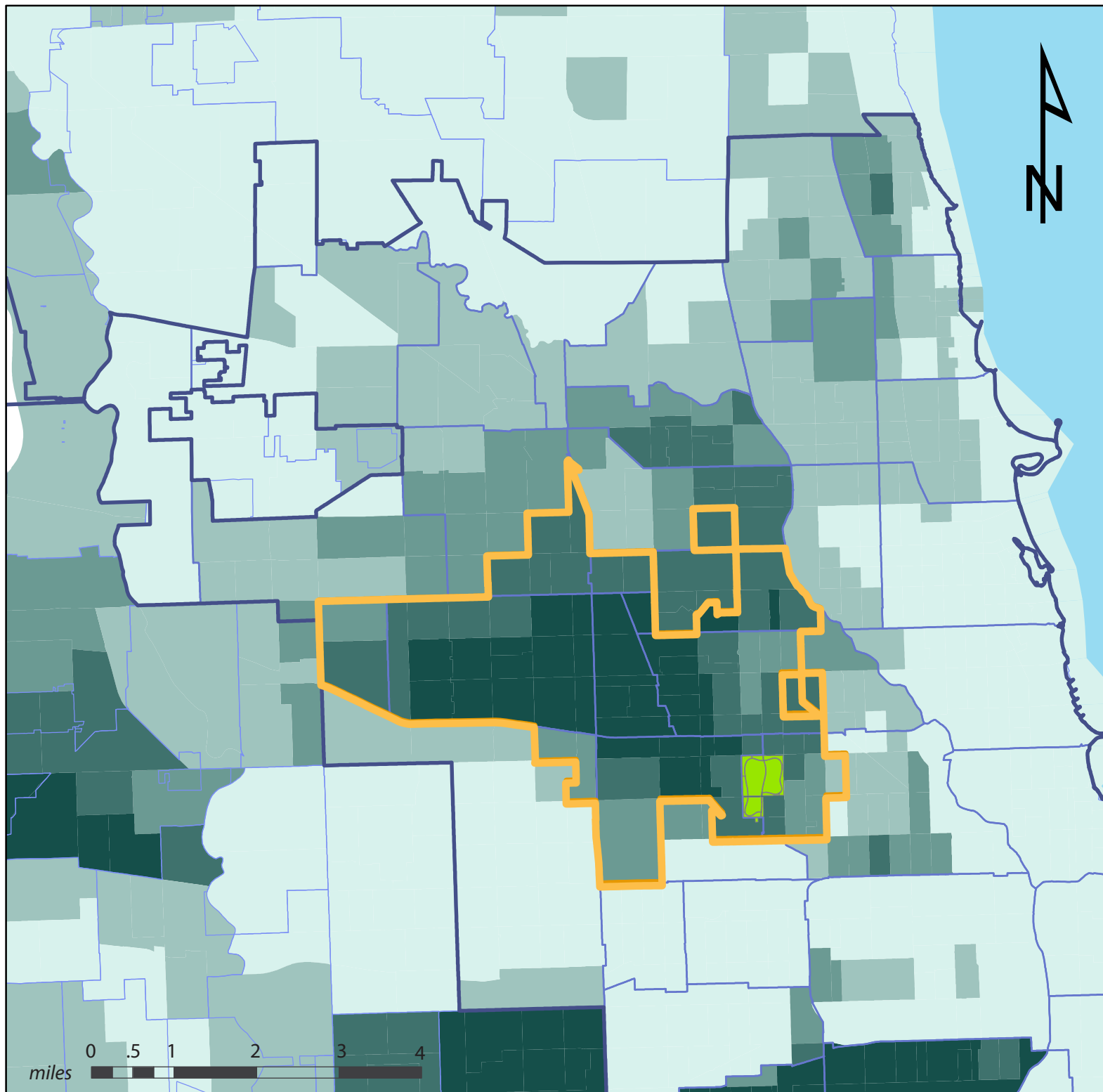
PRIA crosses many of the original University of Chicago Community Areas, primarily Humboldt Park, Logan Square, Hermosa and Belmont-Craig

Ricans, even though we lack exact Puerto Rican numbers. In addition, within the PRIA there are some data collected for Latinos but not Puerto Ricans. Because Puerto Rican households compose 35% of Latino households in the PRIA—less than Mexicans at 50%, but more than other Latinos at 15%—we feel reasonably confident saying that if Latinos are impacted by some condition in the PRIA, so are the Puerto Ricans. Through these sorts of methods, we circuitously get as close as possible to generating data for Puerto Ricans.

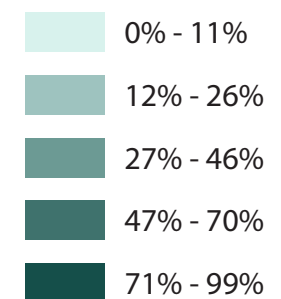
This tactic, of course, has a number of limitations; however, it provides us with the capacity to create estimates about Puerto Ricans that would otherwise be impossible. To further clarify our conclusions we compare those parts of the city with significant concentrations of Puerto Ricans (the PRIA for instance) with the broader population of the city of Chicago. These combined efforts help us to distinguish a Puerto Rican profile. As a word of caution, however, readers need to be reminded that much of the data collected for the PRIA looks not at Puerto Ricans specifically, but at the census tracts where they constitute between 11% and 38% of the total population.

Sections where the PRIA is used: Housing, Economic Development, Education and Youth & Justice.

LATINO CONCENTRATION NORTHWEST CHICAGO 2010



*Latino concentration
per census tract, 2010*



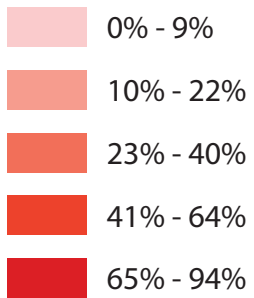
*Puerto Rican Influence Area: census
tracts > 10% Puerto
Rican population*



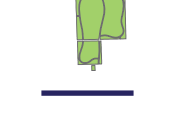
Humboldt Park
City of Chicago
boundary

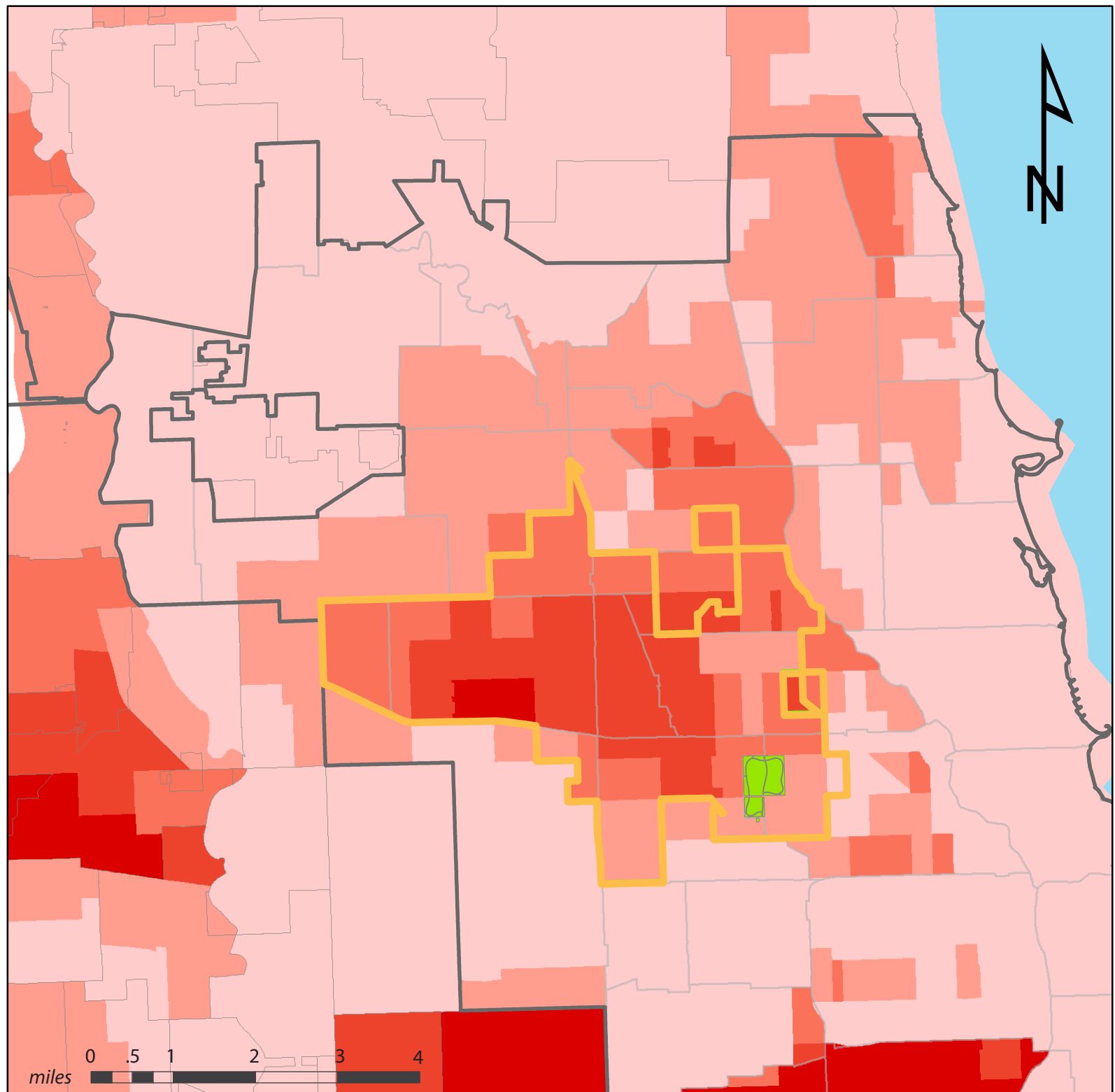
MEXICAN CONCENTRATION NORTHWEST CHICAGO 2010

Mexican concentration
per census tract, 2010



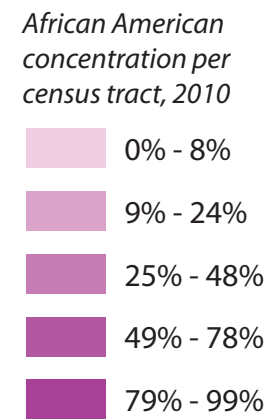
 *Puerto Rican Influence Area: census tracts > 10% Puerto Rican population*

 Humboldt Park
City of Chicago
boundary



AFRICAN AMERICAN CONCENTRATION NORTHWEST CHICAGO 2010

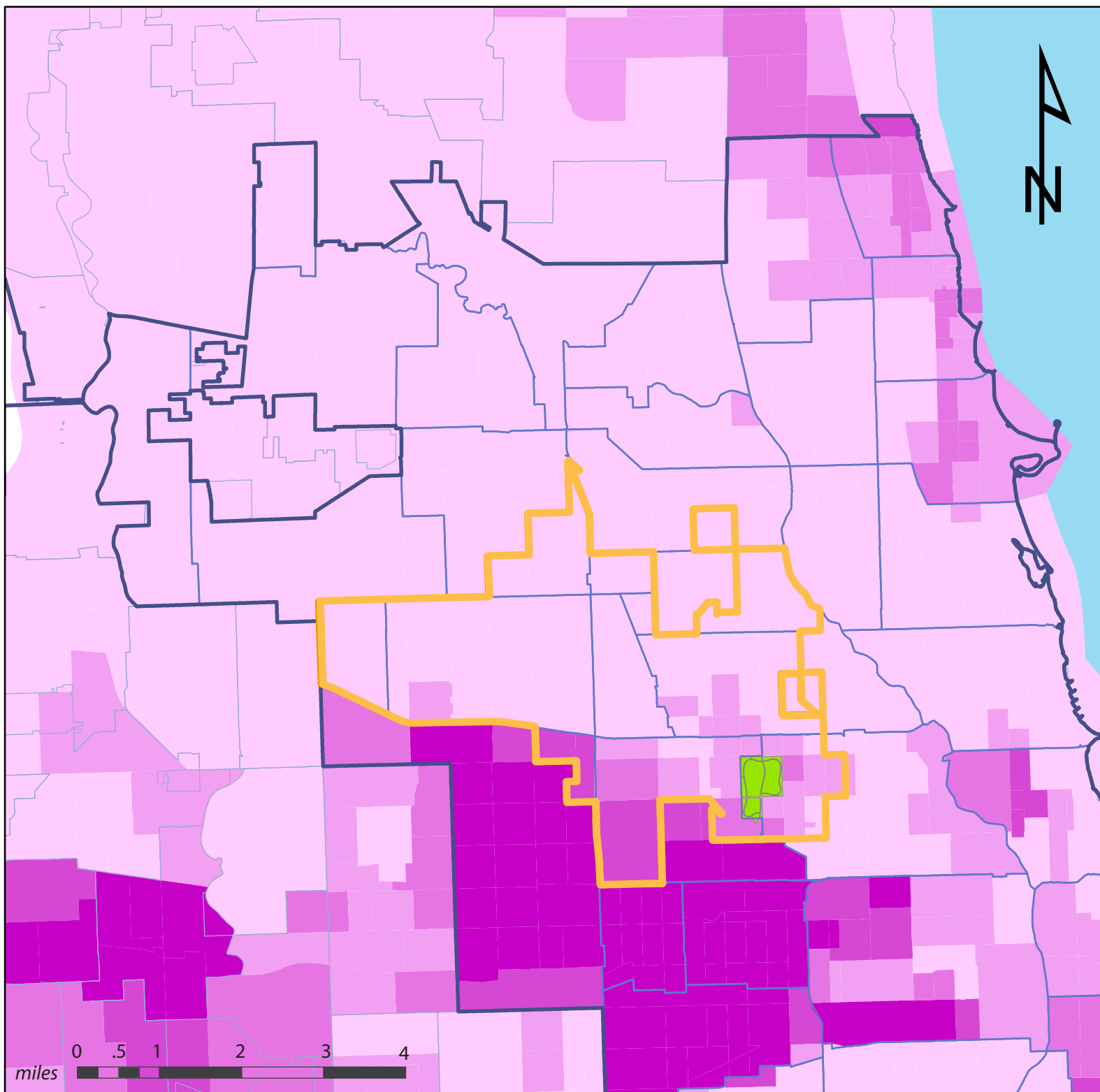
NOTE: this map of African American concentration also includes
African American Latinos



Puerto Rican Influence Area: census
tracts > 10% Puerto
Rican population



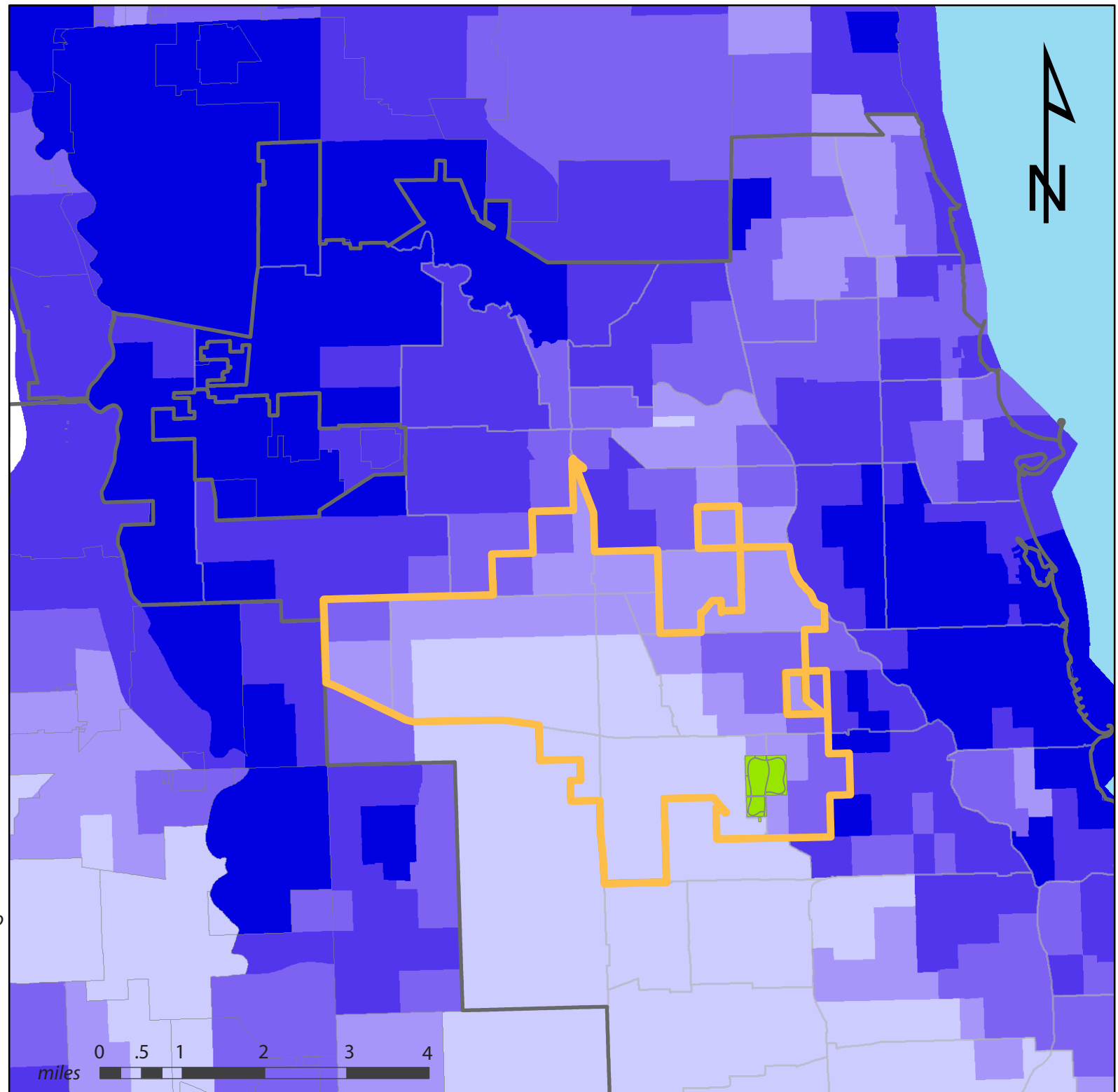
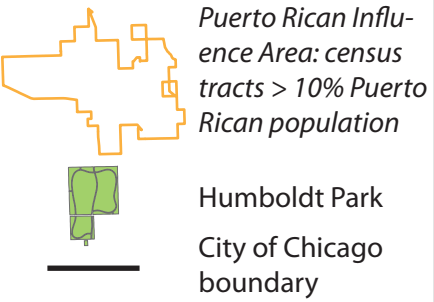
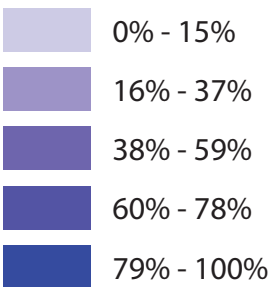
Humboldt Park
City of Chicago
boundary



WHITE CONCENTRATION NORTHWEST CHICAGO 2010

NOTE: this map of white concentration also includes white Latinos

white concentration
per census tract, 2010



THREE UNDERSTANDINGS OF “HUMBOLDT PARK,” THE CENTER OF PUERTO RICAN CHICAGO

Humboldt Park is perceived as the symbolic center of Puerto Rican Chicago and, therefore, many studies have focused on the Humboldt Park community / neighborhood to address policy issues that deal with Puerto Ricans. However, “Humboldt Park” can be used to refer to a number of overlapping, but distinct geographies. It is defined primarily in three ways—it is important to distinguish between all the definitions, as both are used in this and other studies.

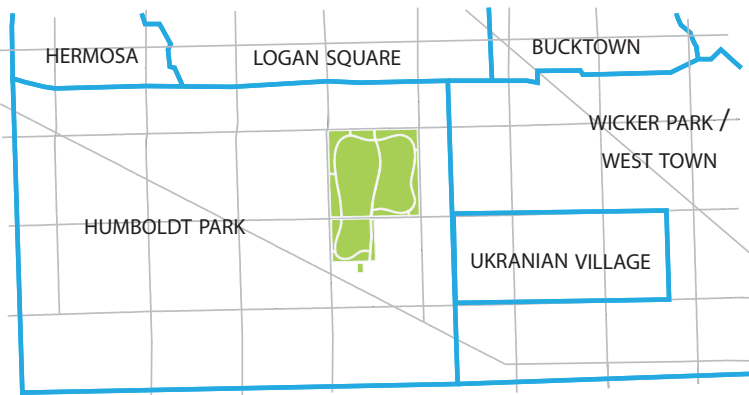
COLLOQUIAL HUMBOLDT PARK



The Humboldt Park community also has a colloquial definition, defined by the people who have lived there in accordance to their shared identity (e.g., a sense of belonging or shared values). The neighborhood’s colloquial boundaries are: Western Avenue to the east, Pulaski Road to the west, Armitage Avenue to the

north, and Chicago Avenue to the south. This study area is 26% Puerto Rican. Most non-profit organizations are concentrated within colloquial Humboldt Park, where there is more commercial and institutional zoning as opposed to residential zoning.

HUMBOLDT PARK NEIGHBORHOOD

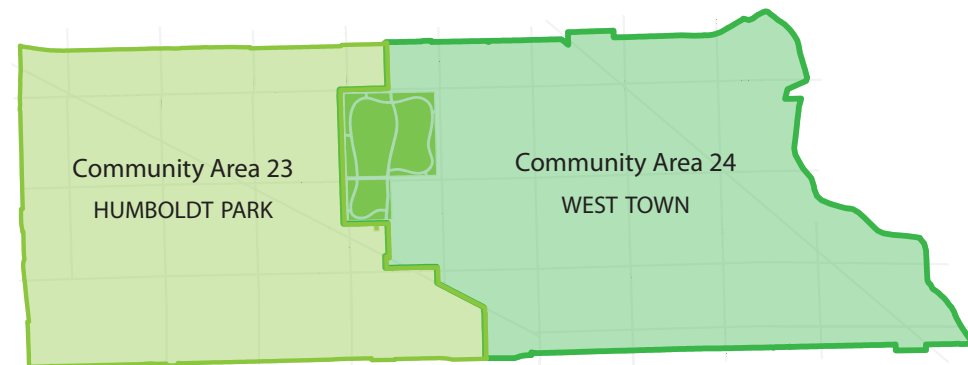


Within the 77 Chicago communities, there are 288 smaller neighborhoods. In 2010, there were about 13,000 Puerto Ricans residing in this geography, accounting for about 13% of all Puerto

Ricans in the city of Chicago. About 21% of the population in this area is Puerto Rican. This is not a very commonly used definition.

COMMUNITY AREA 23

The official definition of the Humboldt Park Community Area comes from the Social Science Research Committee at the University of Chicago which dubs Humboldt Park “Community Area 23,” out of 77 Chicago communities. Since this definition has been in use since the 1920s, it predominates many conceptions of Humboldt Park even today, regardless of the fact that neighborhood dynamics have substantially changed Humboldt Park’s organic boundaries in the intervening 80 years. In 2010, there were about 9,000 Puerto Ricans in Community Area 23—making up 20% of the entire population in this community and accounting for 8.7% of the Puerto Rican population in Chicago as a whole. This definition does not include the Park nor many of the organizations and institutions that the Puerto Rican community perceives as being part of Humboldt Park. In terms of boundaries, many Puerto Rican institutions are actually located in West Town, which is Community Area 24. Politically, however, these organizations like to be identified as part of the Humboldt Park community.



Sections where “Colloquial Humboldt Park” is used: Housing, and Non-Profit Capacity.

Section where “Community Area 23” is used: Health.

Sections where “Humboldt Park Neighborhood” is used: Gentrification Analysis and Neighborhood Change.

1

KEY FINDINGS: HOUSING

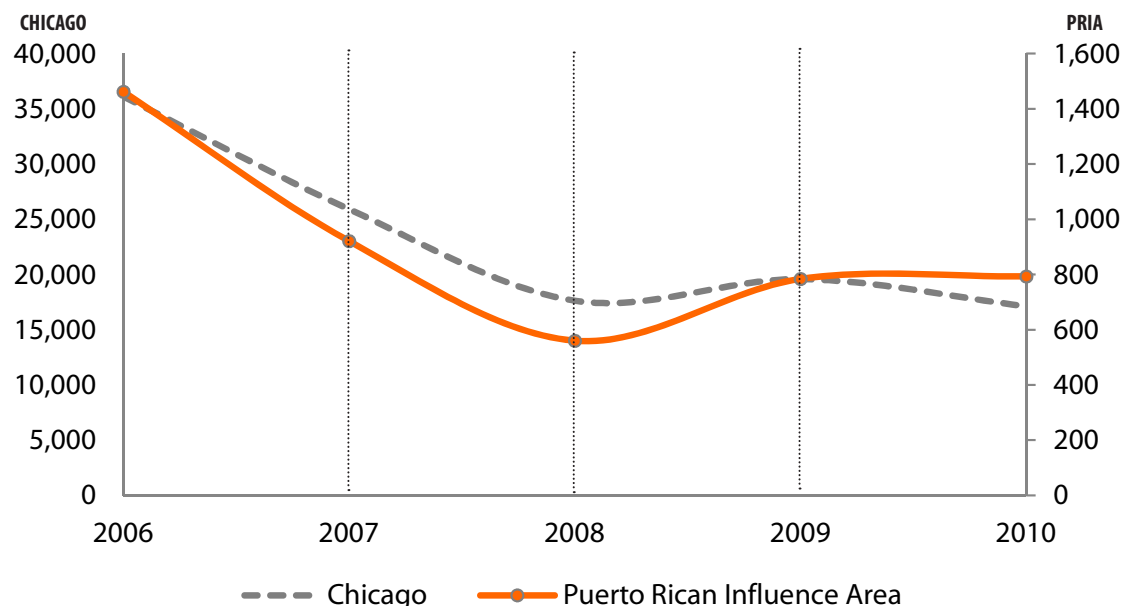
- **37% of all Puerto Ricans in Chicago today are homeowners (up from 25% in 2000)— equal to African Americans, but less than Mexicans (49%) and whites (55%).¹**
 - **Across Chicago, 62% of Puerto Rican renters and 57% of Puerto Rican mortgage holders are cost burdened—paying more than a third of their income for housing.¹**
 - **In Chicago, a typical Puerto Rican mortgage is \$1,973, not including taxes, insurance or utilities. A typical Puerto Rican rent is \$875 (2 BR).¹**
-
- **In the Puerto Rican Influence Area, median monthly rent increased 27% over the last 9 years, whereas incomes only increased 17%.¹**
 - **3,815 Latino households in the PRIA receive public housing subsidies. They make up 12% of all Latino households in the area.³**
 - **From 2000 to 2010, median home values in the PRIA *doubled*, from \$168,300 to \$341,967. This is more than \$70,000 greater than the Chicago-wide median home value of \$270,000.^{2,5}**
 - **During the recent housing bubble, 31% of all mortgage loans made in the PRIA were high-cost—with APRs more than 8% above standard national interest rates. Rates in this category often signal predatory lending.⁴**

1. 2006 - 2010 AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY (5 YEAR) 2. 2005 - 2009 AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY (4 YEAR) 3. 2008 HUD PICTURE OF SUBSIDIZED HOUSING

4. 2004 - 2010 HOME MORTGAGE DISCLOSURE ACT DATA PRODUCTS 5. 2000 DECENNIAL CENSUS 6. 2006 - 2010 BOXWOOD MEANS, INC DATA

7. 2007 US TREASURY DATA 8. 2005 AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY (1 YEAR) 9. 2010 AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY (1 YEAR)

Through the Bubble: Number of Home Sales, 2006 - 2010²



The last few years of residential home sales, including single-family homes, townhouses and condominiums, tell the story of the recent housing boom and bust. The peak of home sales nationwide was 2006. In 2008, after the bubble collapsed, the housing market hit rock-bottom.

The drop in home sales in the Puerto Rican Influence Area in 2008 was likely more pronounced due to the intensity of pre-collapse market speculation. There is reason for optimism, however. Despite the PRIA's proportionally deeper decline in home sales early in the recession, it matched Chicago in 2009 and exceeded it in 2010.⁶

This rallying home market is testament to the enduring value of these neighborhoods and their housing stock.

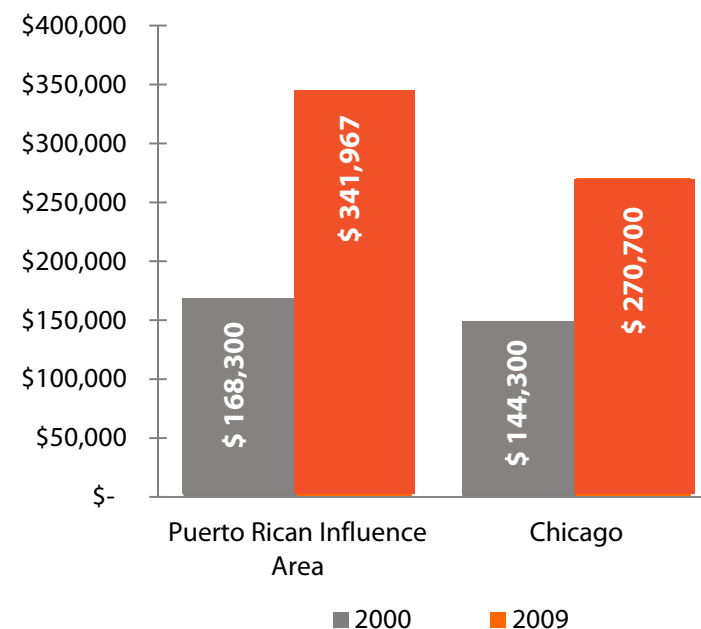
OWNERS

Housing Values in the Puerto Rican Influence Area doubled from 2000 to 2009, outpacing Chicago-wide growth during that same period. Adjusted for inflation—and despite the loss of value due to the recession—this growth represents a 38% increase.² Such robust growth in the value of owner-occupied housing units in the PRIA supports anecdotal evidence that the PRIA was a hot market during the recent real estate boom.

Homeowners who have remained in the Puerto Rican Influence Area have benefited from this increase in home values compared with Puerto Ricans living in other parts of Chicago. The median home value for a Puerto Rican homeowner today in the Puerto Rican Influence Area is 11% greater than for the typical Puerto Rican in the City of Chicago.²

Despite strong net growth in Puerto Rican home values from 2000 to 2009, most homeowners lost value after the 2006 peak of the housing bubble. Though it is difficult to estimate the net wealth that Puerto Rican homeowners in Chicago may have lost during the crisis, other studies show that in the City of Chicago, "Latino areas present high levels of property-value loss, more similar to African American than to white areas" (Martinez, 2009). Home value loss is particularly acute for Latinos, who tend to retain wealth as home equity. For this reason, the Pew Center estimates that Latinos nationwide lost 66% of their accumulated wealth during the 2006-2009 recession (Pew, 2011).

PRIA vs. Chicago: PRIA Maintained Higher Median Home Values from 2000 to 2009⁶



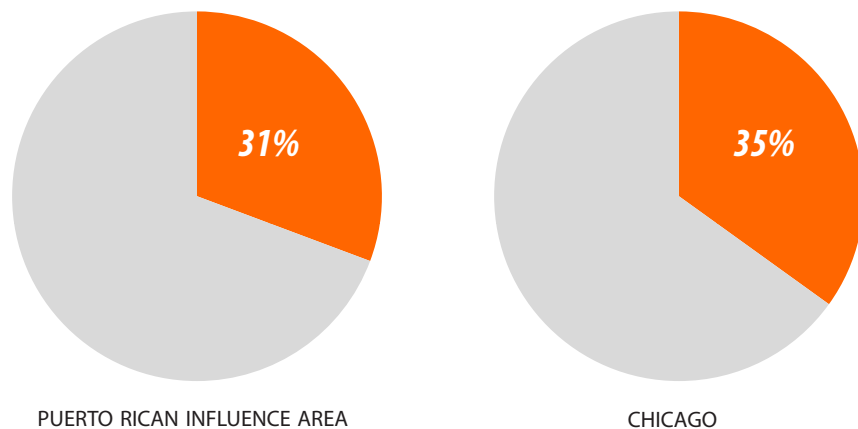
These three indicators (mortgage credit, foreclosure and vacancy) taken together provide different windows onto bubble and post-bubble conditions in the Puerto Rican Influence Area. Unfortunately, federal data stops at 2010.

Data from the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act indicate that 31% of the loans made between 2004-2006 in PRIA and 35% in the city of Chicago were high-cost.⁴ A mortgage loan is high-cost when the rate the borrower takes on for the life of the loan is substantially higher than the daily rates set by the US Treasury. High-cost loans are also generally referred to as “sub-prime.”

First mortgages are high-cost when their rate is greater than 3% over the Daily Treasury Rate. Refinance mortgages are high-cost when their rate is 5% or more above that same rate.

EXAMPLE: In late July 2007, the Daily Treasury Curve Rate was 5.05%⁷. A first mortgage would then be defined as high-cost if it were 8.05% (5.05% + 3%) or greater. Similarly, a high-cost refinance loan for this period would be 10.05% for a 30-year loan.

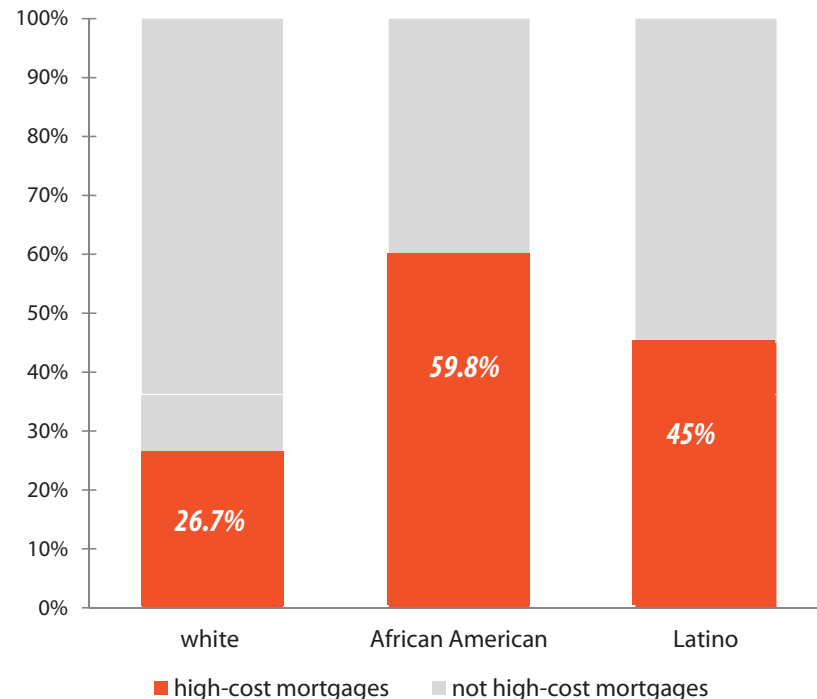
PRIA vs. Chicago: About 1/3 of Loans Made in Both PRIA and Chicago During the First Part of the Housing Boom (2004 - 2006) Were High-Cost⁴



MORTGAGE CREDIT

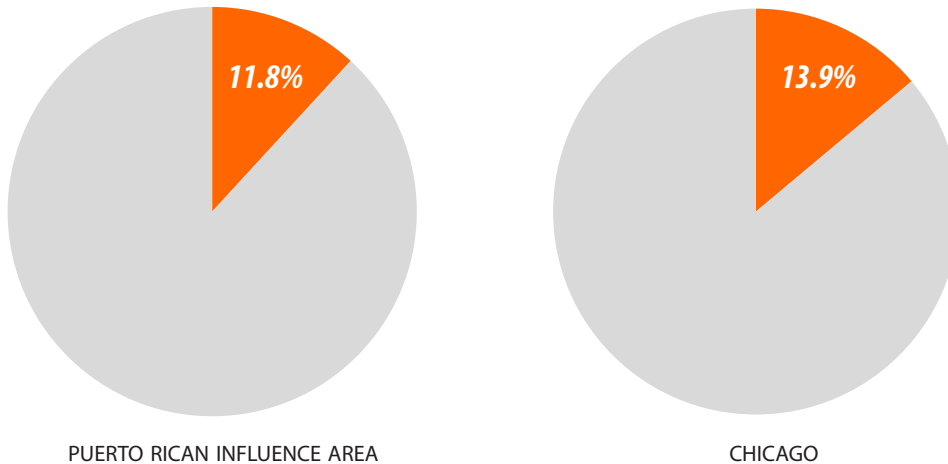
Minorities, particularly Latinos and African Americans, are more likely to receive high-cost loans. Among whites in Chicago, for example, 26.73% received high-cost loans in 2005 (the year that these loans peaked) while over half of African American borrowers (59.8%) and nearly half of Latino borrowers (45.03%) received high-cost loans.⁴ The census tracts west of Humboldt Park were most impacted by high-cost loans, an area which is home to a considerable number of African-American households. High-cost loans have been interpreted as signs of predatory lending.

Chicago: Latinos and African Americans Received More High-Cost Loans in 2005 Than Whites⁴



FORECLOSURE

PRIA vs. Chicago: There Were Slightly Fewer Properties in Foreclosure or Seriously Delinquent in PRIA During the 2008 - 2009 Phase of the Housing Crisis



Between 2004 and 2007 in the Puerto Rican Influence Area it is estimated that about 12% of the total number of mortgages were either in foreclosure or were seriously delinquent.⁴

According to the Woodstock Institute, between 2011 and 2012, the estimated number of completed foreclosures for single-family homes was 2,717 (Woodstock, 2012). This number represents about 6% of all Chicago foreclosures. This is in line with the rest of the city since the PRIA represents approximately 6% of the entire housing stock of the city.

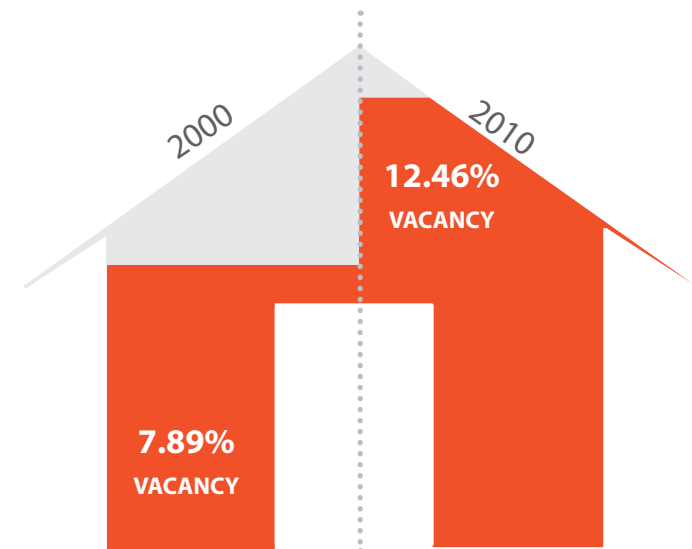


VACANCY

Vacancy rates have been rising across Chicago over the last 10 years. The Puerto Rican Influence Area reflects this city-wide trend. Vacancy is often correlated with foreclosed properties, or with properties that have been remodeled or homes built with the intention of being sold but have, for any number of reasons, stayed on the market.

Between 2000 and 2010, vacancies increased in the PRIA by 37% (from 7.89% to 12.46%).^{1,5} During those same years, Chicago vacancies increased from 7.28% to 10.62% (31%). As is evident, vacancy rates have been slightly higher in PRIA than in Chicago.

PRIA: Vacancy Rates Rose from 2000 to 2010



RENTERS

Increasing rents, paired with shrinking real incomes, result in a serious decline in rental affordability. As the proportion of renters' incomes spent on housing costs (rent and utilities) rises relative to their overall income, many renters are becoming increasingly unable to afford their housing. When the proportion of a renter's income spent on housing costs exceeds 30%, HUD considers them *cost burdened*.

62% of Puerto Rican renters were considered to be cost burdened, in comparison with 53% of the total population. However, only 46% of whites paid more than 30% towards their rent¹.

Recession-related high unemployment rates and foreclosure have created demand pressures in the rental market as more people choose—or are forced—to rent. Based on these and other demographic factors and trends in housing supply and demand, the DePaul University Institute for Housing Studies estimates that the number of households renting in Chicago will increase to 233,000 by 2020. In addition to demand pressures in the rental market, there is a mismatch between the growing number of families and the number of available, family-sized (3 BR +) rental units, which results in either overcrowding or families leaving the city.

Therefore, preserving and developing more affordable rental housing in all sizes stands out as a policy priority. The Agenda and other housing advocates in the community should emphasize securing federal funds, such as the Hardest Hit Fund in order to create innovative programs and initiatives in support of long-term affordable housing of all kinds.

64% of Puerto Ricans in Chicago live in rental housing. Puerto Rican renters typically pay \$875 per month for a two bedroom, which is \$10 less per month than the city wide median rent¹.

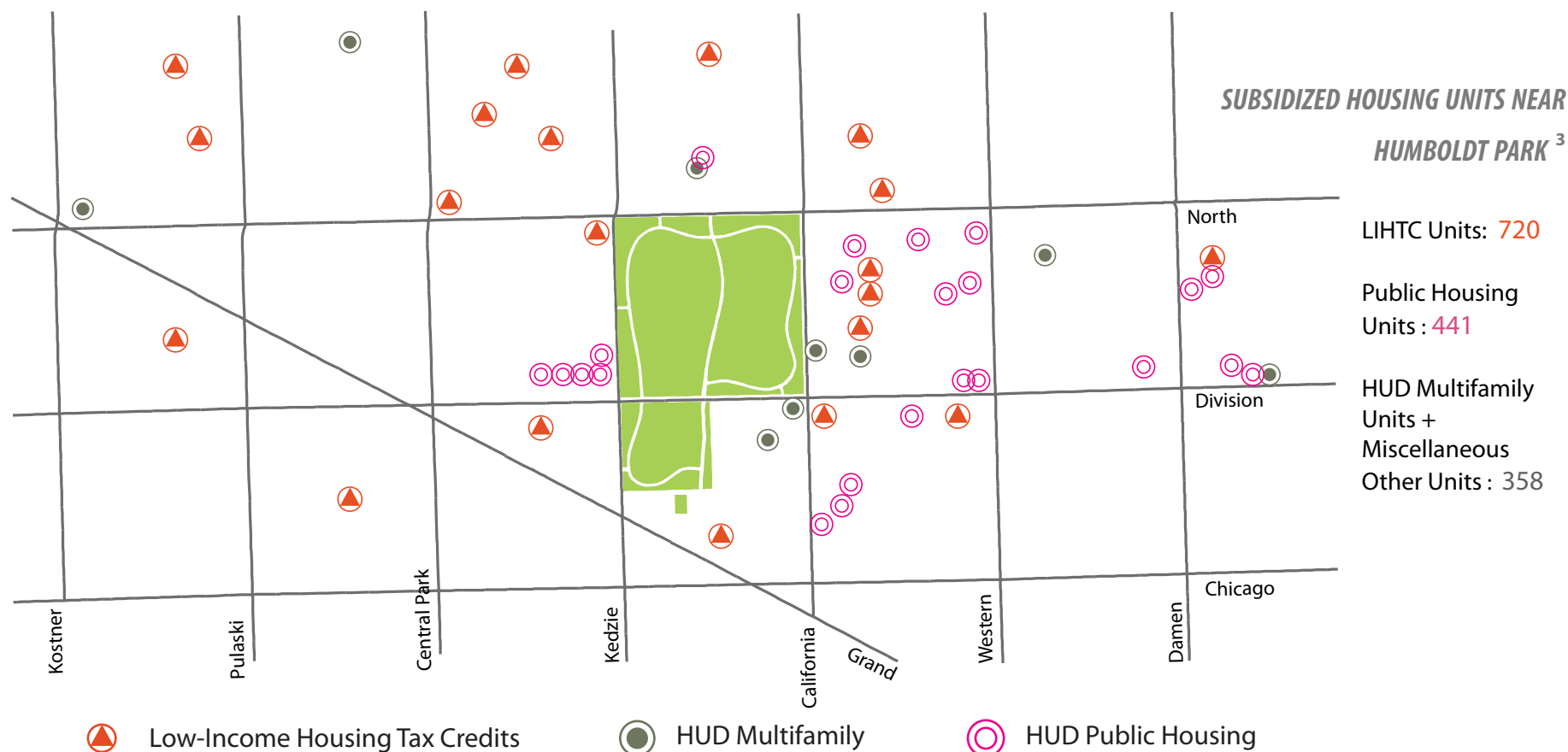
From 2008 to 2010, median income for Latinos in Chicago fell 5%, decreasing from \$47,656 to \$45,391^{8,9}.

From 2005 to 2010, inflation-adjusted rents across Chicago increased by an average of 23%—an extra \$213 per month^{8,9}.

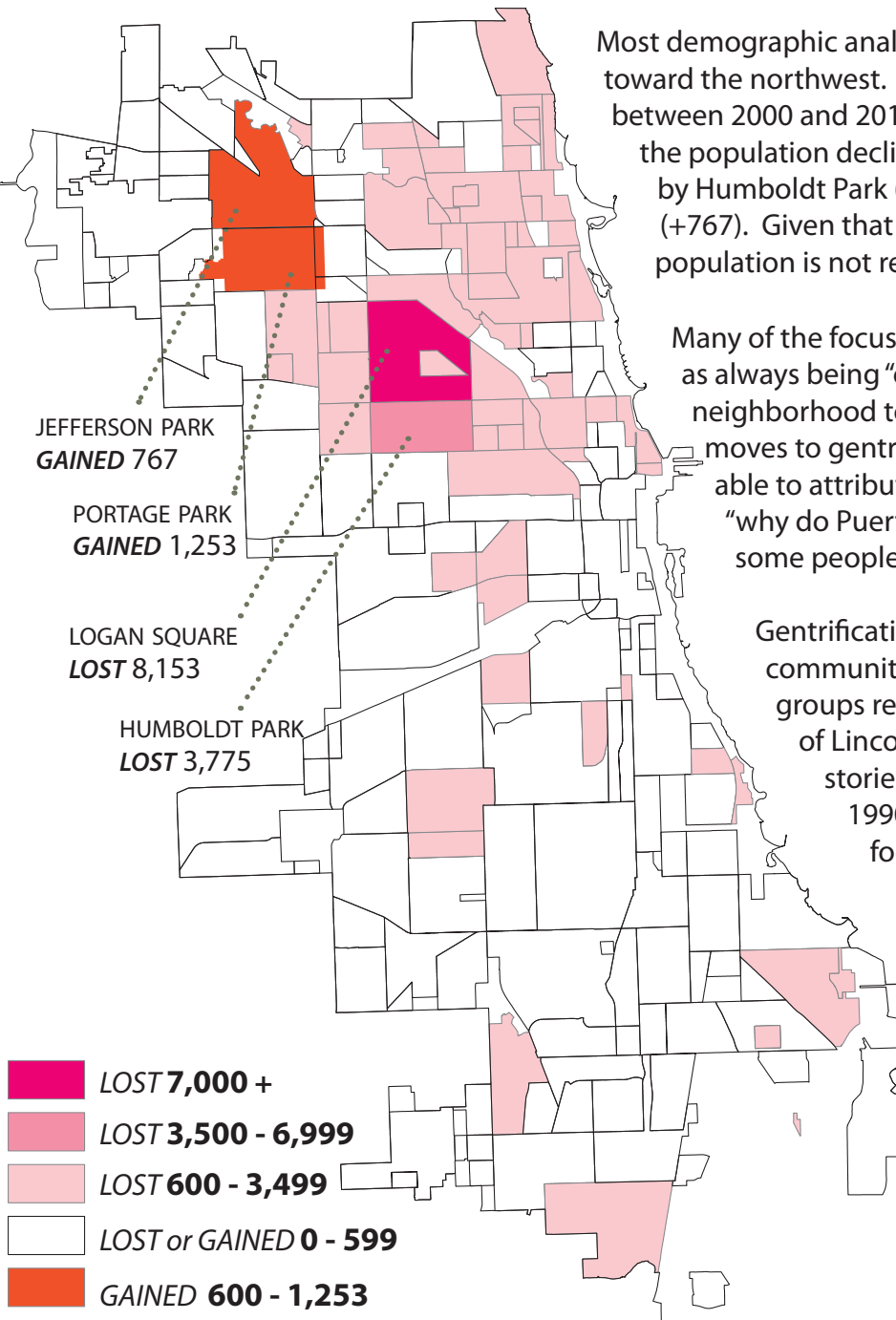
● = 20 Puerto Rican Renter Households
● = 20 Puerto Rican Owner Households

The PRIA has a lower share of subsidized housing than the City of Chicago as a whole (4.48% vs. 5.68%³). However, according to data from 2005-2009, there seems to be more demand for subsidized housing within the PRIA as evidenced by the percent of all households (29% vs. 31%²) with incomes in the bottom income quartile (earning less than \$25,000). In the PRIA, about 3,815 of all subsidized households were Latino, accounting for about 12% of all Latino households or 2 out of 3 subsidized households. On the other hand, African Americans accounted for a total of 1,359 households or 1 out of 3 subsidized households³.

Most of the subsidized housing within PRIA is around Humboldt Park and along Paseo Boricua (see map below). According to the property listings provided by HUD's 2008 "A Picture of Subsidized Households," within this immediate area, there were 441 public housing units and 358 multifamily (other) units. The Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program had the largest share with 720 units³. LIHTC developments have a 15-year or 20-year low-income compliance period after which they can be turned into market rate units. According to our calculations, **about 33 units out of 266 total units are owned by private developers who, after the compliance period has ended, have an incentive to charge higher rents than LIHTC had previously allowed.** Fortunately, most organizations (233) that received LIHTC are affordable housing providers and as such are committed to maintaining the long-term affordability of these rental units. Nonetheless, non-profit developers need to pursue additional federal funding such as HOME and Community Development Block Grants in order to keep up with the costs of rehabilitating and maintaining these rental units. Unfortunately, federal funding for affordable housing is becoming increasingly scarce. Therefore, it is imperative for community advocates and legislators to work together and develop new financing strategies to both create and maintain affordable housing in the Humboldt Park Area.



NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE



Most demographic analyses suggest that Puerto Ricans have been moving over the past few decades toward the northwest. The following map shows the population changes for Puerto Ricans in the city between 2000 and 2010 by Chicago Neighborhoods. The population growth is shown in orange while the population decline is shown in pink. Logan Square lost the most Puerto Ricans (-8,153), followed by Humboldt Park (-3,775), while Portage Park gained the most (+1,253), followed by Jefferson Park (+767). Given that the losses by neighborhood are larger than the gains, we can conclude that the population is not re-concentrating but dispersing.

Many of the focus group participants refer to Puerto Ricans as always being “on the move,” constantly moving from neighborhood to neighborhood, and they attribute these moves to gentrification. Although this study was not able to attribute causality or to answer the question “why do Puerto Ricans move,” we can at least infer that some people might have moved due to gentrification.

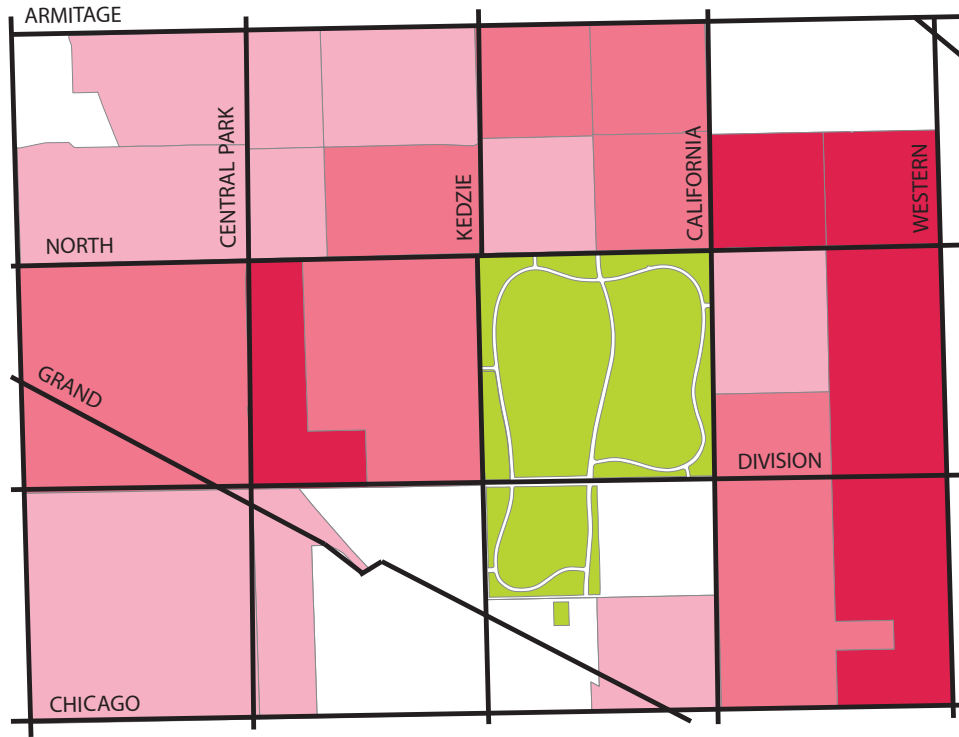
Gentrification is not a foreign word for Puerto Rican community residents. Older residents in our focus groups remembered the urban renewal projects of Lincoln Park and Old Town in the 1960s and 1970s, while younger generations told stories about how their parents sold their property in West Town for a fortune in the 1990s. But gentrification is not a thing of the past. One woman shared her view in a focus group:

“Our number one issue that we’ve always been talking about has been gentrification, our inability to stay in one area and grow as a community.”

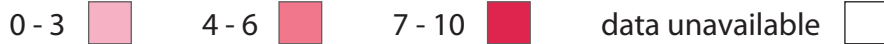
(Agenda Focus Group)

“I own a home with my mother in the Wicker Park area and we bought it years ago where we were the insiders. So as the community became gentrified, we became the outsiders. We currently have the house on the market, which is with a heavy heart to leave the community. We’re not in a time where this is a selling market. I’m thinking to myself, what is going to happen? Where am I going to place her, move her once we sell it because we’re getting a lot of hits. The price is probably pretty reasonable where she’s not going to make a lot of money. Even with the amount of money that we would be making, she’s not going to be able to go into a better neighborhood. I’m thinking to myself this is our home, this is where we’ve been. It’s kind of frustrating when you’re being forced to move out because taxes now are like \$10,000. Who can afford to pay that?”

GENTRIFICATION ANALYSIS



Number of Gentrification Indicators:



	Gentrification indicators: Census Data	Criteria
1	% Minority	Less than 50% minority
2	Median Family Income	Above city median (\$46,781)
3	% Families below poverty	Below city average (17.16%)
4	% Families without children	Below city average (54.39%)
5	Household size	Below city average (2.52)
6	% Adults with at least a bachelor's degree	Above city average (31.75%)
7	Housing value, owner-occupied units	Above city average (\$270,700)
8	Rents	Above city average (\$866)
9	% Owner-occupied housing units	Above city average (43.78%)
10	% Female-headed households	Below city average (15.73%)

In order to confirm the stories we heard over and over again in our focus groups and interviews—that Puerto Ricans on the eastern end of the Humboldt Park community have left due to encroaching gentrification—we developed a quantitative analysis using 2010 census data. In this model, 10 well-known indicators of gentrification were compiled to determine the census tracts where gentrification is likely occurring in colloquial Humboldt Park. This analysis is a fairly good indicator of gentrification when the tract shows more than 7 of these indicators (Voorhees, 2001). As the map to the left shows, in 2010 5 census tracts had more than 7 gentrification indicators; 4 of these tracts are on the eastern side of Humboldt Park.

From the earliest stages of gentrification, community activists searched for ways to stop real estate speculation and prevent displacement. Initiatives like the Humboldt Park Empowerment Partnership (HPEP), formed in 1996, concentrated on providing economic opportunities for residents to help them resist displacement and gentrification. In addition, housing organizations such as the Latin United Community Housing Association (LUCHA), Bickerdike Redevelopment Corporation, Casa Central, Spanish Coalition for Housing and Hispanic Housing have led efforts to provide affordable housing for residents.

Another strategy includes repopulating Humboldt Park with “new” Puerto Ricans. In 2004 the Juan Antonio Corretjer Puerto Rican Cultural Center formed a campaign called “Humboldt Park No Se Vende” (Humboldt Park is Not For Sale). The grassroots campaign involved posting billboards calling on all Puerto Ricans to unite and return to the barrio, using the following slogan: “Oye Boricua, rent an apartment, buy a building, open a business, get involved.” A more recent slogan has used the occupy movement to encourage Puerto Ricans everywhere and anywhere to “occupy” Humboldt Park and return to the “barrio” (hood).

A former Puerto Rican elected official, one of the strongest advocates for affordable housing, once said that “slowing down gentrification may be the best we can do.” Gentrification may be more than just the loss of place. It may also lead to the loss of wealth-making capacity. Hence, keeping Puerto Rican retail businesses in the vicinity of their customers continues to be one of the main responses to the encroachments of gentrification.

2

KEY FINDINGS: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- In 2010, 9% of Puerto Ricans in Chicago were unemployed—more than Mexicans (7%) and whites (5%), but less than African Americans (11%).¹ This level of unemployment reflects national and historical trends wherein Puerto Ricans have the highest unemployment among Latinos.²
- Chicago Puerto Ricans were comparatively underrepresented in management, business, science and arts occupations in 2010. Whites were almost twice as likely to be employed in these occupations.¹
- 18% of Puerto Ricans in Chicago worked for the government in 2010, substantially more than Mexicans (6%) or whites (11%), but less than African Americans, 22% of whom had public employment in 2010.¹
- In focus groups, Puerto Rican business owners indicated a need for improved access to capital, especially short-term small business loans.
- In the PRIA, it seems likely that Puerto Ricans and other consumers are having to travel outside their neighborhood to shop for some key consumer goods, especially clothing and footwear. This leakage may represent a latent opportunity for entrepreneurs.^{3,4,5,6,7}

1. 2006 - 2010 AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY (4 YEAR)

2. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, THE LATINO LABOR FORCE IN THE RECOVERY (2011)

3. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS CONSUMER EXPENDITURE SURVEY TABLES (2010)

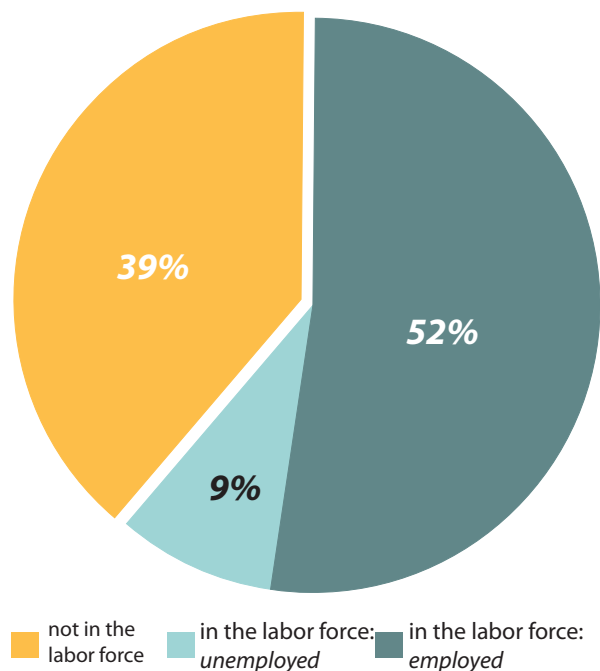
4. US CENSUS BUREAU DECENNIAL CENSUS (2010)

5. US CENSUS BUREAU COUNTY BUSINESS PATTERNS (2010)

6. US CENSUS BUREAU ZIP CODE BUSINESS PATTERNS (2010)

7. ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE SALES TAX REPORTING (2011)

Chicago: Puerto Rican Labor Force Participation and Unemployment, 2010¹



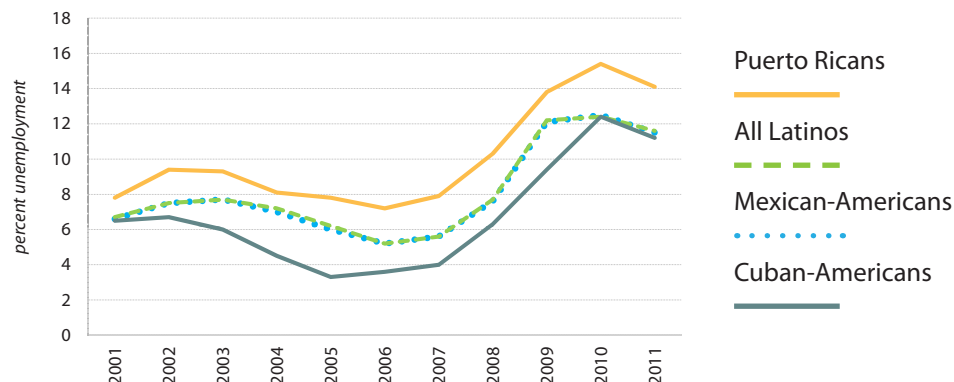
USA: Latino Unemployment Rates, 2001 - 2011²

YEAR	ALL LATINOS	PUERTO RICANS	MEXICAN-AMERICANS	CUBAN-AMERICANS
2001	6.6	7.8	6.7	6.5
2002	7.5	9.4	7.5	6.7
2003	7.7	9.3	7.7	6.0
2004	7.0	8.1	7.2	4.5
2005	6.0	7.8	6.2	3.3
2006	5.2	7.2	5.2	3.6
2007	5.6	7.9	5.6	4.0
2008	7.6	10.3	7.7	6.3
2009	12.1	13.8	12.2	9.4
2010	12.5	15.4	12.4	12.4
2011	11.5	14.1	11.6	11.2
ten year change	4.9	6.3	4.9	4.7

PORTRAIT OF PUERTO RICAN EMPLOYMENT

According to the 2006-2010 American Community Survey 5-year estimates, Puerto Ricans in Chicago have slightly lower rates of labor force participation than that of the general population (61% compared to 66%, respectively).¹ This means that 39% of Puerto Ricans 16 or older in Chicago were not in the labor force: they had been out of work for more than 6 months, were unable to work, chose not to work or were independently wealthy. While more Puerto Ricans were in the labor force than African Americans (43% of whom are not in the labor force), Puerto Rican labor force participation is substantially lower (8-10%) than Mexicans (69%) or whites (71%).¹ This disparity is also played out in the traditional measure of unemployment—percent of those workers in the labor force who are “actively seeking employment,” i.e., have been unemployed for less than 6 months or are still collecting unemployment benefits. In 2010, Chicago Puerto Ricans who were in the labor force but still unemployed (9%) were unemployed at higher rates than Mexicans (7%) or whites (5%), but less than African Americans (11%).¹

National Latino Unemployment Rates²



According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, these findings are consistent with national trends in unemployment. Within the national Latino labor force, Puerto Ricans historically have had the highest unemployment rates, whereas Cuban-Americans traditionally have had the lowest. During the recent recession (2006 – 2010), while unemployment rose sharply for all major Latino origin groups, it rose most sharply for Puerto Ricans. Although Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans have all seen employment gains over the most recent reported period, national Puerto Rican unemployment was still 2.6 points above the Latino average of 11.5% at the end of 2011.²

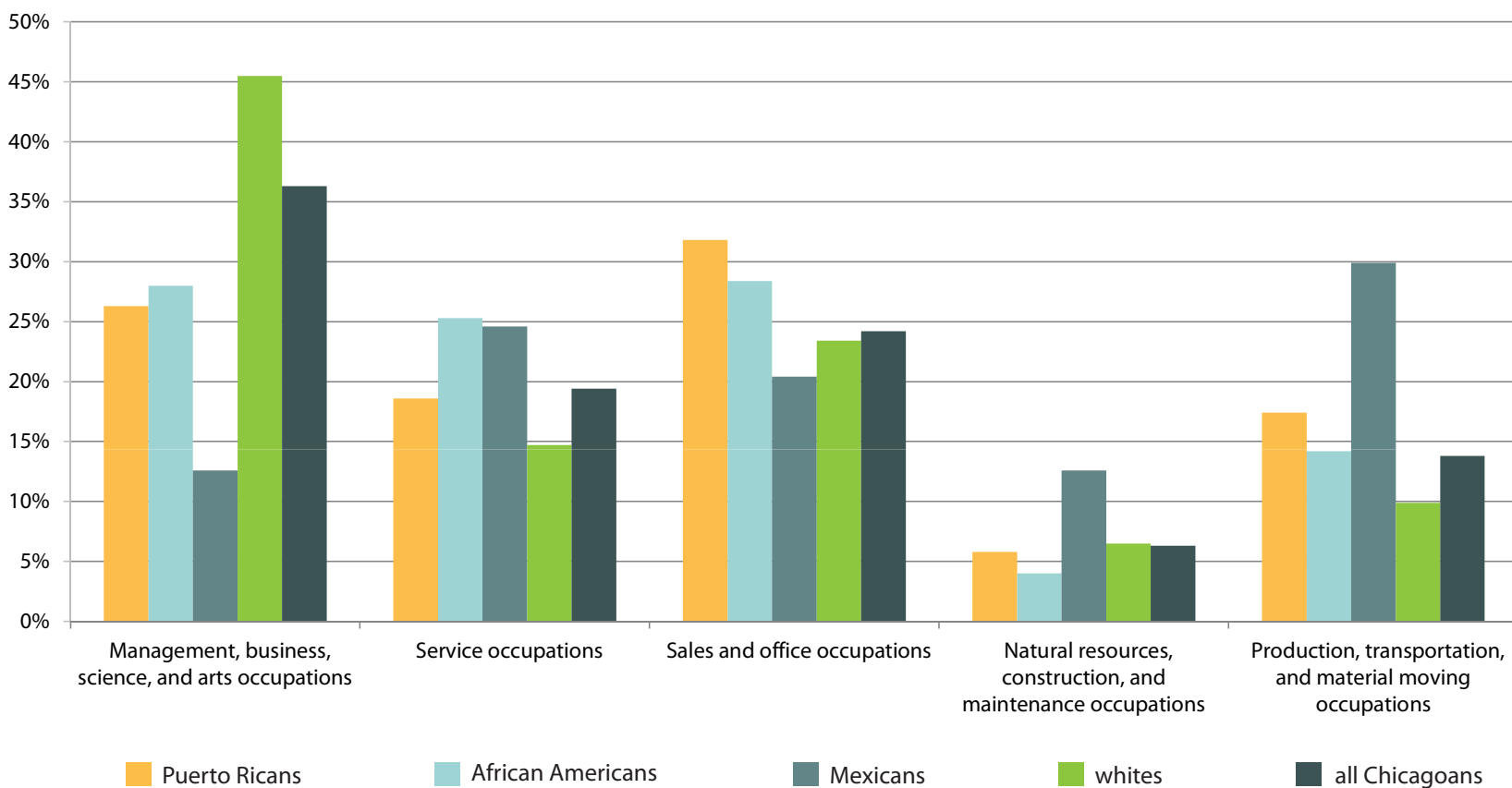
ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS

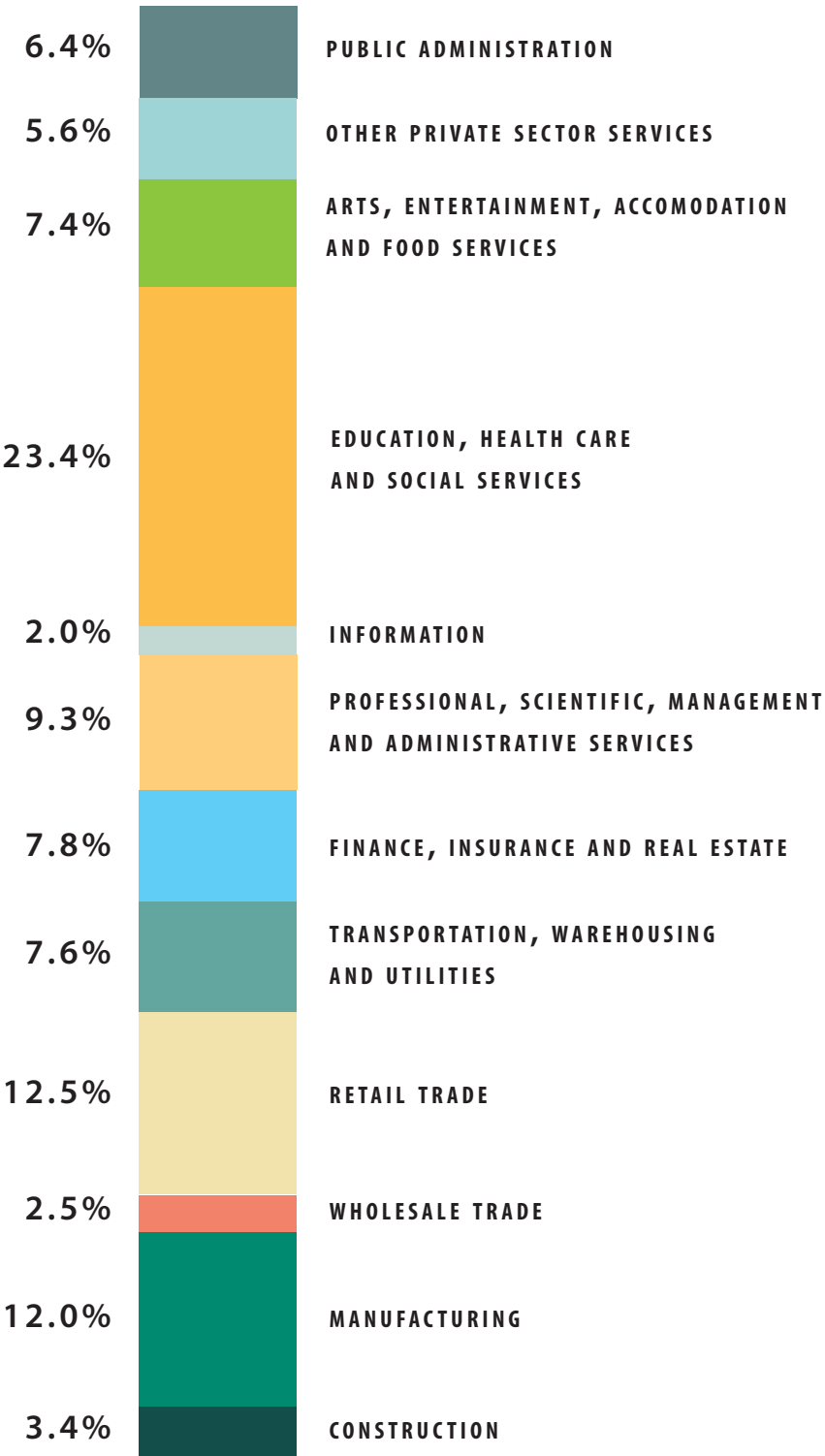
There are two primary ways to measure different types of employment. First, by occupation, workers are measured according to what their day-to-day job function is at their place of employment. In contrast, workers can also be counted by industry, which tabulates them based on the primary product produced by their place of employment. For example, an accountant at a foundry would be counted as an office worker in occupation, but a metal worker by industry. Since these two lenses capture different aspects of the employment landscape, it is helpful to report both in tandem.

In terms of occupation in 2010, Puerto Ricans in Chicago tended to be comparatively under-represented in management, business, science, and arts; whites were almost twice as frequently represented in these leadership-oriented business occupations. However, Puerto Ricans were proportionally more employed in lower-level business, sales and office occupations (32%) than whites, African Americans, Mexicans or the total population. In terms of labor-oriented work, Mexicans were substantially more often employed in production and material moving (30%) and construction (13%) occupations than Puerto Ricans (17% and 6%, respectively).¹

Chicago: Puerto Rican Occupations Compared with Other Races and Origins, 2010¹



Chicago: Puerto Rican Employment by Industry, 2010¹



The concentration of Puerto Rican workers in white collar occupations was born out in the 2010 industry classifications as well. In Chicago—like African Americans—Puerto Ricans tended to be over represented in educational services, health care and social assistance (23% and 25%, respectively).¹ Similarly, a larger share of Puerto Ricans in Chicago were employed in retail sales and wholesaling (15%) than any other group.¹ In contrast, worker classifications by industry also reveal a substantial number of Puerto Ricans employed at manufacturing establishments (12%)—about half the share of Mexicans employed in that industry (22%).¹

FOCUS ON SPECIAL FORMS OF EMPLOYMENT: GOVERNMENT WORKERS IN CHICAGO

While most employed Puerto Ricans (79%) work in the private sector, 18% work for the government. Puerto Ricans are substantially more likely than either whites (11%) or Mexicans (6%) to be employed in the public sector, but less likely than African Americans, who lead public employment with a 22% share.¹

Although Puerto Ricans have strong representation in clerical or skilled professions, they have lower rates of self-employment (2.6%) than all other comparison groups.¹ In contrast, 5.5% of whites in Chicago are self-employed in unincorporated businesses.¹ People who are self-employed often work on a contract basis from the home and may use these freelance assignments to start a new business. In this way, self-employment can help build a bridge between the informal and formal economies. High rates of self-employment have been attributed to higher educational attainment and more access to financial resources (Bucks, 2009).

“The culture around business within our community, it just has to change. Because if not, then we’re just going to continue to loose—we’re just going to continue to get gentrified, ‘cause we talk about gentrification, affordable housing, and what have you, and the last thing we talk about is that one of the reasons we’re being gentrified is that we don’t establish businesses in our communities.”

(Puerto Rican Business Owners’ Focus Group)

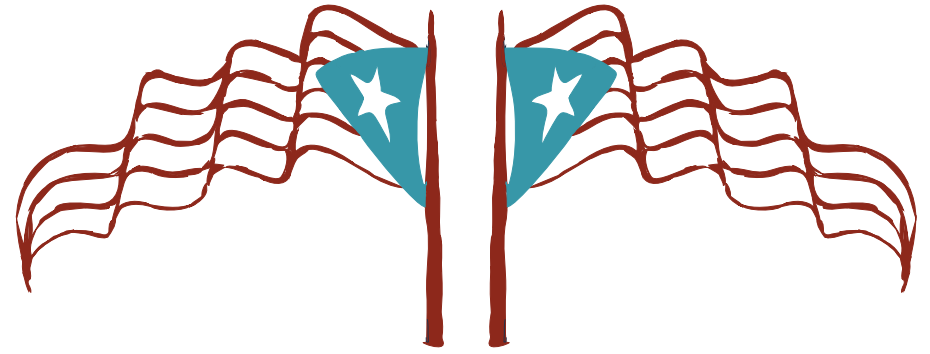
PASEO BORICUA

Paseo Boricua is a business and restaurant corridor on Division Street running between California and Western. In 1995, the City of Chicago and community leaders erected two fifty-nine feet tall, forty-five ton steel Puerto Rican flags to act as gateways for Paseo Boricua. This affirmative symbol and the promotion of culture that goes with it on Paseo Boricua have allowed longtime residents and local leaders, as well as those Puerto Ricans who have left Paseo but still reside in Chicagoland, to maintain a space with a strong Puerto Rican identity.

In communities facing gentrification pressures, one of the most vulnerable points of ingress for gentrifiers is often acquisition and recreation of the area's commercial space. Whereas "indigenous" businesses might otherwise anchor a community resisting gentrification, when these businesses are sold or otherwise priced-out by increasing rents, the community loses cultural ownership over public commercial space right along with the local businesses that nurtured and defined that space.



Paseo Boricua Parranderos stop to carol in front of Paseo restaurant La Bruquena, 2007. The Paseo Boricua Parranda processes along Division St. every winter, stopping at businesses and the Roldan Senior apartments, in a public celebration of this Puerto Rican holiday tradition.



"I think the function of Paseo Boricua is just that: to maintain the Puerto Rican identity. Although Paseo is being diminished in size with gentrification, I think—at the core of it—it's always going to be what it has been historically. But people are either going to have to step up to the plate in terms of creating more community again, helping each other, and doing something to be able to sustain themselves or it's just going to be...I mean, look at Chinatown and Greektown, these are all areas with a cultural connotation to them, like this one. So, I think we could sustain it, it's just a matter of...can we sustain it alone? With just Puerto Ricans?"

(Humboldt Park Community Focus Group)

MARKET ANALYSIS

Acknowledging that addressing poverty involves creating wealth, we performed a Market Analysis as an attempt to show where there might be opportunities for entrepreneurs to open new businesses in the PRIA.

We used demographic information from the 2010 Census to project how much spending power there is in the PRIA (*PRIA Annual Demand Estimate**), and then compared that spending power to an estimate of annual sales for local businesses (*Estimated Total Annual Sales in PRIA*). By taking a conservative outlook on these annual sales for local business (*Deflated by 20% Total Trade Area Sales*), we were able to calculate an estimate of PRIA-local Sales Gaps or Surpluses. (See explanation to the right for more information on understanding these estimates).

While Gap estimates can suggest sectors that are likely to support new local businesses, it is unlikely that any local trade area will ever recapture 100% leaked demand. Assuming it is possible for a new local business making average annual sales (*Average Annual Sales per Location by Retail Type (IL)**) to recapture 75% of the leaked sales in the deflated scenario (*75% Recapture for the Deflated Sales Gap Estimate*), the PRIA may be able to support a number of new businesses (*No. of Stores that Could be Supported Under a Recapture Scenario*—arrived at by dividing 75% Recapture by Average Annual Sales by Retail Type (IL)).

** Italicized categories refer to titles of columns in the table below:*

<i>Puerto Rican Influence Area Sales Gap Analysis, 2010</i>	<i>PRIA Annual Demand Estimate, Total Population</i>	<i>Average Annual Sales per Location by Retail Type (IL)</i>	<i>Estimated Total Annual Sales in PRIA</i>	<i>Sales Gap (-) or Surplus (+)</i>	<i>DEFLATED 20% Total Trade Area Sales</i>	<i>DEFLATED Sales Gap (-) or Surplus (+)</i>
food at home	\$353,755,548	\$5,739,029	\$1,814,949,155	\$1,461,193,607	\$1,451,959,324	\$1,098,203,776
food away from home	\$222,936,942	\$434,449	\$347,146,015	\$124,209,073	\$277,716,812	\$54,779,870
alcohol	\$38,908,895	\$947,970	\$93,287,658	\$54,378,763	\$74,630,126	\$35,721,232
health + personal care	\$94,679,930	\$2,499,282	\$400,395,801	\$305,715,871	\$320,316,641	\$225,636,711
men's clothes	\$29,991,084	\$602,646	\$11,261,654	\$ - 18,729,430	\$9,009,323	\$ - 20,981,761
women's clothes	\$50,647,512	\$381,102	\$24,960,558	\$ - 25,636,955	\$19,968,446	\$ - 30,679,066
children + family clothes	\$30,960,781	\$1,844,140	\$128,880,582	\$97,919,801	\$103,104,466	\$72,143,684
footwear	\$34,886,559	\$428,468	\$23,067,034	\$ - 11,819,525	\$18,453,267	\$ - 16,432,931
a/v equipment+ music	\$83,080,906	\$1,048,297	\$113,122,813	\$30,041,907	\$90,498,250	\$7,417,345
pets, toys + hobbies	\$47,555,847	\$681,758	\$11,821,549	\$ - 35,734,298	\$9,457,239	\$ - 38,098,608
other entertainment + sports	\$27,510,685	\$746,643	\$22,542,751	\$ - 4,967,933	\$18,034,201	\$ - 9,476,484
books + magazines	\$6,747,120	\$469,546	\$6,224,688	\$ - 522,432	\$4,979,750	\$ - 1,767,370

EXAMPLE OF PROJECTED DEMAND: There are 4,155 single person Puerto Rican households in the PRIA. Household size is a good predictor of spending on food at home, since it varies considerably across household types due to preference and stage-of-life differences.

4,155 households x Average Grocery Spending for 1-person households (\$1,877) = \$7,798,935 in Annual Grocery Spending

<i>Household Size as a Predictor of Spending on Food to Prepare at Home</i>	<i>One Person House</i>	<i>Two Person House</i>	<i>Three Person House</i>	<i>Four Person House</i>	<i>Five Person (+) House</i>
PRIA Puerto Rican Households by Size	4,155	4,460	3,518	2,932	3,064
Average National Spending per Household by Size	\$1,877	\$3,480	\$4,431	\$5,219	\$5,746
Projected PRIA PR Spending by Household Size	\$7.8 million	\$15.5 million	\$15.6 million	\$15.3 million	\$17.6 million

<i>Estimated New Retail Establishments Supportable by Unmet Retail Demand in the PRIA, 2010</i>	<i>75% Recapture of the Deflated Sales Gap Estimate</i>	<i>Number of Stores that Could Be Supported Under a Recapture Scenario</i>
men's clothes	\$15,736,321	26
women's clothes	\$23,009,300	60
footwear	\$12,324,699	29
pets, toys + hobbies	\$28,573,956	42
other entertainment + sports	\$7,107,363	10
books + magazines	\$1,325,527	3

NOTE: these estimates rely heavily on a number of assumptions, and should be treated only as preliminary figures that *might* indicate demand profiles. For more information, see the full Market Analysis report online at PuertoRicanChicago.org.

PRIA MARKET STUDY: BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE METHODOLOGY + EXPLANATION OF TERMS

In order to estimate retail demand in the Puerto Rican Influence Area by segments, data from the US Bureau of Labor Statistics³, US Census Bureau⁴ and Illinois Department of Revenue⁴ were analyzed. The analysis proceeded on the idea that disaggregating total retail demand estimates by race and Latino origin might shed some light on areas of mutual unmet demand across the five segments that compose the total population: Puerto Ricans, Non-Latino whites, African Americans, Mexicans and all others. These segments were examined across four indicators: housing tenure, age, household size and race / Latino origin. These characteristics were then used to estimate how much each segment spends per year in twelve categories: grocery stores, restaurants, liquor stores, health and personal care, men's clothes, women's clothes, children and family clothes, shoes, audio/visual equipment, pets and hobbies, sports, and books and magazines (see example to the left). These demand estimates were finally compared with estimated annual sales of actual businesses inside the PRIA for each category. Annual sales inside the PRIA were calculated by multiplying the number of businesses in each category—e.g., restaurants—by the average sales that type of business had in Illinois in 2011. Finally, the demand in dollars displayed by each segment in the PRIA was compared to the sales the local businesses would have if they all made sales equal to the Illinois average for their type of business. This process of estimation boils down to a simple formula:

Local Sales – Local Demand = either a negative number (a Gap) or a positive number (a Surplus)

A Gap suggests that there may be some leakage in the local economy. “Leakage” refers to instances where consumers spend their money outside their home area, profiting business owners in other communities. People choose to shop outside their communities for myriad, sometimes obscure reasons. There are, however, a few common reasons consumers tend to shop outside their home area, including:

- There is no equivalent retail destination in the consumer's home area.
- There is an outside shop that is more convenient to the consumer's commute.
- Other shops have more prestige or brand presence.
- The consumer's home area has streetscaping or crime problems, making shopping unpleasant.
- The consumer is seeking out a business with which they have ethnic, religious or cultural affinity.

Whatever the reason, when the available funds of local area residents are spent outside that area—when they leak out—and are not replaced by outside shoppers traveling to the district, the profitability of the local commercial districts suffer. These districts, in turn, are less able to expand their businesses or to hire more employees. Additionally, new businesses may be dissuaded from locating in the community by the perception of a weak market. This scenario reinforces a cycle of disinvestment that can reverberate through all the dimensions of a community. The bright side of a Sales Gap, on the other hand, is that it may also indicate an opening for this leaked capital to be collected up by a new local business. Since so much of the success of businesses—particularly small retailers and restaurateurs—is wrapped up in tapping the right market, the presence of a Sales Gap in the right neighborhood at the right time can signal opportunity for entrepreneurs. When new businesses locate in a trade area and capture otherwise-leaked sales, the positive spillover effects multiply through the neighborhood: employees in the commercial district patronize each other's shops, local consumers have less reason to spend their money elsewhere, and there is one more busy shop contributing to a lively commercial space.

In contrast to a Sales Gap, a Surplus suggests one of two things. First, **a Surplus (where the sales of local businesses exceed the demand displayed by local residents) can indicate that local businesses are importing customers from other areas.** A large number of extra-local customers traveling to shop in a trade area often results from a cluster of specialty businesses that creates a destination district. A destination district might be a cluster of ethnic restaurants and shops—such as a Chinatown—or a strip of car dealerships, like the ones often seen on the major arterials of inner ring suburbs. Second, **a Surplus can also indicate that a trade area is oversaturated with certain retail types.** Oversaturation, which suggests that customers are spending significantly more than their average demand in local establishments, can signal that either a neighborhood is going through structural changes causing the retail profile to lag changes in neighborhood composition, or that there is some error in the market demand model. Since market demand estimates rely heavily on national spending patterns and state-wide average sales, the reality in a specific trade area can sometimes deviate strongly from average numbers. In the case of a calculated Surplus, a market demand study should lead to more information-gathering to determine whether surplus figures are accurate on the ground. If the figures are accurate, more demographic data on customers must be collected to reveal whether the Surplus results from destination districts or local oversaturation.

3

KEY FINDINGS: EDUCATION

- **Dropout rates for Puerto Ricans in Chicago decreased from 2000 to 2010 by about 12%. In 2000, 47% of Puerto Rican men and 43% of Puerto Rican women in the city of Chicago had not graduated from high school. In 2010, 33% of Puerto Rican men and 32% of Puerto Rican women had not graduated from high school.^{1,2}**
- **However, the high school dropout rate among all Puerto Ricans in Chicago (32%) was substantially higher than for non-Latino African Americans (20%) and whites (8%), but still lower than Mexicans (48%).³**
- **Only about 3.5% of Puerto Ricans age 25 and older had a graduate or professional degree in 2010. This rate is lower than the Chicago city average (12.9%) and 6.5 times lower than the non-Latino white level (22.5%).²**
- **About 52% of all schools K-12 in the PRIA ranked between 1 and 2 in 2009 on the National Great Schools Database. 1 is the lowest possible rating, whereas 10 is the highest. This means that 80% to 90% of the public schools in Illinois achieve better educational outcomes than the public schools in the heart of the Puerto Rican community.^{4,5}**

1. 2000 DECENNIAL CENSUS

2. 2005 - 2010 AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY (5 YEAR)

3. 2010 AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY (1 YEAR)

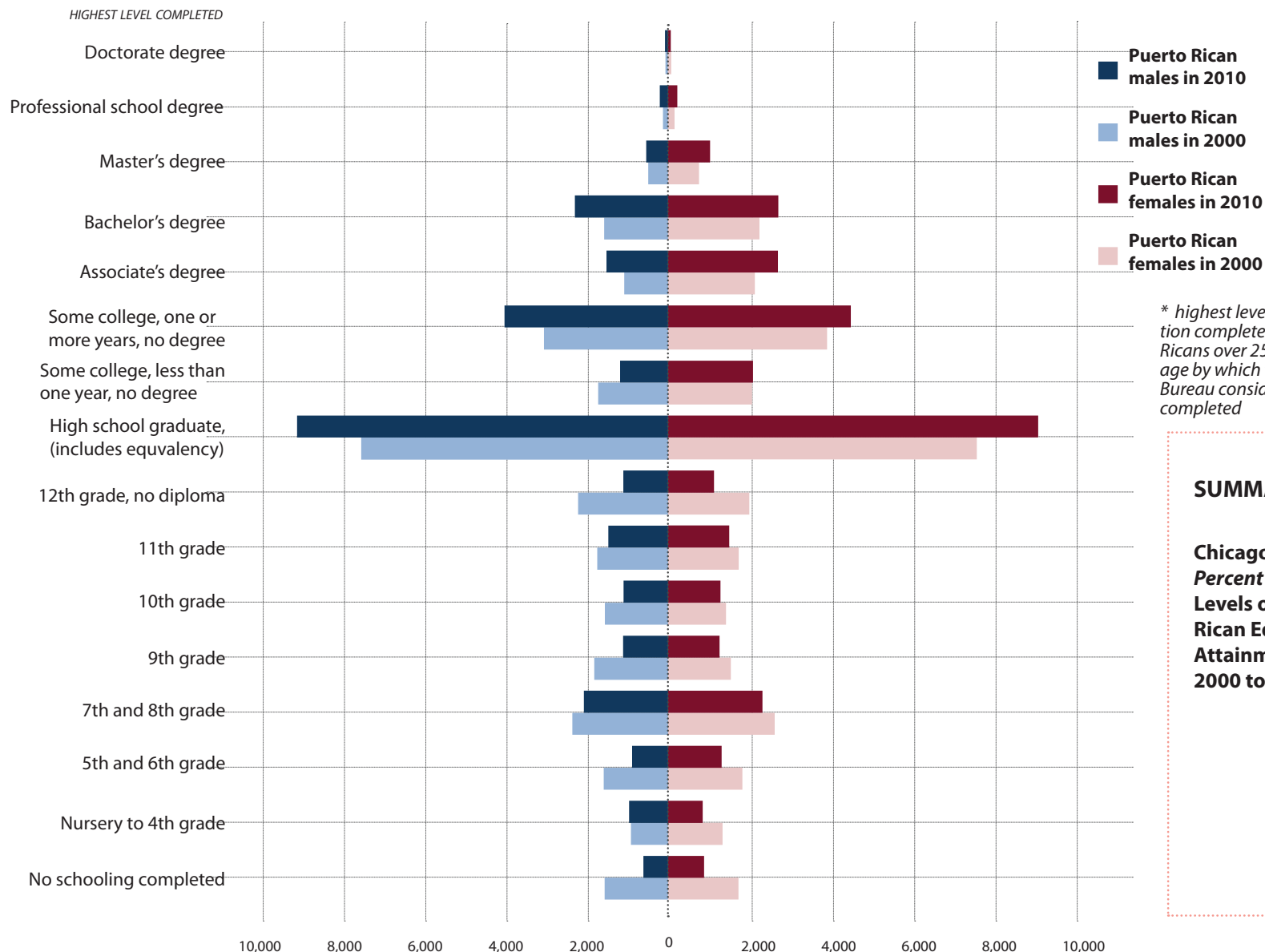
4. 2009 NATIONAL GREAT SCHOOLS RATING DATABASE

5. 2011 NATIONAL GREAT SCHOOLS RATING DATABASE

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Puerto Ricans, like other groups, care deeply about education as a path to success. Throughout focus groups and interviews, respondents repeatedly indicated that education remains a point of pride and struggle for community members and other stakeholders. Evidence from the US Census and American Community Survey suggests that these efforts are paying dividends in Chicago: Puerto Rican men and women in the city have improved in every educational category over the last 10 years. The graph below shows the highest level of education obtained by Puerto Ricans by sex (men on the left, women on the right) in both 2000 and 2010. Notable improvements include a 3% reduction in Puerto Ricans with no education whatsoever, a strong increase in high school graduation rates (males 6.6%, females 4.7%), and an equalizing in sexual disparity between Puerto Ricans receiving bachelor's degrees. Males improved 2.8% to join females at 8% graduating with a B.A.^{1,2}

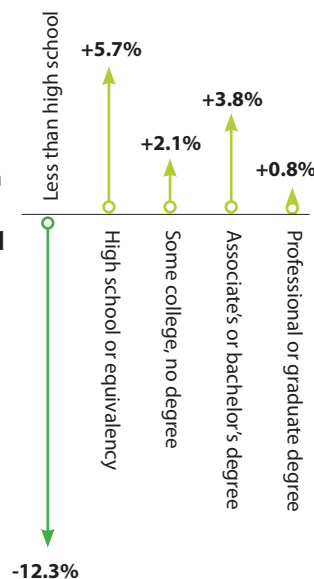
Chicago: 10 Year Comparison of Puerto Rican Highest Educational Level Achieved*, 2000 and 2010



* highest level of education completed by Puerto Ricans over 25 years, the age by which the Census Bureau considers education completed

SUMMARY

Chicago: 10 Year Percent Change in Levels of Puerto Rican Educational Attainment, 2000 to 2010^{1,2}



COMPARATIVE ATTAINMENT

Although Puerto Rican educational attainment is improving—no group studied improved their high school drop out rate more between 2000 and 2010—there are still a number of educational brackets in which Puerto Ricans lag overall as well as in their rate of improvement. Some focus group respondents indicated that this may be due to historical problems Puerto Ricans have encountered in the city's educational institutions related to facility with English and unequal treatment. Nonetheless, Puerto Ricans do tend to have higher educational attainment rates than Mexicans and other Latinos due to the fact that they are U.S. citizens and have fewer barriers to access education (Wojtkiewicz and Donato 1995).

Despite these gains, there is still more work to do. In 2010, the high school dropout rate among Puerto Ricans (32%) was still substantially higher than for non-Latino African Americans (20%) and whites (8%), but still lower than for Mexicans (48%).³ Similarly, about 25% more Puerto Ricans drop out of college than non-Latino whites (19% compared with 15%), but about 20% less than non-Latino African Americans dropping out of college (19% compared with 26%). This failure to make it to the associate or bachelor level, which will negatively affect life-long earning potential, also has a strong impact on the percentage of Puerto Ricans in Chicago reaching graduate or professional levels. In 2010, 814 Puerto Rican men and 1,319 Puerto Rican women held advanced degrees.² Although this is a 22% increase from 2000 levels, these 2,133 individuals only represent 3.5% of Puerto Ricans in Chicago.²

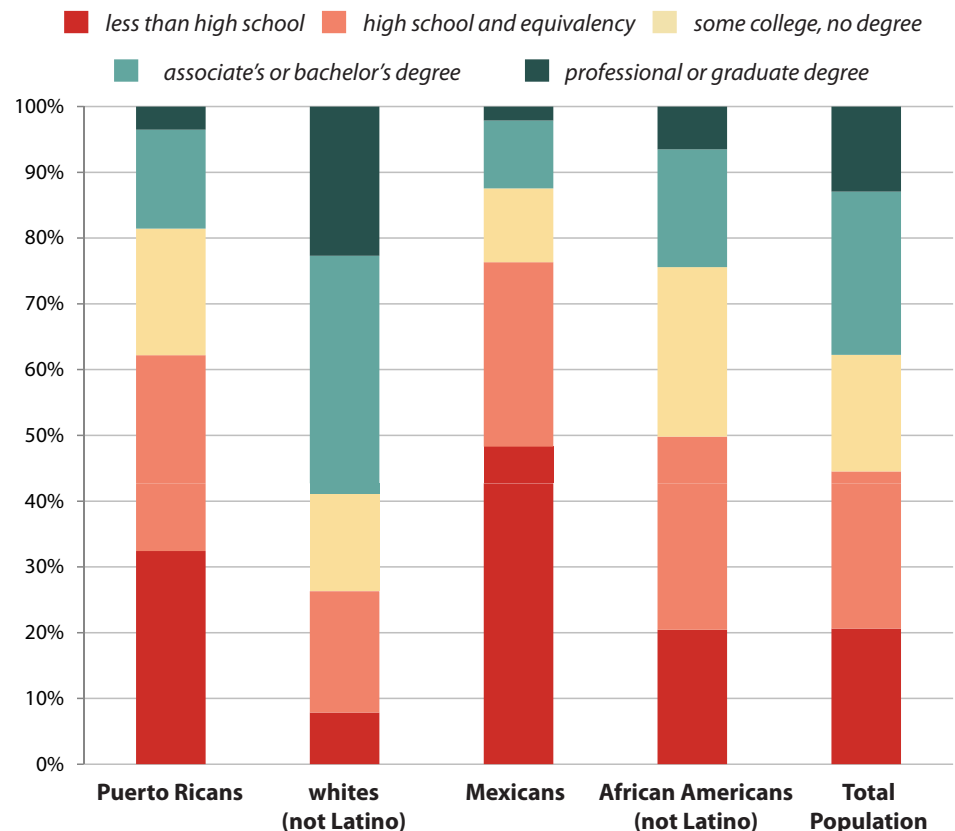
"When I was a freshman in 1970 we were 1,300—1,300 freshman entered Tuley [now Roberto Clemente] in 1970. When I graduated, 348 of us graduated. Out of 1,300, that's a 71% drop out rate."

(Community Focus Group)

Chicago: 10 Year Percent Change in Gross Levels of Educational Attainment ^{1,2}	Puerto Ricans	whites (not Latino)	Mexicans	African Americans (not Latino)	Total Population
less than high school	-12.3%	-6.9%	-10.0%	-8.8%	-7.6%
high school (includes equivalency)	5.6%	-3.4%	6.3%	3.1%	0.9%
some college, no degree	2.1%	-2.2%	0.6%	0.6%	-0.9%
associate's or bachelor's degree	3.8%	7.2%	2.9%	3.4%	4.7%
professional or graduate degree	0.8%	5.4%	0.3%	1.7%	2.9%

■ indicates strongest positive change in educational attainment

Chicago: Disparities in Highest Level of Educational Attainment by Selected Race and Origin, 2010³



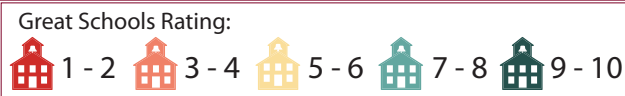
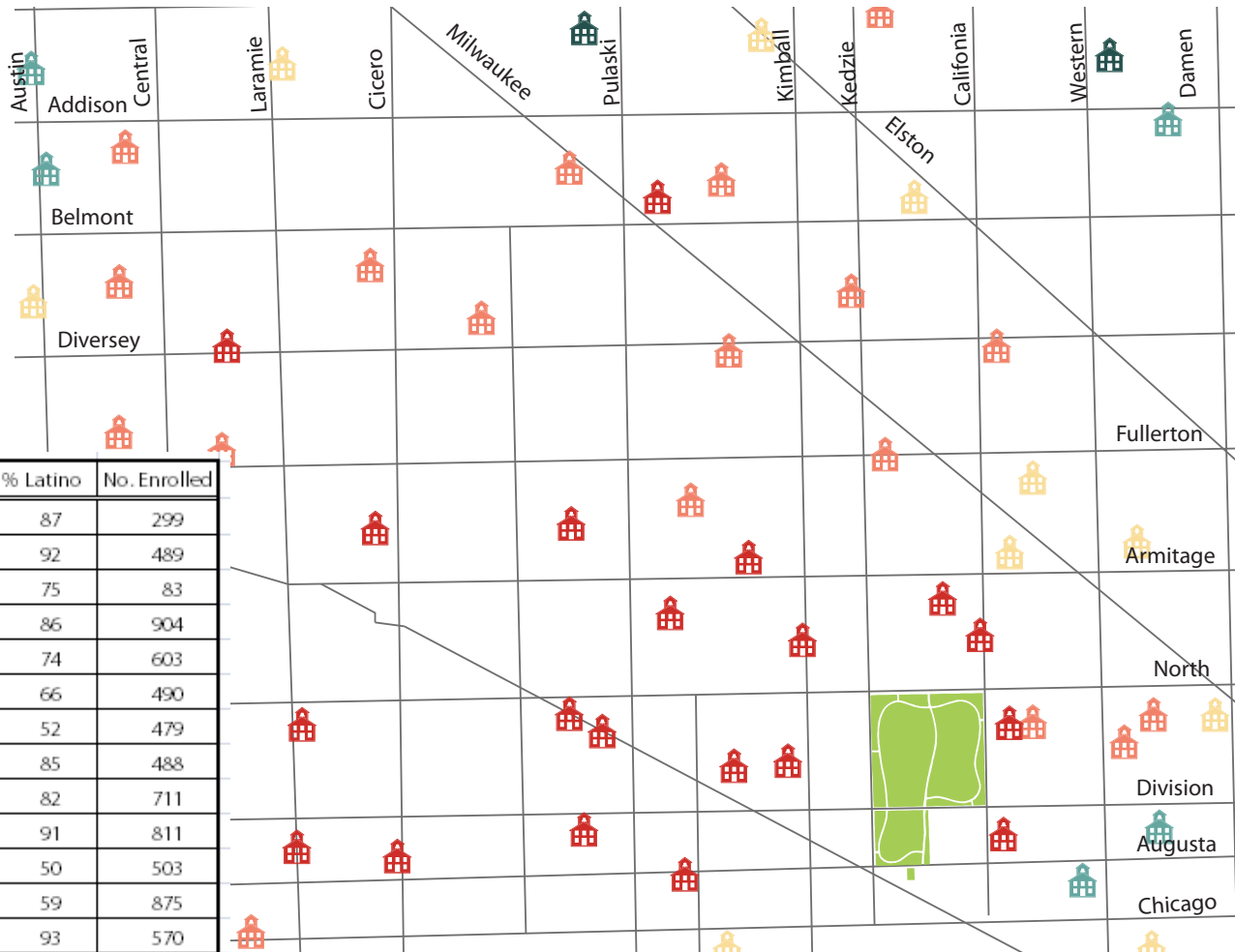
COMMUNITY SCHOOL QUALITY

Although Puerto Rican parents value education as a path for social mobility, the conditions of schools in the community have been subject to low evaluations by the National Great School Ratings dataset. The Great Schools Rating (GSR) is useful as a marker because it aggregates state-level standardized testing performance data available as a consequence of No Child Left Behind, giving each school a score 1 through 10 for the school's performance in comparison to other schools in Illinois. A score of 10 puts the school in the 90th percentile for state-wide performance, whereas a score of 1 indicates 90% of schools in Illinois perform better on standardized tests. We found that in 2011, the vast majority of schools PK-12 in and around Humboldt Park ranked between 1 and 3, indicating that—in general—70% to 90% of the schools in Illinois achieve better educational outcomes. The highest ranked public school in the area is Chopin Elementary, which achieved a ranking of 8. 93% of Chopin students met or exceeded state standards in reading and mathematics in 2011.⁴

It is certainly important to note that there is some unevenness in comparing the standardized testing results of state-wide communities dealing with different challenges, and that there are some inherent problems with standardized testing as a marker of holistic student learning. Nonetheless, these long-standing problems with school quality and educational outcomes have galvanized the Puerto Rican community over the years to create innovative programs aimed at dealing with everything from the need for bilingual education to the founding of new schools and new community-wide programming.

Humboldt Park: Neighborhood School Great Schools Rankings, 2011⁴

Humboldt Park School Snapshot, 2011	Age	GSR	% AYP	% Latino	No. Enrolled
Chopin Elementary School	K-8	8	93	87	299
Chase Magnet Elementary	PK-8	5	79	92	489
Roque De Duprey Elementary School	K-8	4	74	75	83
De Diego Elementary Community Academy	PK-8	3	72	86	904
Lowell Elementary School	PK-8	3	67	74	603
Lafayette Elementary School	PK-12	2	62	66	490
Von Humboldt Elementary School	PK-8	2	60	52	479
Moos Elementary School	PK-8	2	65	85	488
Yates Elementary School	PK-8	2	64	82	711
McAuliffe Elementary School	PK-6	2	65	91	811
Casals Elementary School	K-8	2	62	50	503
Cameron Elementary School	PK-8	2	61	59	875
Ames Middle School	7-8	2	68	93	570
Aspira Charter High School	6-12	2	53	87	1,489
Stowe Elementary School	PK-8	1	51	90	929
Clemente Community Academy*	9-12	N/A	17	64	1,451



ACADEMIC INITIATIVES

Aware of the educational issues and challenges that Puerto Rican youth continue to face in the City's school system, community leaders have developed a series of programs and projects. These ambitious and innovative programs aim to provide a local solution to the problems of school desertion and low high school graduation rates.

WALL-TO-WALL INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE AT ROBERTO CLEMENTE HIGH SCHOOL

As a response to about fifteen years of dismal academic performance at Roberto Clemente High School, the Puerto Rican community convened a community advisory council (CAC) to review conditions at Clemente and formulate a plan for turning this liability into an asset. Working with state and local legislators, Chicago Public Schools, and the Mayor's Office, this Clemente CAC was instrumental in bringing a new kind of programming to the high school and the city. In Fall 2013, Clemente will become the first open-enrollment International Baccalaureate (IB) school in CPS. The rigorous IB program was developed as a way to educate the children of American diplomats abroad. According to the University of Chicago Consortium on Chicago School Research, CPS IB students are 40 percent more likely to attend a four-year college and 50 percent more likely to attend a more selective college. In addition, nearly 90 percent of students attending college from IB schools complete their college programs. This reformulated Clemente as a community IB high school will be the centerpiece of the "Community as a Campus" plan.



A mural of Puerto Rican Baseball Hall of Fame inductee and humanitarian, Roberto Clemente, adorns the side of Roberto Clemente High School (CPS) at Division and Western.

COMMUNITY AS A CAMPUS



Humboldt Park youth participate in Barrio Arts, Culture and Communication Academy (BACCA) radio broadcasting programming, May 2010.

The vision of the Clemente Community Advisory Council is to establish the Community as a Campus in the Greater Humboldt Park area in order to harness the social capital of the community to provide a seamless academic pipeline linking pre-schools and elementary schools to a high school hub and higher education institutions. The campus will provide a range of opportunities for students, from early engagement of learners in pre-schools and full day kindergartens to programmatic options at the elementary and high school levels to include STEM, Montessori, Fine Arts and Culture, Dual Language, Culinary Arts and Dual Enrollment programs. These in-school options will be complemented by engaging, academically-sound after school and weekend programs that build on classroom learning and are aligned with State of Illinois standards. In addition, the Community as a Campus model will assist the efforts of learners through wrap-around social services provided to students and families by community-based agencies and through defined post-secondary pathways into health, teaching and technology, urban agriculture and retention services from our College and University partners.

This vision is informed by a community-driven educational agenda that aims to ensure all schools share resources, coordinate programming, collaborate with community and institutional partners and—most importantly—align curricula and school cultures so that students are able to progress seamlessly from one school to the next.

“The idea of looking at our assets is critical. The community is a fountain of knowledge and creation—education is not the sole province of a university or a high school but rather the community and its members. So I think if we look at our community in that way and continue to build ourselves as a community, then we can improve the well-being of our community. The outlook is really positive, really strong and so I’m really pleased to be proud of that.”

(Agenda Focus Group)

HUMBOLDT PARK VOCATIONAL EDUCATION CENTER (HPVEC) AND CAREERS IN HEALTH

A significant number of Puerto Ricans attend the HPVEC as an alternative to a 4-year university. HPVEC has created a comprehensive pathway to either transfer to a university after 2 years of basic coursework or prepare students to gain a certification in rapid-growth fields like health care. For example, *Carreras en Salud* (Careers in Health) is a bridge prototype program that has demonstrated a number of successes. Almost all participants complete the program and get certifications as Licensed Practical Nurse (LPN) or Certified Nursing Assistance (CNA). With a LPN or CNA a single mother could provide for her family in a stable work environment. *Carreras en Salud* was created through a collaborative of organizations that included National Council of La Raza (NCLR), the Instituto del Progreso Latino, and Association House of Chicago. Over 1,000 people have benefitted from the bilingual nurse’s assistant program.

The Community as a Campus will serve to address both historically high rates of school desertion and declining enrollment at Roberto Clemente Community Academy and its feeder schools, while also providing meaningful educational options to local high school students that allow them to study within their community. This model will also increase student and parent engagement in a manner that validates their lived experiences and dignifies the culture of their neighborhood.

ASPIRA

Aspira is one of the most important partners in the community organized around educational success of Latinos and Puerto Rican youth. Aspira, a national education organization, was established in Chicago in 1968 in response to the high dropout rates among Puerto Rican and other Latino youth. The program helps young people create a vision for their future and achieve their academic goals. Since the founding of Aspira, over 60,000 students have been provided with services.



Community As A Campus “Drop the Bottle” Campaign, Humboldt Park Youth Transforming Community, 2012

4

KEY FINDINGS: HEALTH

- **34% of Puerto Ricans in Humboldt Park—both adults and children—have or are at risk of having asthma. Asthma rates among Puerto Ricans are the highest of any group.¹**
- **The diagnosed rate of diabetes among Humboldt Park Puerto Ricans is 20%, compared to 12% for all mainland Puerto Ricans—the highest for all Latino adults.²**
- **72% of Humboldt Park Puerto Rican adults are overweight or obese, as are 67% of their children. 85% of the caretakers of overweight or obese children thought those children were a healthy weight.³**
- **In Humboldt Park, 56% of Puerto Rican adults do not meet physical activity guidelines. 89% stated they would be embarrassed to be seen exercising.**
- **3% - 10% of Humboldt Park children participate in a daily physical education activity. 62% spend more than 2 hours watching television every day.^{1,3}**
- **A third of all Humboldt Park residents eat fast food at least four times a week. A third of them also have high blood pressure.^{1,3}**
- **19% of all Puerto Ricans in the City of Chicago have no health insurance of any kind.⁴**

1. SINAI URBAN HEALTH INSTITUTE (SUHI) "IMPROVING COMMUNITY HEALTH SURVEY" REPORTS I AND II (2004, 2005)

2. WHITMAN, S., SILVA, A., & SHAH, A. (2006)

3. SINAI HEALTH SYSTEM. (2006). THE COMMUNITY SURVEY IN HUMBOLDT PARK: PREVENTING OBESITY AND IMPROVING OUR HEALTH.

4. 2010 AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY (1 YEAR)

5. CDC NATIONAL HEALTH STATISTICS LATINO SNAPSHOT (2002)

6. THE REINVESTMENT FUND STUDY OF LIMITED SUPERMARKET ACCESS (2011)

THE CURRENT HEALTH PROFILE OF PUERTO RICANS can be distinguished from that of other Latinos in Chicago thanks to research that disaggregates data by Latino identity. The resulting profile is consistent with the profile of island Puerto Ricans, suggesting that serious health problems arise from common roots and also Puerto Rican circular migration. Pediatric and adult asthma and diabetes, obesity, lack of physical activity and good nutrition, and consistently high blood pressure, outline the health condition of Puerto Ricans in Chicago and Humboldt Park. As on the island, the majority of Humboldt Park Puerto Ricans are covered by some medical insurance. To overcome the health disparities that afflict them, Puerto Ricans not only need to take individual responsibility and advantage of available medical services, but also rely on the collective social wellness efforts developed by their community.



asthma

ADULTS In Humboldt Park the adult rate of diagnosed asthma is 18%; the potential rate is 34%. By contrast, the Chicago adult rate is 11%.¹

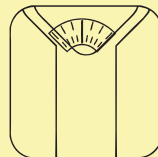
CHILDREN The combined rate of asthma, diagnosed and indicated, for all children in Humboldt Park reaches 28% versus the US' 12%; more importantly, Humboldt Park Puerto Rican children have been diagnosed at a rate of 21%; another 13% have asthma indicators, so that a total of 34% of Puerto Rican children suffer from this chronic disease.



diabetes

The rate of diagnosed diabetes is just over 20% for Humboldt Park Puerto Ricans, and for mainland Puerto Ricans it is 12%, the highest for any Latino adults. Chicago adults have a 5% rate.²

Puerto Ricans have the highest adult mortality rate resulting from this disease and its complications, comparable to African Americans. It is closely related to attendant conditions of obesity, lack of exercise and good nutrition.



obesity

ADULTS 41% of Humboldt Park Puerto Rican adults are obese and 31% overweight, or a combined 72%; 25% of the obese see themselves as the right or under weight; Chicago's overall obesity rate for adults is 25%.³

CHILDREN 51% of Puerto Rican children in one study proved obese and 16% overweight, for a combined 67% overweight/obese. Eighty-five percent of their caretakers thought their obese/overweight children were the right weight or underweight.³



exercise

ADULTS 56% of Humboldt Park Puerto Rican adults do not meet physical activity recommendations even though 99% understand its value. Moreover, 89% would feel embarrassed to be seen exercising. On the island of Puerto Rico, only 28% of the population meets physical activity guidelines.

CHILDREN 3% - 10% of Humboldt children participate in daily physical education activity; 25% participated in team sports activity in the last 12 months and 62% watch more than 2 hours daily of television.



nutrition

While knowledge of general nutritional indicators is high (over 90% understand that water is considered the best beverage, for example), few understand the details of healthy amounts of sodium or sugar.

33% of Humboldt Park residents eat fast or fried food at least 4 times a week; only 15.3% of island adults claim they eat the recommended 5 servings of fruit and vegetables each day, 54th out of 55 states and territories ranked.^{1,3}



blood pressure

The high blood pressure rate for Humboldt Park is 33% vs. 48% for Puerto Ricans nationally, 23% for US whites and 41% Lawndale Blacks. 27% of island Puerto Ricans have been diagnosed with high blood pressure. In the US, 154 deaths per 1000 among Puerto Rican-Americans are attributed to high blood pressure.^{1,5}

Combined with obesity, lack of exercise and good nutrition, and a history of diabetes, the rate of high blood pressure puts Puerto Ricans at greater risk for catastrophic illnesses.



insurance

85% of Chicago Puerto Ricans have either (or both) private or public health insurance—44% and 41% respectively; however, 19% have no access to health insurance. This access level tracks all mainland Puerto Ricans.^{5,4,2}

Despite citizenship status, many Puerto Ricans still do not benefit from health insurance, and thus rely on emergency room services or going without regular care. Even when health insurance is available, Puerto Ricans may not take advantage of programs to improve their health.



disability

11% of Chicago Puerto Ricans live with significant difficulties in hearing, vision, cognition or ambulation—3% of children, 11% of adults and 41% of seniors. This level of disability is similar to that of all groups in the City of Chicago as a whole, but substantially higher than for adult-white Chicagoans, 5% of whom experience disability.⁴

THE GREATER HUMBOLDT PARK COMMUNITY OF WELLNESS: HEALTH AS A DIMENSION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CoW was formed from three converging community initiatives between 2004-2005: 1) the Puerto Rican Agenda 2004 Planning Retreat; 2) published reports of the Sinai Urban Health Institute (SUHI); 3) community organizing funded through the New Communities Program of the Local Initiatives Support Corporation.

Community-based participatory research: Sinai Urban Health Institute's *Urban Health: Combating Disparities with Local Data* (Whitman, 2011) encapsulates the community based research that informed the seminal community health surveys and follow up studies in Humboldt Park; Molly Martin's school-based asthma studies target Puerto Rican and other Humboldt Park children.

Program development: the Diabetes Task Force established an independent Diabetes Empowerment Center to provide education, screening, and self management training as part of a community outreach and education center; CoW commissioned a study on health careers in Humboldt Park and contributes to the development of health career bridges for high school youth and adults.

Education and outreach initiatives: HIV/AIDS (social marketing), physical activity and nutrition, and mental health inclusion.

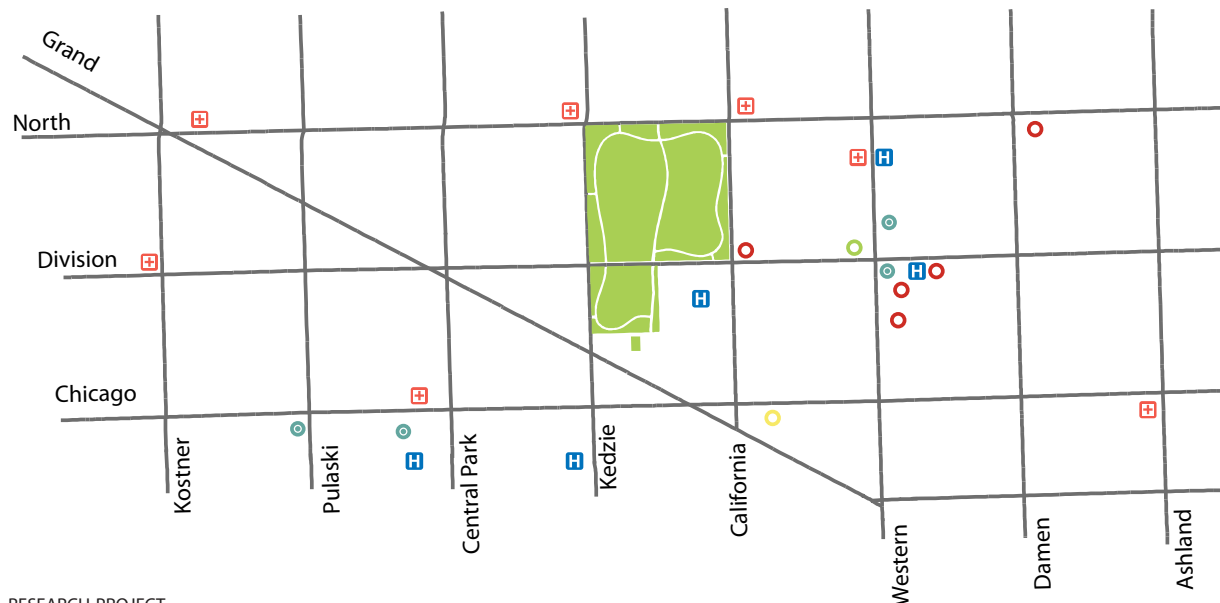
Health as community development: Humboldt Park prioritizes obesity prevention and reduction as a community development initiative to demonstrate measurable impact for the New Communities Program's Testing the Model initiative for 2012-2014.

Economic Development: since 2005, CoW related efforts have resulted in nearly \$10 million in funds entering greater Humboldt Park through public and private grants; approximately 60 jobs directly and 300 indirectly were supported, established, and saved; Norwegian American Hospital has been recognized as the only safety-net hospital with vocal community support.

Sustainability: despite influx of resources, there's a continued need to raise dollars for the programs and initiatives, including funds to run the CoW.

West Town has more health facilities, services and capacity than does Humboldt Park, large portions of which comprise greater Humboldt Park. Together these Chicago community areas have five hospitals, 8 community based health centers, 3 school-based health centers, 1 free health center, and 1 public health center.

HEALTH FACILITIES SERVING WEST TOWN AND HUMBOLDT PARK



These facilities represent:

1,100 beds







43,808 admissions

100,245 outpatient visits

95,463 emergency visits

clinic capacity: 178,356

utilization: 142,388

- hospital 
- community-based health centers 
- school-based health centers 
- hospital-affiliated health centers 
- publicly-operated health centers 
- free health centers 

UNMET DEMAND FOR GROCERY RETAIL

Grocery retail demand is determined by income as defined by Nielsen and percent of income spent on food prepared at home as defined by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Reinvestment Fund estimates food retail demand in dollars for an area and then deducts the retail sales captured by existing stores. The difference in dollars represents the amount “leaked” or lost. The leakage estimate is an indicator of store viability for an area.

The total grocery retail demand in the Puerto Rican Influence Area for 2011 was \$203,800,000 of which \$44,700,000 was being leaked out of the study area.⁶ The total grocery square footage demand for the Puerto Rican Influence Area in 2011 was 358,000 sq. ft. of which 77,000 were leaked. This means that grocery stores in the Puerto Rican Influence Area are capturing \$159,100,000 (78%) of the total grocery retail demand. Based on this leakage the Puerto Rican Influence Area could support 279,613 sq feet of grocery stores which would be approximately the same size as three Jewel-Osco’s (at 50,000 sq. feet each) or about twenty Trader Joe’s (at approximately 14,000 sq. feet. each).



In the Puerto Rican Influence Area,

*there is **\$45 MILLION** of unmet grocery demand,*

*equal to **279,613 SQ FT** of grocery retail*

*or **20 TRADER JOE'S.***



LA COSECHA + PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS GREENHOUSE

Pedro Albizu Campos High School students, teachers and administrators, in collaboration with the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, have responded to the food security problem by growing their own food through various initiatives. These initiatives include an 800 square foot greenhouse on the rooftop of their school and a community garden at the Institute of Puerto Rican Arts and Culture, as well as plans to develop 20,000 square feet of additional rooftop gardens along Division Street. The organic food that is grown through this initiative is then sold at La Cosecha, a small grocer located on Paseo Boricua, for a fraction of retail market prices. There are also plans to set up tables of organic produce at convenience stores across the Humboldt Park Area.



5

KEY FINDINGS: **YOUTH + JUSTICE**

- **Focus groups and interviews repeatedly returned to the impacts of gangs and gang violence on Puerto Rican individuals and families, as well as on the larger community. The gang issue is of broad Latino concern, since gangs seem not to divide themselves by Latino origin.**
- **From 2009 to 2010, the two Chicago Police Districts most identified with Humboldt Park and the Puerto Rican community (14th and 25th) saw a decline in juvenile arrests.¹**
- **In 2010, District 25 had the second-highest number of total Latino juvenile arrests in the City of Chicago and the highest number of Latina juvenile arrests.¹**
- **Latinas made up a quarter of all Latino juvenile arrests in 2010 in the 25th District. They were arrested almost two times as often as African American female youth.¹**
- **Despite challenges, the PRIA has experienced an overall decline in crimes over the past 10 years.**

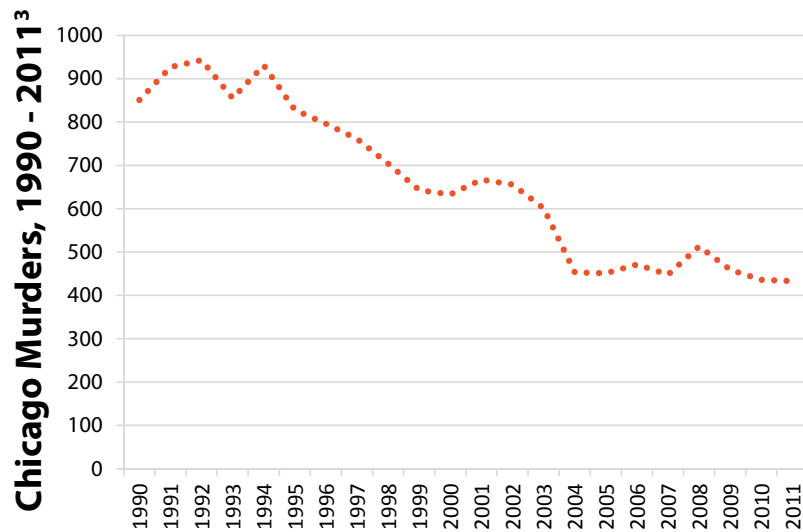
1. PROJECT NIA: ARRESTING JUSTICE JUVENILE CRIMES COUNTS 2009 AND 2010

2. CITY OF CHICAGO DATA PORTAL 311 CRIME INCIDENTS (2001 TO 2011)

3. CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT MURDER ANALYSIS (2011)

A major historical concern of almost all Puerto Ricans in the Chicago metro area has been the well-being of its young people. Issues surrounding Puerto Rican youth cannot be addressed without a discussion and strategy to effectively deal with one of the most serious issues of our time: gang violence. During interviews and focus group discussions, the longevity of gang violence was one of the major topics. Almost everyone we talked to had a personal story regarding some sort of experience with gangs. Sometimes the story concerned the loss of someone close to them. At other times the story concerned a family member who joined a gang. These stories are important because they give a face to a gang member—a brother, sister, son, daughter, friend, even oneself. Collectively these stories counter other narratives that see gang members more abstractly as social deviants or the consequences of disadvantaged communities.

Chicago has a long and notorious history regarding street gangs and murder rates. During the summer of 2012, for instance, as we were writing this report, the media kept itself busy by talking about the sudden spike in homicides. A portion of these murders, but not all, were due to street gangs. A special *Sun-Times* report, “Chicago Under Fire,” stated that from June 2011 to June 2012 there was a 9% jump in shootings and a 37% jump in murders across the city. And yet the same report explicitly acknowledged long-term declines in murder rates since the 1990s:



Note: This section is concerned with youth crime. However, crime data does not disaggregate Puerto Ricans from the broader term “Latino.” This is one section in which that problem may not matter, for street gangs do not structure themselves according to national groups either. Our perspective then is wholistic in two ways: we are interested in all Latino youth and in community-wide solutions.

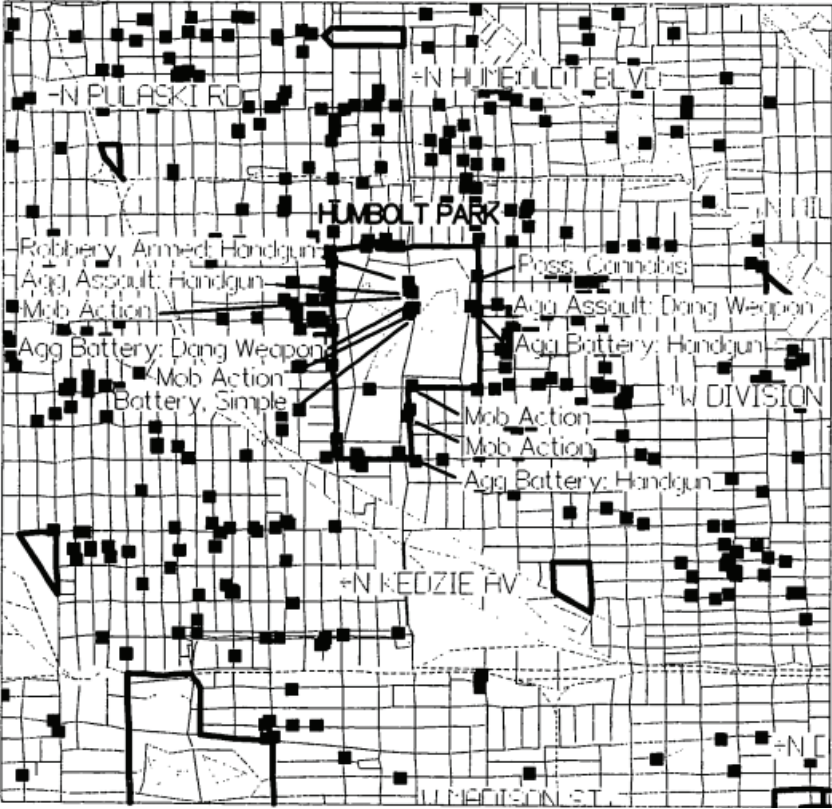
HUMBOLDT PARK: SHOOTINGS AND HOMICIDES

January 1, 2012 - August 15, 2012



Indeed, the early 1990s in Humboldt Park had a serious number of gang-related crimes as the map below indicates. Another report documenting gang-motivated offenses between 1987-1990 claimed that Humboldt Park (Area 23) was one of the “two most dangerous communities” in Chicago, having “a mean annual rate of street gang-motivated crimes (381.5) that was 76 times the mean annual rate (5.0) in the two least dangerous neighborhoods” (NIJ / Block and Block, 1993).

It is this sort of history that worries the leaders of Puerto Rican Chicago. Even though crime rates are down, as indicated in some of the other data, there is a lingering stigma attached to Humboldt Park. Its neighborhoods continue to be known as dangerous parts of the city. Leaders claim that this image of Humboldt Park keeps some Puerto Ricans who have moved away from returning and enjoying the local retail. So, concerns about the well being of youth leaks into other areas as well.



early computer map of gang-related crimes in Humboldt Park, Illinois Criminal Justice Authority, 1994

“Everybody says, ‘What are you doing here? Your brother was murdered here, why don’t you go somewhere else?’ and I say, ‘I think the community needs a voice, I think it needs strong people, and I think we need to educate the youth for the future regardless if they’re Puerto Rican or not— at least band together not to hate each other. ‘Oh, somebody is Mexican and who’s Puerto Rican? And who’s Cuban and who’s Dominican and this and that’ we just, you know we need to work together.”

(Community Focus Group)

From 2009 to 2010, the Number of Juvenile Arrestees in the 14th and 25th Districts Declined, Lowering their Overall Rank as Sites for Juvenile Arrests

rank	District	2009	District	2010
1st	8	2,563	8	2,248
2nd	11	2,478	11	2,108
3rd	6	2,040	15	1,975
4th	15	2,021	4	1,913
5th	4	2,001	6	1,674
6th	3	1,942	3	1,661
7th	25	1,862	5	1,464
8th	9	1,671	7	1,447
9th	7	1,666	25	1,396
10th	5	1,628	10	1,348
11th	10	1,350	9	1,335
12th	22	1,266	22	1,128
13th	17	1,032	17	961
14th	12	957	12	880
15th	24	920	18	770
16th	2	873	2	731
17th	14	815	24	706
18th	16	684	1	685
19th	1	674	20	591
20th	18	662	14	588
21st	20	559	16	494
22nd	13	551	21	472
23rd	21	443	13	417
24th	19	317	19	318
25th	23	248	23	211

Turning to the last decade, Humboldt Park, along with the rest of Chicago, has seen significant drops in juvenile arrests (Juvenile Justice, 1). The above table confirms that this drop continued in Chicago Police Districts 25 and 14 during 2009 and 2010. These two districts take up the areas that we have been examining throughout this report, though it should be said that district 14 contains a very large section east of Western Avenue that has undergone significant gentrification over the last few decades.

However, what is notable in this table is that the 25th is ranked quite high in terms of the number of juvenile arrests city wide. The 25th district was ranked #7 in 2009 and #9 in 2010, while the 14th District ranked #17 and #20 respectively. The rate of decline in both districts is roughly comparable to Chicago wide declines.

JUVENILE ARRESTS

LATINO CHILDREN AND YOUTH ARRESTS IN AND AROUND HUMBOLDT PARK IN 2010¹

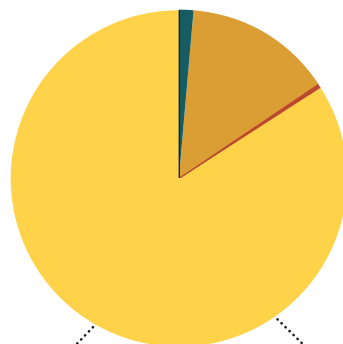
There were 27,554 juvenile arrests in Chicago in 2010. These were arrests of persons 17 or younger not being treated as adults. 76% of the children and youth arrested were African American. 20% were Latino. The remaining 4% were primarily white.

The 14th and 25th Chicago Police Districts serve the bulk of the Puerto Rican Influence Area. The juveniles arrested in these districts comprised about 7% of the total juvenile arrests in 2010. However, the 14th and 25th Districts were also the site of about 20% of the Latino juvenile arrests overall.

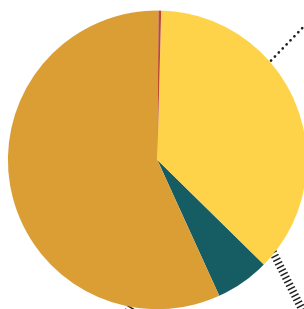
In general, in the 14th and 25th Districts, Latino and African American youth were arrested in similar numbers in 2010. In the 14th District, Latino juveniles were arrested about a third more often than African Americans. In the 25th District, on the other hand, Latino males were only arrested 11% more often than African Americans males, whereas Latinas were arrested almost twice as often as African American females. Latinas also made up nearly a quarter of all juvenile arrests in the 25th District in 2010.

African American
Asian
other
white
Latino

CHICAGO JUVENILE ARRESTS, 2010

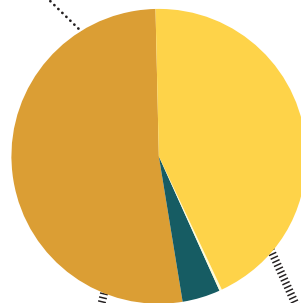


14TH DISTRICT JUVENILE ARRESTS

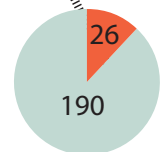


334 ARRESTS

25TH DISTRICT JUVENILE ARRESTS

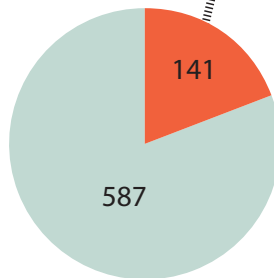


726 ARRESTS



AFRICAN AMERICAN JUVENILE ARRESTS

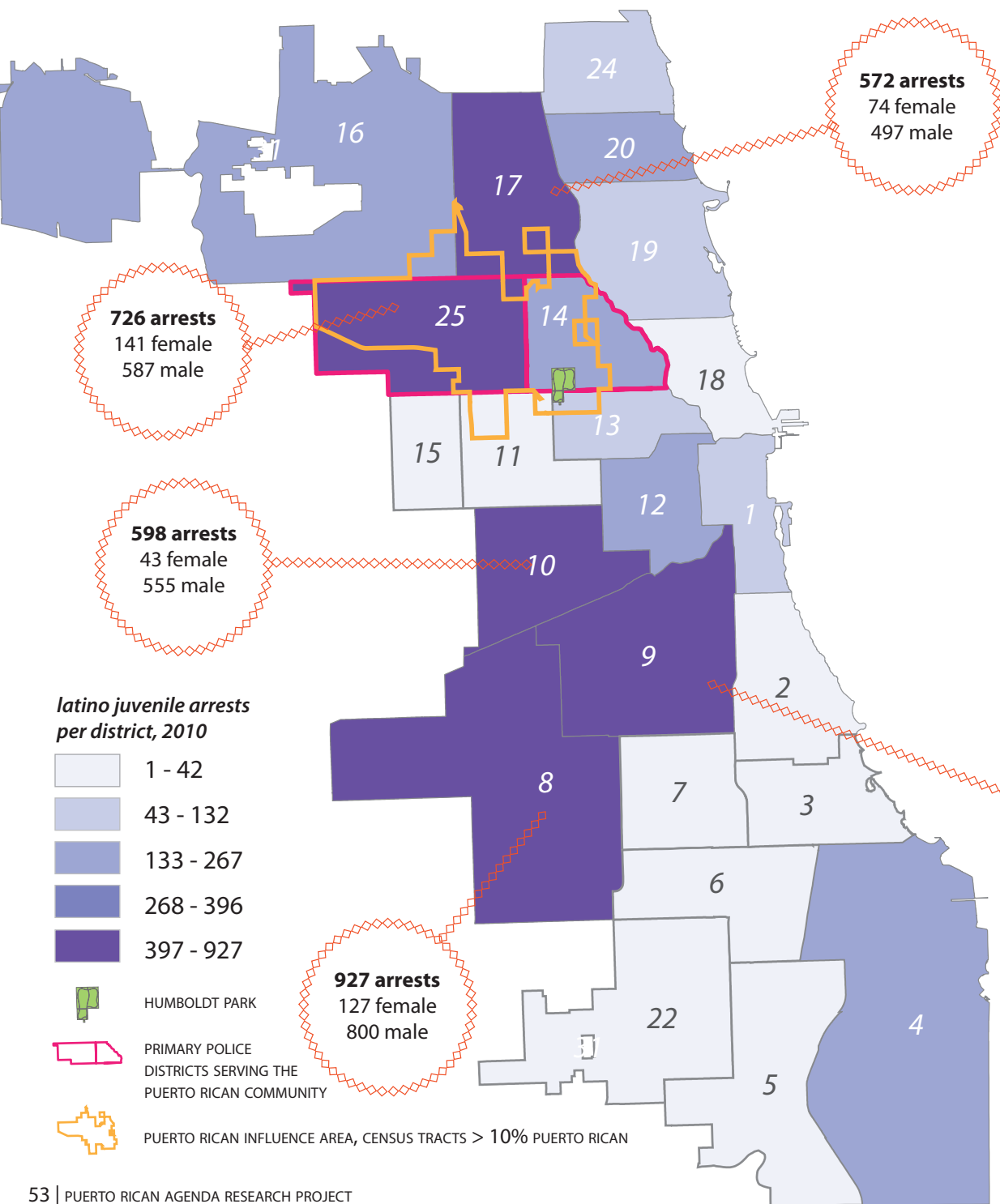
216 ARRESTS



LATINO JUVENILE ARRESTS

605 ARRESTS

Latino Juvenile Arrests by Chicago Police Department Districts, 2010¹



How do the number of Latino youth arrests in districts 25 and 14 compare to other districts in Chicago? District 25 ranks rather high. If we juxtapose these rankings to the earlier maps of Latino density, a claim could be made—with admittedly more analysis—that the 25th district has an unusual amount of youth arrest. The north side simply does not have the density of Latinos that some areas of the south side have and, therefore, Latino youth arrest rates should not be as high either. Clearly, there are some puzzles here such as the nature of youth crimes in the different areas, the stability of gang structures, and so on. This report does not have the resources for this sort of deeper inquiry, and frankly the availability of data is its own distinctive challenge. What is indeed disturbing, however, is that Humboldt Park's struggles with gang-related violence during the 1990s seriously marked the community. The 2000s, despite general decreases in arrest rates, still represent numbers that are too high.

Those who work with youth in what we have been calling the Puerto Rican Influence Area feel that a long-standing tragedy has been unfolding for decades. Puerto Rican children, like other young people living in communities with high levels of poverty and crime, have had to overcome not only the daily challenges of growing up, but also the potential harms associated with high-crime areas. Drive-by shootings and gang boundary lines are frightening. They isolate children, preventing them from walking to school safely or playing outside.

In keeping with other aspirations of the Agenda that emphasize locally based solutions to endemic problems, we wish to shift some of the authority over crime, justice, and punishment from the state to the community. For instance, traditional models of state-based punishment that rely on police officers, courts, and finally incarceration serve to reify the debilitating labels and personas that we prefer to alter. If through the help of the state model a person increasingly isolates himself or herself into the gang-member persona, we wish, instead, to retrieve, remember, and reinforce the persona that has been temporarily forgotten. Inside any gang-member there still resides the original community member.

Our solution is to integrate the principles of restorative justice into the fabric of the community. Traditional models of punishment introduce unknown professionals into the lives of victims and offenders. Although these professionals are good-willed, a number of new harms appear beyond the original harm of the crime itself: 1) victims are unable to choose to confront offenders (and any results that may come from the opportunity); 2) offenders are removed from the community, making it difficult for them to admit guilt and remedy the depth of the harm they have caused; and 3) the communities are unable to clarify and, therefore, solidify their norms and values. There are two institutions where restorative justice principles might be best utilized: the schools via the Campus as Community initiative and the Chicago Police Department.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACTION:

1. Both public and private funders should work in partnership with youth development organizations to identify and address the pressing needs of our youth. We must move from a crisis-oriented, single issue approach to a more comprehensive approach in order to promote more healthy youth development. Perhaps one example of a successful program is the *Stay in School Initiative*, which has been a partnership between Exelon, ComEd, and the United Way of Chicago. Using Batey Urbano as one site for its programming, the initiative has encouraged corporate internships and has seen high school graduation rates of 93% compared to the Chicago Public School average of 58.3%.

2. We must provide Puerto Rican youth alternatives to incarceration and the associated debilitating labels that often come with incarceration. It is often the case that such labels prevent these youth from rejoining society and the community, further causing more harm to communities. In creating a restorative community justice framework—consisting of Puerto Rican community leaders, stakeholders, and local law enforcement—issues of crime can be addressed while also providing opportunities for reconciliation and community development.

3. The best approach to the gang problem in Chicago must consist of comprehensive street outreach and counseling/case management. Utilizing one while excluding the other does not work. Employment is one cornerstone of a successful gang prevention/intervention program. Youth who cannot find work will more likely turn to criminal activity for financial support. A successful model has been the YMCA's *Street Intervention Program*, which works with other community agencies to prepare youth for referrals for job readiness, vocational training, job development, placement, and follow-up.



Youth participate in the Puerto Rican Cultural Center's summer skateboarding and mural making program, 2008

6

KEY FINDINGS: **NON-PROFITS**

- There are a total of 71 community organizations in the Humboldt Park area,¹ meaning that there is about 1 organization per 1,000 residents.²
- 1 out of 4 organizations serve youth; there is 1 youth organization per 1,113 youth.²
- Arts and Cultural programming are important in Humboldt Park, comprising 11% of all non-profits in the area.²
- 11% of the organizations focus on the Latino population, and 7 organizations out of the 71 have an explicit Puerto Rican identity.²
- A significant number of these organizations (31%) have been in the area for more than 16 years.²
- According to the most recent IRS report (2011), the total revenue of these organizations was \$165 million (\$2.3 per organization), and their total assets (value of land or buildings, equipment, bank savings, and so on) were \$139 million (\$2.0 per organization). Approximately 62% of all funding has come from public contributions.²

1. This is a colloquial definition of Humboldt Park defined by the following boundaries: Western to the East, Pulaski to the West, Armitage to the North and Chicago to the South. The Puerto Rican Influence Area (PRIA), which other sections of this report refer to, has a different set of boundaries. "Paseo and its immediate neighborhoods" refers to still another set of boundaries. Most non-profit organizations are concentrated within colloquial Humboldt Park, where there is more commercial and institutional zoning as opposed to residential zoning.

2. 2011 NATIONAL CENTER FOR CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS IRS FORM 990

Focus group participants from different community organizations shared some of the barriers that Puerto Ricans encountered when they first arrived to the Chicago Metropolitan Area: they were discriminated against in the rental housing market, in schools, by the police; they had difficulties finding work, accessing basic government services, getting licenses to start new businesses, etc. In addition, it was hard for them to learn the language; ESL programs did not exist conveniently, and all government forms and voting ballots were in English.

Community organizing was one response to these conditions, and focus group members acknowledged the historical relevance of organizations such as the Puerto Rican Organization for Political Action, West Town Concerned Citizens Coalition, Los Caballeros de San Juan, and others. They talked about how community leaders lobbied city government and went to court to denounce discriminatory policies in rental housing, schools and businesses; fought for bilingual education programs and multilingual voting ballots; and established a much needed ecosystem of non-profit organizations around the North side, although, today, concentrated around Humboldt Park. Focus group participants pointed out that this body of institutions represents a huge asset for the Puerto Rican community and that many individuals have been successful because community organizations have been willing to advance the socio-economic conditions of the community as a whole, including hiring from the community. The following section provides a brief, descriptive snapshot of today's non-profit and community development network in Humboldt Park.

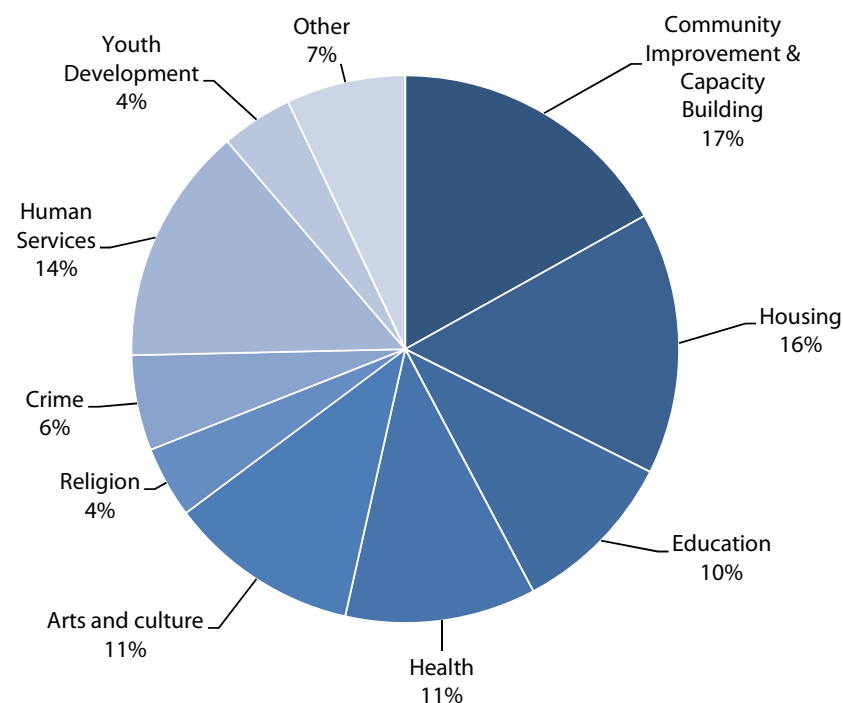
ORGANIZATIONAL SIZE, SCOPE AND TENURE

According to the 990 tax forms available through the National Center for Charitable Organizations website, there are a total of 71 community organizations in the Humboldt Park area, meaning that there is 1 organization per about 1,000 residents. In contrast, the Chicago average is 1 organization per about 763 residents, and the Cook County average is 1 organization per about 2,300 residents. From these statistics we can conclude that the organization density in Humboldt Park is lower than for the rest of Chicago, but higher than for Cook County. Although the city of Chicago as a whole has more organizations per person than Humboldt Park, the area has built a more extensive community-based network in comparison with most minority communities.

Organizations in Humboldt Park (such as Bickerdike) are well connected to intermediaries and resource providers like LISC and the MacArthur Foundation. Humboldt Park seems to be a hot spot for foundations. A good example is that Humboldt Park was selected (among other 15 communities in Chicago) to be a part of the New Communities Program (NCP), which is a comprehensive approach to community development. This is a multi-year program sponsored by LISC and led by Bickerdike.

Youth groups and recreational/educational activities for local youth at first glance seem to be overrepresented (1 in 4 organizations)—however this population comprises about 28% of the entire population in Humboldt Park, which is higher than for the city as a whole (25%). Currently there is 1 youth organization per 1,113 youth,

Humboldt Park: Non-Profit Organizations by Program Categories, 2011²

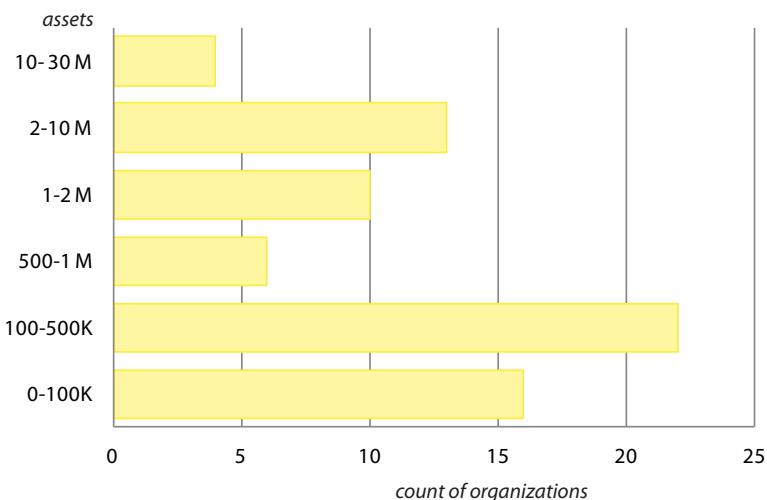


so an argument could be made that there is a need for more youth programming, since a large portion of the population is less than 18 years old. Humboldt Park focuses significantly on Arts and Cultural programming, which comprises 11% of all non-profits in the area. Moreover, 11% of the organizations specifically target the Latino population, even though it is highly likely that other organizations as part of their broad programming also serve Latinos. Seven of the 71 organizations have a clear Puerto Rican identity. Taking into consideration that 40% of the households in the study area earn less than \$25,000 a year (almost half of what the average household makes), it seems that this community could benefit from having more poverty alleviation programs (e.g., social services, community development, and housing). The bulk of these organizations (31%) have been in the area for more than 16 years, which testifies to the long-term stability of these organizations. The graphs to the right show the distribution by program category, by special populations, and organizational tenure.

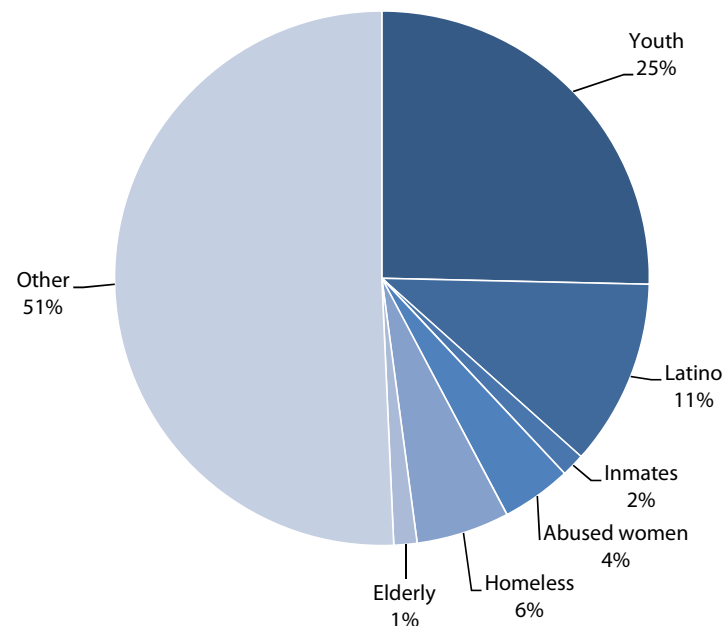
REVENUES AND ASSETS

The most recent revenue data for the 71 organizations totaled \$165 million; the mean was \$2.3 million with a large standard of deviation. This analysis included organizations that made \$0 and organizations that made millions of dollars (up to \$27 million) (see breakdown below). The total assets of these organizations was \$139 million; the mean amount for assets was lower than for revenues, \$2.0 million. The organization with the most assets was Bickerdike Redevelopment Corporation with \$17,270,220, followed by Erie Family Health Center and Healthcare Alternative Systems Inc. with \$15,669,791 and \$7,959,560, respectively. Approximately 62% of all funding has come from public contributions.

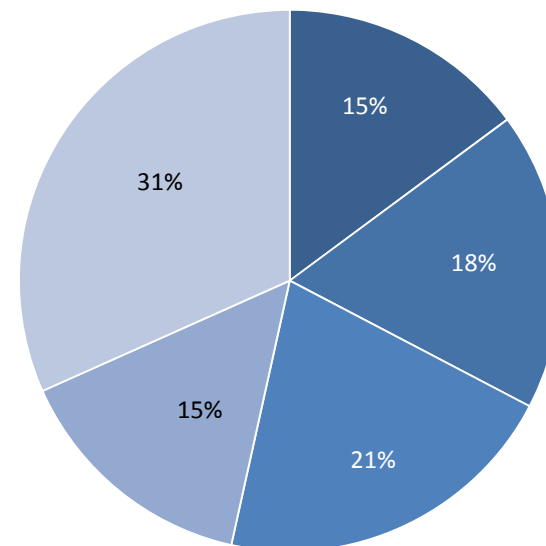
Humboldt Park: Non-Profit Organizations by Revenue, 2011²



Humboldt Park: Non-Profit Organizations by Service Area, 2011²

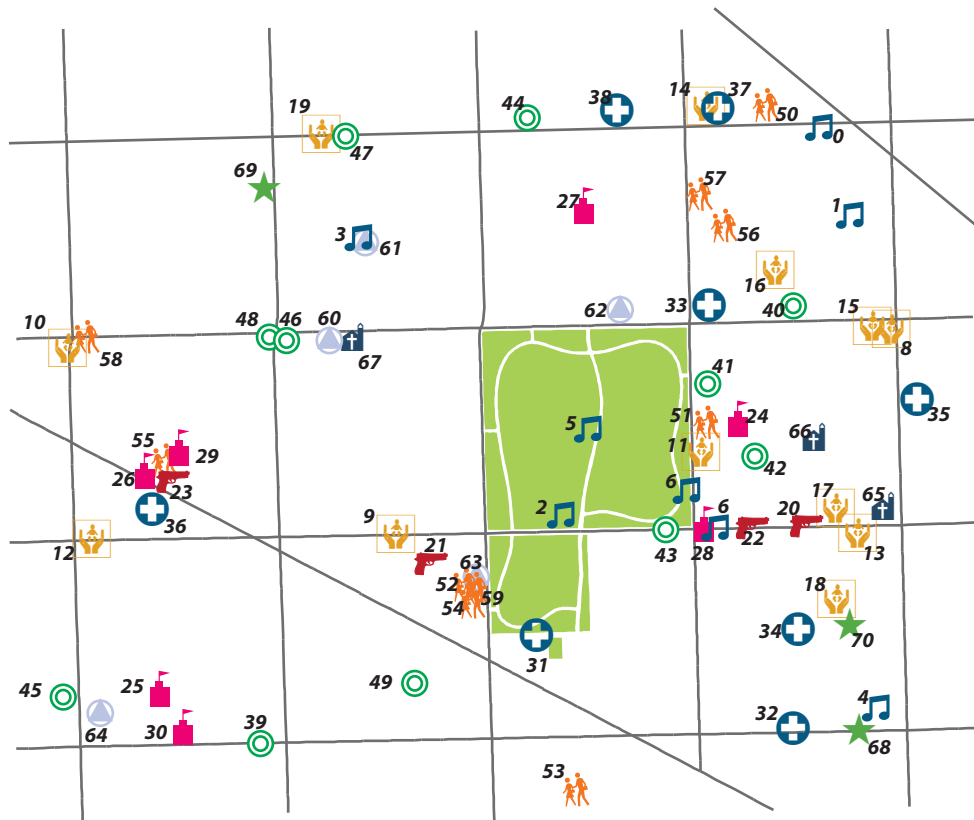


Humboldt Park: Non-Profit Organizations by Tenure, 2011²



■ 1 to 2 years ■ 3 to 5 years ■ 6 to 9 years ■ 10 to 15 years ■ 16 + years

HUMBOLDT PARK NON-PROFITS, 2011



Arts + Culture

- 0 CHILD'S PLAY TOURING THEATER
- 1 COMMUNITY TELEVISION NETWORK
- 2 INSTITUTE OF PUERTO RICAN CULTURE & ARTS
- 3 INTERNATIONAL CAPOEIRA ANGOLA FOUNDATION
- 4 PROJECT DANZTHEATRE COMPANY
- 5 PUERTO RICAN ARTS ALLIANCE
- 6 PUERTO RICAN CULTURAL CENTER
- 7 PUERTO RICAN PARADE COMMITTEE

Community Development + Capacity Building

- 8 ALLIANCE OF LOCAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS
- 9 ARCHI-TREASURES ASSOCIATION
- 10 BLOCK CLUB FEDERATION
- 11 CASA CENTRAL PADRES CORPORATION
- 12 COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION
- 13 DIVISION STREET BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT ASSN
- 14 HISPANIC MANAGEMENT ORGANIZATION
- 15 NEAR NORTHWEST NEIGHBORHOOD NETWORK
- 16 NGIASINH INTERNATIONAL
- 17 SPANISH ACTION COMMITTEE OF CHICAGO
- 18 ST. JOSEPH SERVICES
- 19 WEST TOWN CONCERNED CITIZENS COALITION

Crime

- 20 AFROCARIBE NFP
- 21 FAMILY OUTREACH AND EDUCATION CENTER
- 22 NEW SAINTS OF HUMBOLDT PARK
- 23 SUPPORT ADVOCATES FOR WOMEN

Education

- 24 ERIE ELEMENTARY CHARTER
- 25 GALAPAGOS CHARTER SCHOOL NFP
- 26 GENEVA FOUNDATION
- 27 HUMBOLDT COMMUNITY CHRISTIAN SCHOOL
- 28 ALBIZU CAMPOS PUERTO RICAN HIGH SCHOOL
- 29 SEMBRANDO EL FUTURO
- 30 TERRY TOWN NURSERY SCHOOL

Health

- 31 CHILDREN'S PLACE ASSOCIATION
- 32 COMMUNITY HEALTH NFP
- 33 ERIE FAMILY HEALTH CENTER
- 34 OPEN HEART MAGIC NFP
- 35 PRIMECARE COMMUNITY HEALTH
- 36 ORGANIZATION
- 37 HEALTHCARE ALTERNATIVE SYSTEMS
- 38 SUNLIGHT OF THE SPIRIT INC



Community Development + Capacity Building



Youth Development



Religion



Housing



Education



Arts + Culture



Crime



Health



Human Services



Other

Housing

- 39 FIRST COMMUNITY LAND TRUST OF CHICAGO
- 40 BICKERDIKE REDEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
- 41 CENTER HOME FOR HISPANIC ELDERLY
- 42 COOPERATIVE IMAGE GROUP
- 43 EUROPEAN AMERICAN ASSOCIATION
- 44 HUMBOLDT PARK SOCIAL SERVICES INC
- 45 MINISTRIES INC
- 46 LA CASA NORTE
- 47 LA VIVIENDA HOUSING DEVELOPMENT
- 48 LATIN UNITED COMMUNITY HOUSING ASSN
- 49 NEOPOLITAIN LIGHTHOUSE

Human Services

- 50 ASI
- 51 CASA CENTRAL SOCIAL SERVICES CORPORATION
- 52 CHICAGO ABUSED WOMEN COALITION
- 53 CHICAGO COMMONS ASSOCIATION
- 54 CONNECTIONS FOR ABUSED WOMEN AND THEIR CHILDREN
- 55 FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF CHICAGO DAY CARE CENTER
- 56 LUTHERAN DAY NURSERY ASSOCIATION OF CHICAGO
- 57 NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICES
- 58 YOUTH SERVICE PROJECT INC
- 59 ASSOCIATION HOUSE OF CHICAGO

Other

- 60 BLOCKS TOGETHER
- 61 INTERNATIONAL CHUN DO SUN BUP INSTITUTE
- 62 SAN LUCAS WORKERS EDUCATION AND LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT CENTER
- 63 WEST TOWN LEADERSHIP UNITED
- 64 I C A R E MINISTRIES

Religion

- 65 CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP FLOCK CHURCH
- 66 EKKLESIA MINISTRY OF HELPS
- 67 NEW HOPE SCHOOL INC

Youth Development

- 68 AMERICAN UKRAINIAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION
- 69 CHICAGO TEEN CHALLENGE
- 70 STREET-LEVEL YOUTH MEDIA

7

WOMEN

Family and Community - Puerto Rican women have been a major force in the history, development, and growth of Chicago's Puerto Rican community. In fact, it is very difficult to summarize over 60 years of community involvement, struggle, and participation by Puerto Rican women in the city of Chicago in just a few pages. Puerto Rican women have labored quietly as mothers, wives, abuelas, tias, and other roles. Within a multiplicity of family arrangements, they have also supported their families in Chicago and transnationally, creating links between Chicago, Puerto Rico, and other mainland communities.

Puerto Rican women's involvement as community members and leaders has been far reaching and has cut across many social arenas, including public life. For example, Maria Antonia Berrios has represented the 39th District since 2003, becoming the first Puerto Rican woman to serve in the Illinois House of Representatives. Today, Iris Martinez, Senator for the 20th District, exemplifies Puerto Rican women who occupy important political positions at the state level. Puerto Rican women have also had an impressive history of political participation at the level of city politics.

Historically, Puerto Rican women were important players in the early stages of community formation. A member of the Puerto Rican Agenda since its inception recalled how Puerto Rican women in Chicago founded church groups to help address problems faced by Puerto Ricans. She noted that the women started "Las Damas del Sagrado Corazon / Ladies of the Sacred Heart," and then the young women formed "Las Hijas de Maria / The Daughters of Mary" to resist unequal treatment by local Catholic churches, many of which only allowed Spanish language worship during off hours outside the sanctuary. She continued, "Women, like my mom—I thank her so much—rebelled about being stuck in the basement...There was a certain activism that was born because of that." As the community grew, women were also at the forefront of key community issues dealing with education, work, and other social issues. As another female Agenda member put it, "having someone in your family who has been in prison or has dropped out of school, it affects you personally...I think it drives the work that we do here because we may have it in our family or we see it in the work that we do and we know we have a responsibility."



Puerto Rican women have also left their mark in Chicago as founders of community groups and supporters of key organizations. The activism of the 1970s and 1980s found Puerto Rican women leading key battles in the areas of education, work, and politics. As mothers, Puerto Rican women cared deeply about the education of their children and that drove many of them to the public sphere of struggle for educational opportunities. Many were (and still are!) at the forefront of educational struggles for bilingual education and other educational initiatives for Latinos. Ada Lopez and Hilda Fontany stand out as activists with a record of involvement in educational struggle. Puerto Rican women have also become leaders in the local struggle for Puerto Rican independence and nationalism that has been waged from Chicago. In the area of creating and maintaining cultural institutions Puerto Rican women have also left their mark. Clearly, the history of Puerto Ricans in Chicago cannot be written without taking into account the contributions of the women.

But many of these “pioneras” in community work are very critical and candid about the struggle that they have had to wage with Puerto Rican men in charge of groups and organizations, including the Puerto Rican Agenda. A Puerto Rican woman in one of the focus groups stated: “When I decided to bse a board member there were only two women on the whole board of 18 men and 2 women...all we did was fight all the time. Fight the men’s ego and mentality. Things have changed. We have come a long way, but you know? Still.”



"I have to honestly say that I've never felt any of those kind of pressures on my business in terms of any kind of discrimination because of my color, because I'm Puerto Rican, because I'm a woman. I haven't felt that, and I find myself blessed to be able to say that."

(Business Owner Focus Group)

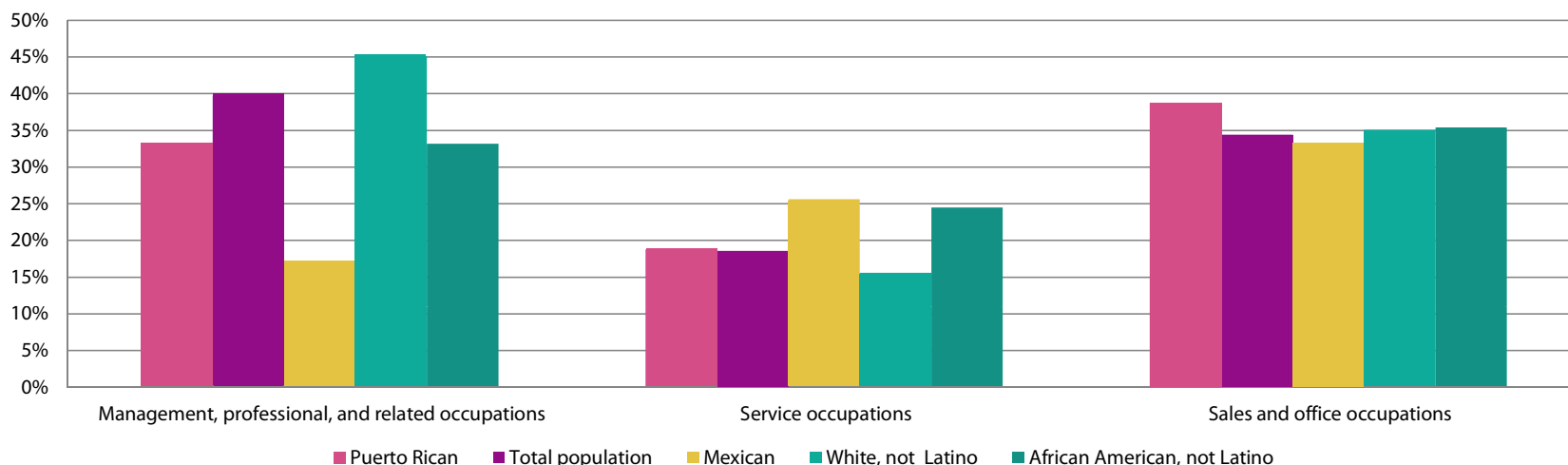
"So unfortunately—I hate to say it—but being Latina and being in the industry I'm in it's very, very challenging for me. Very! As a female and as a Hispanic, especially in transportation."

(Business Owner Focus Group)

Work - Puerto Rican women's contributions to their families and their communities is owing in no small part to their ability to work and provide for their families. In this respect, a brief historical overview of Puerto Rican women's changing labor patterns is important here. Puerto Rican women were recruited in Puerto Rico to work as "domesticas" for affluent families in the city (Toro-Morn, 1999). Young single Puerto Rican women came, like the men, in search of work and opportunities and to provide for their families. As mentioned earlier, the U.S. colonization of Puerto Rico has shaped the labor force's incorporation of Puerto Rican women in complex ways both on the Island and mainland communities. In Chicago, Puerto Rican domesticas encountered a difficult and utterly foreign work environment and many left domestic work disgusted with the abuse from employers, the long working hours, and the poor wages. Employment in the industrial sector jobs became a more desirable alternative for these "pioneras." We know that given the changing occupational landscape of the city, Puerto Rican women worked in the declining manufacturing industry in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as the rising service economy. By the 1980s, a share of Puerto Rican women found themselves working in predominantly white collar occupations such as clerical jobs, sales, management, and administration. Many found themselves among the ranks of local entrepreneurs developing business along Paseo Boricua and the suburbs. By the 1990s, changes in Chicago's labor market showed that 63.9% of Puerto Rican women were employed in white collar jobs, which also reflected other demographic changes within the community (Toro-Morn, 2001). In 2009, working Puerto Rican women were distributed among three major occupation groups: 33.1% in management, professional and related occupations, 38.7% in sales and office; and 18.8% in the service sector.

* The two occupations in which women are traditionally underrepresented—farming / fishing / forestry and construction / extraction / maintenance / repair—were omitted here because they composed less than 1% of employment for the women in all five comparison groups. For more on occupations, see Section 2 - Economic Development on page 32.

2009: Comparative Occupations of Women in the Chicago Metro Area by Race and Selected Origin*



Issues Facing Women and Families - In keeping with their roles as working mothers and community leaders, Puerto Rican women, in focus groups and interviews, expressed concern about the social problems facing their families and communities and their ability to support themselves in a stagnant economy. There was also some concern about the future of Puerto Rican culture and identity, in particular as many witnessed their children marrying non-Puerto Ricans. But through most of the focus groups, women's concerns were reserved for the gravity of the social problems faced by young men and women in their communities. High rates of school desertion, lack of college education, the lure of gangs and police

violence are issues that move women to get involved today. Their involvement may range from participating in this research, attending community summits, protesting, voting, and laboring within their families on behalf of their sons and daughters. It is clear that one problem identified in this report—District 25 had the highest number of total Latina juvenile arrests—threatens the future of young women in this community. The high rates of children in poverty and the high cost of housing make female-headed households an increasingly vulnerable population in our community.

"The violence has gotten a lot worse, where I have a 21-year-old and an 18-year-old at North-Eastern and I'm scared and they're scared! They don't even want to go outside and you know hang out with the guy across the street because he's a gang banger or he hangs with the gang bangers, so there's no sense of community anymore, nobody knows anybody. Everybody goes in their house and that's it. And if you...if there's a fight "oh my god what happened down the street?" but that's it. It's not like "Hey Judy, hey Carmen, let's get together" there's no more of that anymore."

(Humboldt Park Community Focus Group)



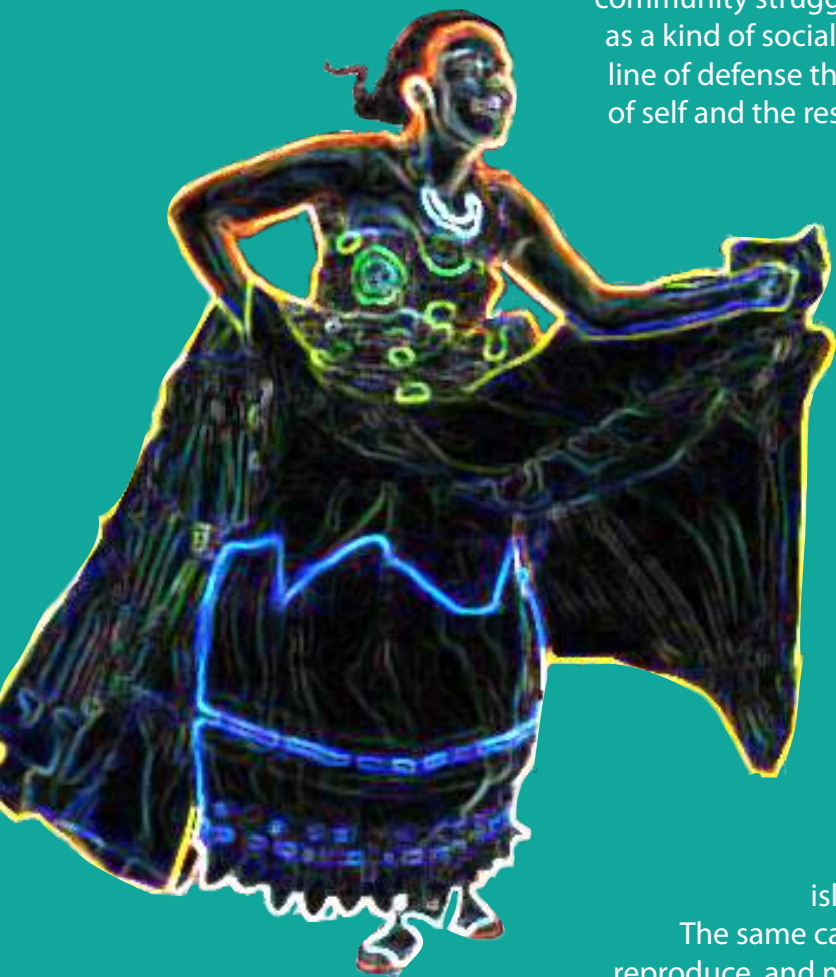
A woman proudly displays the Puerto Rican flag during Fiesta Boricua, 2009

8

CULTURE

A casual observer walking along Paseo Boricua could easily conclude that Puerto Ricans are a people attached (clinging?) to their culture. The steel flags that mark the beginning of the business district, the restaurants serving Puerto Rican food, the art and cultural displays, and the music festivals affirm and celebrate Puerto Rican culture and identity. But what underlies these affective and symbolic displays of cultural pride? How does “culture” function in a place like Paseo and more broadly in the Puerto Rican neighborhoods of Chicago? How do community organizations like The Puerto Rican Agenda deploy notions of culture to articulate a class-based, multiracial and pan-ethnic political agenda in the city?

In this section of the report, we seek to analyze the significance of Puerto Rican culture and identity in current community struggles and in the ideological workings of the Puerto Rican Agenda. Briefly, culture functions as a kind of social glue, and, further, it drives the formation of an economic enclave. Culture is also a political line of defense that helps establish one’s presence in the city. It also functions as a form of rescue, a rescue of self and the rescue of a community.



An important myth must be dispelled here. Puerto Ricans do not carry “their culture” from the Island intact, unchangeable, unaltered and transplant it to Chicago. Instead, Puerto Rican culture, symbols, and language have been invented and reinvented, produced and (re)produced in order to answer the changing needs of a people. Culture is not fixed; it is not a thing; it is improvised; its beingness, so to speak, occurs in our interactions with others. For example, Puerto Rican youth during the focus groups became animated when talking about Puerto Rican culture. In particular the youth said that the future of culture is complex: here “Puerto Ricanness” plays with “Mexicanness” but also with “African-Americanness” and “Whiteness.” It is in this sense that culture and identity are improvised and (re)constructed again and again.

One can see all this at work along Paseo and in the immediate neighborhoods of Humboldt Park. Culture is constructed daily in small interactions between people and through the recreation of perceived traditions. Even the menus of restaurants negotiate both tradition and improvisation, and musically bomba runs alongside rap. Up and down Paseo the markers of preceding ethnic groups have, for the most part, disappeared (but, most tellingly, not the German architecture of the Institute of Puerto Rican Arts and Culture). Paseo’s physical landscape, then, is also an improvisation where the island’s social iconography and architecture mixes with Chicago’s vernacular architecture.

The same can be said of the cultural festivals along Paseo: these are specific responses that produce, reproduce, and maintain old and new cultural traditions. Also these festivals, by attracting large crowds, inject significant amounts of capital into local businesses.

In multiple ways, then, culture addresses the fragile conditions of a community, for underneath the celebrations there is a sense of possible disappearance: economic diminishment, social disappearance, the loss of affordable housing, and so on. Perhaps culture as a politics bears a heavier burden in Chicago than on the island itself, for here it faces disappearance in a more visceral way.

Puerto Rican culture and identity also play an important role in the workings of the Puerto Rican Agenda as a community institution. Since its inception a decade ago, members of the Puerto Rican Agenda have deployed what we call in this report a strategic conception of Puerto Rican culture. In this context, “strategic” means the use of culture and its many signifiers in order to accomplish specific political goals focused on the well being of a community. For over a decade, members of the Puerto Rican Agenda have come together every month to shape a politics that addresses class disparities. They know that culture and identity are powerful devices for organizing such a politics, but they are also engaged in an ongoing critical

assessment of self (or group) in relationship to others. Evidence of this can be seen in the conversations among members concerning ongoing relations with the growing Latino nationalities present in the Humboldt Park area and the long-term and carefully nurtured relationship with the Mexican American and African American communities.

A strategic deployment is aware of the dangers of using Puerto Rican culture reduced to a whimsical notion of solidarity such as the *mancha de platano* (stain of plantains) in order to shape political action. At the highest level of abstraction, a strategic deployment of culture is aware of the necessity to “be-with” and not “separate-from” the other. In sum, it represents an ethical commitment to the retelling of histories that are inclusive of marginalized groups. This ethical commitment seeks to engage nationality and pan-ethnicity to build more expansive notions of belonging and social justice. Underlying this social justice ethic is the necessity for respect and forgiveness between individuals and groups.

To be sure, the use of culture as a political device was already well established in Puerto Rican experience long before the arrival of the first Chicago migrants,



a crowd forms for an art opening at the Institute for Puerto Rican Arts and Culture (IPRAC), late-2000s

for culture often comes into being when defending one’s interests against a colonizer. So, when Puerto Ricans began arriving to Chicago, their initial renditions of culture had already been shaped by their experiences on the island. Throughout the focus groups and interviews, informants explained that the initial renditions of cultural pride were private, passed from family to family, and intimate. In time, however, the experiences of housing and



raising Paseo Boricua Flags, 1995

job discrimination, displacement, and gentrification forged a critical awareness of injustice that, when melded to the politicization of the 1960s, was cathartic for some community members and leaders. Puerto Rican culture and the indignities of being treated poorly because “you are Puerto Rican” became one of the few political devices available to make demands to educational institutions, city hall, and the state. Puerto Rican culture and identity, then, became a means for organizing protest. As we mentioned in the education section, parents organized to demand bilingual programs and to gain some control over the educational experiences of their children. When educational institutions failed, community groups formed their own schools such as the Pedro Albizu Campos High School with a curriculum and pedagogy devoted to understanding culture, history, and marginalization through a strategic lens. There is evidence that the experiences in Chicago, New York City, and New Jersey (in the work of the Young Lords for instance) jumped the Caribbean and renewed the political actions on the island as well.

In Chicago the problems of job and educational discrimination, marginalization, and gentrification were pivotal for shaping a culture-based politics. As Division Street and Humboldt Park became linked to a new Puerto Rican space, organizations emerged with the expressed purpose of solidifying a community area. These organizations helped in the reinventing of Puerto Rican culture as a collective-community asset, or cultural capital. Some of the organizations featured in this report endured and have become part of the economic, social, and political infrastructure for Puerto Ricans in Chicago.

At this moment in time, the idea of cultural citizenship resonates in the community as a way to continue to connect culture and political struggle. As organic intellectuals, Puerto Rican Agenda members are currently articulating an expansion of this term. “Cultural citizenship” was first articulated by a group of Latino scholars. One of the central questions asked is this: If international law sanctions legal citizenship, can the idea of cultural citizenship be used as a political counter to shift our very understanding of what it means to be legal? Cultural citizenship claims that there are forms of belonging that legal citizenship cannot account for. If a three year old is brought over without papers and grows up on the streets of Chicago, is that person at the very least a cultural citizen though not a legal citizen? The courts, of course, would disagree that cultural citizenship has legal standing, and yet these forms of belonging motivated millions of immigrant rights marchers all across the country starting in 2006.

Since then and because of the work of well placed Puerto Ricans, including members of the Agenda such as Congressman Luis Guterrez, Washington’s central advocate for immigration reform, immigration itself has become squarely a Puerto Rican/Latino issue. The work of Puerto Rican pastors in Chicago and the offering of sanctuary to the now well known Elvira Arellano, a Mexican woman who resisted deportation with her son for almost a year at a small church located on Paseo, have also helped to consolidate a national, Latino political block interested in transforming immigration law.

At a deeper level the idea of cultural citizenship may be the most powerful strategic deployment of the idea of culture. Members of the Agenda have articulated a trans-hemispheric future in which the economic growth of Latin America coupled with the size of its populations will represent a coming transformation of North America. A trans-hemispheric regionalism has already taken its first baby steps via economic treaties, which, admittedly unfair to Latin Americans, point to the necessity of alliances in order to compete with other regional alliances. If economic flows are wedded to flows of people, new arrangements of citizenship that are not so firmly locked into the nation-state form may have to be invented. Puerto Ricans have always been experimented upon. Even their citizenship has been a strange experiment. Their voices and experiences should have a special place as these newer, larger forms of integration take shape. Although cultural citizenship in the eyes of the law is a “mere” metaphor—that is, an aspirational politics whose struggles may never be realized—what is revealed here is that organic intellectuals can shape it into a tool to fight for a future.

In sum, culture in many of its strategic deployments sometimes performs a kind of rescue of the self—if the self feels poor or less than valued—or a rescue of the community or of a cause if it feels it is being washed away. In the end, culture may be unfixed, elusive, constantly improvising, but when it gets strategically deployed in these economic, political, and symbolic ways, it begins to establish presence, a fragile presence perhaps, but presence as a form of power.



puppet show at La Casita de Don Pedro, 2001

"I recently married into a Mexican family and within that family there are other marriages between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. When you start to realize that generations after the first migrations—connectedness, us protecting one another, accepting one another. This is part of the Latino experience in America, that we respect and love our origins, but we also acknowledge and appreciate the commonalities between our cultures. I take my nieces and nephews to the Mexican Institute and then I bring them to IPRAC. They're Mexican and they say, 'I got a Puerto Rican tio who taught me a lot about Puerto Rico,' and then you have to acknowledge the American culture in us over the last 100 years."

(Agenda Focus Group)

Puerto Ricans in Chicago celebrate two major cultural events:

FIESTAS PUERTORRIQUEÑAS / PUERTO RICAN PARADE



Centro Infantil Consuelo float at Fiestas Puertorriqueñas, 1980s

The Puerto Rican Parade has been an annual event in Chicago since 1965 and the Fiestas Puertorriqueñas has been celebrated since 1982. Fiestas Puertorriqueñas, 4-6 days of entertainment in Humboldt Park, has become Chicago's second largest festival and the largest Latino festival in the Midwest. Approximately 1.5 million people participate in these two annual events, held in mid-June.

FIESTA BORICUA / BANDERA A BANDERA

Fiesta Boricua has been celebrated on Paseo Boricua since 1993. This festival, also known as "Bandera a Bandera" (Flag-to-Flag) is held between two forty-five ton steel Puerto Rican flags that are each fifty-nine feet tall. The festival attracts approximately 250,000 attendees per year. The celebration takes place every September.



Fiesta Boricua from California Ave, 2000

The Puerto Rican community in Chicago is home to numerous Puerto Rican cultural institutions.

This report highlights the following:

PUERTO RICAN ARTS ALLIANCE (PRAA)

Since its inception in 1998, the mission of the PRAA has been to increase awareness and preserve the art and culture of Puerto Ricans through music, dance, visual arts, and theater. Their progressive programming provides underserved urban youth with the opportunity to learn about artistic expression. PRAA promotes the sustainability of the community by creating a space where artists, youth, and families can come together to experience their heritage.



PRAA Cuatro Festival, 2007

SEGUNDO RUIZ BELVIS CULTURAL CENTER (SRBCC)

SRBCC, founded in 1971, is the oldest Puerto Rican cultural center in Chicago. SRBCC's program celebrates the African heritage of Puerto Ricans through music, dance, and performing arts in addition to fostering cultural awareness, creative expression, leadership, and educational opportunities.



SRBCC Baile de Bomba poster, 2010

PUERTO RICAN CULTURAL CENTER (PRCC)

Since 1973, the PRCC has been promoting Puerto Rican/Latino cultural expression as a means to empower and create solidarity within the Latino community. The PRCC engages in art, poetry, and music that speak of issues that afflict poor communities such as drug addiction, domestic violence, gentrification, HIV/AIDS, etc. Among their many initiatives are: La Voz del Paseo Boricua, a free bilingual alternative newspaper; Café Teatro Batey Urbano a space for youth arts and development; Vida/SIDA, an HIV/AIDS awareness center; Pedro Albizu Campos High School, an alternative public high school; CO-OP Humboldt Park, which includes a Homegrown Farmer's Market; and others.



Batey Urbano anti-violence campaign, 2003

INSTITUTE OF PUERTO RICAN ARTS & CULTURE (IPRAC)

One of the major accomplishments of the Puerto Rican Agenda leaders is IPRAC. Established in 2001, it is the only museum in the United States dedicated to the history, arts, and culture of the Puerto Rican diaspora. On February 8, 2012, IPRAC was designated by the Chicago Park District as a Museum-in-the-Park and recognized as a valuable cultural asset of the City of Chicago. IPRAC offers a variety of programming, including visual arts, film, literature, performing arts, cultural celebrations, and educational workshops.



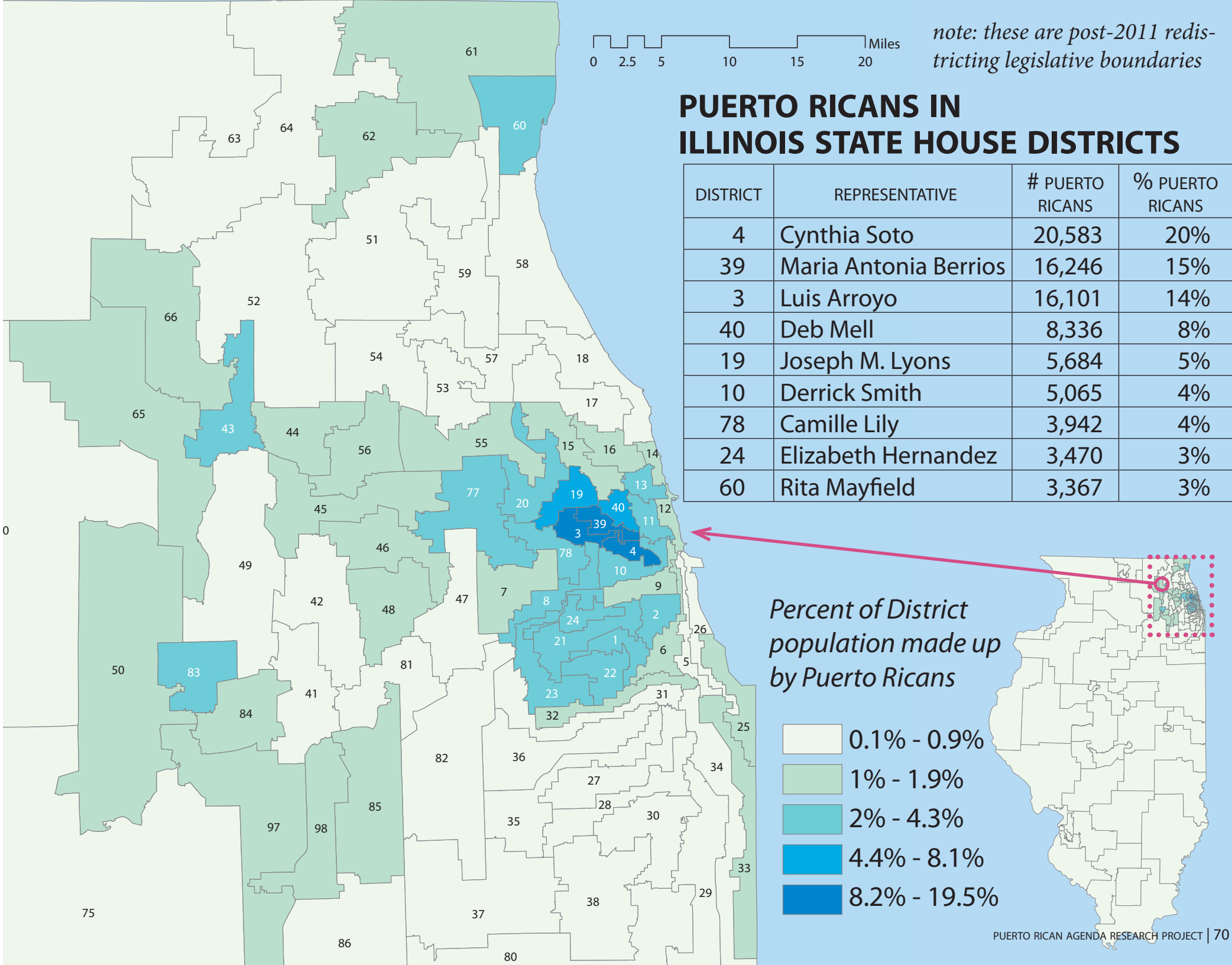
Maestro Antonio Martorell describes his exhibit at IPRAC to Mayor Rahm Emanuel, 2012

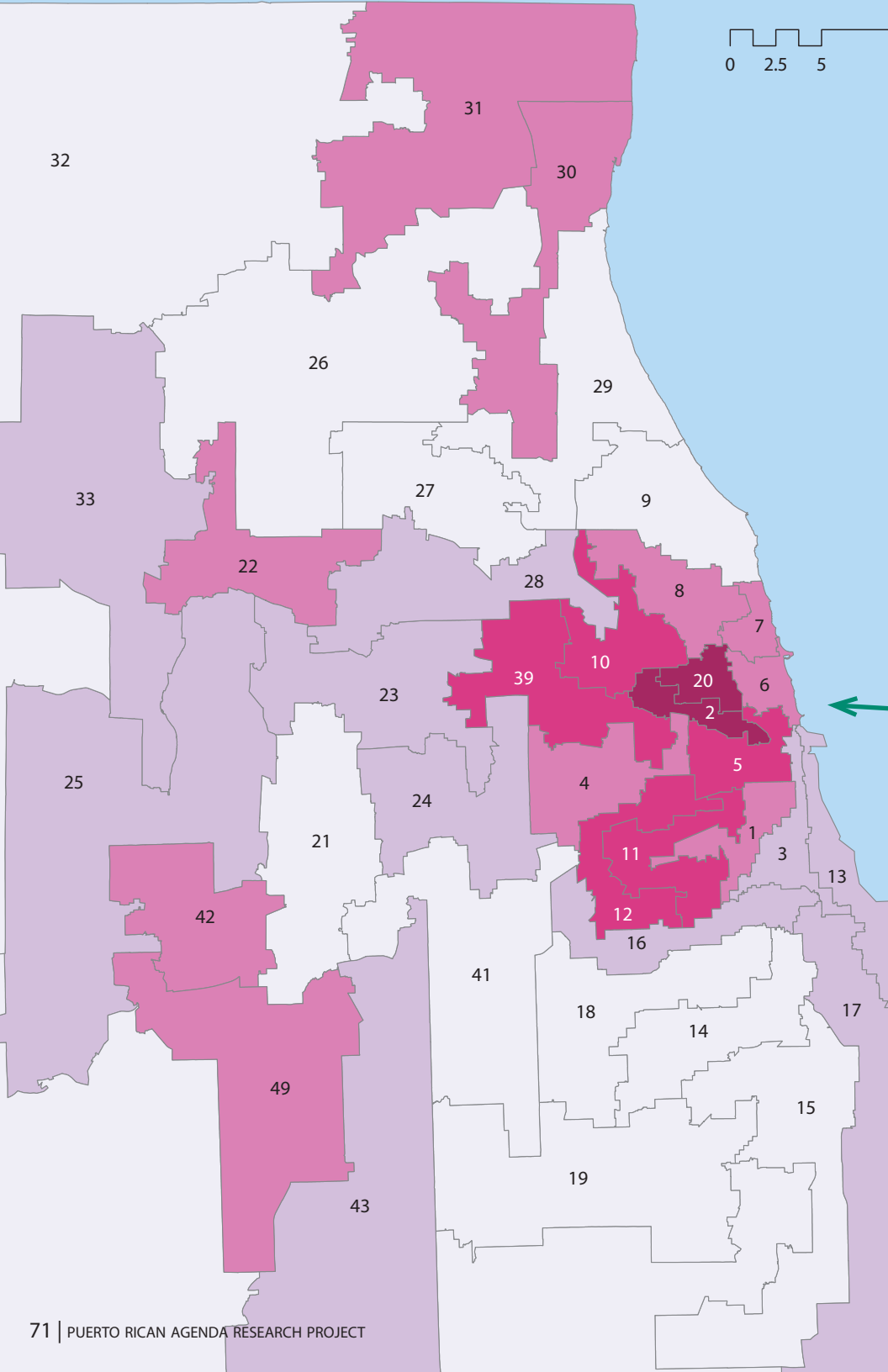
These major events and cultural institutions represent a unique opportunity to connect Puerto Ricans who live in the Chicago Metro Area. A survey conducted for this research project demonstrated that the majority of Puerto Ricans who visit Humboldt Park during festivals identify the area as the Puerto Rican cultural hub, and about 90% of the participants in the survey were satisfied with the cultural activities and events that the area had to offer. The survey showed that cultural activities received the highest levels of satisfaction when compared to housing, social services, jobs, etc.

These results are not surprising given that 10% of all of the organizations in Humboldt Park have a focus on arts and cultural programs geared toward the Puerto Rican population (National Center for Charitable Organizations 2009 database). Many community leaders believe that all of these organizations have been successful, not only in promoting culture, but also in serving as an economic engine for the community by encouraging visitors to support local businesses and other services. Together, in 2010, IPRAC, PRCC, PRAA, and SRBCC captured about \$2.5 million in revenue and held a total net worth of about \$12.3 million in assets (National Center for Charitable Organizations 2010 database). Nonetheless, to achieve and sustain such prosperity, these institutions are constantly engaged in the game of finding funding resources. Again, here is another sign of the juxtaposition of strength alongside fragility.

PART THREE: PUERTO RICAN LEGISLATIVE COUNTS







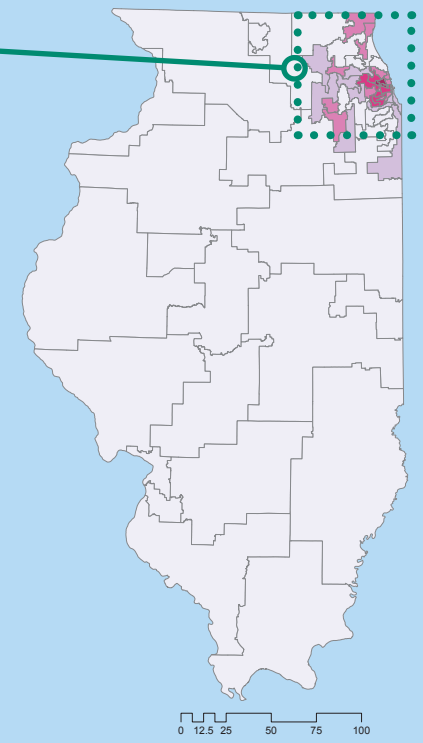
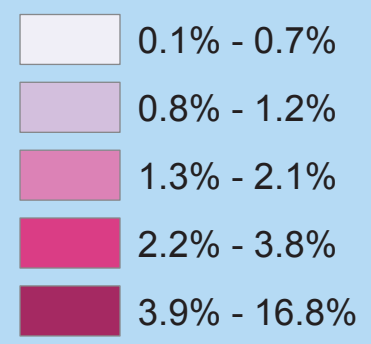
0 2.5 5 10 15 20 Miles

note: these are post-2011 redistricting legislative boundaries

PUERTO RICANS IN ILLINOIS STATE SENATE DISTRICTS

DISTRICT	SENATOR	# PUERTO RICANS	% PUERTO RICANS
2	William Delgado	36,684	17%
20	Iris Y. Martinez	24,582	12%
10	John G Mulrow	8,101	4%
39	Don Harmon	7,064	3%
5	Anazette R. Collins	6,339	3%
12	Martin A. Sandoval	5,844	3%
11	Steven M. Landek	5,742	3%
1	Antonio Munoz	4,640	2%
30	Terry Link	4,071	2%

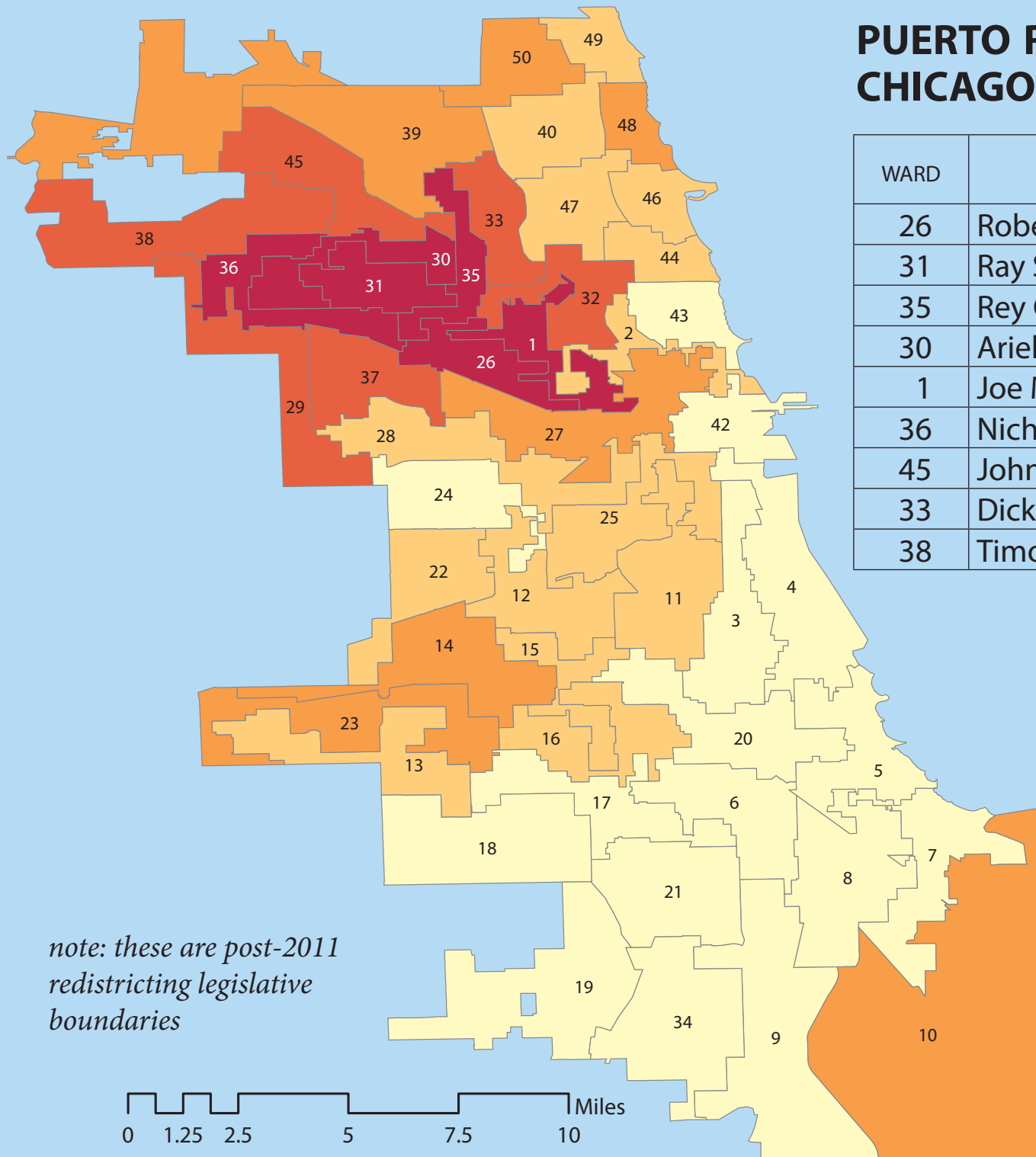
Percent of District population made up by Puerto Ricans



0 12.5 25 50 75 100

PUERTO RICANS IN CHICAGO WARDS

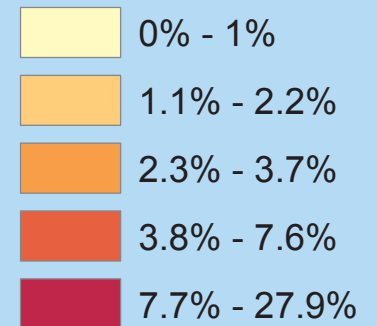
WARD	ALDERMAN	PUERTO RICANS	% PUERTO RICAN
26	Roberto Maldonado	13,837	27.9%
31	Ray Suarez	9,978	18.9%
35	Rey Colon	6,657	14.4%
30	Ariel Reboyras	6,244	12.6%
1	Joe Moreno	6,925	12.3%
36	Nicholas Sposato	6,413	11.8%
45	John Arena	4,491	7.6%
33	Dick Mell	3,484	6.7%
38	Timothy Cullerton	3,127	5.5%



*note: these are post-2011
redistricting legislative
boundaries*

0 1.25 2.5 5 7.5 10 Miles

*Percent of Ward
population made up
by Puerto Ricans*



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a woman and child at Fiesta Boricua

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