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Elderly Nicaraguans and Immigrant Community Formation in San Francisco in the 1980's

by

Steven Paul Wallace

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

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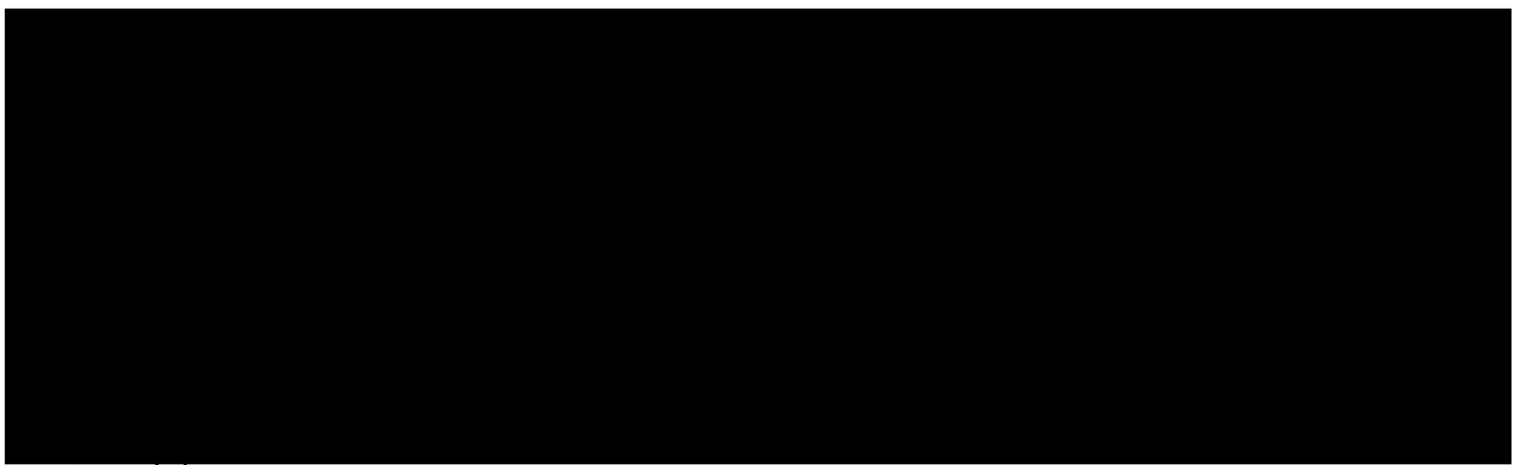
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To the members my cohort,
for their support and solidarity

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This dissertation is truly a sociological event. Without the help and encouragement of people from many different groups the dissertation would not have happened. My classmates spent countless hours with me in dissertation groups discussing data and reading various drafts of memos and chapters that became this dissertation. These people include Katarin Jurich, Nan Chico, Anna Hazan, Adele Clark, Petra Lilijestrand, Jerry Nussbaum and Pat Fox. A critical point in the conceptualization of this work was facilitated by Bob Alford and his class on research question formulation, where Katarin Jurich, Nan Chico, Petra Lilijestrand, Pat Fox, Irma Zuckerman, Bev Ovrebo, Jane Kramer, and Glenn Shor provided support and useful comments. A portion of Chapter one draws on an article I cowrote with Elisa (Linda) Facio that is being published in the Journal of Aging Studies. The friendship and encouragement of Solomon Davis and Celia Orona made my studies more enjoyable and productive.

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Elderly Nicaraguans and Immigrant Community Formation in San Francisco in the 1980's

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The importance of the elderly in the formation and continuance of a Nicaraguan immigrant community is analyzed at the four conceptually distinct levels of symbols, interaction, organization, and structure. The concepts of use value and exchange value are modified to show the interdependence of nonexchange and exchange actions in sustaining the contemporary social and economic system. This case study focuses on older persons as an integral part of the community and broader economy by considering use values as well as exchange values created by the elderly.

Data include 32 formal interviews with Nicaraguan immigrant community members, 24 formal interviews with organizational representatives, a telephone survey of local churches, interviews with families and government officials in Nicaragua, and several hundred hours of participant observation in a senior center and community organizations between 1984 and 1986. A modified grounded theory analysis was used.

There are four major findings. First, the external political and economic conditions are found to prevent Nicaraguan immigrants from incorporating into the Anglo society and economy, but not to necessitate the formation of a specifically Nicaraguan community. Second, the impetus for the formation of a Nicaraguan community is found to come from both elderly and younger immigrants themselves. Third, the study finds that elderly Nicaraguans are key actors in the Nicaraguan community particularly through their sustaining of Nicaraguan identified

computer center were critical in the process of my research.

I can not individually thank all the people who talked with me during my research, but I owe them the most for letting me into their lives, however briefly. The seniors at the 30th Street Senior Center were kind and generous to me as I began my study at their center. Carmen de Campos graciously shared her home with me while I was in Nicaragua. Hazel Georgetti and Silvio Echaverry helped me tremendously by providing extensive information about the Nicaraguan community, introducing me to other knowledgeable persons, and with their friendship.

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I particularly want to acknowledge the aid and support of my companera*, Trudy Sonia, for providing valuable suggestions, motivation, and editorial advice from the beginning to the the end of this project. Authors commonly acknowledge the help of a significant other, but I doubt that their contribution is fully recognized publicly. Based on the number of friends who asked if Trudy would live with them while they wrote their dissertations, however, I conclude that Trudy's aid was above and beyond the call of duty.

* See glossary for definitions of Spanish words.

symbols and interactions. Elderly immigrants also contribute to community formation through their links with organizations and their position in the social structure. Fourth, the immigrant community is found to encompass both use and exchange values by providing for collective needs of the immigrants as well as providing a source of waged labor and commodity consumption. Under the present historical conditions the use values in the community are found not to seriously contradict the exchange values in the community and the wider society. The study suggests that under different conditions, contradictions between the use and exchange values could lead to conflict between the community and those with an interest in capital accumulation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS iv

ABSTRACT vi

LIST OF TABLES xiii

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1: THE LATINO ELDERLY AND AGING THEORY 14

Empirical Studies on Chicano and Latino Aging 15
- Chicano/Latino Elders and Familism 16
- Social Status, Social Support, and the Reproduction of Gender 17
  - Social Status 17
  - Social Support 18
  - Gender 19
- The Future of the Elderly in the Family 22

Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Aging 25
- Functionalist Theories 27
  - Age Stratification 27
  - Modernization Theory 30
  - The Life Course Perspective 32
  - Functionalism and Aging 34
- Interactionism 35
- Political Economy of Aging 43
  - Aging 44
  - Race/Ethnicity 48
- The Limits of Theories of Aging 53
- Latinos and Aging Theory 56

Notes 60

CHAPTER 2: ANALYTICAL APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY AND IMMIGRATION: A REVIEW AND SYNTHESIS 62

Theories of Community 63
- The Chicago School Analysis of Community 63
- The Political Economy Perspective of Community 70
  - Accumulation 73
  - Class Struggle 77

Theories of Immigration
Individualistic Theories 83
Structural Theories 83
Accumulation, Immigration, & Community 92
96

A Synthesis of Aging, Community, and Immigration 102
Community Defined 103

Notes 113

CHAPTER 3: THE DEMOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL OUTLINES OF THE NICARAGUAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY IN SAN FRANCISCO 114

Historical Trends 114

Current Characteristics of the Nicaraguan Population 120

Economic Structure of the San Francisco Area 127

The Economic Position of Central American Immigrants in Comparison to Mexican Immigrants 138

The Nicaraguan Community in the Political System 148

The Implications of Demography, Economy, and Politics for the Elderly 152

Notes 154

CHAPTER 4: USE AND EXCHANGE VALUE THEORY RECONSIDERED 155

Limitations of Marxist Concepts 156

The Distinction Between Use and Exchange Values 157
The Use and Exchange Value of Labor 161
Exploitation Based on Exchange and Use Values 165
The Dialectics of Use and Exchange Values 169
Use and Exchange Values of Ideas/Symbols & Relationships 172
Labor in the Creation of Value 174

Use and Exchange Value in Communities 177
Exchange Value in the Community 177
Use Value and Community 180
Use and Exchange Value Created by the Elderly in a Community Context 185

Notes 189

CHAPTER 5: THE ELDERLY AND THE SYMBOLIC COMMUNITY 191

The Symbols and the Elderly
- Language 192
- Religion 192
- Food and Drink 199
- Social and Cultural Events 204
- Politics 207
- The Country of Nicaragua 211
- Summary: The Symbols and the Elderly 213

"Nicaraguan" as an Explanatory Symbol 216

Symbols, Value, and the Elderly 218

Contradictions: Symbols of Success vs. Symbols of Morality 221

Conclusion 224

Notes 227

CHAPTER 6: THE ELDERLY AND THE INTERACTIONAL COMMUNITY 229

The Building of Association
- Boundaries of Association 230
- Association in the Community 231

Meaning and Interaction 232
- The Importance of Relationships for Nicaraguans 233
- The Elderly in Relationships 246
- Creating a "Nicaràguan" Family 247
- Grandparent's Childcare as Use and Exchange Value 250

Conclusion 255

Notes 258

CHAPTER 7: INSTITUTIONS IN THE COMMUNITY AND THE ELDERLY 266

The Importance of Institutions 269

Providing an Infrastructure for the Nicaraguan Community 270
- The Church 271
- The Media 273
- Business & Entertainment 274
- Institutional Fragmentation and Marginalization 281
- Summary: Providing Infrastructure 282

Legitimation, the Nicaraguan Community, and the Elderly 292
The Church 294
The Spanish Language Media 299
The Legitimacy of Spanish 301
Summary: Legitimation 303

Mediating Resources 304
Resources from Outside the Community 305
Resources from Within the Community 311
Summary: Mediating Resources 317

Institutional Exchange and Use Values 317

Conclusion 322

Notes 326

CHAPTER 8: STRUCTURAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY AND THE ELDERLY 327

Immigrant Labor in San Francisco 328

The U.S. Legacy in Nicaragua 333

The State 340

The Elderly as Ideologically Symbolic: The Contradictory Location of the Elderly in American Society 347

The Use & Exchange Value of Immigration 353

The Economy 357

Conclusion 363

Notes 366

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION 367

Limitations of the Study 368

Discussion of Findings 372

APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGICAL NOTE 381

Arriving at the Research Question 379
Field Notes 392
Memos and Writing 394
Working with Others 397
Inductive or Deductive? Both 400
Statistical Data and Respondents 406
Conclusion 411

APPENDIX B: QUESTION GUIDES 412

Questions for Elders: Final Community Topics 412
Questions for Family Members: Final Community Topics 416
Questions for Elders: Original Life History Topics 418

APPENDIX C: CHURCHES OF THE INNER MISSION, 1974 AND 1986 420

GLOSSARY 427

BIBLIOGRAPHY 429

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1-1	Characteristics of the Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban Origin Population, United States, 1980	60
Table 2-1	Interrelation of Levels of Analysis	110
Table 3-6	Historical Population Growth, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Cuban, and Mexican Immigrants and their Children, California Residents	116
Table 3-2	Year of Immigration by Sex, Nicaraguan Immigrants Living in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1980	117
Table 3-3	Legal Immigration from Nicaragua to the United States, FY1978-FY1985	119
Table 3-4	Family Characteristics Where at least One Member Reports Nicaraguan Ancestry or Birthplace, San Francisco Bay Area, 1980	122
Table 3-5	Age and Gender Distribution, Persons Reporting Nicaraguan Ancestry or Birthplace, San Francisco Bay Area, 1980	123
Table 3-6	Ability to Speak English, Nicaraguan Immigrants in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1980	126
Table 3-7	Estimated Wage and Salary Workers by Industry, San Francisco Metropolitan Area, 1979-1984	129
Table 3-8	Hispanic Concentrations in Selected Occupations, San Francisco City & County, 1980	131
Table 3-9	Occupational Structure, Total, Hispanic, & Nicaraguan Civilian Labor Forces, San Francisco County, 1980	133
Table 3-10	Final Grade Completed by Age and Sex, Central American and Mexican Immigrants Living in California, 1980	139
Table 3-11	Occupational Background of Legal Immigrants to the U.S. from Central America and Mexico, FY1970 to FY1974 and FY1975-1979	140
Table 3-12	Most Recent Occupation, Central American and Mexican Immigrants 1970-1980, Living in California in 1980, Over Age 15, by Sex	141

Table 3-13	English Ability of Those Employed Full-Time in 1979, Central American and Mexican Immigrants 1970-1980 Living in California in 1980, by Sex	143
Table 3-14	Economic Condition of Central Americans and Mexicans Immigrating Between 1970 and 1980, California 1979	145
Table A-1	Nicaraguan Community Respondents, San Francisco, 1984-1986	409
Table A-2	Community Organization Respondents, San Francisco	410

INTRODUCTION

The United States has been experiencing major social changes throughout the 1980's. This period has not been characterized by the visible social turmoil of the 1960's, when ghettos burned and national guards kept order at many college campuses. Instead, the 1980's has witnessed two less disruptive but major social trends that intersect in this dissertation: the "graying" of America and levels of immigration that approach the historic peaks of the turn of the century.

While sociology has been interested in the study of aging almost as long as it has been studying immigration, the two subjects are rarely studied in conjunction. The elderly in contemporary American society are not a significant part of the waged labor force, they are not involved in (biological) reproduction, and they generally have limited material and other resources. The result has been to usually conceptualize the elderly as marginal to contemporary society. Immigrants, however, most commonly join the American society and economy during their prime working and childbearing years. We know that they usually settle initially in ethnic communities, but little sociological inquiry has followed immigrants beyond their "productive years" in the community.

This dissertation addresses the issue of the elderly in an immigrant community. It is a case study of immigrant elderly in the Nicaraguan community of San Francisco during the mid-1980's. The Nicaraguan community during this period was experiencing a tremendous growth because of the new immigration from revolutionary Nicaragua. By not assuming that the elderly would be marginal to this process, this study has been able to identify ways in which the elderly were involved

in establishing a Nicaraguan immigrant community.

This research analyzes the Nicaraguan community at four different conceptual levels: symbols, interaction, institutions, and structure. The analysis shows that the political and economic forces at the structural level create conditions that keep the Nicaraguan immigrants separate from Anglo society. While these conditions make an immigrant community possible, they do not determine that a specifically Nicaraguan community must form. The dynamics that lead to a uniquely Nicaraguan community are based on the symbolic and interactional levels. The symbols and interactions can not exist in isolation, however, and they, in turn, depend on the institutional and structural levels.

The importance of the elderly in the formation of this community is shown analytically by drawing on the concepts of use value and exchange value. The elderly are found to contribute particularly to the use values contained in the community, while those use values also underlie many of the exchange values in the community. The most important noneconomic influence on the lives of the immigrants is found to be the use value of the community. The analysis of the importance of the Nicaraguan immigrant elderly in the production of use values in their community demonstrates how elderly persons can be involved in the intersection of the two major social trends of the 80's -- aging and immigration.

The following provides a brief chapter overview of this reseach.

Chapter 1: The Latino Elderly and Aging Theory

This chapter provides a review of the empirical literature on Latino elderly and a review of theoretical approaches to aging. The literature on Chicano and Latino elderly contains research that has

focused primarily on the elderly within a family context. The analysis of Latino aging usually has been interested in how familism explains the status of the elderly, how they cope with aging, and how gender dynamics among the elderly are constructed. The review of gerontological theory shows that the dominant theories are limited in their analysis of aging because their conceptualizations view the elderly as marginal to society. These theories also tend to focus on exchange processes when evaluating how the elderly relate to others in society. The chapter concludes by proposing that Latino elderly should also be studied in the community at large, with attention to the possibility that the elderly play an active role in shaping their environment and with attention to the constraints and opportunities that shape their action.

Chapter 2: Analytical Approaches to Community and Immigration

The theoretical literature on community and immigration is the core of this chapter, along with a proposed definition of community and substantive questions about how the elderly might be involved in community formation. The chapter begins with a consideration of the Chicago school of urban studies which was interested in how communities create new ties between people when traditional primary ties brake down. This individualist perspective takes a positive view of the community as a place that helps immigrants adapt to the new society and/or provide on-going meaning and survival strategies in people's lives. This theory is contrasted with political economy theory that is interested primarily in cities because of their importance as sites of production under capitalism. This structuralist theory examines the forces in cities that allow capital accumulation and that generate class conflict. Community, in the Chicago school sense of interpersonal relationships,

is considered by some political economists as a potential source of working class solidarity and class struggle in cities and hence a contradiction to capitalism. Reducing community to class, however, appears to ignore some fundamental aspects of community that can occur in more than one class. The review of immigration theory finds themes similar to those in the community literature. An alternative conceptualization of immigrant communities is presented that draws from the strengths of both the Chicago school and political economy traditions, identifying symbolic, interactional, institutional, and structural components of communities. Conceptualizing multiple analytical levels of communities draws attention to the need for new concepts to understand how the elderly are involved both in the community as a place of interaction and human meaning, and in the community as a place of capital accumulation and class struggle.

Chapter 3: The Demographic, Economic, and Political Outlines of the Nicaraguan Immigrant Community in San Francisco

This chapter provides an economic, demographic, and political overview of the Nicaraguan community in the San Francisco Bay Area. The data illustrate the important characteristics immigrants have brought as individuals to San Francisco, and identify some of the central structural conditions that frame the immigrants' lives. Based on interviews with long-time community residents, evidence is provided that there has been a small Nicaraguan community in San Francisco at least since the 1950's. Census data show that over half of the Bay Area households counted in 1980 containing Nicaraguans were located in the city of San Francisco. The 15,000 Bay Area Nicaraguans in 1980 included an unusually large proportion of older women, almost one-third of whom were living in extended families. Estimates are that the Nicaraguan

population has at least doubled or tripled since 1980.

The labor market of the San Francisco area is heavily dependent on services, retail trade, and government. Occupational data suggest that labor stratification in the Bay Area creates a "Latino" labor market in the fast growing service sector. The most common occupations of Nicaraguans reported in the 1980 census were service workers and operatives. Interview data confirm that the most common occupations of Nicaraguan immigrants continue to be cleaning services (janitors and maids) and factory operatives. While in similar occupations, the educational background and preimmigration occupational status of Nicaraguan immigrants is significantly higher than that of Mexican immigrants. The lack of substantial earnings differences between Nicaraguan and Mexican immigrants suggests that structural conditions are more important than individual characteristics in the economy. The orientation of political activity among Nicaraguans towards their homeland in the 1980's rather than towards local issues has contributed to the invisibility of Nicaraguan immigrants to the local government. These economic and political conditions of Nicaraguan immigrant settlement set them apart from mainstream Anglo society, but do not necessitate a specifically Nicaraguan community.

Chapter 4: Use and Exchange Value Theory Reconsidered

This chapter reviews the concepts of use value and exchange value and shows how the concepts can be modified to be useful in an analysis of the elderly in the community and society. The use-exchange distinction is taken from classical Marxist theory, though contemporary theorists have also used the concepts. Marx was interested in determining a quantitative exchange value of material objects to

document the method of exploitation in capitalist production. His analysis shows how the production of commodities for exchange produces an alienation of the producer from the product and other producers. It is helpful to modify the concepts of use and exchange value in several ways. First, it is necessary to present use and exchange values as dialectical types of production. Second, the use-exchange distinction can be applied to ideas and relationships, expanding the analysis of how people work together to create the means of their existence (including nonmaterial elements of human life) and to create history itself. Third, Marxist-feminist theory shows how Marx's concern over quantifying exchange values leads to overlooking the importance of much of the nonexchange production in the home and community. In addition to looking at quantitative rates of exchange, it is fruitful to study the relationships involved in the social organization of use and exchange production. Fourth, rather than using the term "production" that connotes a factory model, the term "creation" is proposed as a more accurate rendering of how use values come to exist in the community. These modified concepts suggest ways to discover how the elderly are involved in the creation and sustaining of their immigrant community.

Chapter 5: The Elderly in the Symbolic Community

This chapter analyzes how the elderly are involved in the creation and maintenance of the symbols that underlie the Nicaraguan community in San Francisco. Central Nicaraguan symbols in the community include language, religion, Nicaraguan social and cultural events, politics, and the country of Nicaragua itself. The use of Nicaraguan symbols in the community is demonstrated in the way that the symbols lie at the heart of the immigrants' world view. These symbols are important because of

their collective meaning, and the elderly recreate the symbols for their inherent qualities (use value). While the symbolism of being Nicaraguan is usually created by the elderly for its use value in providing identity and meaning, those same symbols can be used in an exchange context. The community symbolism created by the elderly can be contradictory, as when the elderly foster symbols of economic success that depend on exchange values.

Chapter 6: The Elderly in the Interactional Community

This chapter details the importance of interaction in the daily lives of the elderly and how that interaction contributes to the Nicaraguan community by increasing association and creating Nicaraguan relationships. Within linguistic and geographical boundaries, the elderly facilitate Nicaraguan centered association through their daily activities. Interaction also includes more than the impersonal level of association. The immigrants define Nicaraguan interaction as having a special warmth and sentimental value, while they perceive that Anglos interact in a colder and more utilitarian manner. The actions of the Nicaraguan elderly help to build a shared universe of Nicaraguan meaning that sets the Nicaraguan interactional context apart from other Latinos and from Anglos. The elderly are oriented primarily towards the establishment of relationships based on the use value of the relationships. The situated nature of relationships as use value and as exchange value is shown in the case of grandparents and childcare. The same interactions create different types of value depending on the definitions of the relationship by those involved. Regardless of the interactional definitions of the childcare, however, exchange values are always created by the provision of free or low cost child care by the

elderly. The exchange value produced may be irrelevant at the interactional level in the Nicaraguan community, but the exchange value of the childcare has consequences for the structural dimension of the community. Thus, the different types of value produced at one level of analysis may have differential effects across other levels of analysis.

Chapter 7: The Institutional Community and the Elderly

This chapter focuses on the fragmented but important institutional shape of the Nicaraguan immigrant community. The Nicaraguan community builds upon the institutional structure of the Latino Mission, though the institutional fragmentation contributes to the marginality of the Nicaraguan community in local politics. Important institutions include religion, service organizations, business and media, political groups, and social organizations. Despite the limited number of exclusively Nicaraguan institutions, the general Latino institutions provide the Nicaraguan community with legitimacy, an infrastructure, and a channel for resources.

Institutional funding and membership dynamics usually require that organizations base much of their support for the Nicaraguan community on the exchange value of their actions. Since only Nicaraguan social and political institutions depend on a specifically Nicaraguan community, the other institutions may be unreliable and contradictory sources of continuing support for the Nicaraguan community. Under the current historical conditions the actions of the elderly complement those of many Mission district institutions. The institutional structure facilitates intergenerational contact by providing an infrastructure within which the elderly participate in collective actions with other community members. The participation of the elderly in institutions can

be used to help legitimize the activities of various political, service, and social organizations. Volunteer labor of the elderly also provides a valuable resource for some institutions.

The use value of the community for the elderly puts them in a potentially contradictory relationship with the exchange value based institutions. Under different structural conditions, institutions would no longer profit from supporting a Nicaraguan community and would undermine the work of the elderly.

Chapter 8: Structural Forces in the Community and the Elderly

The structural level is shown in this chapter to provide the framework within which the Nicaraguan community has formed. The economic conditions of San Francisco have created a demand for immigrant labor since the 1850's when San Francisco became integrated into the world economy. This has established a pattern of reliance on nonwhites to fill low paying jobs, beginning with the Chinese and continuing with the Japanese and blacks. Nicaraguans and other Latino immigrants have fit into this segment of the workforce, providing the basis for shared lived experiences and establishing an economic base for the Nicaraguan community. The characteristics of the Nicaraguan community and Nicaraguan elderly in San Francisco are also tied to the political and economic power that the U.S. has exercised over Nicaragua in the 20th century. U.S. economic and cultural penetration of Nicaragua provides many immigrants with an understanding of U.S. institutions and other survival skills.

Actions of the U.S. state also frame the Nicaraguan community in San Francisco. Unlike the resettlement aid given to Cuban and Vietnamese refugees, Nicaraguan immigrants have received little state

assistance. The state may have an interest in slowing permanent Nicaraguan resettlement because the middle-class immigrants will be needed back in Nicaragua if the Sandinistas are overthrown. It is also possible that the Nicaraguan immigrant community has little state support because the state is using an anti-immigrant ideology to deflect blame for economic problems, and because of the State's fiscal crisis.

While not targeted specifically at immigrants, state programs for the elderly reach into the immigrant community. This financial support for the elderly contributes to Nicaraguan community members' definition of the state as benevolent. Valued social relationships cannot be provided for the elderly by money, however. Because elders are treated by Nicaraguans with respect and interpersonal warmth, immigrants usually perceive Nicaraguan society as better for the elderly. This is consistent with the analysis that the elderly are most interdependent with the Nicaraguan immigrant community through use values at the symbolic and interactional levels, and increasingly incorporated in the dominant political and economic system at the institutional and structural level through exchange values.

The immigrant community itself embodies both use and exchange values. The community serves as a reservoir of use value that immigrants draw from as they settle and become a part of the economic system. The community serves to organize exchange values as a point of contact between the dominant economy and the immigrants in the labor and commodity markets. The use values the elderly create that support community thus become part of the link between immigrants and the dominant society.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This chapter reviews the limitations of this study as well as the major findings. The chapter discusses the generalizability of the study to other immigrant groups and other elderly, the generalizability of the sample studied to the San Francisco Nicaraguan immigrant community, the limited attention in this study of the political division within the community, and the suggestive rather than conclusive nature of evidence at the structural level.

The study finds that the Nicaraguan immigrant community in San Francisco exists because of a conjunction of historic, political, and economic forces, combined with the actions of the elderly and other immigrants. External conditions constrain the immigrants from becoming incorporated into Anglo society, but do not necessitate the formation of a specifically Nicaraguan community. Many political and institutional forces in San Francisco support the existence of a generalized Latino community. The impetus for the formation of a specifically Nicaraguan community comes from the immigrants themselves, including the elderly. Building on the symbols and forms of relationships that they define as Nicaraguan, the immigrants create a common universe of meaning and make use of Mission district institutions in creating a community.

The elderly are central actors in the formation of the Nicaraguan community, particularly through their actions that create Nicaraguan symbols and encourage interpersonal interaction based on a Nicaraguan identity. By conceptualizing how those actions of the elderly create use values, the analysis of the elderly in the community can move beyond the family where much of the interaction occurs. The use values of Nicaraguan symbols and interactions also frequently have exchange value

for others in the community and for organizations.

The urban political economy's analysis of community as use value to its members is largely supported, though there is also an exchange value of community that is also important. The findings do not indicate that the use value of community is inherently contradictory to the exchange value of the city. Use values created by the elderly have worked both to support and to conflict with exchange values in the lives of the immigrants. Under the current conditions, the use value of community works primarily to complement the exchange values found in the economy and institutions. This indicates that by incorporating an analysis of use and exchange values into a study, it is possible both to conceptualize how the elderly are involved in different forms of collective action, and to determine the conditions that make collective action (in a community or elsewhere) useful to or conflicting with the structural forces of society.

Appendix A: Methodology

The appendix describes the methodological approach taken in this study. The process of formulating the final research question is dealt with at length by showing how the research moved from a study of the process of elders immigrating from Central American immigration to how the elderly are involved in forming and maintaining a Nicaraguan immigrant community. The process of recording data and beginning an analysis through fieldnotes and memos is described. The pacing and structuring of writing is a particularly important issue. Analytically, a synthesis of inductive and deductive strategies was used to develop the dissertation's framework of analysis and categories used. Some of the tensions faced in trying to address both micro and macro issues

theoretically and empirically in one study are also reviewed.

The data for this study come from one year of participant observation and informal interviews at a senior center that was used by Central American and other Latino immigrants during 1983-1985; a month of observation and formal interviewing in Managua, Nicaragua in February 1985; over thirty formal and numerous informal interviews with Nicaraguan immigrants in the San Francisco Bay Area during 1985-1986; over 20 formal interviews with representatives of organizations that serve or involve Nicaraguan immigrants during 1985-1986; a 1986 phone survey of Mission District churches; and data runs of the 1980 U.S. census public use microdata sample (PUMS) and published statistical information.

CHAPTER 1

THE LATINO ELDERLY AND AGING THEORY

This is the first of three chapters in this dissertation that review theories relevant to the study of the Nicaraguan elderly in immigrant community formation. It is necessary to cover a variety of social theories because the elderly in this study have two special characteristics: they are immigrants and Latinos. They are members of a community in the process of developing relations with the surrounding political and economic structure. As such, the Nicaraguan elderly live in a dynamic social context that should make their participation in the community more visible.

This chapter reviews the general themes contained in the literature on Chicano and Latino aging. The Chicano/Latino gerontology literature provides much empirical data but makes limited use of theory. The literature generally limits its analysis of Chicano/Latino elderly to the family, showing how familism explains the status of the elderly, how they cope with aging, and how gender dynamics among the elderly are constructed. The focus on family raises concerns in this literature about whether the Chicano/Latino family will continue to be supportive in the future.

The second half of this chapter provides an overview of the major sociological theories of aging and old age. The review shows that the dominant theories applied to aging limit the analysis of old age because they tend to focus on the elderly as marginal to social organization and social change. The theories also tend to conceptualize exchange processes as the primary way that individuals can make a contribution to society.

The chapter concludes by suggesting that the study of Chicano/Latino aging would be furthered by conceptualizing the elderly as active within arenas larger than the family, such as within communities. As a sociological study, this dissertation aims to build new theory so that we can more accurately analyze the situation of ethnic elderly. To do this, I suggest that we build upon both symbolic interaction and political economy theories to develop a conceptual scheme that makes the elderly analytically important actors within the community.

Empirical Studies on Chicano and Latino Aging

Research on Chicano/Latino aging has focused primarily on the interrelationship of aging and familism. With few exceptions, these studies are grounded in an analysis of familism as the driving force behind the relationship of the elderly to their families. The role of the elderly within the family continues to be cast in a romantic manner, not unlike the analyses of the Chicano family in the 1970's[1].

This section begins with a discussion of how familism is defined in order to increase our understanding of the analytic trends in Chicano/Latino aging studies. Empirical studies continue to find that the elderly in Chicano/Latino families are at the top of an age related status hierarchy and are part of an extended family network. Also these studies indicate that women gain in status as they age. The research usually draws upon an analysis of the positive functions of familism to explain these findings. The emphasis on the importance of the family for the elderly leads researchers to draw inferences about the future trends of Chicano/Latino families. These studies have practical applications in directing the provision of social services, but few of

them directly address important sociological issues. Most empirical studies of Chicano/Latino elderly lack an explicit theoretical framework (see also Aguirre & Bigelow 1983).

Chicano/Latino Elders and Familism[2]

The active involvement of Chicago/Latino elderly with extended families has been the most common theme of the academic literature. This literature also frequently examines how the family is involved with helping the elderly cope with the burdens and problems of aging in American society. In seeking to explain how the elderly can decrease their vulnerability and how society can keep the elderly integrated, the institution of the family has been conceptualized as the central institution in the lives of Chicano and Latino elderly. To understand and explain why Chicano/Latino elderly are more integrated into their families than are Anglo elderly, the concept of familism is usually drawn upon. Familism has been identified as an important component among Chicano (Baca Zinn 1982/1983; Flores-Ortiz 1978; Sena-Rivera 1979), Puerto Rican (Carrasquillo 1982; Doyle & Scarpetta 1982; Fitzpatrick 1971), and Cuban families (Boswell & Curtis 1984).

Familism has been conceptualized as a structural phenomenon, a structural outcome combined with a normative force, and a purely cultural condition. Writing from a structural position, Baca Zinn (1979) and Garcia (1981) discuss familism in terms of measurable structural components, including multi-generational households and extended kinship networks. Familism for these scholars is a structural form that most likely developed to provide economic and emotional support in the face of external hostility and exploitation. Others, such as Maldonado (1981) note that there is also a normative component

in familism. They conceptualize familism as including a cultural ideology that embodies attitudes and values that place the needs of the family above individual concerns. Doyle & Scarpetta (1982) and Mirande & Enriquez (1979) take the view that familism is primarily a cultural outcome. They focus primarily on the values and attitudes that reinforce an orientation towards the family as the most important part of an individual's life.

Social Status, Social Support, and the Reproduction of Gender

By setting an analysis of the elderly within the context of familism, researchers commonly make three conclusions. First, the extended family is described as offering high status and distinct roles to older family members. Second, the extended family provides the aged Chicano and Latino with social support. Third, familism perpetuates a traditional gender hierarchy that continues into old age.

Social status. The high status enjoyed by the elderly in the family is illustrated in works by Sotomayor (1973), Martinez (1979), Coles (1976), Clark (1969), U.S. Senate (1971), and Markides, Martin, & Gomez (1983). The high status of the elderly is generally presented as a continuance of a traditional pattern that is reinforced by the elder's role in passing on the culture and language to grandchildren (Boswell & Curtis 1984; Sotomayor 1973). Mirande and Enriquez (1979) caution that the influence of elders in the family is due to the respect given the elderly, but that this is not equivalent to social power outside of the family. The norms of elder status are more complex. Most studies show that Chicano/Latino elderly consider their status as high in the family, but at the same time express a value of orgullo (pride) that makes the elders not want to be a burden or dependent on family (Valle & Mendoza

1978, Carrasquillo 1982). Thus, elderly Chicanos/Latinos have been shown to be closely tied to their families but at the same time wanting to retain a degree of autonomy.

Much of the literature describes the elderly as having authority as a result of their roles in the socialization of children. Elderly men are viewed as functioning as historians and educators of values and heritage. Women, on the other hand, are portrayed as nurturing the young in religious and ceremonial practices in support of their general educational achievement (Martinez 1979).

Social support. Social support and caregiving are probably the most common consequence of Chicano/Latino familism noted that affect the elderly. Based on her study of Chicano grandparents in an urban barrio, Sotomayor (1973:321) describes the extended family as "a supportive and flexible structure assuming functions in dealing with the environment and with the emotional and psychological aspects of the family unit and individuals." She further notes that, regardless of physical or mental capability, the aged continue to be part of the extended family. Keefe (1984) examined the attitudes of Chicanos in three Southern California cities and found that Chicanos were highly oriented towards their families. For example, Chicanos agreed with statements claiming that older people should be cared for in the family rather than in an institution significantly more often than Anglos did. Similar findings are discussed by Doyle & Scarpetta (1982) and Fitzpatrick (1971) for Puerto Ricans, and by U.S. Senate (1971) and Boswell & Curtis (1984) for Cubans.

Keefe, Padilla, and Carlos (1979) operationalized the concept of social support by asking elders who they consulted when they needed

advice or were upset. The majority of the Chicano elders interviewed in Santa Barbara, California turned to their family when they were in need. Markides, Boldt, and Ray (1986) went even further and asked three generation Chicano family members who all lived in San Antonio, Texas who they would turn to for help and advice. All three generations overwhelmingly relied on family for advice on money matters, minor medical problems, personal problems, assistance with home repair, and for caretaking when sick. The elderly relied heavily on their children, while middle-aged Chicanos depended on both their parents and their adult children.

Other studies have provided comparisons of the support networks of Chicanos and other ethnic groups. Markides, Martin, and Gomez (1983) found that a sample of Chicano elders in San Antonio expected more assistance from their families than they actually received, while their elder Anglo peers expected less than they actually received. They also found that elderly Chicanos felt more isolated than Anglo elderly, which was explained as a function of differential expectations rather than of different behaviors. Dowd and Bengtson (1978) compared caregiving between Chicanos, blacks, and Anglos. They found that income and health differences increase between Anglos and Chicanos with age, while differences in primary group interaction tended to decrease.

Gender. Gender hierarchies, the third theme, are usually portrayed in research on Chicano/Latino elderly as a component of familism. Studies that focus on gender usually either take a social stratification approach or a cultural approach to gender stratification.

The social stratification approach empirically compares various socioeconomic and other statuses of the aged by race-sex groups. These

studies have illustrated, described, and compared the elderly minority status to that of their Anglo counterparts. The Chicana/Latina's distinct life process has been largely described by the triple risk hypothesis (Melville 1980; Lourdes 1979). This perspective extends the double jeopardy hypothesis (see Dowd & Bengtson 1978) by adding gender to the analysis of how age and race compound the disadvantages of racial and ethnic elderly women. A study of Chicana elderly (Melville 1980) showed how poorly they fared in a number of different areas of life such as economic and health status, morale, and community involvement. In comparison to both elderly Anglo women and elderly Chicano men, Chicanas were found to have lower incomes, generally poorer health, lower morale, and low community involvement. Overall, Chicanas have been described as being more disadvantaged with respect to frequently cited indicators of quality of life including health, income, housing, and/or life satisfaction.

While Chicana/Latinas are shown to be triply disadvantaged, the research shows that there is a lack of social services provided to Chicana/Latina elderly. The researchers emphasize the varied strengths of these women in the face of diverse social problems to illustrate their struggles in surviving with minimal social support (Martinez 1979; Melville 1980). This picture counters the traditional social science image of Chicanas and elders as passive and weak.

The cultural approach describes the characteristics of strength and vitality among older Chicana/Latina women, who nonetheless defer to the power of their spouses and men (Boone 1980; Coles 1976; Sanchez 1986; Sotomayor 1973). In general, Chicana elderly have been viewed from a traditional perspective where gender differences are neither challenged

nor questioned (Alvirez, Bean & Williams 1981; Mirande 1977). The elderly Chicana/Latina has been described as an expressive individual in the family and sustainer of the extended family structure. The role of the Chicana/Latina grandmother has been portrayed as the nurturing elder figure, child care provider, and facilitator of religious and cultural values (Boswell & Curtis 1984; Perez 1986; Fitzpatrick 1971).

Chicana elderly have also been recognized as focal individuals in the extended family. Households have formed largely around women mainly because of their role in child care. Alignments between women, both within the family and outside of it, often constitute the core of family networks. While same gender association is most common, older women perform a variety of tasks for their families (Markides, Boldt, & Ray 1986; Schmidt & Padilla 1983). Given this characterization, the Chicano family has been portrayed as a strong, resourceful unit with the Chicana as its center of survival. For example, according to Zepeda (1979:5), "The role of la abuela [grandmother] in the family is something most Mexicanos/Chicanos treasure." Notably, she has been considered as "the backbone of family endurance and the symbol of cultural survival" (p.5). The stories of an 87 and a 56 year old woman embody these traits:

> Louisa... is the matriarch of her family. A woman with strong ideas and a wealth of practical knowledge, she is regarded as the family advice-giver and chief storyteller.... At 56, Esperanza Salcido has always planned her life around her family. Her children are grown now, but her work of caring for others has changed very little. Today she looks after her young grandchildren. "Recently my dad got sick," she said, "so I'm taking care of him, too.... Yes, it's hard sometimes, but that's what families are all about." (Elsasser, MacKenzie, & Tixier y Vigil 1980:18, 62)

Social scientists have interpreted the role of Chicana elderly as active and dominant. Chicanas appear to increasingly play a dominant role in the extended family as they grow older. Some scholars note that

this contradicts the myth that the Chicano family is a patriarchal structure. This paradox has been explained by Maldonado (1975) as the consequence of high early death rates among Chicano men. Others attempt to explain it by simply noting that women weather the transition into old age better than men do. Male roles are seen as more tenuous and less well defined, providing fewer opportunities for elderly men to make themselves useful in their families in non-traditional, noneconomic ways (Velez 1978; Cuellar 1978).

This perspective implies that elderly Chicana's subordinate status is 'functional' for the physical and cultural survival of the family. Hence, for advocates of this approach, the continuity of the Chicano family appears to be embedded in the Chicana's domestic and caretaking role.

Studies consistently find that the family is an important force in the lives of Chicano/Latino elderly whether familism is conceptualized as a structural, cultural, or a combined phenomenon. The conceptualizations diverge when studies try to predict the future of familism and the consequences for the elderly. The future of familism has become an important policy issue because many of the problems of Anglo elderly have been associated with the perceived abandonment by Anglos of their elderly. Researchers want to know whether familism will continue to serve its supportive functions for Chicano/Latino elderly.

The Future of the Elderly in the Family

The structural analysis of familism implies that it will persist among Chicanos and Latinos as long as it is functional under existing structural conditions. One perspective predicts that familism will remain functional in the foreseeable future. Baca Zinn (1975:18)

identifies Chicano familism as "an historical operation which the Chicano family has performed in protecting individuals from the hostilities of Anglo society." This view often argues that Chicano kinship ties remain even in urban centers because of its usefulness to family members (Baca Zinn 1979; Miller 1979). Some stress that while Chicano and Latino families may be changing from their traditional forms, familism continues to provide a central source of meaning and support for the elderly (Newton & Ruiz 1980; Fitzpatrick 1971). Cuellar (1978) has also shown that the elderly are able to create modified extended families with other elderly persons and more distant relatives when the immediate family is not available.

A different variant of the structural analysis predicts that the structural conditions of Chicanos and Latinos will change over time. This analysis argues that younger Chicanos will rise in social status, become more mobile, and increase the physical distance between themselves and their kin. This changing structural position also decreases familial interdependence and would decrease the ability of the elderly to depend on their families (Valle 1983; Queralt 1983). The two positions agree that external exploitation perpetuates familism because of its protective functions, but they disagree on whether or not Chicanos and Puerto Ricans are moving into the economic mainstream.

Those who conceptualize familism as both structural and cultural note that the combination of forces may perpetuate familism. Familism in the Cuban family can be explained by a combination of the cultural traits brought from Cuba along with the organization of the economy in Miami (Perez 1986). Research shows that the pathway to economic success for Cubans is through the family, making the continuation of familism

important to increased prosperity (Portes & Bach 1985). The literature on Chicanos shows how the family structure is becoming more "modified," with decreased levels of intergenerational households but continued strong familial norms (Keefe, Padilla, & Carlos 1979). This literature proposes that although the elderly will not continue to be members of multigenerational households in which they make "functional" contributions and hold ultimate authority, the elderly may still expect to receive mutual aid from family members and still expect to be highly regarded.

The normative interpretation generally sees the process of modernization and assimilation weakening familism (Maldonado 1975; Nunez 1975; Salgado 1985). Family closeness is seen as declining because traditional rural norms disappear as younger generations acculturate to the modern industrial Anglo norms of individualism and geographic mobility. As a consequence, older Chicanos are increasingly suffering from isolation and alienation. According to Jackson (1985), ethnicity is primarily caused by self identification, with the structural position of the group having a minor influence. If culture is the dominant force in familism, acculturation could decrease familism even if the structural position of Chicanos and others does not change.

Thus, studies of both the current condition of Chicano/Latino elderly and predictions of the future of aging for Chicanos and Latinos rely heavily on an analysis of the family with little connection to broader theoretical issues. Research that frames its analysis of Chicano/Latino aging solely within familism fails to ask many other important questions because few studies are explicitly grounded in gerontological theory.

Chapter 1

The following review of theories of aging demonstrates some of the conceptual concerns that are being developed in the field of gerontology. While each of these theories could be used to suggest ways to broaden the research done on Chicano/Latino elderly (see Wallace & Facio, forthcoming), the following review of theories points to the limitations of the gerontological theories. While the theories are not limited to an analysis of the elderly within the family, they are limited in that they conceptualize the elderly as marginal members of society who have little impact on social organization or social change.

Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Aging

The sociological study of aging is still in its intellectual adolescence. Mannheim (1952 [1927]) was one of the earliest sociologists who wrote about aging when he framed the issue as "The Problem of Generations." Aging was of interest to Mannheim because he found that age creates a special type of social relationship. Like the concept of class, generation signifies a type of social relationship bound by concrete historical circumstances, but does not involve a concrete group like a community. Mannheim defined as concrete those groups like the family and community that have specific purposes and involve willed ties. Also, members of concrete groups often know each other. Generations, in contrast, are built upon common relationships within historical eras. Membership in a common generation often determines certain aspects of the behavior and thinking because the structural position of each generation provides distinct constraints on and opportunities for experiences and actions.

Mannheim was concerned with creation and modification of knowledge. This led him to consider that generations were important because they

act to retain a social continuity. Unlike biological evolution where innovation arises in new generations independently of the old generation, social change is build upon the knowledge and understandings of previous generations. Older generations are important for society because they help retain social continuity by transmitting ideas, culture, and relationships to younger generations. Because the younger generations may have different experiences from the older generations, the young are able to modify the knowledge of the elders so that it reflects their own historical context. Mannheim's essay was important because it stressed the social and cultural factors involved in aging, and represented aging as a dynamic and societal phenomenon.

Talcott Parsons was the other major theorist who wrote about aging before the 1950's. Parsons's conceptualized age as a social role, like sex and occupation (1954 [1942]). This theory has probably been the most influential theory in gerontology. In this conceptualization, aging involves the passage through a series of different roles, from childhood to adolescence to adulthood to old age. Each role has a differently organized system of participation for an individual in the social system, with specific normative expectations and sanctions. The role of the elderly is integrated into the set of roles in society that are interdependent and that provide the most functional manner of social organization resulting in stability. From this approach have come gerontological theories about disengagement and activity, along with more general theories of stress and social support that are commonly used in studies of the elderly. This heritage will be clearly seen in the review of functionalist theories later in this chapter.

The other approaches to studying aging included in this review have drawn on age stratification theory, exchange theory, symbolic interactionism, political economy, and the life-course. This is not intended to be an exhaustive review of gerontological theory, but rather a selective review of approaches that can show strengths and weakness in different approaches to looking at Latino elderly in the community.

Common to all of these approaches, I will contend, is that their conceptualization of basic social forces is on exchange type transactions. Exchange relations involve the creation and circulation of human needs based on the criteria of their exchange potential rather than on the basis of meeting human needs. While exchange theory is the most obvious example of theory that conceptualizes human interaction as instrumental and rational, even functionalism relies on an exchange logic when it conceptualizes the creation of values as a medium or tool of social integration. In 20th century America this emphasis on exchange reflects the increasing growth of market type relationships that mediate people's lives. Chapter 4 of this dissertation develops an alternative to this exchange centered conceptualization for analyzing the elderly.

Functionalist Theories

Age stratification. Riley's functionalist systems approach to aging is currently one of the most influential theories that addresses aging. Riley (1985, 1972) develops a concept of age as an integral stratum in the total stratification system of society. In presenting a macro-structural view of aging, Riley depends on the concepts of cohort and role for placing the elderly in the social system. The process of aging involves the movement of cohorts through successive social roles,

while old age is a stratum of persons who share similar role expectations and sanctions due to their age. Age strata are divided by the attitudes, capacities, and socially sanctioned rights of the individuals in each stratum.

Stratification is not static in Riley's analysis (1985) because society itself changes over time. These changes occur because people and roles change within society and because external forces such as technological change, wars, and depressions. Because society changes, the experience of aging is different for each cohort in society and the composition of the age stratification system changes. While age, sex, and class stratification change, they are a necessary part of all societies. Riley's concept of social change connotes the incremental evolutionary change common to functionalist analyses.

Drawing from Mannheim, Riley (1972) asks how a person's position in the age structure of society affects the individual's attitudes and behavior. The age structure is those "roles within which people are performing" (1985:372, emphasis added). Her emphasis on how social structure and external roles impact individuals reflects functionalism's "over socialized concept of man" (Wrong 1961). The genesis and arrangement of roles in society are not questioned; roles are assumed to exist as functionally necessary for society and normatively agreed upon. Feedback loops allow roles to change on a social level, with the roles of the elderly articulated with the roles of younger people. The historical experiences associated with cohorts are increasingly important according to Riley (1985), because the educational differences between cohorts that have distinguished them from other cohorts during the past century are decreasing. Riley posits that education is working

to break down other types of stratification in society, such as class and race, by creating additional routes for upward mobility. The implication of this theory is that age will become an increasingly important criteria for social differentiation in the future.

Riley's major contribution to an investigation of the importance of the elderly in society is that she draws attention to how age can be conceptualized as a basic organizing principle in society. This makes the process of aging (vs. the situation of old age) the central theoretical focus and analyzes the elderly using concepts that are valid for all age groups. She is also careful to distinguish between the different concepts of age, cohort, and period. Age refers to the lifetime of an individual while period refers to the historical context that the individual lives in. The aggregate of persons of similar age who pass through similar periods forms a cohort (or generation in Mannheim's terms). Characteristics that we may attribute to the elderly today may be causally related to the fact that they lived through the depression rather than a result of their age.

The functionalist assumption that roles in society are integrated has led to unending research on maladaptive responses to the aging role. Most of these studies investigate how stress is generated when individuals have problems meeting role expectations, when there is disequilibrium in the lives of the elderly, or when there is not internal consistency in age related role expectations, facilities, and sanctions. The companion set of studies investigates how social support for the elderly compensates or delays stress, keeping the elderly integrated into their roles and society. The goal of most of these studies is to understand the forces that lead to health and/or well-

being for the elderly so that measures can be taken to insure that the elderly are content with their role in modern society.

Stress and coping studies implicitly "blame the victim" by conceptualizing social problems as the responsibility of the individual. Janson and Mueller's (1983) note the dominance of these functionalist studies in social gerontology is shown by estimating that 30% of the gerontology literature is devoted to the topic of well-being and morale. They note that the most consistent findings on the topic are that income and health are strongly related to subjective reports of happiness. This research is used to suggest that more income and better health care would improve individuals' coping with their roles. The functionalist perspective suggests that only minor tinkering with government programs will make society perfect, rather than suggesting that there are inherent inequalities in the current structure of society that will always result in some people not having enough income or health care.

Modernization Theory. Modernization theory, while not a theory specifically of aging, has been used frequently to provide an historical perspective to analyses of aging. Modernization theory posits that the elderly are valued in agricultural society because they are able to retain power over their land and have socially useful knowledge. In industrial societies the elderly lose their importance in the family and society because they no longer control essential resources. The norms and family forms in agricultural societies where the elderly were valued become dysfunctional in industrial societies. According to modernization theory (Cowgill & Holmes 1972), strong family ties, extended kin networks, and the centrality of family all hinder individual mobility, limit the desire to achieve independently, and

divert national loyalties which are all needed to succeed in a modern industrial society. Since placement in the stratification system as depends on achieved rather than ascribed characteristics, universalistic, achievement oriented, instrumental values are proposed as the key to incorporation and mobility in the industrial economy and society. The emphasis in this theory is how the state of technology affects the roles that the elderly can hold in society.

Modernization theory has been used in the Latino gerontological literature to explain some of the characteristics of Latino aging, especially the high status of elders and high levels of support given by families to the elderly. The position of the elderly is most commonly described as a traditional holdover from Latino's less-modern national backgrounds[3]. The traditional role of the elderly in this research is seen as passing on values and culture to the younger generation, with the family as the center of these activities. Modernization theory generally assumes that as time progresses, the influences of living in a modern society will change the values and roles of the elderly in Latino families. Eventually, therefore, all elders will have the same problems as white elderly. Schools and the media are now seen as usurping the roles the elderly used to fulfill, increasingly leaving the elderly without a useful role in the Chicano family (Korte 1980). This theory proposes that as soon as the elderly have no valued resources (e.g. knowledge) to exchange they will become marginal to society.

The rate that this modernization of the Latino family will occur is debated since some researchers conceptualize the Latino barrio as a refuge from the economic exploitation that most Latinos face. As a refuge, the barrio serves to reinforce the old cultural patterns and may

delay the modernization of the family (Becerra 1983). The Cuban ethnic enclave in Miami, for instance, may slow the modernization of the family (Boswell & Curtis 1984). Modernization theory is based on evolutionary principles, however, and predicts that all cultures and societies eventually change in a relatively unidirectional manner towards Western industrial patterns. Because this approach conceptualizes modernization as occurring through the workplace and family, it does not allow for an analysis of the elderly as active participants in the larger community. Looking at the elderly only within the family is a critical oversight since many researchers conceptualize the community as a countervailing force to modernization.

The Life Course Perspective. The life course perspective builds on functionalist theory but attempts to develop a less deterministic view of aging. It has a more volitional theory of human action, though action is still constrained by roles. The perspective attempts to devise explanations that overcome the confounding elements of time, culture, and cohort to provide concepts that are universally applicable.

The life course is conceptualized as a sequence of roles that an individual experiences throughout a lifetime (Neugarten 1985). The individual is confronted with many alternative paths for progressing through life's stages. With each succeeding choice of paths, the diversity of roles in the population increases. As a result, it becomes more and more difficult to predict the roles or positions an individual will occupy purely from the person's age. The age system of society, however, broadly defines the time at which it is appropriate to engage in particular roles such as marriage, parenthood, work, or retirement.

Life experiences are often viewed as constituting a "life cycle." Aging, in this view, is an inevitable process moving the individual from one stratum to the next, integrating their experiences into a coherent whole (Levinson 1978). Because few individuals seem to experience their lives as cyclical in nature, however, the concept of a cycle appears inappropriate.

In the life course perspective individuals can show continued development during most of their lives, adding a dynamic character to the study of aging. While growth and change in children is readily apparent and has been exhaustively studied by the social and medical sciences, conceptualizing adults and the elderly as capable of change and development has been a recent advance in gerontology[4]. The life course concept shows how people, as they age, are capable of constructing and assuming new roles and tasks as dictated by later life stages (Gould 1978, Levinson 1978, Rossi 1985, Sheehy 1978).

The life course perspective provides a sensitivity that aging is a process rather than a static state of being. There is no research that looks at Chicano or Latino elderly in reference to their earlier lives. Such a focus might point out continuities with earlier periods that would help us predict what the social position of Chicano/Latino elderly will be in 20 years. From the empirical research on gender we note that women, during their childbearing years, are responsible for raising the children, taking care of domestic duties (cooking, cleaning, etc.), and providing emotional and medical help to kin. If we focus only on elderly women we overlook that their responsibilities in the family are continuations of their earlier roles. By ignoring the life course of the elderly woman we lose sight of the continuity and erroneously

attribute these characteristics to age rather than gender.

Life course theory makes universalistic claims based on studies of white middle class individuals. I would question, however, the cross cultural validity of concepts that are used in this approach, such as the "mid-life crisis" or the "empty nest syndrome". By formulating the life course as based on continuity rather than seeing it as a series of building blocks, the theory cannot explain the often discontinuous nature of human experience. The theory can not explain how social movements or historical events can change the consciousness of individuals, for example turning traditional grandmothers into human rights activists in Latin America.

Functionalism and Aging. The functionalist theories reviewed above approach aging as a situation where the elderly have only little control over the aging process and where they are largely marginal to society. The approaches all rely on the central concept that there are specific roles associated with aging. These roles "offer differential opportunities and rewards to people in the several age strata, affecting the choices available and influencing behavior and attitudes" (Riley 1985:379). The roles are created at a societal level, while individuals select from among available roles or are allocated and socialized into them. The primary forces in changing the social roles include the impersonal forces of technology, the malintegration of values and roles, and demographic shifts. In contemporary American society, the functionalist perspective locates the elderly in a functional position in society. The old age role exists in a specific form because it is (or was) complementary to other age roles and allows society to function at an optimal level. These actions of the elderly are oriented towards

the norms of the society.

Some functionalist theories, such as modernization and disengagement theory, offer an analysis of the role of the elderly that is based on the utility of the elderly to material wealth of a society. Since the theories argue that the elderly are of little value in an industrial society, the elderly are marginal and devalued. Theories of age stratification and the life course also base their evaluation ultimately on an evaluation of utility. According to Hagestad and Neugarten (1985), for example, age grading ensures "that key societal functions are being met, and that human capacities are being appropriately utilized" (p. 36, emphasis added). The spheres where people are most common evaluated are in the family and work. For the elderly, this perspective finds "few social expectations of how older people should invest time and energy" (Hagestad & Neugarten 1985), implying that society has little need of the time and energy of the elderly.

Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism has been applied in various ways to the study of aging. The central theme running through the interactionist studies of aging is that social "aging" is a highly contingent phenomenon that is created through interaction. Interactionists rely on concepts that give the human actor an active place in the creation of society by looking at how individuals are involved in making roles and how aging can be seen as a career. In contrast to functionalist theory that tends to portray individuals as reacting to structurally defined roles and sanctions, interactionism provides an analysis of individuals as creatively acting to define and shape the world around them.

Interactionist research is unique in trying to present the elder's subjective perspective on aging, providing us with data on the experience of aging.

Interactionist research on aging has argued against the disengagement perspective and related analyses that analyze the elderly as marginal to society. Hochschild's (1973) research on a senior housing unit is one of the most commonly cited works on this theme. She was interested in how the elders themselves perceived their living situation and how they constructed a meaningful world from their interactions with others. Simply looking at the objective context, she argues, can be misleading.

> A widowed grandmother living with her children can **feel** very isolated. The old person living in the midst of a busy social life of a retirement community may not know a soul. The context is one thing and what an individual makes of it is another. (Hochschild 1973:26)

Instead of a group of isolated elders who were disengaging from society and waiting to die, however, she found an active community with a distinctive subculture, role models, and mutual aid patterns.

The strength of this work, and others like it (see Ross 1978, Becker 1980, Myerhoff 1978), is that it not only shows the challenges that the elderly face, but it also provides an example of how some elders have creatively approached those challenges. When social contact with family or coworkers decreased, the elderly in Hochschild's study recreated meaningful relationships with other elders in their housing project. As old roles were dropped, such as caring for children, some elders created new roles like caring for their disabled neighbors, demonstrating that the elderly can be active participants and shapers of their immediate environment.

Unruh (1983) provides another variation of the interactionist perspective that shows how the elderly continue to be active members of society. By focusing on "social worlds," Unruh moves the level of analysis from a small community to larger networks of persons in communications. In this formulation the key link between the elderly is the pattern of communications among individuals. The focus on communications moves beyond associations based on common residence in housing projects or other concrete organizational forms. Unruh further examines how people orient their lives and perceptions to worlds of meaning important to them in the past or the present (or occasionally the future). The concept of social worlds illustrates why age homogeneous groups form, even when age has not been designated as an organizing factor for those social worlds. Unruh's (1983) work identifies processes that influence the elder's degree of involvement in different social worlds. He identifies each process as being affected by the resources an older person brings to the task. Unruh also examines the elderly in isolation from most other social forces in society.

The concepts of status passage and careers are the core of Marshall's (1980) attempt to provide an interactionist paradigm on aging. Marshall suggests that we consider how the elderly are involved in negotiating the meanings that others give to their lives and the meanings they hold themselves of "aging." What makes aging unique is that, unlike marriage or a job, there is no exit during the aging status passage because the status that comes after being old is dying. Rather than trying to achieve some goal in the career (e.g. promotion, diploma, etc.), the process of aging itself becomes the focus because there is no

"afterwards." Based on the fundamental symbolic interactionist precept that all humans try to give their experience meaning, Marshall argues that approaching death leads the elderly to try to come to terms with death itself and to review the meaning of their lives.

Dowd's (1980) work on exchange theory has been another influential approach to aging from an interactionist-type position. Dowd is concerned with the use of and control over resources that the elderly bring to interactions and the conditions under which their resources are limited (as in modern society). He conceptualizes resources broadly, including material (e.g. wealth), symbolic (e.g. beauty), and relational (e.g. friendships) resources. Any disengagement of the elderly from society is due not to role loss, but to the deterioration of their ability to profit from exchanges made in interactions. Because they can no longer profit, they withdraw from exchange networks. His analysis of exchange is mediated in part by the meanings that each actor attributes to the matters under negotiation, showing Dowd's grounding in symbolic interactionism. Dowd argues that exchange theory rounds out symbolic interactionism by calling attention to power differences in relationships.

Dowd (1980) assumes that people try to maximize their return in each exchange. He does allow for behavior that does not follow a rational economic model by noting that other criteria, such as altruism or status consistency, may also underlie individual's approaches to exchange. Mutran and Reitzes (1984) also modified exchange theory's dependence on the self interest as the sole motivation for action. They operationalized exchange theory and found that in some instances the elderly worked to maximize their exchanges while at other times they

worked more towards equitable exchanges. Neither of these approaches specify units or classifications of what can be exchanged.

Rather than examining how people creatively try to maximize their exchanges and stabilize their social position through exchange, Miller (1986) tries to objectively evaluate the degree of equality in exchange by developing a classification of the nature of different resources. She identifies three dimensions of relationships where exchanges can occur: belonging/affirmation, interdependence/aid, and intimacy/affect. Miller criticizes exchange theory for implying that reciprocal exchanges must be made within each dimension within a limited timeframe. If affection is given, for example, exchange theory would suggest that affection must be returned for there to be an equal exchange. In her schema, receiving instrumental aid in exchange for past affection could be considered an even exchange. This approach would be useful in examining social relationships of unequal power and exploitation because of its attention to the rates of exchange over time.

A common criticism of symbolic interactionism is that it does not adequately address the issue of power (Hall 1977). Exchange theory's conceptualization of each interaction being a trade of resources makes it easier to analyze power relationships. Power, according to Dowd (1980), is the ability to satisfy one's needs without having to depend on or become indebted to others[5]. The key to this independence is the possession of objects, traits, or qualities that are socially defined as desirable. Unequal access to these power resources determines social status and life chances. The genesis of the maldistribution of resources in society is credited to modernization and the routinization of unequal exchanges.

One of Dowd's goals is to show that there is diversity in the situation of the elderly; not all elders are middle-class but neither are all elders poor and devalued. The lives of the elderly vary because of the variable resources of the actors involved. His structural assumptions are that the organization of society reflects the interests of the dominant class; that this is sustained through political, economic, & educational power; and that legitimacy is enhanced through socialization but is changeable. While Dowd invokes the concept of class and power, his use of these concepts is nonMarxist since his key historical variable is "modernization" (vs. "capitalism") and he does not link the resources he considers (conceptually or otherwise) to the social organization of production.

Exchange theory takes a narrow view by theorizing only the actual exchange process without paying attention to how the supply and the demand for the resources are created and mediated. Dowd (1980) does discuss how the **value** of resources varies by historical period, i.e. based on past exchanges. The concept of demand is never theorized, even though supply and demand are central concepts in his use of classical economics. Demand, it seems to me, would best be tied to a concept of human needs, requiring theories about the variety of human needs and how historical and status factors affect those needs as well as the different ways these needs are satiated. In fact, sometimes the presence of a supply of a resource or good can create the demand (such as in computers [material object] or romantic love [ideological/emotional]).

Perhaps the greatest weakness of most exchange theory is that it assumes that people constant are aware of the value of the exchanges

that they make and consciously conceptualize all of their interactions in exchange terms. All interaction then must be value oriented, leaving no possibility of action interaction as an end in itself. If the analysis of exchange rates depends on how individuals value what they get out of the exchange, but they do not approach an interaction as a means (i.e., as an exchange), then the analysis breaks down.

Bastida (1984) used the exchange framework in her study of Cuban elders in a Miami senior center. Because these elders had been uprooted from their homeland in middle age, functionalist theory would predict that these elderly would experience greater role loss and role strain than native elderly. Like the earlier interactionist studies that found "unexpected communities" among the elderly, Bastida found the elder Cubans were quite active in reconstructing social worlds where they were effective and valued actors. Drawing on exchange theory, Bastida was most interested in how the elder Cubans reestablished beneficial rates of exchange within their social circles and in formal organizations.

The elder Cubans that Bastida (1984) studied determined the terms of exchange in interaction. Resources that the elderly had were not immediately visible and had to be asserted during each exchange. The most common resources that the Cuban elders mobilized were charm, integrity, and knowledge, none of which are necessarily age linked. Because the elderly spoke Spanish, the elderly were at a disadvantage when they were engaged in exchange with younger English speaking people who had more resources. Much of the article details strategies that the Cuban elders used in impression management, strategies that do not seem different from ways other people engage in impression management (see Goffman 1959). This demonstration that Cuban elders can creatively

maximize their interactional power draws attention to the structural conditions that put the elders in a disadvantaged position. If we find that minority elderly try to act in ways most advantageous to them, then we should "question less often the problematic individual characteristics of older minority persons and more often the characteristics of the social structure under which their individual biographies and collective histories unfold" (Bastida 1984:470).

Bastida's point may be interactionism's most important contribution to an understanding of the importance of the elderly in the community and society. Using interactionist concepts we can learn how the elderly in specified circumstances work to create meaningful lives and to make the most out of their situations. If they remain marginal, depressed, or poor, we need to then turn our attention to how contextual social forces constrain the actions and meanings of the elderly in ways that prevent them from achieving a desired state.

While interactionist theories provide a concept of the elderly as actively involved in shaping the world, they generally fail to place the elderly in a larger analysis of society. Many of the theoretical developments are generated from studies of age segregated sites, with little attention to how these articulate with other actors in society. While these studies have dispelled the notion that all the elderly are helpless and isolated individuals, interactionist theory has failed to provide a complete analysis of the social construction of aging and its consequences. Exchange theory places its analysis of aging in a broader theoretical context, but fails to consider interactions as theoretically important unless they are part of an exchange process. Since the resources used in exchange tend to decrease with age, this theory can

explain the devalued status of the elderly but is of limited use in exploring the contribution that the elderly make to society.

Political Economy of Aging

The use of a political economy analysis in the substantive field of aging is relatively new. Political economy generally takes the structural forces of social organization as its level of analysis. Rather than looking to individuals or technology as primary causal forces in society, political economy is ultimately concerned with the social relations of production. Contemporary Western society is conceptualized as capitalist, normally operating by class hegemony aimed at capital accumulation, and capable of change by class struggle around systemic contradictions (Alford & Friedland 1985).

In recent years, general political economy research and theory has increasingly focused on the state as a key structural component of advanced capitalism. The rise of the welfare state, and recent attacks on it, have led some researchers with an interest in aging to turn to political economy as a tool for understanding how the state is involved in shaping the lives of the elderly (e.g. Estes, Gerard, Zones & Swan 1984; Evans & Williamson 1984; Phillipson 1982). This interest in the state has complemented an interest by some in how needs of capital accumulation influences the elderly (Graebner 1980). The political economy of aging has also been used to try to understand how aging influences and/or is influenced by class (Guillemard 1982). Traditional concepts of class apply to workers and owners of wealth, making the class identification of retired workers ambiguous. Only a beginning has been made in conceptualizing the class position of the elderly (Estes, Swan, & Gerard 1982). If the elderly are assigned a class position, a

political economy analysis can be used to examine how the elderly are involved in class struggle and class stratification. The focus in all this research has been on the Anglo elderly population.

While the political economy of aging literature does not address minority or third world elderly, research on the political economy of race and ethnicity indicate possible future directions for political economy analyses of aging. The debate about the salience of race and class includes

(1) those who take a more Weberian approach by conceptualizing class as a driving force while also conceptualizing race as a semi-autonomous factor (e.g. Barrera 1979, Wilson 1978, Portes & Bach 1985),

(2) those who find that race is epiphenomenal and will disappear when class does (Lieberson 1980, Steinberg 1981),

(3) those who explain all racial phenomena through an exclusive examination of the international class structure and dynamics (Bonacich 1980).

The basis of most of these works is the old question of why some racial and ethnic groups have experienced upward mobility in the U.S. while others have not. The researchers try to uncover the bases of groups' social and economic position in society to explain past systems of economic stratification and to predict the conditions under which racial and ethnic distinctions will persist.

Aging. The three major issues that political economy analyses address with respect to aging are the consequences of the needs of capital accumulation for the elderly, the role of the state in shaping aging, and the consequences of the elderly's class position. The

relationship of persons of different ages to the means of production is the key variable in these analyses rather than age per se.

The first major focus has been to look at how the imperatives of capital accumulation and the reproduction of the capitalist system influence aging. Phillipson (1982), Walker (1981) and Graebner (1980) all analyze the history of retirement and the creation of old age as a necessity caused by the development of Western capitalism. They argue that the social organization of production under the profit oriented factory system made it necessary to remove people from the production process as they aged. Retirement was an impersonal and egalitarian method of regulating the workforce and maximizing productivity.

> For business, retirement meant reduced unemployment, lower rates of turnover, a younger, more efficient, and more conservative workforce; for labor, it was in part a way of transferring work from one generation to another in industries with a surplus of workers. (Graebner 1980:13)

Retirement is not viewed as a life stage but a necessity for the operation of capitalism (Guillemard 1982). Further, when capitalism suffers periodic economic crises, the elderly and the working class absorb most of the costs through a decreased standard of living (Phillipson 1980). The elderly in this analysis are a group of persons who are used in helping to stabilize the capitalist mode of production.

Diamond (1986) examines how the logic of capital accumulation influences the organization of nursing home care. He notes that to generate profits in nursing homes, caregiving has to be converted from a relationship to a commodity. As the logic of profit becomes primary, elderly patients lose their personhood and become recipients of reimbursable commodities.

A second focus in political economy research on the elderly is the state. This is a natural starting point for a contemporary political economy analysis of aging because of the myriad of state programs and policies that affect the elderly (Lee & Estes 1979). The state is conceptualized as involved in the maintenance of social conditions that maximize private profits, while minimizing costs to capital. State programs for the elderly both socialize costs of production (e.g. retirement benefits) and provide new fields for capital accumulation (e.g. assisting nursing home construction).

The state is often conceptualized as an organizational entity that works to the benefit of capitalism. Evans and Williamson (1982), for example, suggest that social security was introduced in the U.S. in order to reduce social disorder without making any serious redistributive changes in society. The state stepped in during a period of capitalist crisis and helped stabilize the system (see also Piven & Cloward 1971). By assuming the costs of providing public pensions, medical care, and social services to the elderly, the state socializes the costs generated by capitalist production. Since taxes come disproportionately from workers' incomes, business profits are enhanced when the state assumes these burdens. The state also gains legitimacy from workers by providing benefits to retired workers, obscuring somewhat the preferential treatment the state gives capital.

With the income of most elderly currently mediated by the state, the elderly have become particularly vulnerable in times of economic crisis (Myles 1984). To legitimate government fiscal cutbacks, rising state expenditures can be blamed on the growing size of the elderly population and the "generous" program benefits available to them. This

rhetoric obscures the large and increasing state support for capital accumulation via tax breaks and enhanced funding for the military (Estes 1983).

State programs that provide for the health care of the elderly are analyzed as being particularly useful in insuring payment and profits to medical interests, often at the expense of nonmedical measures that might be of more benefit to the elderly (Vladeck 1980). Social and medical services provided to the elderly are oriented towards individual problems rather than social issues, reproducing the individualist ideology necessary in a capitalist society. This approach helps establish careers and professions that benefit from social work programs more than the elderly do (Estes 1979). In this analysis of the state and aging the dynamics of old age are a consequence of the role that the state plays in reproducing itself and the capitalist system.

A third focus in the writing on the political economy of aging tries to conceptualize the class position of the elderly. A class analysis involves examining the relationship of groups to the means of production, but older people are generally not involved in commodity production. Walker (1981) adopts a basic Marxist formulation to determine the class position of the elderly based on their preretirement class position. Estes, Swan, and Gerard (1982) expand the concept of "class" to encompass a coherent social and cultural existence in addition to economic criteria, enlarging the Marxian concept to include factors that still affect elders who are not wage laborers. In general, they conceive class dynamics as being comparable to the more general process of domination. Overall, this work is more suggestive than definitive.

Assigning the elderly a class position has been useful in examining how class based social practices influence the elderly. Estes (1980) describes a class bias in public programs for the elderly where the wealthier elderly benefit from unstigmatized and less politically volatile programs while the poor elderly are left with a second class system. Walker (1981) shows how the life of retirees depends largely on their preretirement class position. In general, the interest in the class location of the elderly has been on their subordination and dependency rather than on how they may be involved in class struggle. This tends to place the elderly in the position of passive victims of capital exploitation rather than investigating how they may be involved in resisting exploitation.

Race/Ethnicity. The political economy analysis of aging has not yet extended to ethnic elderly. While there is an active debate within the political economy of race and ethnicity about the analytical independence of race, this body of theory has not addressed the elderly. The following overview of the debate about race is provided to suggest how a political economy of aging might incorporate the concept of race.

The first analysis argues that both race and class have some causal force in oppressing minorities. Wilson (1978) states the race is not epiphenomenal, although he finds that currently "the life chances of individual blacks have more to do with their economic class position..." (p.1). Wilson concludes from historical research that racial ideologies and politics have both had causal effects in the economic arena in the past that cannot be reduced to economics, although class has become the more important. He argues that in the contemporary economy, class relations have become the primary constraint of access to power and

privilege for Blacks while racial conflict has shifted to the political arena. In the 1960's, he argues, the changing industrial nature of the economy locked poor Blacks into an underclass while providing middle class Blacks with new opportunities.

Historical research on Chicanos in the American Southwest has examined how the political and economic system has worked first to marginalize and then to exploit Chicanos (Almaguer 1974, Barrera 1979, Camarillo 1979). These studies stress the structural basis of the subordination of Chicanos, though they reject the classical Marxist argument that race is only false consciousness which will end with the disappearance of capitalism. These works examine evidence that the growth of American capitalism destroyed the traditional Spanish/Mexican economic system of the Southwest, expropriated lands from Latino owners, and created a market for Chicano labor only in low paid, low skilled jobs. The lack of assimilation of Chicanos into the mainstream American society and workforce is seen primarily as a means of marginalizing the Chicano workforce as well as a result of their historical place at the bottom of the labor market.

Almaguer (1974) and Barrera (1979) both use the concept of internal colonialism in their analysis of Chicano's position. They draw on Blauner's (1972) distinction between immigrant minorities, who work within sectors of the economy based on free labor, and colonized minorities, who have been used as a sub-proletariat. Chicanos have served as a reserve pool of labor that can be readily and cheaply drawn from Mexico when needed, and deported back to Mexico when there is an excess of labor, as happened, for instance, during the depression (see also McWilliams 1968). Almaguer (1974) also theorizes that colonized

minorities in the U.S. act as "shock absorbers" for the class contradictions of society. Mexican immigrants rather than the economy, for example, are currently blamed for unemployment in the Southwest. Unlike Wilson's (1978) study of Blacks, the Chicano scholars do not find race of declining significance in Chicanos' economic status, nor do they believe that racial oppression will disappear when class exploitation does.

The second position is that race has little explanatory power, and that class positions are always more important. Steinberg (1981) and Lieberson (1980) both argue that race and ethnicity as a causal factor has been reified by most researchers who disregard historical and economic contexts. Steinberg, using historical data, shows how the premigration class position of immigrants is more important than culture or attitudes for economic success in America. Ethnicity for Steinberg is important only as it operates as a proxy for class phenomena. He argues that the material and historical conditions of each group, not their values, leads to their location in the social structure and to the persistence or disappearance of ethnicity. Lieberson, using quantitative historical data, shows how Blacks were structurally barred from economic success despite achievement values. He finds that race and ethnicity have been only intermediary factors in the struggle over the distribution of economic resources. Both researchers conclude that ethnic pluralism and differential ethnic achievement exist due to structural inequalities, and if these inequalities were ended that racial boundaries and conflict would also eventually disappear.

The third, and oldest, political economy theory on race holds that capitalists encourage race conflict to fragment the solidarity of the

working class and to insure a reserve army of laborers. Bonacich (1972) made class conflict more important than capitalist instrumentalism in her theory of split labor markets. Her theory maintains that racial oppression occurs when dominant labor reacts against the threat of cheaper competitors. Later, Bonacich (1980) proposed a model of race and ethnicity that compares the phenomenon to nationalism since they both deal with shared ancestry bonds that transcend economics and politics. This model transcends the national boundaries and claims that a complete understanding of race and ethnicity must examine the interactions within and between levels involving imperialist and colonized nations and the workers and capitalists in each. This formulation draws attention to the fact that race relations in one country may be influenced by factors that transcend national boundaries, such as the international division of labor. These theories all posit that race and ethnicity are secondary phenomena that result from political and economic processes.

The relevance of the debate about race and class has had no observed impact on the literature in Latino aging. Jackson (1980) has raised the issue of race and class regarding the Black elderly when she tries to show that when income, education, and other social and economic indicators are controlled for, the plight of Black elderly is essentially the same as their white peers. She uses this data to argue that the problems of Black elders are due to their class position rather than to their race per se (this is closest to Wilson's [1978] position). Markides, Martin, and Gomez (1983) come to similar conclusions in some limited areas such as health status and psychological distress where they find controlling socioeconomic status (SES) eliminates Chicano-

white inequalities.

A political economy of ethnic aging would have to analyze the relative importance of age, race, and class in the lives of racial and ethnic minority elderly. For Chicano/Latino elderly this would be a complex analysis that would have to take into account the labor needs of American capitalism and its recruitment of Latino labor, the consequences of the labor force experiences of these immigrants and their children on the aging process, and the structural conditions that allow or require the viability of Latino barrios where the elderly live. In this analysis the high status of the elderly in Latino families may not be a holdover from traditional societies, but may be part of a "culture of resistance" developed by Latinos in response to exploitation. This analysis has important implications for predictions about the future situation of Latino elderly.

Political economy moves the analysis of the elderly beyond the family and age segregated settings to a societal level. The elderly take on analytical importance in the operation of the entire society, drawing on concepts that can be used with different ages, races, and genders.

The political economy analyses reviewed above, however, generally try to understand the genesis and dynamics of oppression. They give little indication of how the elderly or Latinos resist oppression or otherwise participate in social conflict or social organization. This approach risks presenting the elderly as passive victims of a determinate social order, not unlike the functionalist view of the dominating society. Political economy has also been limited to conceptualizing the economic value of the elderly and minorities,

without investigating noneconomic contributions that the elderly might make to social change or social organization.

The Limits of Theories of Aging

One problem with social theory's pervasive attention to exchange relationships in social life is that some social groups, particularly the elderly and women, are less involved in social organization and social dynamics via the exchange process than others in society. As a result, aging tends to be a residual interest in social theory and when it receives attention, is most frequently conceptualized as a social problem. Feminist theory has been one of the few bodies of theory that has taken the "hidden work" of a social group and reconceptualized that social activity as a necessary component of society. Feminist theory conceptualizes women's social activity as making contributions of value to both the exchange and nonexchange components of society.

There is no coherent body of "elderly theory" that puts the experience and social activity of the elderly at the center of the analysis in order to determine the importance of their involvement in society. From the theories just reviewed we get no indication of how important the elderly are in contemporary American society. The elderly often appear as untheorized elements in social analyses. Because they are untheorized we can not answer the question: what would happen if all old people disappeared tomorrow? If the elderly are an essential component of society then we would predict that their disappearance would create a severe social disruption. If the elderly have little importance beyond their social-psychological ties to family then the consequences of the elderly disappearing would be limited to the psychological realm.

My research with elderly persons, particularly in Latino communities, has led me to believe that the elderly are involved in many aspects of social organization and that their disappearance would have social and economic as well as personal consequences. The literature presented at the beginning of this chapter showed that Chicano/Latino elderly appear to play an important part in their families. By implication, those elders are, at a minimum, important in the community to the extent that their family involvement family influences the family's participation in social organization and social change. The theoretical perspectives can not take us further because there is little indication in the empirical literature that Chicano/Latino elders are any more a part of exchange based relationships than other elderly. Since current gerontological theories link groups to society via exchange relationships, neither the current empirical research nor the theoretical perspectives conceptualize Chicano/Latino elderly as directly contributing to societal processes.

To study the importance of the elderly, we need theory that has moved beyond the focus on exchange that has led to such a marginal view of the elderly in society. As I elaborate in Chapter 4, Marx provided a useful conceptual distinction between "exchange" and "use" values. Exchange value is the abstract quality of an object that provides the basis for a quantitative comparison between different objects. Use values are the inherent, concrete qualities of objects that directly satisfy a human need. The two types of value are intimately interconnected, but are treated very differently in society. In society, as in social theory, exchange values are given primacy while use values are often overlooked. Because the elderly are not usually in

the labor market, they are more likely to be active in creating use values than exchange values. Regardless of how directly involved or uninvolved the elderly are in exchange value creation in society, if they are involved in the use value production then they have a direct influence on social organization and on the exchange process.

Where does one study the creation and importance of use values? The study of exchange extends from individual interaction to world systems, but the study of use values is most commonly focused on the family (in feminist research) and in organizations (in interactionist studies of work). Since I want to include both concrete individuals as well as their relationships to the social and economic organization of society, I want to study a level of social organization where both agency and structure can be observed and conceptually specified. Community, as I discuss in Chapter 2, can be conceptualized as an intermediary level of social organization that is both the site for the production of use values that meets the needs of community members as well as the site of the production of exchange values that underlie the basic political and economic organization of society. Community can be seen as a point of articulation between the individual and society, between agency and structure, making the elderly's participation in community formation and development consequential for social organization and dynamics.

Having discussed the limitations of the empirical literature on elderly Chicanos/Latinos and aging theory, the final section of this chapter provides some indications of how the empirical literature and the theories can be built upon to analyze how Nicaraguan immigrant elderly are involved in the formation of an immigrant community.

Latinos and Aging Theory

Since this work attempts to uncover conceptual links between Nicaraguan immigrant elderly and society, I want to draw on theory that can analyze ways in which the elderly are active in shaping their world. Interactionist theory provides a useful way of conceptualizing the elderly as proactive shapers of their lives and the world around them. This theory has consistently avoided studying the elderly *a priori* as marginal, victims, or problems. The emphasis in interactionist gerontology has been on understanding the lived experiences of the elderly, showing how they try to influence the world around them. The emphasis on interaction and the social construction of meaning leads to a dynamic view of social life that could have a place for the actions of the elderly.

Interactionism also draws attention to the way in which "old age" is defined in practice. An interactionist analysis need not limit its study of aging to those over an arbitrary age, say 65. This is important in studying Latino elderly, since the literature reviewed presents a wide variation in the way that the elderly are defined. It is not just the the focus on familism that causes Latino elderly to be defined via their relationships with their family and culture.

Because individuals are seen as malleable in interactionist theory, older people are conceptualized as capable of learning and changing in their later years. Just because a Latino immigrant was socialized as a child to believe that the elderly should be revered does not guarantee that the immigrant will continue to hold those same beliefs or act on them as they age. The limitation of analyses that attribute actions to Latino elderly's "traditional" background fail to examine the current

forces that can stabilize or change the perspectives that the immigrants learned as children. This analysis avoids some of the problems of cultural determinism, an approach that conceptualizes culture as rather static and determining of action. There is no reason in interactionist theory why the elderly could not be cultural innovators as well as protectors of tradition.

We have to be careful in using the interactionist position of actors as willful and effective in their social worlds because it can be reduced to reflecting a middle-class white approach to efficacy and control in life. At one extreme, interactionism has been accused of being a "sunshine sociology" (Gouldner 1970). Without this view of humans as competent social actors (cf. Giddens 1979), however, we are left with a view of humans as "over socialized" (Wrong 1961), victims, and/or of marginal importance to organization and change in society. As Bastida (1984) noted, the assumption that people try to make the best of their lives can lead away from an individual focus on problems when people's inability to realize their potential is used to point to the structural conditions that limit their actions.

Political economy theory provides needed conceptual tools to analyze the forces that generate the structural conditions of the lives of Latino elderly. More than any other theory, political economy demands attention to the historical specificity of the social context. By conceptualizing the social organization of production as the key variable in social structure rather than the level of technological development we can study how different groups are stratified unequally in American society where there is a uniform level of technology. By drawing our attention to the position of the elderly in the labor force,

the role of the state in providing programs for the elderly, and the importance of ethnic stratification in the economy, political economy can help show links between forces that affect worldwide-scale economic dynamics and the lives of Nicaraguan elderly in San Francisco (both macro and micro levels).

While interactionist theory can help us understand how the elderly are involved in building community, political economy provides an analysis of the constraints and opportunities that shape how a community can come to be. Political economy can also potentially provide an analysis of the condition under which collective action leading to social change occurs. While the political economy of aging has not yet developed the "class struggle" aspect of a political economy analysis, the concepts of contradiction and struggle provide tools for understanding systemic level change (Alford & Friedland 1985). I would argue that political economy has the most potential for integrating an analysis of of age and race, given the complementary analyses already available for each individually.

The question remains: how are the elderly engaged in producing and sustaining a Nicaraguan immigrant community? The theoretical cues suggest that we begin with an investigation of the subjective understandings of the Nicaraguan immigrant elderly about their community, aging, and the conditions that frame their involvement in the community. If we assume that the elderly are competent social actors, any failure to fully realize their intentions in the community leads use to ask what structural forces condition their actions. The structural forces must be identified in a historical context, which also leads us to ask what structural opportunities are presented to the elderly in the community.

Since the empirical literature provides only the family and culture as possible links between Latino elderly and their community, I need to investigate additional conceptual ways that the elderly could be involved in the community. This last question forms the core discussion of Chapter 4.

I have adopted the community as an intermediate level of analysis for Nicaraguan elderly. This approach transcends the dominant focus of the elderly as important only in a family context while analyzing a level of social organization with which the elderly have immediate and daily contact. To conceptualize how the elderly are shapers and are shaped by the Nicaraguan immigrant community in San Francisco it is necessary to review theoretical approaches to community and immigration in addition to theoretical approaches to aging. The following chapter will review the Chicago and political-economy perspectives on community and immigration along with my own synthesis to frame the analysis of the Nicaraguan immigrant community.

[1] Mirande (1977) shows three tendencies in the study of the Chicano family. The early studies of Chicano families (e.g. Rubel 1966; Madsen 1964) portrayed the families as rigid and maladjusted to an industrial society. In reaction to this stereotype, Chicano scholars conducted studies in the 1970's that emphasized only the positive aspects of the Chicano family, establishing a romantic vision of the strength and warmth of the family (e.g. Baca-Zinn 1979). More recently, studies of Chicano families have been more sensitive to how the family both hinders and benefits Chicanos in American society.

[2] While the literature tends to portray Mexicano, Puerto Rican, and Cuban elderly as very similar, there are some basic differences between the Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. Historically, persons of Mexican heritage have lived for centuries on the land that is now part of the United States. Chicano's long presence in the U.S. is reflected by the fact that only 26% of those reporting "Mexican Origin" in the 1980 Census were foreign born. This contrasts with 51% of Puerto Ricans who live on the mainland but who were not born on the mainland, and 78% of Cubans who were foreign born (Table 1). The age structure of each population is also quite different, with the median age of the Chicano population at 21.9 years, Puerto Ricans at 23.3 years, and Cubans at a much higher 37.7 years.

Table 1-1

Characteristics of the Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban Origin Population
United States, 1980

	Heritage			U.S.
	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Total*
Of all ages				
Foreign Born (%)	26.0	51.0	77.9	6.2
Median Age (years)	21.9	23.3	37.7	30.0
Age 65 and over (%)	4.2	3.4	12.1	11.3
Of those age 65 and over				
Foreign Born (%)	44.2	90.0	86.0	12.4
Living in institutions (%)	3.0	2.3	1.1	5.3
Living in other relative's (%) households	16.2	20.2	30.7	8.9

* All races and heritages
Source: U.S. BOC 1983, U.S. BOC 1986.

The age distribution of each group reflects its history in the United States and fertility trends. Most Chicanos are born in the U.S. and Chicano fertility is higher than nonHispanic whites, blacks, or other Latinos, making those age 65 or over only 4.2% of the Chicano population. Puerto Ricans are more likely to be immigrants and have an elderly population of 3.4% of all persons. The older median age of Cubans reflects the large number of middle-aged Cubans who came to the U.S. in the early 1960's, combined with a low fertility rate. As a result, 12.1% of all Cubans are elderly. While Cubans have the highest proportion of elderly, Cuban elders are also the least likely to live in nursing homes and are most likely to live in the households of relatives (Table 1).

[3] One empirical problem with studies using this analysis is that they are often based on samples of Mexican immigrants from primarily rural backgrounds (e.g. Sotomayor 1973). If these characteristics are assumed to be associated with rural life then modernization theory would lead to this conclusion. Two types of evidence contradict the rural background association. First, most contemporary Mexican immigration comes from urban areas (Portes & Bach 1985), but the prediction that urban children will abandon their parents is not being seen among Mexican immigrants in the U.S. Second, even in an industrial urban setting in Mexico the elderly remain integrated with their family. Alvarez Gutierrez and Brown (1983) found that under 3% of elderly men in their urban sample in Mexico were living alone even though 16.6% were widowers or otherwise single. The most common living arrangement for men was to be with their spouse and children (62.1%). Women over age 60 were not married (being widowed, divorced, separated, or single) 61.4% of the time and most commonly lived with children and other family (52.2%).

[4] The concept of adult socialization and the ability of adults to change has a longer history in social psychology. Strauss (1958) presented a very maleable theory of adult thought and action.

[5] This concept of power is entirely based within the individual and is based on a person's ability to avoid interaction. He has to use this definition because his theory makes it possible for both parties in an exchange to profit. Since all behavior is mediated by exchange, the only true power possible is the ability to abstain from exchange, depriving potential trade partners of their needed profits. Compare this with Weber's (1948) classical definition of power as a person's (or group's) ability to realize their own will even against the resistance of others. This adds a an interactional component and recognizes that conflict may occur in the exercise of power. A concept of power that does not lie in the individual is described by Lukes (1974) as structural power, where the interests of some are served by social arrangements and institutional practices without the need for conscious decisions or action by any one individual.

CHAPTER 2

ANALYTICAL APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY AND IMMIGRATION A REVIEW AND SYNTHESIS

Community and migration theory are generally exclusive of each other even though they deal with overlapping subject matter in the area of migration settlement. Each body of theory, however, brings conceptual approaches to the study of the elderly in the Nicaraguan immigrant community that are potentially useful. This chapter reviews the community theory represented by the Chicago school and by political economy to show how both micro and macro issues of community are addressed. It continues with a similar review of the individual and structural theories of immigration, and concludes with a synthesis of the theories that provides a framework for understanding immigrant communities.

American sociology has a long history of interest in communities. The most important early work came out of the University of Chicago and was concerned with the social problems present in urban areas. Thomas and Znaniecki's study of the social organization and disorganization of an immigrant community, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (1984; first published 1918-1920), is representative of the Chicago school approach. Other Chicago sociologists continued this traditional approach by elaborating on the family and community causes of social disorganization and the basis for "reorganization" (e.g. Zorbaugh 1929; Shaw 1929; Park 1967 [1925]). The approach uses ethnicity as a subjective category, based upon a sense of common ancestry that is acted upon by those both within and outside of the ethnic group.

Beginning in the 1960's, scholars who used a political-economy approach became interested in urban studies. This "new urban sociology" (Walton 1981) added a historical dimension to urban studies. The approach applies a structural analysis to studying cities by looking at the processes and consequences of production, consumption, exchange, and state power. The dynamic process under study shifted from disorganization and reorganization to conflict and social change. Political economy theory most commonly conceptualizes ethnic groups as sources of exploitable labor and/or sources of working class fragmentation.

Both the traditional and political-economy approaches sensitize research to different aspects of community. The following overview shows how each of the two approaches provides concepts that may be useful in investigating whether and how the elderly are involved in the creation and reproduction of the Nicaraguan immigrant community in San Francisco.

Theories of Community

The Chicago School Analysis of Community

Traditional community studies do not attempt to analyze the role of cities in contemporary America. They are interested in discovering the social forces that lead to social order (and its breakdown) within cities. The Chicago tradition founded a sociological approach that tries to identify social processes (e.g. family breakdown) as the causes of urban disorder. This approach was a response to the dominant perspectives at the turn of the century that treated disorder as a moral problem, caused solely by immediate conditions such as poor housing (Zaretsky 1984). Thomas and Znaniecki (1984) brought attention to

social forces such as modernization (increasing rationalization and weakening of traditional values), technological change, and migration as social forces that created a new context for social life. These social processes were conceptualized as autonomous and semi-autonomous forces that are the ultimate causes of the social problems facing immigrants.

The Chicago perspective rejects behaviorism, emphasizing that the subjective view of community members is as important as the objective conditions of the community in explaining the actions of community members. Individuals' subjective orientation toward action is embodied in "attitudes," a concept that goes beyond opinions to include the learned orientation to values. Attitudes are theorized as necessary to potentiate action. Thomas and Znaniecki (1984) link the subjective attitudes with objective reality through "values." Values are any socially meaningful phenomenon that can be the object of human activity. Thus, to analyze the actions of group members it is necessary to understand the subjective (attitudes) as well as the objective (values).

From this perspective a community is built from common interests and social relations that bind people together. These common elements are contained in attitudes of social solidarity, and frequently result in the creation of local institutions. At a time when social science commonly criticized immigrant ethnicity, Thomas and Znaniecki stressed the positive aspects of ethnic ties. They saw ethnic neighborhoods as places that protected immigrants and helped them adjust to American society. While family cohesiveness might break down, ethnic ties led to the formation of new institutions such as mutual benefit societies that fulfilled the needs of the community members. The research asked how immigrants within communities adjusted to their new country, with

limited attention to how the U.S. society and economy benefited from or changed as a result of immigration.

Robert Park contributed to the Chicago tradition of urban studies by broadening studies of immigration to include race relations and shifting the unit of analysis from the community to the city. For Park, one distinctive human trait is that people engage in trade. He traces the rise of cities to the organization of market centers and notes that different peoples are drawn into the marketplace, creating a social organization different than that of the family or religious sect. This mixing of people of diverse races and cultures at the market is important because "civilization, if not society, is a product of the city" (Park 1950:86).

From this interest Park developed a widely used typology of the phases of intergroup relationships: competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. Competition and conflict arise from an ecological type of interaction among groups that try to establish a place in the same society and economy. Accommodation and assimilation result from increased awareness of other groups that comes from public discourse (Park 1950). Assimilation is seen as a subjective phenomenon that destroys the barriers between groups when the groups come to share common perspectives. This typology provided a solidly sociological way of looking at intergroup contact that did not rely on innate traits or an argument for the evolutionary survival of the fittest.

The city is sociologically important because it is where contact and accommodation occur at the highest rate. Cities are unique because they are "based on trade, and trade is the most impersonal of all human relationships" (Park 1950:18). Park was interested in the consequences

of the impersonality of the city for human relationships and social organization. Following Thomas and Znaniecki, Park felt the breakdown of primary ties among urban newcomers was the cause of social disorganization, but that this breakdown was potentially useful. The impersonal nature of the city led Park to write about the "marginal man" (similar to Simmel's "stranger"), one whose "energies that were formerly controlled by custom and tradition are released" (Park 1950:350). Much as Durkheim (1964 [1893]) saw social organization moving towards the contract of organic solidarity and Weber (1947) saw social organization moving towards bureaucratic management under a rational-legal system, Park viewed social progress as occurring as individuals were increasingly led by reason rather than superstition or tradition. The marginal individual can most objectively look at the surrounding society and fuse the best elements of diverse cultures, being the leader of progress.

It is in the marginal man "that we can best study the processes of civilization and of progress" (Park 1950:356). Progress thus involves the breakdown of parochial barriers between people and the creative fusion of the best elements from diverse peoples. This analysis draws on the enlightenment view of the positive power of knowledge and rationality and legitimates the concept that a "melting pot" process creates the most desirable society. Park assumed that a fusion of peoples would occur in a type of melting pot process, rather than a reaction against (as in oppression) or a tolerance for (as in cultural pluralism) those who are different. While Park was interested in the market-city, he remained within the Chicago tradition by studying the dynamics and understandings of different groups in contact with each

other without attending to the consequences of different types of social organization of the market on the groups.

In contemporary terms, the Chicago approach could be considered pluralist. Pluralists are interested in social solidarity and in how networks of individuals help cement that solidarity to create similar lines of action for different individuals (Alford & Friedland 1985). The most effective forces in community development and progress are enhanced communication and rational control of social institutions. In practical terms, pluralist community development has involved trying to change local members' attitudes, motivations, and participation. Community development work focuses on helping people identify with the community and feel effective in their local participation (regardless of actual effectiveness). The goal is a democratic community where consensus arises based on the formal participation and enhanced communication of community members (Khinduka 1983).

Most elements of social organization that sociology associates with the concept of "community" are contained at the individual level of analysis used by pluralists. Pluralists are interested in the mediating groups that give power to the individual interests often associated with communities, including block associations, political groups, community leaders (aka opinion leaders), small business associations, union chapters, church parishes, etc. (Alford & Friedland 1985). Community is defined as the locus of the lived experience of individuals, where they are able to directly influence the institutions that affect their lives (Boyte 1984, Dahl 1961).

Several contemporary community studies have continued the Chicago focus on how individuals create communities to maximize their sense of

self worth and to obtain daily necessities. Gans (1962) demonstrates through his field work that bonds of loyalty, interactional patterns, and active organizations comprise an active and very "alive" community in a slum area where outsiders saw only decay and disorganization. Similarly, instead of pathological black families, Stack (1974) found patterns of interdependence within female kin networks that helped black families survive in the face of poverty and provided them with a source of valued meaning in their lives. This approach has also been used in the field of aging where "unexpected communities" are discovered in housing units for the elderly (Hochschild 1973). Rather than aggregates of old people who are disengaged from society, Hochschild found an active social organization that provided mutual aid, jobs, role models, and a set of values. Instead of the disorganization and pathology predicted by some, these studies found coherent units of social life that are valued by the residents of the communities.

Communities do not have to be geographically or economically unified when communications or meaning are conceptualized as the glue uniting people. Some contemporary symbolic interactionists conceptualize communities broadly as social worlds, allowing the "world of ballroom dancing" (Unruh 1983) or "art worlds" (Becker 1982) to be analyzed as communities. In synthesizing the concept of social worlds, one author has defined social worlds as "an extremely large, highly permeable, amorphous, and spatially transcendent form of social organization wherein actors are linked cognitively through **shared perspectives** arising out of common channels of **communication**" (Unruh 1983:14; emphasis added). This concept is intended to transcend the more formal aspects of social organization centered around families,

interest groups, and voluntary associations. Strauss (1978) take a slightly different approach in placing primary analytical significance on common activities as the basis of social worlds (Strauss 1978). The social worlds concept directs the study of community to the intersubjective aspect of individuals' perspectives, linked by communications and action.

The Chicago tradition is most useful in analyzing social organization at the level of the individual and the group. Perhaps its most important contribution has been to sensitize researchers to the perceptions of the members of the community. Much as Weber (1978) suggested that research take into account the subjective understandings of each epoch, the Chicago tradition leads suggests an understanding of each community from the ground up. Types of organization and sources of self worth that could potentially be missed using other analytic frameworks become visible with this approach.

The Chicago emphasis on interaction and communications as underlying social organization demonstrates to the importance of the organization and content of communications within the immigrant community. Networks of people as part of an informational and behavioral matrix can be more than an amalgam of individuals. These networks can also be conceptualized as elements in the process by which individuals are articulated with society. Culture becomes important when it is conceptualized as the shared perspectives of individuals in a group because these perspectives can serve as the basis for collective action.

This analysis of community fails, however, to conceptualize the constraints under which community formation and community life occur.

The Chicago approach to community takes for granted most structural forces that mediate and constrain the symbolic and interactional aspects of community. Fisher and Strauss (1978) note that while both Thomas and Park theorized that progress would lead to increased rational control of institutions, they failed to theorize how the social context affects the form that institutions take and the institution's ability to respond to the community.

The Chicago perspective also fails to make problematic the resources needed to engage in communications and interaction. Individuals enter into interaction with specific social and economic attributes that provide them with different amounts of power within the community. Subjective understandings are important in the existence of a community, but the perceptions of some persons and institutions are likely to have more power than others as a result of structured inequality and stratification. As noted in Chapter 1, interactionists have been criticized for their relative inattention to power (Hall 1977) and structured forces of inequality. The following section discusses political economy theory to provide the conceptual tools that address these issues.

The Political Economy Perspective of Community

Properly speaking, political economy theory focuses on "cities," "urban areas," and "built environments" rather than communities. The concern is how space and people need to be organized to make different modes of production possible. Political economy theory conceptualizes how the structural conditions of capitalism explain the existence and organization of cities. The particular organization of cities provides the conditions and resources necessary for the creation of community

symbols and communications. Accumulation and class struggle are the basic processes of capitalism that political economy conceptualizes as primary causal forces. The social relations created by these processes become imbedded in the interpersonal relationships studied by the Chicago school and are usually taken for granted. An analysis of accumulation and class conflict provides one explanation for the bases of power and inequality that exists in communities and urban areas.

Accumulation is the process of creating surplus value[1] in production and its appropriation by capitalists. Accumulation is more than simple "economics" since the process of accumulation involves consumption, the occupational order, and the organization of work under specific historical circumstances (Mollenkopf 1981). Those who focus on the importance of accumulation tend to approach cities and society as the functional result of historical laws (Castells 1983, Alford & Friedland 1985). Those who focus on class struggle take a more dynamic or political approach in studying how the resistance of the working class to exploitation shapes the organization of society. Theorists who emphasize class struggle examine how workers attempt to reduce their exploitation and increase their control over production rather than how workers are pawns of accumulation needs.

An interest in the state is common to both aspects of the political economy approach. While most discussions draw on an imagery of the state as a societal level structure (e.g. Offe 1984), the concept of the state also encompasses the governing structure at the state and local levels. For Friedland, Piven, and Alford (1977), local governments function like national governments in "supporting economic processes" (accumulation) and in "promoting political integration" (legitimation)

(p.449). Local government is important because it is the most structurally accessible level of government. This has led, according to Friedland, Piven, and Alford, to the structuring of local government to serve as the shock absorbers of urban upheaval caused by the national political economy. Urban governments face contradictions at historical periods between supporting both accumulation (via public infrastructure, economic planning, etc.) and legitimation (via public services, political participation, etc.). Thus, urban governments face political and economic crises that are parallel to those crises faced by the state.

Cockburn (1977) coined the term "local state" to identify analysis of how local administrative areas help reproduce social relations that are supportive of capital. If the local state is conceptualized as having a degree of relative autonomy it can also present obstacles to the control and power of the national state (Duncan & Goodwin 1982). Castells (1983) provides case studies showing that the focus of most social movements is at the local level. When these movements succeed, they force changes at the level of the local state without fundamentally changing broader social relations.

There is an active debate over the relative autonomy of the state in a capitalist society. Whether the theorist conceptualizes the state as serving only a functional role that fills the needs of capitalism (Habermas 1975), or as having relative autonomy and semi-independent needs (Poulantzas 1978), this body of theory is intimately tied with the basic theoretical concerns of accumulation and class struggle. While the state is often conceptualized as a structure rather than a process (Duncan & Goodwin 1982), the following discussion of accumulation and

class struggle provide concepts that can be used in a more historical and contingent analysis.

Accumulation

Capital accumulation depends on the ability of the owners of capital to retain a portion of what workers produce without compensating the workers fully (surplus value). Political economy theory explains how the organization of urban systems makes it possible for accumulation to occur by providing for a specific mode of production, reproduction, marketing, and administration (Hill 1977, Harvey 1981). In the political economy perspective, the drive for accumulation is part of the basic nature of for-profit companies under capitalism. Hill (1977) identifies four subprocesses necessary to achieve expanding capital accumulation. First, part of the surplus value captured in production must be reinvested in new production to create additional surplus value. Second, goods needed for the (biological and social) reproduction of the labor force must be produced and distributed. Some of these goods (like education) are considered social investments since they do not directly contribute to profits. These goods, however, create the groundwork necessary for continued and increased production. Third, since capitalism tends to produce more goods than it creates demand, there must be some type of demand stimulation to absorb surplus products. Demand stimulation can come in the form of consumer credit, subsidies, or government spending that creates jobs but few consumable products (e.g. weapons). Finally, new sources of capital formation must be created through techniques such as product innovation, increased market penetration, and economic expansion.

While different theorists view the precise components necessary for accumulation differently, all conclude that capitalist accumulation has social and economic consequences that contradict the bases of accumulation. Three basic contradictions are the falling rate of profits, economic crisis cycles, and class conflict.

The falling rate of profits is one of the key contradictions examined by Marx. The prediction of a decline in profits is based on the axiom that profits come only from surplus value. Since surplus is a function of labor power[1], profits come from labor, not machines. To increase productivity, however, businesses increasingly mechanize to decrease the labor costs of production. This process is called the increasing organic composition of capital. Since profits result from surplus value created by humans, the increasing drive to reduce labor actually serves to reduce profits. This leads business to continually seek other ways to increase profits, ways that ultimately further weaken their ability to accumulate (Castells 1980). In its effort to mechanize, capital has historically centralized manufacturing in city factories. This centralization increased the number and concentration of experienced workers and made political organizing against exploitation easier[2], making it harder to further increase the rate of profits (O'Connor 1984).

A second consequence of capital accumulation is the boom-bust cycles of the economy. Some theorize that these are due to capitalism's overproduction (since workers are not paid enough wages to buy what they produce [Harvey 1981]) while others see it as the result of underaccumulation by capitalism (O'Connor 1984). These cycles require that businesses sensitive to those cycles have a labor pool that is

large enough to supply all the labor needed during the peak of the boom phase, but that business be able to lay off employees during the recession phase. Urban areas are important because they contain population concentrations that provide a ready pool of labor during boom phases and places that can sustain the unemployed during bust phases. State intervention is required not only to decrease the severity of recessions that result in the underutilization of capital but also to contain worker militancy that can be caused by economic turmoil (Piven & Cloward 1971).

A third consequence of capital accumulation occurs when capitalists attempt to increase accumulation by increasing the exploitation of workers. Labor exploitation (via low wages, poor working conditions, etc.) in turn generates worker resistance, sometimes in the form of class conflict. Workers' continued dissatisfaction creates the need to continually co-opt or repress their potential for action that would disrupt the economic system. The conflict arising from the accumulation process can result in increased costs secondary to production which, in turn, adversely affects accumulation. What is important in the urban context is that the reaction against exploitation is often displaced from the work place to issues in the community such as housing, health care, and education (Cox 1981, Harvey 1981).

The capitalist class is not necessarily unified in trying to overcome the contradictions of the falling rate of profits, economic crises, and worker resistance. Accumulation can also create conflict among capitalists. For example, those with investments in land maximize rents to increase their rate of profits, against the interests of industrial capitalists who try to minimize the cost of reproducing the

workforce (of which rent is a major component) to maximize industrial accumulation. The immediate interests of the individual capitalist may also contradict the long term interests of capitalism. The individual capitalist's vision is frequently short range and focused on the immediate rate of profit. Thus, s/he is less likely to invest in the general education, health, and welfare necessary for production. The state serves these general needs of capitalism by mediating conflicts between class factions and providing for long term planning (Harvey 1981, Cox 1981). Including contradictions helps avoid instrumentalist and functionalist analyses that overlook the complexity of society.

The analysis of the needs and contradictions of accumulation provides a useful insight into some of the limits of what is possible in a community. The analysis of accumulation is particularly useful in understanding the forces behind spatial patterns of cities, such as the making of ghettos and urban renewal. The structure of these "built environments" places constraints on the ability of people to communicate and develop shared meanings. The dynamics of accumulation influence how jobs and services are organized and distributed, and how the resources necessary for creating institutions are distributed. Care has to be taken, however, to conceptualize the forces created by the drive for accumulation as limits or opportunities and not as functional necessities. These forces are not conceptually restricted to that which is functional to accumulation because under different historical conditions contradictions can also exist. The attention that some theorists give to class struggle helps dispel the tendency to see all social life as functionally related to accumulation.

Class Struggle

While some theorists see class struggle as a reaction to accumulation, others posit class struggle as a basic characteristic of a class society. In a class analysis it is not only important that classes exist, but that class relationships are of primary significance to the explanation of large areas of social conduct (Giddens 1975). Classes arise from the differentiation between those who own the means of production and those whose lack of capital compels them to sell their labor. This analysis attends to the process of class domination, conflict, and struggle for social change. The emphasis on class struggle is less deterministic than the focus on accumulation since class struggle includes social actors who engage in social change in multiple contexts.

Society in this analysis is "a structured, conflictive reality in which social classes oppose each other over the basic rules of social organization according to their own social interests" (Castells 1983:302). Rather than conceptualizing urban conflict as the result of disorganization in the Chicago school tradition, conflict is seen as the outcome of class relations. Class conflict has traditionally been associated only with work place issues, but Castells (1983) and Harvey (1981) broaden the concept of class conflict to show how class conflict can emerge around multiple nonworkplace issues. They relate the social movements, however, to class relations and the forces of capitalism in the movements' creation and outcome.

Castells (1983), Cox (1981), Katznelson (1981), Mollenkopf (1981) and others find that there is a basic class conflict between capitalists' interest in organizing urban areas around commodities and

workers' interest in organizing urban areas around the particularistic interests of community. These authors appear to rely on the Chicago school tradition for their concepts of how cities are important to workers. Citing Gans (1962) and others, Cox (1981) discusses community as communal living space where the resources important to labor exist and are consumed in common. Cox (1981:433) says that the meaning and values of a community arise from its residents "and from the mutually supporting ties of trust, friendship, sociability and predictability that they have created for each other." Mollenkopf (1981: 320) writes that in communities "non-market values like reciprocity, mutual support and informal helping patterns are central." This communal living space is so personalized and particularized that its elements cannot be commodified.

The capitalist class is theorized to have a different interest in urban space. Capitalists have an interest in commodifying the physical infrastructure of the community so that housing can be bought, sold, and rented in a market economy. "Property capital" is located in land and buildings and accumulates through the rent and sale of that infrastructure. Property capital depends on neighborhoods being relatively open systems where residential turnover is moderately high and residents are more concerned with property values than maintaining communities. The commodification of space complements the commodification of labor. Commodified space allows and compels labor to be geographically mobile, decreasing community ties and making it easier for careers to take primacy over relationships (Cox 1981).

At the municipal level, owners of property capital push for measures that increase the growth of property values such as convention

center construction, downtown urban renewal, and downtown centered public transit expansion. Labor, on the other hand, is interested more in collective consumption projects such as schools, public housing, and mass transit subsidies that enhance communal life (Cox 1981). Labor cohesion ends, according to Cox, when labor concedes to the commodification of space because different sectors of labor become vulnerable to buyouts by capital. Cox, Mollenkopf, Castells, and Katznelson all agree that the needs of property capital to commodify space inevitably conflict with the needs of workers to retain a degree of uncommodified community and that "community" can be a major focus of resistance to capital exploitation.

For Mollenkopf (1981), the urban institutions that arise out of communities are essential in mediating the forces of accumulation with the dynamics of community. These institutions include government bureaucracies, labor and voluntary organizations, and religion. Along with Katznelson and Castells, Mollenkopf provides a dynamic view of how the working class as community residents resists exploitation via social movements and other community based action. This community action is focused on the intermediary institutions that are visibly involved in influencing daily life. While a community movement for better schools does not threaten capitalist domination, if the city grants that demand it will transfer some of that new cost to capital.

Castells (1983:106-137) traces the history of the Mission Coalition Organization (MCO) in San Francisco to show how an ethnic community mobilized to defend its physical space against the interests of developers and other sectors of capital. The struggle also involved making community input effective and possible in the Model Cities

Program in the late 1960's and early 1970's. The MCO was a coalition of a diverse variety of groups encompassing religion, labor, service organizations, and socio-political groups. The most important struggles that the coalition engaged in centered around housing and jobs, although quality of life issues such as parks, traffic regulation, and the elimination of pornographic movies at a neighborhood theater also served as collective issues. Castells finds that the MCO formed due to the successful linking of neighborhood, poverty, and (Latino) minority issues, despite the lack of an explicit link of these issues to city, class, and race. The organization was successful in blocking the redevelopment of the Mission District that would have created new sources of profit at the expense of an ethnic working class community. The MCO collapsed in the mid-1970's because as a community organization it depended on the funds and power of the state as mediated by city hall and Model Cities. Castells concludes that while this displaced class conflict led to a successful local social movement, the fact that this movement failed to address the structural relationships between capital and labor led to its ultimate demise.

These studies point out that (1) the social organization of communities around nonexchange principles is contradictory in theory to accumulation and (2) that social conflict generated by this contradiction generates class conflict, but that the conflict's focus on intermediate structures allows those movements to be more easily co-opted and fragmented. This adds to the Chicago perspective an analysis of capital and the conflicts that arise between labor and capital within communities. In this analysis disorganization is not the result of modernization but of the commodification of living space and social

relations. The analysis of accumulation provides a framework to examine the forces that structure the ability of communities to create the noncommodified space, the site of community relationships and symbols.

This version of the political economy perspective is limited, however, because it associates community exclusively with the working class (though Katznelson [1981] does note that the separation of work from home is not bound by class). This shortcoming can be explained partly by the interest of theorists in identifying areas of solidarity among the working class. Interest in community formation among the capitalist class is limited to researchers of community power (e.g. Domhoff 1974) who show how social relationships among capitalists reinforce their common class interests. The common social relationships among capitalists as embodied in a community can easily be seen in any upper-class community through their associational and business ties. Thus, the conceptualization that "community" and noncommodified space as working class phenomenon is flawed.

These authors, however, have constructed a useful theory of how capital accumulation based on commodity exchange is contradicted by community organization based on affiliation[3]. But making an analogy between the working class and the community in a class analysis is not conceptually helpful. What is needed is a different set of analytic concepts that can address the economic and noneconomic aspects of social organization without being limited to one class. In Chapter 4 of this dissertation "use value" (a noneconomic concept) and "exchange value" (an economic concept) are seen as providing the ability to conceptualize the relationship between community, accumulation, and class struggle in a theoretically coherent manner.

In the discussion above, the Chicago school's approach to studying community was identified as involving an investigation of how members of the community are participate in creating the community through communications and joint action. In emphasizing an understanding of the subjective experience of community members, the Chicago school provides the theoretical basis for analyzing the daily lives of community members. Political economy theory complements the Chicago tradition by providing concepts that allow us to examine how the community members are both shaped by societal forces (accommodating accumulation) and shape the structural conditions of their communities (through class struggle). The conditions created by the push for accumulation and the dynamics of class struggle set the parameters of power relationships and inequality that are taken for granted in communications and interactions in communities.

The issues of communication, interaction, accumulation, and class struggle take on different dynamics when the focus of study is an immigrant community. Filled with people in transition from one society to another, the cultural and structural situations of immigrant communities are different than the conditions of native communities. Few theories of communities or cities ask how the people in those areas got there. A separate set of theories are usually drawn upon to explain the movement of people from rural to urban areas, or between urban areas. Since this study focuses on the elderly in an immigrant community, the following section presents an overview of theories of immigration that are useful in this study. The concluding section of this chapter combines the strengths of the various community/urban and immigration theories to develop a conceptual framework for studying the

Nicaraguan immigrant community in San Francisco.

Theories of Immigration

Portes and Bach (1985) distinguish four different analytical areas that immigration research and theory address. These include the initial causes of migration, the determinants of migrant stream stability, the uses of migrant labor, and the adaptation of migrants into the new society. Each of these topics has a body of individualistic and structuralist theory and research. The different ways of conceptualizing immigration have consequences for the ways that immigrant communities are studied.

Individualistic Theories

The individualistic analysis of immigration generally examines the pushes and pulls that affect individuals' decisions about migration. This level of analysis is similar to the Chicago tradition in that it focuses on individuals and conceptualizes modernization as the major social force involved. Unlike the Chicago school, individualistic immigration theory treats individuals as rule following automatons or as "iron filings, [who] were impelled by forces beyond their conscious control and, like atoms stripped of their cultural and temporal diversity, were denied creative capacity to innovate and shape the worlds from which and into which they moved" (Abu-Lughod 1975:201). This type of analysis concentrates on the decisions that people make, conceptualizing migration motivation and stream stability as the sum of these individual decisions.

The individualistic approach also details the forces that push an individual out of a country and those that pull that individual to a new country. These studies note that destination countries usually have

higher relative wages than sending countries and that most individuals migrate in search of work. They conclude that migrants move in order to maximize wages, and that the primary determinant of migration is the level of industrialization of a country or region (Piore 1979). Some of these theories extend the list of factors that go into the push-pull calculations beyond economics to include a variety of political and social considerations (Carruthers & Vining 1982). The calculus still relies on an economic cost-benefit analysis at the individual level that follows an almost deterministic logic.

The U.S. government relies on this analysis to plan immigration policy and to publically legitimate its actions. Immigration has become a major political issue during the 1980's and the state has promoted public concern over the level of immigration occurring outside legal channels. The state publically portrays immigration as out of control, while the debate over whether illegal immigration hurts or helps native workers economically is mostly at the academic level (see North & Houston 1976 vs. Muller 1984). The discussion at policy levels has been how to eliminate the "pull" factor on illegal immigrants by discouraging employers from hiring them. A few academics address the "push" factor by suggesting that the U.S. promote job development in Mexico so that unemployment does not create an incentive to leave (Fagen 1981).

Conceptualizing immigrants as operating due to pushes and pulls at the international level adds to the analysis of immigrant communities by showing some of the links between receiving and the sending community. One of the least studied areas of migration is **return** migration, where the immigrant returns to the native land at some later time. The stabilizing and destabilizing forces within communities could be better

understood by examining the conditions under which people are attracted to new communities and the conditions that weaken bonds to old communities.

If immigration worked only according to pushes and pulls, however, there would be a generalized movement of people from **all** poor nations to **all** wealthy ones. Migrant streams are uneven, however, with some of the least developed countries (e.g. many African nations) having little emigration and some industralized countries (e.g. Japan) having little immigration (Portes & Bach 1985). One individual level factor that may account for some of the differences is that people in different regions of the worlds have different meaning systems. The high wages of the U.S. are unlikely to be an attraction for a third world peasant whose subsistence farming and family life provide sufficient valued meaning and other basic human needs. The effort that Western powers had to exert to bring colonial subjects into a cash economy illustrates the power of competing ways of life (see Doyal 1979; Wallerstein 1961). Also overlooked in push-pull theory are the historical and political forces that frame pushes and pulls (Portes & Bach 1985). Immigration policy in U.S. history provides ample illustrations of when the state barred immigration despite strong economic pulls (e.g. the Chinese exclusion acts) and of when the state played an active role in facilitating immigration (e.g. the Bracero program).

The individualistic view of migrant labor uses and immigrant adaptation draw from theories of human capital and assimilation. Human capital theory assumes that individuals fit functionally and interchangeably into the economic system based on their abilities. This theory holds that logically, occupational tasks are impersonal in a

rational industrial society. Instrumental rationality in production results in the best technically qualified individuals occupying positions, resulting in the best social good. Society still has a number of necessary low skilled and low paid jobs so immigrants are useful in the economy because they fill the labor need for these low paid occupations. As the younger generations gain skills such as English ability, education, and experience, the human capital of the second and third generation increases and they are able to move up the occupational ladder. The theory predicts that the more "capital" an individual obtains the better s/he will do in the labor market.

Some researchers, such as Sowell (1981), use a variety of individual level characteristics to explain the discrepancies in income between different ethnic groups. He explains the lower average wage of the Mexican-American population by the younger ages of its members and by the fewer years and poorer quality of the education of Hispanics. This theory implies that individual effort is sufficient to overcome inequality in the labor market and legitimizes government job training and other individually targeted programs that try to help the poor improve their position, one at a time.

This theory works well for a variety of immigrant groups. Neidert and Farley (1985) examined the occupational achievement of over 14 different immigrant groups over three generations and found that most group members received nearly the same increase in occupational status per additional year of education (controlling for age, sex, marital status, geographic region, and language). In fact, in the second and third generation some groups were better at converting education into occupational status than immigrants from England who were used as the

reference group. What Neidert and Farley found was that among European immigrant groups there was no significant disadvantage in occupational achievement for any group. Mexicans, however, stood out among all three generations as being least able to turn education into a good job. This held statistically true even after accounting for the human capital characteristics that Sowell (1981) used descriptively to explain Mexicans' low achievement. Tienda (1983) uses data on income from two generations and obtains results similar to Neidert and Farley's three generation occupation study. Tienda concludes that after accounting for human capital and labor market variables, from 10 to 50 percent of the gap between Hispanic and white men's earnings is attributable to discrimination. Thus, human capital is a useful but not universally applicable theory of immigrant economic incorporation, leading us to question the view of the economy as universally meritocratic.

Assimilation theory has informed immigration policy throughout American history. Assimilation theory draws on a vision of a consensual society. A society that is not homogeneous is ripe for discord as each people's loyalty to a particular group comes before their interests in the whole society. This compartmentalization "prevents the formation of those bonds of intimacy and friendship which bind human beings together in the most meaningful moments of life" (Gordon 1964:237). This upsets the equilibrium that provides for the best functioning of society. At the same time, however, Gordon notes that for the first generation or two, ethnic communities are helpful because they provide a sense of continuity for immigrants while easing subsequent generations into American values and society. Schools and the government have tried to "Americanize" the children of newcomers to the U.S. so that they will

lose their ethnic identity and become a part of the melting pot. Most recently, this theory has led the government to try and disperse Indo-Chinese refugees throughout the U.S. in effort to speed their assimilation.

Assimilation is not only conceived as desirable, but in most cases is assumed to be inevitable. The assimilation process of second generation immigrants is seen as inevitable because of the "overwhelming acculturative powers of the public schools and the mass communications media" (Gordon 1964:245). Groups, such as blacks and Mexicans, that have not moved into the American mainstream have been explained as moving at a slower rate than other groups (Myrdal 1944). One of the key explanatory variables in assimilation theory that explains the integration of people into society is their value structure. This theory has been used to explain how the position of blacks and Hispanics (Moynihan 1965, Lewis 1966) is caused by their cultural attributes. What holds these groups back are cultural characteristics such as matriarchal family forms, a low value on education, and the lack of a sense of delayed gratification. Again, the explanation appeals to internal characteristics of the group that can be changed by intervention at the individual or group level without changing society's institutional structure.

Assimilation is functional for immigrant groups because they acquire the characteristics that will help them become part of the mainstream industrial economy. The modernization of society creates a functional need for a homogeneous population to fill the myriad of roles created by the complex division of labor (Nielsen 1985). The most functional values for this economic organization are determined to be

those held by the white middle class, since they compete most successfully in that structure. Immigrants, therefore, are rewarded by obtaining better jobs and higher status in society as they become culturally and politically more like the white middle class. The consensual nature of society is embodied in the concept that contact and communications between groups helps break down differences between them. Assimilation theory predicts that with increased understanding between groups, members will see the commonalities with each other rather than the differences ascribed to each.

The existence of an ethnic or immigrant community is obvious evidence that a group has not assimilated. A community presents a place where immigrants are able to associate with others like themselves. An immigrant community provides a safe place to engage in those activities that deviate from dominant norms such as speaking a language other than English, honoring "foreign" symbols of pride, and exhibiting other non-Anglo behavior. Commonly located in low rent districts, ethnic communities are functionally found where members can afford to live while they work at low wage jobs.

Assimilation and human capital theories lead to the prediction that ethnic communities will be a temporary response to immigration. Immigrants will want to become more like Americans and they and their kids will improve their education and jobs, and will eventually move out of the immigrant community. By moving out of ethnic neighborhoods and school districts and by obtaining better jobs where people from a variety of backgrounds work, ethnic persons will come into increased contact with people outside their ethnicity. This will eventually lead to decreased contact with people from the same backgrounds, the

assumption of a more American culture, and the loss of ethnic identification.

Piore (1979) and Cornelius (1981) both make a distinction from within the individualistic perspective between the characteristics of target or temporary immigrant workers and permanent settler immigrants. While both authors detail the political and economic forces that are important in providing the pushes and pulls of migration, their focus is on the immigrants themselves. Target workers are immigrants who emigrate temporarily in search of money that they intend to use for a specific reason in their home country. They may leave spouses and children behind, but intend to return after they have saved enough money to establish a small business, pay debts, or live off of for a set amount of time. They spend less time associating with others in the community because they maximize their work hours and do not identify with the immigrant community. Their identity is not with their work or their position in the immigrant community but with their home country position. Temporary workers do not assimilate to the new country nor do they become active members of the immigrant community because their interest in the community is only economic. Temporary or target workers are distinguished by their personal orientations to their work and their identity of belonging.

While many people migrate with the intention of staying in order to improve their lives or the lives of their children, the presence of family in the new country encourages permanent settlement. Settlers may retain "economic and psychological" ties to their homeland which can lead to low naturalization rates among the settlers. This does not prevent settlers from being active in community organizations and having

an interest in community issues such as bilingual education and community services. Thus, immigrant communities are established by settlers rather than temporary workers. The second generation is assumed by Piore (1979) to adopt the expectations of the new society because of their exposure to it. Acculturation and moving out of the immigrant community, however, depends on whether the second generation's relationship to the economy allows them to adopt the dominant culture's lifestyle.

The distinction between temporary and permanent migrants provides a useful framework for conceptualizing some of the important features of an immigrant community from within the individualist perspective. Identity and interaction are core variables that distinguish the two types of migrants. Aspects of community that provide the immigrant with a locally centered identity and interaction that are not only economically instrumental will be key to keeping a community alive from the inside. Other concepts will be needed to conceptualize the external forces that help establish and sustain communities.

Assimilation theory in general is useful in directing our attention to some of the internal forces that help keep ethnic communities intact. The culture maintaining institutions such as the family, church, and voluntary organizations help reinforce the immigrant community's sense of distinctiveness and serve as interactional centers. The theory also points to the importance of the generational composition of the community. Second generation residents of San Francisco's Chinatown, for example, started acculturating and moving to the suburbs after World War II. The community began to die out because immigration restrictions prevented the arrival of new immigrants who could reinforce the cultural

traditions and knowledge of the community. Only when immigration restrictions were lifted and a stream of new arrivals began in the 1960's did the community regain its vitality (Nee & Nee 1974).

Human capital theory is important because it draws attention to the major characteristics of individuals, such as education, that are associated with income and occupational advancement for most members of society. If there are differences between the return on human capital for some members of society, such as between whites and Mexicans, then we have an indication that the economic position of the group may be caused by non-individual characteristics. When the theory works at the individual level, but the group as a whole remains economically behind, we can then turn to an investigation of why group members have lower educational and skill levels. While lower human capital levels have been explained by some as problems intrinsic to some groups, it is also possible to explain a group's position as a structural problem (see below).

Structural Theories

Structural theories of the causes of immigration, stream stability, economic uses of labor, and immigrant adaptation generally draw on a political economy analysis. One of the major contributions of this analysis has been to place the study of immigration into a larger framework that considers the political and economic context at the state and international level. The other contribution has been to theorize how migration is a necessary component of capitalist development.

In moving beyond a push-pull analysis, political economy looks at the forces that makes a region susceptible to voluntary (vs. forced or slave trade) emigration. Migration theory generally assumes that people

are basically stationary, needing some impulse to initiate migration (Kabut & Hoffmann-Nowotny 1982). In world-systems theory, this impulse often comes when capitalist relationships are introduced into traditional local economies, disrupting preexisting relationships. Countries most peripheral to the capitalist system send few migrants to core countries due to their more stable local economies and fewer "needs" which cannot be satisfied locally. The more an area becomes integrated into the world economy the more dependent it becomes on imports for items that are (or become) necessities. At the same time the area becomes dependent on cash crops and other new modes of production for export. The resulting changes of productive forces make it impossible for some people to meet their needs due to under- or unemployment, landlessness (for peasants), or increased "needs" (for the middle-class). These pressures encourage people to migrate in search of better opportunities. These people then become part of the global pool of labor which is drawn upon as needed in the core capitalist countries (Bach & Schraml 1982, Portes & Walton 1981).

Perhaps more important than disruption as the cause of migration is the need for labor in some nations. The sharp increase in labor needed by industry during the consolidation of capitalism in the United States led to direct recruitment of labor from Asia (Chinese and Japanese), Mexico, and Europe (see Bonacich [1984] on Asians, Barrera [1979] on Mexicans, and Steinberg [1981] on Europeans). While the direct recruitment of foreign labor has decreased, American capital continues to benefit from the influx of foreign workers. As recently as the the 1970's immigrants from Mexico have been a crucial part of the dynamic industrial growth in the American Southwest (Muller 1984). Even where

there is sufficient domestic labor, an oversupply of labor helps reduce the cost of labor, giving employers an incentive to encourage immigration even if domestic labor is available. Immigrant labor continues to be of use to capital in the U.S by helping to counteract some of the contradictions of capitalism that appear as the falling rate of profits, the cyclical nature of the economy, and class conflict.

There are several ways to counteract or postpone the declining rate of profit. One way is to increase the productivity of workers without increasing the organic composition of production. This occurs when production is accelerated or when workers spend more time working for the same total wages. Immigrants are useful to capital because they are more exploitable than native workers, especially if the immigrants' are "illegal" and thus less likely to complain about wages or conditions. All immigrants, regardless of legal status, typically work longer hours under worse conditions for less wages than native born workers.

Another way for capital to counteract falling profits is for the state to assume some of the cost of production. This occurs particularly through education, welfare benefits (which both maintain and discipline the labor force), and public works (roads, utilities, etc.). Immigrants are desirable because their costs are minimized both to business and the state. Since most immigrants are able bodied and willing to take any work, welfare and other supportive costs of immigrants are minimal. Immigrants also are predominately in their prime working years, providing the maximum output for businesses without requiring the host society to pay the costs of raising the worker. Immigrants also use lower cost housing and other community services than native workers, further lowering the fiscal demands on capital and the

state.

The cyclical nature of the economy requires a flexible workforce, particularly in the competitive sector (Lever-Tracy 1983, O'Connor 1973). Immigrants serve as a readily available pool of reserve labor, and temporary immigrants have the added advantage that they are easily dismissed (e.g. without the costs of paying unemployment benefits) when their labor is not needed. Capital is hurt least when it lays-off temporary immigrants because those migrants typically create little commodity demand since they save their money to send or take to their home country. As a result, their layoff reduces production and costs while affecting product demand little (Castells 1975).

Immigrant labor fills the cyclical needs for labor in many industries because of its constant availability. Labor market segmentation creates a limited range of industries where immigrants are able to find employment. During the peak of boom periods immigration can be encouraged and even state sponsored (as in the Bracero program in the U.S. Southwest). When the economy is bad immigrants can be deported or otherwise discouraged from receiving state aid for the poor or unemployed, but remains available for the next boom period. Immigration can therefore provide the benefits of an almost limitless labor pool when needed, while also minimizing social costs of unemployment during times of low labor need.

By focusing class conflict on wages, the introduction of low paid immigrants into the labor force provides a powerful tool against class struggle. Many researchers find that immigrant labor serves to divide the working class since immigrants have different immediate needs from native workers, even if they have common long range interests (e.g.

Bonacich & Cheng 1984, Steinberg 1981, Castells 1975, Bonacich 1972). The wage competition between workers helps limit wages and turns the focus of conflict away from the employer who pays low wages to the immigrant who accepts them. This fragmentation is easily seen in the efforts of organized labor to limit immigration to prevent competition for jobs (vs. an emphasis on organizing the newcomers), along with some of the xenophobic attitudes that result. By pitting segments of the working class against each other, capital reduces the energies directed against capital. Thus, class conflict can be both reduced and deflected by immigrants.

Accumulation, Immigration, & Community

The analysis just presented reproduces some of the limitations of the push-pull theories by conceptualizing individuals as largely isolated from any community context. While the structuralist position places immigration within the context of economic dynamics, people are not pure economic beings. Authors from both the individualist and structuralist perspectives have noted the importance of communities for immigrants and the consequences of immigration in community building. These writers have not fully conceptualized immigrant communities as essential to capital's use of immigrant labor. This section synthesizes what others have written about the importance of community and adds an analysis that shows how community can be conceptually placed at the center of a political economy analysis of immigration.

Even if efforts are made to prevent immigrants from forming communities in the countries where they work, the long term presence of migrants inevitably results in the formation of communities (Lever-Tracy 1983, Piore 1979). The only sure way of preventing or eliminating

community formation of migrants is through their expulsion from the immediate economic system and the nation (as was done with Indians in Uganda). Thus, when considering immigration it is also necessary to consider the consequences of community formation. While the structuralist analysis is primarily concerned with the usefulness of immigrants as workers in a capitalist economy, the communities immigrants form can also be analyzed from the structuralist perspective, providing localized sources of labor and sources of profit through commodity transactions.

Immigrant communities are important sources of labor in a capitalist economy for several reasons. Given the usefulness of immigrant labor described above, community facilitation of migration and (temporary) settlement enhances the workforce. The presence of a community eases the migration process by providing a location for the newcomer to move where the language, customs, and even some of the individuals are familiar (Cornelius 1981, Zarrugh 1979). The result is that the migration process is less discontinuous, making the migrant more likely to move to that community and remain to work. Communities can also serve as convenient recruiting locations for businesses. If a business is in need of low cost, low skilled labor, the business can target its recruiting in a barrio or ghetto where that type of worker is most likely to be found. The informal information networks within barrios and ghettos can also assist the employer in locating desirable employees with minimal investment in recruitment costs. The informal network can also aid in replenishing or increasing the labor pool with new immigrants when it becomes easier to find a job (i.e. tighter labor market), in effect helping to keep a surplus of workers that helps to

limit wages.

For those who settle permanently, a community is useful in reproducing the work force, both physically through biological reproduction as well as in the socialization of the children into workers. In ghettos, children are confronted with conditions and role models that discourage attempts at advancement or overt rebellion, recreating a population with few job skills who can serve as a pool of manual low paid workers[4] (Willis 1977; Grebler, Moore, & Guzman 1970).

The use of immigrant and ethnic labor in a cyclical economy is enhanced if there is a developed community, rather than just atomistic individuals. Capital is better able to increase and decrease employment if there is a community that can assume some of the responsibility for maintaining some of costs of unemployment (cf. Stack 1975). Local immigrant communities can function in much the same way that (migrant) sending regions can function in absorbing the costs of reproduction, ill health, and unemployment that might otherwise be the responsibility of capital or the state (Doyal 1979).

Weakening working class solidarity is fostered by pitting native workers against immigrants for jobs, and it is also reinforced by the residential segregation of immigrant communities. Some intraclass conflict is generated when immigrants feel (and often are) exploited by absentee landlords who are often members of an earlier migrant stream -- earlier migrants who may be most threatened by the new immigrants (Zarrugh [1979] tells of Mexican-Italian tensions over housing). Drawing on interactionist theory, we would predict that intraclass conflict is promoted when groups are kept as "strangers" to each other by limiting interaction and fostering stereotypes. This can lead to a

devaluing of the cultural characteristics of the immigrants as a means of combating their influence. Thus, what could be valued as "thriftyness" gets devalued as "stingyness" in Jews and Chinese. Likewise, the Latino value on family that has been devalued by many social scientists as retarding economic advancement through "rational" (i.e. economic vs. familial) choices, rather than valued as providing a source of protection from a hostile environment.

Immigrant communities also serve as a site for consumption that creates profits. While the aggregate demand of immigrants in society is low as Castells (1975) argues, immigrants tend to be geographically concentrated rather than spread evenly throughout society (Garcia 1985). This concentration in communities makes the immigrants an important localized source of profits through rents and commodity consumption. Recent immigrants rarely own their own homes (or the buildings where their businesses are located) and are forced to rent from absentee landlords, frequently in more run-down sections of cities. By charging comparatively high rents while reinvesting little of the rents in the buildings, owners of property in immigrant communities are able to make large profits. Because ethnic businesses are often small and undercapitalized, a large proportion of the goods purchased by ghetto and barrio residents are made in stores owned by outsiders. In addition to profiting capitalists, this system of absentee landlords and merchants weakens any attempt to accumulate capital within the community that could be used by the immigrants for economic advancement. Thus the community is more likely to remain in an economically vulnerable position, dependent on the dominant economic system for its survival. Research has shown that it is possible for ethnic communities to create

internal sources of capital and establish enclave economies to the benefit of the communities (Portes & Bach 1985, Light 1972), but the rarity of this phenomenon indicates that external forces must prevent this process in other groups.

Ethnic communities may also form for more "political" reasons than to benefit capitalism. Hechter (1977) conceptualizes continued ethnic solidarity in communities as the result of an **ethnic** strategy to fight exploitation. The emphasis on common ethnic and racial origins as a process of organizing against oppression has been noted by other researchers as well (Portes & Bach 1985, Blauner 1972). This theory suggests that as structural forces block the advancement of an ethnic group into the mainstream economy and society, the ethnic group develops a consciousness of that structural barrier. Occupational and residential segregation increases in-group contact and facilitates the group forming a level of solidarity. The ethnic group's consciousness of oppression is furthered by contact with majority groups since the contact shows the ethnic group members how they are being kept out of the mainstream. Rather than assimilation and understanding resulting from intergroup contact as postulated by the Chicago school and individualist immigration theory, ethnic resilience theory predicts that intergroup contact can lead to a strengthening of ethnic ties and **increased** intergroup conflict.

The analysis of how immigrant communities can serve as the basis for resistance to exploitation is similar to the general urban political economy analysis of working class communities. Most structural theory about immigration, however, focuses on the functional aspects of immigration and immigrant communities for capitalism. These two bodies

of theory are complementary because together they help explain both the functional and contradictory aspects of immigrant communities in a capitalist system. While general urban political economy theory sees community only in its contradictory aspect (and thus could conceive of a society without community), the analysis of immigrant community shows that community can also be very functional under capitalism. Thus, in immigrant communities there is the dichotomy of structural forces encouraging the persistence of ethnic communities while these same forces create the conditions of resistance to economic exploitation. The historically contingent nature of these forces would explain why the conditions are favorable for the continued existence of some ethnic communities and not favorable for other similar communities.

Overall, structural theories are important because they provide a framework to examine the limits within which groups form communities; they provide an analysis of the "external" forces needed for community formation and development. Structuralist theories provide historical explanations of why only certain areas account for the majority of emigrants, while certain areas accept the majority of immigrants. Unlike the deterministic view that all immigrants will eventually assimilate and become a part of the mainstream economic system, structural theories show how some groups may be systematically prevented from moving into the mainstream. This provides an explanatory system for the findings that human capital variables differ in their ability to predict occupation and income. Under certain conditions the individual theories <u>do</u> adequately explain the movement of immigrants out of their own communities and into the American mainstream. Portes and Bach (1985) found that the political and economic context within with each

group enters and lives in the U.S. affects the ability of the individual and structural approaches to explain the immigrant experience. Thus, each set of concepts has potential usefulness, but the broader context must be included in any analysis to insure its accuracy.

A Synthesis of Aging, Community, and Immigration

The theories of aging were presented in a separate chapter from the theories of community and immigration because there has been little research or writing that addresses all three issues.

As was noted in the review of aging theories, most analyses of the elderly assume that normal social processes put the elderly in a marginal, victimized, or isolated position in society. The empirical literature on Latino elders shows that the elderly are effective and important social actors, but primarily in a limited family context. Community studies from the Chicago school focus on the breakdown of tradition and/or the creation of viable forms of social organization. Urban political economy studies are most concerned with the needs of capitalist production and the place of waged labor. Since the elderly are not visibly involved in institution building they have fallen outside the interests of Chicago school community studies. Similarly, the urban and migration political economy theory focus on waged labor and capital removes both the elderly and women from theoretical importance because they are not **directly** involved in the capital-wage labor relationship[5].

Immigration theory in general overlooks the elderly partly due to simple demography. Most immigrants come to the United States during the prime working ages of 20-40 (Wallace 1986a; the same is true for most migration in Europe [Castells 1975]). Since the actual immigration

process and initial settlement are of primary interest in immigration theory, the situation of immigrants 40 years after their arrival gets overlooked. Immigration theory has also been concerned with the labor market consequences of immigration, and wage labor is usually associated with young men. When the immigrant workers leave the labor force they are no longer of interest to most researchers (Wallace 1986b). Only recently have women become of interest to theorists of immigration (see the special issue on women of International Migration Review, 1984).

While the elderly have previously been overlooked in community and immigration theory, the reviews presented in this dissertation of aging, community, and immigration theory can provide suggestions of how the elderly can be theorized as participants in the creation and maintenance of an immigrant community. These theoretical formulations can then be reconstructed as empirical questions to determine whether they provide an accurate understanding of the elderly in the Nicaraguan immigrant community in San Francisco.

Community Defined

Before specifying how the elderly many be involved in the community, it is necessary to define community. There are four key community elements that can be drawn from the Chicago school and political economy theory that give the concept of community analytical power. These dimensions are the:

- *symbolic - involving collective meaning, sources of identity, and symbols of legitimation*
- *interactional - involving communications and relationships*
- *organizational - involving mutual help, collective action, and sites of articulation with the larger society and economy*
- *structural - involving the conditions created by accumulation, class, the state, and historical development of production*

Conceptualizing the community at these four different levels directs attention to different aspects of community in which the elderly may be involved. The symbolic and interactional levels are those addressed primarily by Chicago school and individualist theories of community. Urban political economy theory provides concepts useful at the organizational and structural level. The following discussion further describes how each level is distinguished analytically and empirically. Since all four levels are conceptually semi-interdependent, it will also be possible to see how the actions of the elderly at one level affect and are affected by other levels.

The symbolic level of the community provides the most basic building block of a community. As shown earlier in this chapter, the Chicago school and individualistic theories provide a useful analysis of how central symbols in a community constitute an organizing focus. The initial common symbol in any immigrant community is the home country. This symbolism provides a source of continuity for the immigrant who has usually made a large geographic move. By moving to a community where the symbols are familiar and the meanings of action are recognizable, the immigrant is eased into the new society.

Immigrant communities rarely maintain pure copies of the symbolic universe of the home country, however. Because the immigrant community is located in a different context, it is likely to innovate and mix the important symbols of the homeland with symbols from the new country. Immigrant communities are likely to have high levels of symbolic differences from the dominant society because many community members come from an outside symbolic order. Some areas that could be important symbolically in the community include:

- language, including accent and use of colloquilisms
- daily necessities, such as food and clothing
- ethnic specific symbols of pride and status

The salience of each in the community remains an empirical question, along with the question of how the elderly are involved in the production and maintenance of the symbols. By identifying the important symbols and their generation, we can ask how the elderly are involved in the symbolic composition of the community even if the symbols are not limited to the elderly.

The interactional patterns of a community shape the flow of information through the community and the types of relationships that individuals within the community establish with each other. In immigrant communities, especially those that are linguistically separate from the dominant society, interaction most commonly occurs with other community members (Portes & Bach 1985, Whyte 1943). The more that the immigrant culture differs from the host culture, the more we could expect the immigrant to remain within the community for information (via ethnic media, gossip, and public meetings), purchase of specialty goods (foods, articles of the home country), and other activities involving interaction with others (e.g. church). If the immigrant group is occupationally segregated, work as well as home life occurs in the company of ethnic companions. Drawing from Chicago school theory, the heavy interaction within a community should lead to the strengthening of social solidarity among the interactants. If the immigrant group finds itself the subject of structural barriers to advancement, interaction within the community may raise the residents' consciousness of those barriers, as suggested by structural theories of ethnic resistance (e.g. Hechter 1977).

At the interactional level there are empirical questions about communications and relationships. The special conditions of a Spanish speaking immigrant community are likely to shape those interactions, and the individuals of the community are active in shaping the form and content of the interactions. Some areas that may be empirically important in interaction include:

- the location in which most interaction occurs in the community (in quantity and importance)
- the process of the development of interpersonal relationships and their maintenance

At this level we can analyze the ways in which the elderly are involved in fostering, shaping, and participating in the interactional processes within the community. By looking at communications and interaction as processes, it is possible that the elderly may influence the interactional component of the community even if they are not the central participants.

The organizational level becomes important for the internal cohesion of the community as it grows in size and complexity. Churches, political and social associations, and mutual aid societies are important in some communities because they provide an organizational base for the community (Thomas & Znaniecki 1984, Light 1972). Other organizations, such as welfare offices, hospitals, and local government, may be important because they help both to provide outside resources that keep the immigrant community viable, and to articulate the larger social and economic system with the immigrant community. The organizational level can also be important if local elites become established through the organizations and use their organizational legitimacy to negotiate with outside forces, such as city hall (Whyte 1942, Katznelson 1981).

Organizations both reflect and work back on the symbolic and interactional levels by serving as symbolic sites and interactional loci, as well as reinforcing or modifying symbols and interaction within the community. As discussed in the section on urban political economy, community organizations can also serve to mediate structural forces. The organizations can both provide conditions favorable to capital accumulation, such as welfare organizations that promote social peace and individualism, as well as serve as focal points of resistance to exploitation, such as some unions and tenants' rights organizations. Empirically we need to learn:

- which organizations exist in the community and the role that they play in shaping community life?
- what forces work to support the existence of the organizations and what forces work to undermine them?

The only organizations in which the elderly are immediately obvious are those specifically for the elderly, such as senior centers. By detailing some of the basic social forces that lead to the creation and termination of immigrant organizations, we can examine the ways that the elderly may be involved in setting the necessary conditions for constructing an institutional infrastructure.

The structural level frames the entire community. Basic structural processes such as accumulation and class struggle will affect the basic organization and life of the community according to the political economy theories reviewed earlier. A labor market with a need for low waged immigrant labor often draws immigration to a specific region. As immigrants settle in the region they can create further demand for immigration as new businesses are established that take advantage of the low waged labor pool. Without an economic base, it is impossible for immigrant community members to obtain the basic necessities of life.

Similarly, the relationship of the community to the state will structure the resources and freedom that the community has to sustain itself. For Indo-Chinese and Cuban immigrants who have been declared refugees by the U.S. government there are government benefits to help the immigrants become established and decrease the climate of fear (Portes & Bach 1985, Pedraza Bailey 1985). For Latin American and Caribbean immigrants who often arrive on U.S. shores without documents, life is full of uncertainty because of the threat of deportation and the fear of relying on any government service. The undocumented are more likely to have to rely solely on the immigrant community, making communities with large numbers of undocumented members particularly important to their members (Cornelius 1981). If an immigrant community is recognized by the state, it will more than likely have access to some government funding for community organizations.

To study the Nicaraguan immigrant community we therefore need to know the relationship of the community to the means of production and consumption, or more specifically:

- is there an ethnically defined labor market? What is the economic means of support for community members?
- how is the community used as a source of profits through rents and commodity consumption?
- what is the relationship of the community to the local and national political systems?
- in what ways does the organization of the community serve the needs of capital and in what ways does it work against the needs of capital?

Once again, including the elderly at this level of analysis requires sophistication. If elderly immigrants are not active wage earners, we should look to see how the elderly are involved with those who are in the labor force. Dimensions of the community, in addition to the labor force, have consequences for capital accumulation and class struggle.

The role of the elderly in those aspects of community need to be explored.

Using the above criteria it is possible to view the community on a continuum. Midaeval Jewish ghettos that were separated from the surrounding society not only physically, but also symbolically, interactionally, organizationally, and structurally (Wirth 1956) are obviously communities. Additionally, a group of people with a few collective symbols who have a moderate amount of intragroup interaction and communication, who relate to one organization as a group, and who live under similar but not identical structural conditions can still be considered a community analytically. **Community, then, is not a "thing" that does or does not exist, but is a set of social and economic relationships that mediate the daily lives of its members with the structuring historical forces of society.** The extent of a community remains an empirical question for any group of immigrants.

This discussion has presented some of the components of each level of analysis of the community and some questions that can be asked about each. It is also important to determine how the different levels interact with one another. From a structural perspective the organizational, interactional, and symbolic aspects of a community can have consequences for the process of accumulation and class struggle. The organizational level of community is important to the structural level because organizations and institutions in the community mediate the needs of capital (Castells 1983). The interactional level is important because the relationships and information realized in interaction in the community allow work to create surplus value, though the information and relationships can also bind people together in

common action against capital (Marx 1972c [1848]). The symbolic level of community underlies the structural level by providing the basis upon which legitimacy claims about the current political and economic system are made (for example, see Habermas 1975). This dependence on the other levels of community is illustrated by reading the columns in Table 2-1. The table illustrates the interdependence of each of the levels of community on each other.

Table 2-1

Interrelation of Levels of Analysis

	As Dependent Variables			
	symbols	interaction	organization	structure
As Independent Variables				
symbols	--	medium of interaction	unifying sentiments ("totems")	provide legitimacy
interaction	creates meaning	--	aligns arcs of work that comprise	creates surplus value & consciousness
organization	source of continuity	locus for joint action	--	mediate structural forces
structure	material basis	parameters of form & content	creates need for	--

By reading across rows, Table 2-1 suggests how each level of community is important because of the dependence of other levels. Interaction, for example, is important in the community because through interaction symbols of the community gain meaning (Mead 1934). Interaction is also important because it aligns the arcs of work that comprise organizations (Strauss, Fagerhaugh, Suczek, & Wiener 1985). Finally, interaction allows the exchange of the products of human labor

so that surplus value can be created. While this table does not list all of the possible linkages between each level of analysis of community, it does illustrate the type of interrelationships within the model.

The elderly would not appear, at first glance, to be equally involved in all four dimensions of community. Gerontological theory places most of the activity of the elderly at the symbolic and interactional levels, with the elderly having a minor influence at the organizational level and being primarily constrained by structural level forces and processes. Because the community is conceptually comprised of all of the levels, however, the interrelationships between the influence of the elderly at one level and the consequences at another level should be identifiable. Specifying how the elderly directly and indirectly influence the community is part of the work of this dissertation.

Having developed a conception of community, it is now appropriate to introduce the broad outlines of the Nicaraguan immigrant community in San Francisco. Chapter 3 provides a demographic and economic overview of the Nicaraguan immigrant community. The overview does not analyze the community along the four different levels identified above, but provides a general overview of the aggregate conditions that the community faces.

After identifying the outlines the conditions that frame the Nicaraguan immigrant community in Chapter 3, we will still need concepts that can be used to identify where the elderly have the most effect on the community. Chapter 4, therefore, develops the theoretical distinction between two types of social action to use in the analysis of

the elderly in the immigrant community, showing how the often "invisible" actions and the position of the elderly in the community can be conceptualized as an essential part of the community. Chapters 5-8 draw on the analysis of community developed in this chapter and the concepts identified in the other chapters to show how the elderly are involved in the formation of the Nicaraguan community at different analytic levels.

[1] Surplus value is the difference between the value a laborer adds to a product and the value of the compensation for that labor. Marx, based on the situation in 19th century England, assumed that workers would be paid just enough to survive. Surplus value then "is explained by the reference to the fact that, as the labour-power of the worker is a commodity, its 'cost of production' can be calculated just like any other commodity. This is constituted by the cost of providing the worker with sufficient returns to 'produce and reproduce himself,'" with surplus value being the difference between this cost and the total value produced by the worker (Giddens 1975:34).

[2] Marx (1972c [1848]) theorized that in the process of concentrating workers, not only would cities grow but that workers would compare their experiences of exploitation and develop a consciousness of their position. He argued that this consciousness was a necessary step in a movement against exploitation.

[3] The contradiction of production and consumption based on economic criteria versus that based on personalistic criteria was noted also by Weber (1946). He conceptualized the relations based on class (economic) and status (noneconomic) were contradictory in nature.

[4] In upper class communities the opportunities and expectations are likewise structured to provide the new generation with advantages and desires that will lead them into highly skilled and educated positions.

[5] In Chapter 4 I argue that the elderly can be conceptualized as involved in the processes of accumulation and class struggle even though they are not usually wage laborers. Socialist feminist theory has makes the same argument about women (see Sokoloff 1980 and Chapter 4 of this dissertation).

CHAPTER 3

THE DEMOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL OUTLINES OF THE NICARAGUAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY IN SAN FRANCISCO

Immigrants bring certain characteristics such as education and language ability with them into a community, potentially influencing the structural position of that community. This chapter addresses the basic demographic characteristics of the Nicaraguans in the San Francisco Bay Area using data from the 1980 census and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. These data detail various characteristics of Nicaraguans in the Bay Area that may affect the existence of a community.

The economic context of the community also has important consequences for the community's members. The economic context that greets immigrants from Nicaragua is described and the common economic dynamic that includes both Central Americans and Mexicans in California is shown. Communities are also influenced by local politics. A discussion of the San Francisco political arena illustrates the how the Nicaraguan community is politically invisible to dominant political institutions because political activity in the immigrant community centers on Nicaragua. The chapter concludes by reviewing the implications for Nicaraguan elderly of the demographics, economic context, and political situation of Nicaraguans in the San Francisco area.

Historical Trends

There has been a Nicaraguan presence in California for the past several decades. A Nicaraguan respondent who lived in San Francisco in the 1950's reports that there was a small but cohesive group of

Nicaraguans living in San Francisco at that time. One of the events he recalled bringing many Nicaraguans together in the early 1950's was the arrival of the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran contestants for the Miss Universe pageant. A large party thrown in the contestants' honor in the Mission district attracted several hundred Nicaraguans and Salvadorans. At that time there was also an all Nicaraguan soccer team with 20-25 members that played against other ethnic teams, including one Mexican team. The Patio at 11th and Market was a popular bar for Nicaraguans. The respondent said that he knows several women from Nicaragua who met their husbands there, and he frequently met people who he had known knew at that bar (27).

The 1950's were a time of informal associations. Mexican restaurants and other Latin American stores were just beginning to become established in the Mission District, so there were no natural places for Nicaraguans to congregate. The respondent said that on weekends he would get together with other friends, mostly from Nicaragua, at different friends' homes for fiestas. "It may seem funny to you now, but there was little talk about politics then. Conversations were mostly about jobs and family" (027).

There are no published census reports on Nicaraguans in San Francisco, but statewide data available from 1960 provide an indication of the change in the number of Nicaraguans since that time. By 1960 the 9,195 first and second generation Nicaraguans throughout California outnumbered all other Latino groups except for Mexicans (who numbered 695,643). By 1970 the number of first and second generation Nicaraguans in California doubled to 18,052 (see Table 3-1). Over half of the new residents were children born in the U.S. to Nicaraguan immigrants (U.S.

BOC 1963, U.S. BOC 1973). While Nicaraguans remained the largest Central American group, Cuban immigration during the 1960's displaced Nicaraguans as the largest Latino group after Mexicans. By 1980, Nicaraguans had grown at least 50% more, to 24,261 who claimed Nicaraguan ancestry in California. By this time, however, the political and economic turmoil in El Salvador resulted in large number of Salvadorans immigrating to California, making them the second largest Latino immigrant group.

Table 3-1

Historical Population Growth
Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Cuban, and Mexican Immigrants and their Children
California Residents

	1960	1970	1980 ancestry*	1980 aliens**
Nicaraguan	9,195	18,052	24,261	9,403
Salvadoran	7,119	17,684	62,337	22,017
Cuban	6,237	47,699	48,149	23,794
Mexican	695,643	1,112,008	3,361,773	519,782

* In 1980, rather than identifying foreign born and people with foreign born parents, the Census asked about "ancestry." Of those born in Central America, 10% reported "Spanish" as their ancestry, compared to less than 3% of those born in Mexico, reducing the completeness of the reporting for Central Americans.

** Noncitizens who reported their addresses to the Immigration and Naturalization Service as required by law until 1981.

Sources: U.S. BOC 1963, U.S. BOC 1973, U.S. BOC 1983a, U.S. INS 1983

Restrictions on immigration to the U.S. from Latin America were first enacted in 1965, a period known more widely for U.S. civil rights legislation than border-closing legislation (Midgley 1983). While San Francisco does not have the geographic proximity to Nicaragua that Miami has, it does have the advantage of an established Nicaraguan population that began to settle before the 1965 restrictions. Over half of all

Nicaraguan residents of the Bay Area in 1980 had immigrated before 1965 (Table 3-2). As a result, many different families became established in the San Francisco area before the large scale migrations of the late 1970's and 1980's, providing a base for a community to build upon. Recent migration patterns have brought a new influx of immigrants. In 1980, 25% of all immigration had occurred within the five year span of 1975-1980.

Table 3-2

Year of Immigration by Sex
Nicaraguan Immigrants Living in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1980

Year of Immigration	male (n=172)	female (n=335)
Before 1950	12.2%	15.5%
1950-1964	35.5%	38.2%
1965-1974	22.7%	18.2%
1975- April 1980	29.6%	28.1%

(Numbers do not equal 100% due to rounding)
Source: U.S. BOC 1983c

While there had been fighting against the government in Nicaragua for years, the Somoza regime did not collapse until July 1979. In the following years most of the upper class of Nicaragua left the country either because of their associations with the Somoza regime or because they feared the that new government would expropriate their wealth (USCR 1981). In a personal interview in 1985, the U.S. Consul in Managua reported in an interview that all but a few of the wealthy families in Nicaragua had left. A U.S. financed insurgency against the new government further complicated Nicaragua's already unstable economic situation. The changing economic and political situation in Nicaragua led to the emigration of a large number of professionals, while the

imposition of the first compulsory military draft led to the emigration of a number of teenaged boys. These political and economic changes have resulted in large numbers of Nicaraguans coming to the U.S. since 1980, both legally and illegally.

Immigration laws in the U.S. reinforce family ties (Kreely 1981). The family reunification provisions under immigration law provide special preference to the immigration of immediate family members. Family is also the most likely source of the proof of support that the law requires prior to admission. Having family in the U.S. also makes it easier to obtain a tourist visa. Once in the U.S., Nicaraguans find it easy to remain, becoming undocumented residents with expired visas. Almost all of the Nicaraguans included in this study had some family member in San Francisco before they immigrated.

Table 3-3 shows Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) data on Nicaraguans who immigrated to the U.S. legally since 1978, as well as the numbers who entered the country legally on a temporary visa. The increase in the immigration rate after the revolution in 1979 is apparent, as is the increase in the number of Nicaraguans in the U.S. on temporary visas. The number of temporary visitors peaked in FY1983, perhaps reflecting a growing number of Nicaraguans who had immigrated and were no longer traveling between the U.S. and Nicaragua. The drop in immigrants in 1985 is probably due, in part, to Nicaragua's requirement, beginning 1985, that airplane tickets be paid for in U.S. dollars (rather than the national currency). This requirement made travel to the U.S. more difficult and expensive.

The U.S. Consul in Managua reported conducting a study showing that between 10-20% of those who flew out of Nicaragua to the U.S. in 1984

overstayed their visas, becoming undocumented residents in the U.S. If this figure can be generalized to Nicaraguan visitors to the U.S., then the minimum immigration rate for the 1980's should be doubled or tripled. Additional undocumented immigrants obtain visas to visit Mexico, then travel to the border and cross into the U.S. These immigrants would appear neither in INS immigrant nor visitor statistics.

Table 3-3

Legal Immigration from Nicaragua
To the United States, FY1978-FY1985

	Fiscal Years							
	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Immigrants admitted (by country of birth)	1,888	1,938	2,337	2,752	3,077	2,983	2,718	2,786
Nonimmigrants admitted (by country of last residence)		23,130*	n/a	24,864	25,186	26,366	21,342	17,699

* Nine months only, Oct 78-June 79.
n/a - not available
Sources: U.S. INS, various years

Estimates of the total number of Nicaraguan and Salvadoran immigrants to the San Francisco area between 1980-1985 vary. The most commonly used figure is 20,000-40,000 Nicaraguans and up to 100,000 Salvadorans (Ruggles & Fix 1985, USCR 1981). San Francisco city officials claim that the Mission District could not absorb more than 40,000 total immigrants (104, 117), while a past Nicaraguan consul claims that at least 60,000-100,000 Nicaraguans alone settled in the San Francisco Bay Area in the past five years. Catholic Church officials estimate 120,000 new Central American immigrants to the San Francisco, Marin, and San Mateo area between 1980-1985.

The data presented above demonstrate that there has been a Nicaraguan presence in California and the Bay Area for at least the past 20-30 years. The number of Nicaraguan residents has grown continuously over the years, with a particularly sharp rise after the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution. Whether the actual figure is 20,000 or 100,000 new Nicaraguans in the Bay Area, the large influx of new residents means that most elderly Nicaraguans in the San Francisco area have either immigrated themselves during that time, or have family or friends who are recent immigrants. Elderly Nicaraguans are thus in contact with immigrants who are settling in San Francisco and becoming part of a community.

Current Characteristics of the Nicaraguan Population

The 1980 Census counted approximately 15,000 people in the San Francisco Bay Area (the six county region of San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Alameda, Contra Costa, and Marin) who were born in Nicaragua or who listed their ancestry as Nicaraguan. While this is most likely an undercount, it can provide the basis for a general demographic overview of the Nicaraguan community. The following demographic overview is based on the 1980 Census public-use micro data sample (PUMS) for California (U.S. BOC 1983c). The PUMS is a data file that contains information from a stratified five percent sample of all of households enumerated in the 1980 census.

Over half (56.4%) of those reporting Nicaraguan heritage in the Bay Area live in the city of San Francisco. The next largest concentration of Nicaraguans (22.6%) is found in San Mateo county. From interviews with various respondents it appears that most of those in San Mateo county live in the northern section of the county (especially Daly

City). Few Nicaraguans live in Marin (1.1%), while the rest of the counties split the balance of the Nicaraguan residents. The data coincide with a general trend reported by Nicaraguan residents of Nicaraguans settling initially in San Francisco and moving south (out of the Mission district) when they can afford it.

Nicaraguans who live in San Francisco generally work inside San Francisco. While the location of work sample size in the PUMS data is too small to provide a firm estimate (n=74), we can observe general trends. Only about 10% of Nicaraguan immigrants living in San Francisco reported working outside of the city. About one-quarter worked in San Francisco's central business district, with the balance of employment in the other districts of San Francisco. This is consistent with the reports of people in the Nicaraguan community who claim that most Nicaraguans work for small businesses outside of the central business district, with a portion of Nicaraguans working downtown (primarily in cleaning and secretarial positions).

Nicaraguans live in moderate sized households (Table 3-4). Almost three-fourths of Nicaraguans in the Bay Area live in households with one to two other persons. The residential pattern is significantly different between San Francisco and San Mateo (x^2=16.3, df=5, p<.01). Nicaraguan families in San Francisco are more likely to have one to two persons, while those in San Mateo are more likely to have three persons. Less than half of the San Francisco families include children in the home, while over two-thirds of San Mateo families have children. The high housing costs and poor condition of housing in the San Francisco Mission District make it more difficult for Nicaraguans to raise families in San Francisco than in areas to the south, providing an

impetus for Nicaraguans to move out of San Francisco. The low incomes and high housing costs in San Francisco are reflected in the home ownership patterns. The further away from San Francisco the Nicaraguan family lives, the higher the likelihood of owning rather than renting a home. This suggests that economic mobility is associated with the ability to settle in San Mateo county.

Table 3-4

Family Characteristics Where at least One Member Reports Nicaraguan Ancestry or Birthplace San Francisco Bay Area, 1980

		Nicaraguan households living in	Number of persons in household				
			1	2	3	4	5+
San Francisco	(n=176)	53.2%	11.9%	24.4%	18.7%	21.0%	23.9%
San Mateo County	(n=81)	24.5%	4.9%	16.0%	38.3%	19.8%	21.0%
Other Bay Area	(n=74)	22.4%	8.1%	20.3%	23.0%	24.3%	24.3%

	families w/kids	families w/o	not family	housing owned	housing rented
San Francisco	47.2%	35.8%	17.0%	34.1%	65.3%
San Mateo County	67.8%	23.5%	8.6%	45.7%	54.3%
Other Bay Area	59.5%	25.7%	14.9%	64.9%	33.8%

Source: U.S. BOC 1983c

One of the most significant demographic findings is that women outnumber men almost two-to-one among Nicaraguans in the Bay Area (Table 3-5). This ratio is constant for Nicaraguans in other parts of California as well, and is the highest female:male ratio among all Central American immigrants (Wallace 1986). The high proportion of women becomes especially pronounced at the older ages where there are almost twice as many women as men over age 35, and where over four-fifths of the elderly Nicaraguans in the Bay Area are women. The small number (eight) of Nicaraguan men age 65 and over in the Bay Area sample

may provide inaccurate gender ratios, but in the larger total California sample women from Nicaragua continue to account for over three-quarters of all Nicaraguans age 65 and over who were immigrants (Wallace 1986).

Table 3-5

Age and Gender Distribution
Persons Reporting Nicaraguan Ancestry or Birthplace
San Francisco Bay Area, 1980

	age distribution				gender distribution	
	male		female		% female of age group	
	total (n=280)	immigrant (n=172)	total (n=440)	immigrant (n=335)	total	immigrant
under 16	30.4%	12.2%	21.6%	8.6%	52.8%	58.0%
16-24	20.0%	19.2%	17.9%	14.9%	58.5%	60.2%
25-34	17.9%	22.7%	14.8%	17.3%	56.5%	59.8%
35-54	23.2%	32.5%	28.4%	37.0%	65.8%	68.9%
55-64	5.7%	8.7%	7.5%	9.5%	67.3%	68.1%
65 & up	2.9%	4.6%	9.8%	12.5%	84.3%	84.0%
all ages*	100.1%	99.9%	100.0%	99.8%		

* Figures do not equal 100% due to rounding.
Source: U.S. BOC 1983c

One-quarter of the Nicaraguan population in the Bay Area is under age 16 (Table 3-5). This proportion of youth is about the same as the general (all ethnicities) California population, but well below the Mexican Origin population where over one-third of the population is under age 16 (U.S. BOC 1982). At the same time, a large proportion of the population is over age 55, especially among immigrant women. This indicates a dynamic community where there is on-going addition to the community via births as well as a significant proportion of elderly persons who may be expected to be involved in both childcare and socialization.

Older Nicaraguan men in the Census sample were almost always heads of households (usually with spouses). Only two of 24 men over age 54

lived in households where other family members were the head of household. In contrast, older women were much more likely to live in the homes of their adult children and other family. Almost one-third (29.3%) of Nicaraguan women age 55 and older lived in families where other relatives were the head of household. These women were as likely to be living with siblings or other collateral family as they were to be living with their adult children. Among older immigrant women, all of the women who were living as heads of household or as spouses had immigrated before 1965, while older immigrant women living with other family were evenly split between pre- and post-1965 immigrants. While taking the limited sample size into account, it is likely older Nicaraguan women who immigrate are most likely to do so to live with their families in the Bay Area. Those elderly women living on their own or with their husbands have generally established their homes here for many years (U.S. BOC 1983c).

Financial resources of the elder woman do not appear to be the cause of women living with their family. There is no statistical difference between the total income of women who live with other family and those who do not (although this finding may be a result of the small sample size). This income is more important in the households where the older Nicaraguan woman is head of household or the spouse than in households where she is another family member. The income of Nicaraguan women age 65 and over who live with other families accounts for 25% of the total family income. When older Nicaraguan women are the head of the household or spouse their income accounts for 62% of the family income. None of women age 65 and over reported any earned income and most of their income coming from social security and public assistance

(such as Supplemental Security Income) (U.S. BOC 1983c).

The fertility of Nicaraguan immigrant women in the Bay Area is approximately the same as for other Central American immigrants, though it is lower than for women remaining in Nicaragua. Nicaraguan immigrant women age 15 and over in the Bay Area have a mean fertility of 2.0. Nicaraguan women who immigrated between 1975 and 1980 and who had completed their primary childbearing years (those age 40 and above) had a mean fertility of approximately 4 (U.S. BOC 1983c). The average fertility for all women in Nicaragua is near 6. This data indicate that Nicaraguan immigrant women have fewer children than women in Nicaragua. This probably explained, in part, buy the higher class levels of women immigrants (as indicated by education) than of women living in Nicaragua (Wallace 1986).

The English ability of Nicaraguan immigrants in the Bay Area follows a predictable pattern of increased ability with increased time in the area (Table 3-6). While it is possible to live in the Mission district and other barrios in the Bay Area without speaking English, the types of work and services available to those who only speak Spanish is limited. Among Nicaraguans living in San Francisco, census data (U.S. BOC 1983c) shows that women who are able to speak English well are most likely to work in support-clerical positions, while those who speak little or no English are more likely to work as machine operators and assemblers (e.g. in textiles). Table 3-6 also shows that men have an advantage over women in their ability to speak English over all age and immigration groups. Over half of the older women (over age 55) have poor English skills regardless of period of immigration.

Table 3-6

Ability to Speak English
Nicaraguan Immigrants in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1980

	under age 26		aged 26-55		aged 56 & over	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
Immigrated 1975-1980 (n=145)						
Speaks English very well, well, or only	74%	58%	50%	42%	20%	-
Speaks English not well or not at all	26%	42%	50%	58%	80%	100%
Immigrated 1965-1974 (n=100)						
Speaks English very well, well, or only	94%	94%	81%	71%	100%	25%
Speaks English not well or not at all	6%	6%	19%	29%	-	75%
Immigrated pre-1965 (n=262)						
Speaks English very well, well, or only	100%	88%	93%	80%	86%	47%
Speaks English not well or not at all	-	12%	7%	20%	14%	53%

Source: U.S. BOC 1983c

English ability has important implications beyond the ability to hold jobs and use services. English ability is often used as a measure of acculturation (Cuellar, Harris, & Jasso 1980). The high levels of English ability of Nicaraguans in the Bay Area would indicate that they are capable of participating in the dominant Anglo culture. On the other hand, the relatively large proportion of older women who communicate best in Spanish implies that families will also have a knowledge of Spanish if they are in contact with their older relatives. The importance of Spanish in the Nicaraguan community is explored further in Chapter 5.

Latino immigration tends to be family mediated (Cornelius 1981, Portes & Bach 1985). The data presented show that in 1980 there were a

large number of settled Nicaraguan households, especially in San Francisco and San Mateo. This distribution of households could be expected to direct the post-1979 immigration influx to the same areas. The new immigrants will encounter an established Nicaraguan community that has a high proportion of elders: 17.3% of all Nicaraguan women and 8.6% of all Nicaraguan men were over age 54 in 1980 (see Table 3-5). Elderly Nicaraguan women, who comprise the majority of the elderly, are more likely to speak Spanish primarily and are likely to live in households with an extended family. It can be expected, therefore, that the elderly will have a high level of contact with the newcomers and may be involved in the settling of the newcomers into their new home.

The type of home that immigrants make for themselves depends on the economic opportunities for the new settlers. The following section reviews the San Francisco economic context that provides the economic constraints and opportunities for the Nicaraguan settlers.

Economic Structure of the San Francisco Area

San Francisco has traditionally been an international and regional trade and tourist center. While San Francisco had an active industrial-manufacturing base in the past, rising land values and the monopolization of industries has led to the decline of industrial employment in the city.

San Francisco has increasingly become a finance center and a corporate headquarters city, hosting corporations such as Wells Fargo, TransAmerica Corporation, Standard Oil of California, and Bank of America. The declining number of blue collar industrial jobs in the city has been offset by increased demand for service sector workers. A strongly union city, San Francisco's loss of blue collar jobs also has

resulted in the loss of middle income occupational opportunities. Unionized manufacturing and transport sector jobs are generally replaced by nonunion service jobs (Barton 1979). While San Francisco is considered a strong union town, occupations like hotel and restaurant workers number about 46,000 (CA Dept. of Finance 1980) while the corresponding union reports 13,000 members. The economic climate of the 80's (and other factors) has led to a decline in the influence of many unions, softening the wage scales of the members of this service sector.

The downtown area of San Francisco has been a driving force in the service sector emphasis in the city. Office space in San Francisco has more than doubled between 1960 and 1985, leading to resident protests that resulted in statutory limits on the rate of downtown office expansion. Rapid expansion of office space in the downtown region has served to increase land values in adjoining areas, making many other commercial ventures unfeasible. At the same time, the office growth has led to increased demand for business services such as cleaning, security, and eating establishments. The higher incomes provided by the downtown administrative jobs along with increased tourism has helped fuel increased demand for restaurants citywide. The growth of eating and drinking establishments has been so rapid that city planning department recommended that eating and drinking establishments be limited by law to occupying a maximum of 25% of any district's commercial frontage (San Francisco 1984).

As is shown in Table 3-7, the service sector is the most dynamic sector in the San Francisco area, having grown 18.1% between 1979 and 1984. When the revolutions in Central America began to generate the largest number of emigrants, the San Francisco metropolitan area

Table 3-7

Estimated Wage and Salary Workers by Industry
San Francisco Metropolitan Area (San Francisco, Marin, San Mateo)
1979 - 1984

year	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	% growth 1979-84
Total (in thousands)	844.0	875.4	886.8	872.2	872.4	903.8	7.1%
Mining	1.5	2.2	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.5	66.7%
Construction	29.2	30.1	30.5	28.2	28.1	29.9	2.4%
Manufacturing	88.5	91.5	90.3	88.1	85.7	86.4	-2.4%
Transportation & Utilities	83.7	86.8	86.5	83.5	82.1	85.5	2.1%
Wholesale trade	63.4	64.8	63.3	60.8	59.8	62.6	-1.3%
Retail trade	125.6	130.1	131.0	129.3	132.5	139.2	10.8%
Finance, insurance & real estate	103.3	107.3	110.2	112.1	111.7	111.9	8.3%
Services	214.3	225.9	237.4	235.6	238.2	253.1	18.1%
Government	134.4	136.8	134.9	132.0	131.6	132.7	-1.3%

Source: California Dept. of Finance 1985

(San Francisco, Marin, and San Mateo) depended on the service sector for one-quarter of all employment. In 1979 there were 214 thousand persons employed in the service sector in the San Francisco metropolitan area. This employment sector grew over twice as fast as total employment between 1979 and 1984, creating close to 40 thousand new jobs over five years (Table 3-7).

It appears that the economic structure of San Francisco presents the Nicaraguan immigrant with a pre-existing Latino labor market. San Francisco's dependence on tourism and finance create a high demand for

service employees, providing low skill employment for immigrants who may not have good English skills. For those with English skills, the office industry generates a high demand for clerical support services. There are two ways to look at this labor market[1]. First, certain sectors depend on Hispanic labor for a disproportionate number of workers. In those occupations the presence and continued immigration of Latino workers provides a stable workforce. The second way of viewing the labor market is to look at where Nicaraguan immigrants are most likely to find jobs. It is possible that in a large labor market the immigrants will not dominate the employment in any occupation, but that large proportions of the immigrants depend on a limited number of occupations for employment.

There are several occupational groups where the economy depends on Hispanic labor. All Hispanics comprised 11.3% (41,209 persons) of the total San Francisco civilian labor force in 1980, but Hispanics accounted for over 20% of the 365 thousand civilians in the labor force in several major occupational groups (Table 3-8). In some cases the concentration of Hispanic workers becomes even higher when the labor force is broken down by gender. For example, one-third of all women in private household services (e.g. maids) are Hispanic. Given the undercount of workers, and the informal nature of much cleaning work, it would not be unreasonable to estimate that closer to 40% of all private household services employ Hispanics, and that this sector provides income to 5% of the employed population.

Other occupations that depend heavily on Hispanics labor include cleaning & building services, machine operators, and laborers (Table 3-8). Since up to one-third of the workers in those occupations are

Table 3-8

Hispanic Concentrations in Selected Occupations
San Francisco City & County, 1980

Occupation	% Labor Force in Each Occupation that is Hispanic	
	male	female
all occupations	11.2	11.4
White Collar Occupations		
Managerial & Professional Specialties	5.5	5.8
Technical & Sales	6.9	7.7
Administrative support	10.5	11.5
Service Occupations		
private household services	9.9	33.4
food preparation and services	15.4	12.3
cleaning & building services	24.0	28.4
Blue Collar Occupations		
machine operators, assemblers, & inspectors	23.2	21.4
(textile machine operators)	(20.2)	(20.3)
(other machine operators)	(26.5)	(34.2)
construction, except supervisors	13.8	4.9
precision production	16.1	13.1
transportation & material moving	13.4	8.0
handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers & laborers	21.0	25.2

Source: California EED 1985

Hispanic, we could characterize those occupations as drawing on a specifically Hispanic labor market. This is significant since the critical mass of employees in those sectors is likely to provide a large informal network that can help place other Hispanics in those jobs as openings become available. Such networks can help reduce unemployment, but they are not helpful in providing economic mobility. The occupations that depend heavily on Hispanic labor in San Francisco are generally characterized by low pay, low skills, and no need for a

command of English. The only white collar occupation where Hispanics are not underrepresented is in administrative support services such as secretarial work. While this occupation is higher status than service work, it is at the bottom of the while collar sector. Portes and Bach (1985) found that among Mexican immigrants, family sponsorship was negatively correlated with economic mobility, presumably because the immigrants' families could only help them in locating low paid work.

The second way of looking at the labor market is to examine the breadth of occupations occupied by Hispanics and Nicaraguans. While the previous discussion showed that certain occupations were dependent on Hispanic labor for a large proportion of their workers, the following shows that Hispanics in general and Nicaraguans specifically in San Francisco are heavily concentrated in a few occupations. While a large number (between 1/3 - 1/2) of Hispanic men and women hold white collar jobs, they are half as likely to hold those jobs as the average San Francisco worker (Table 3-9). Hispanic women are twice as likely to end up in cleaning, personal service, machine operator, and laborer occupations as the general laborer. Hispanic men are twice as likely to be in cleaning, machine operator, and laborer occupations as the general population.

There are several notable differences between where Hispanics in general work and where Nicaraguans work. First, Nicaraguan men are significantly more likely to be in cleaning and building services and significantly less likely to be in professional and in food service occupations. While the lower proportions of Nicaraguans in professional

Table 3-9

Occupational Structure
Total, Hispanic, & Nicaraguan Civilian Labor Forces
San Francisco County, 1980

Occupation	distribution, all races & ethnicities, [%male / %female]	% Hispanic Labor Force in Occupation		% Nicaraguan Labor Force in Occupation	
		male	female	male* (n=87)	female* (n=132)
White Collar Occupations					
Managerial & Professional Specialties	[29.1/26.2]	14.3	13.4	8#	4##
Technical & Sales	[13.7/13.0]	8.5	8.7	10	4#
Administrative support	[14.5%/35.6]	13.5	36.2	15	33
Service Occupations					
Selected services					
-private household svgs	[0.1/1.9]	0.1	5.6	0	6
-food preparation & svgs	[8.0/4.9]	11.0	5.3	5#	6
-health services (e.g. aides)	[0.5/2.6]	0.5	3.1	0	4
-cleaning & building svgs	[4.2/2.4]	8.9	5.9	26##	5
-personal services (e.g. childcare, hairdressers)	[1.6/3.0]	1.4	4.1	3	5
Blue Collar Occupations					
Selected precision production, craft & repair					
-mechanics & repairers	[3.1/0.2]	5.0	0.3	5	0
-construction, except supervisors	[4.4/0.2]	5.3	0.1	5	0
-precision production	[3.5/1.5]	5.0	1.7	7	3
Machine operators, assemblers & inspectors	[3.8/5.7]	(7.8)	(10.7)	6	24##
-textile machine operators	[0.4/4.0]	0.8	7.1		
-other machine operators	[1.4/0.8]	3.4	2.3		
Transportation & material moving	[4.5/0.3]	(5.4)	(0.2)	5	1
-motor vehicle operators	[3.6/0.3]	4.3	0.2		
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers & laborers	[4.4/1.1]	8.1	2.4	6	4

* Rounded to nearest whole percent due to small sample size.
\# Hispanic - Nicaraguan difference significant, $p<.05$
Hispanic - Nicaraguan difference significant, $p<.001$

Source: California EED 1985, U.S. BOC 1983c

occupations may be caused by the lower proportion of second generation Nicaraguans than second generation Chicanos in San Francisco, food service occupations are a standard immigrant occupation. According to the restaurant and hotel worker's union in San Francisco, Salvadoran immigrants are the most common Latinos in the restaurant industry. Among women, Nicaraguans are significantly more likely to be in machine operator occupations and significantly less likely to be in professional and technical occupations than other Hispanic women. Again, the difference in managerial and professional occupations may be largely caused by the larger numbers of second generation Chicanas who have language and other advantages over the Nicaraguan immigrant.

Local respondents provided some explanations for this data. According to local labor officials and Nicaraguan residents, office and other cleaning occupations have been a traditional first job for many Nicaraguan immigrants. The informal network helped immigrants enter those jobs which were attractive because they did not require English. Similarly, factory work in textiles and other industries has provided a location where Nicaraguan women have been able to work with limited English, aided by a network of friends.

Self-employment, the avenue that Cubans have used to help create an enclave economy in Miami (Portes & Bach 1985), is not common among Nicaraguan immigrants and natives of Nicaraguan ancestry. Under 5% of those with a work history had most recently worked for themselves. Those who had income primarily from self-employment made the same average amount of money as those who worked in private industry (U.S. BOC 1983c). Thus self employment did not appear to be a significant factor among Nicaraguans in 1980.

There is also an informal economy that provides employment to some immigrants. Examples of the underground economy in cleaning are illustrated by two elderly Central American immigrants. One Nicaraguan man, a former military official, and his wife have sufficient investments in the U.S. to pay their basic expenses, but several days a week they work together cleaning houses to make additional cash. Since they have a car and can communicate in English they are able to clean for people who are able to afford moderate charges. Another older man, a Salvadoran immigrant, cannot speak English and has no personal transportation. To make money he works for another Salvadoran who is able to get contracts to clean commercial properties in and near the Mission District. He is paid in cash, $2.50 per hour (almost $1 per hour below minimum wage). Similar underground work occurs in food preparation, especially around typical national foods. The extent of this type of informal work is difficult to measure. While it is important to the livelihood of at least some immigrants, the informal sector is probably minor compared with the formal labor force.

There are many benefits to capital in this availability of Central American service workers. The most obvious advantage is the low wage structure of the business support services that many of the immigrants fill. In keeping service costs down the businesses are able to sustain profits despite other rising costs in San Francisco, such as rents. The readily available pool of service labor helps the local economy by providing labor for the growing tourist trade, and by providing amenities at lower cost that make the city popular as a corporate headquarters.

This job opportunity structure is known to many in Nicaragua and other Central American countries. A 50 year old secretarial supervisor who lives in Nicaraguan reported that even though all of her family has moved to the United States she plans to remain in Nicaragua. When asked why she did not want to move to the U.S. she replied, "What would I be able to do there? Care for old people or babysit." The availability of these same jobs can attract others. A Salvadoran immigrant in her 20's reported that she came to the U.S. because she can make enough cleaning houses in the U.S. to support her family, while in El Salvador the same work would barely support a minimal existence.

The economic contribution of Nicaraguans is potentially important if it is economically concentrated. In the 1980 Census PUMS sample, the average Nicaraguan over age 16 residing in the Bay Area had 1979 earnings of $7403. This comes to a total Nicaraguan income of about $80 million for 1979. Social security and welfare payments each contributed close to $2.5 million of this total. Nicaraguans age 55 and over received 85% of the social security payments and over half of the public assistance payments paid to Nicaraguans. With the doubling of the population and inflation, it would not be unreasonable to estimate total 1985 earnings of $200 million. While this is not very much money, these earnings create a potential market for housing, travel, food, entertainment, and other items that could contribute to an enclave economy, or could be absorbed in the larger regional economy without being noticed.

There is some evidence that a small Nicaraguan market has developed to tap the spending power of the Nicaraguan community. In 1980 the national airline of Nicaragua, Aero Nica, was advertising in Tiempo

Latino for its flights between the U.S. (Miami) and Nicaragua. In 1985 TACA airlines began the first nonstop service from San Francisco to Central America with weekly flights to El Salvador, and connecting flights to Nicaragua. By 1986 one respondent was able to list five travel agencies in San Francisco that were owned by Nicaraguans. At least two restaurants in 1980 were advertising that they specialized in Nicaraguan food, La Olla and La Nicaragua. In 1986 there were at least six Nicaraguan restaurants. There are also several Nicaraguan professionals, especially doctors and dentists, who were identified by respondents and who can benefit from the Nicaraguan market. An economic planning official noted that the businesses that benefit most from increased immigration are those businesses, such as clothing and food, in the Mission district that depend on foot traffic (103).

The relatively low level of Nicaraguan business formation was explained by one city planning official as a result of San Francisco's left-leaning political image. The wealthy Nicaraguans who were taking their money out of Nicaragua put it into politically conservative areas like Miami, or more neutral areas like Los Angeles, he reported (103-2). Thus, while there has been an influx of immigrants from Nicaragua there has been no corresponding capital influx that could be used to establish businesses within the community.

This section has shown that the expanding service sector in the San Francisco area both benefits from Nicaraguan immigration and may act as an attraction because of the availability of work. The result is a segmented workforce where Nicaraguans are more likely to obtain low waged work. Nicaraguans do not appear to be establishing an independent route for economic stability and advancement by establishing an economic

enclave such as the enclaves that have aided the Cubans (Portes & Back 1985) and Japanese (Light 1972). It is possible that Nicaraguans are in the same situation as Mexican immigrants who have not formed enclave economies, and traditionally have been relegated to the bottom sectors of the U.S. economy with limited occupational mobility (Portes & Bach 1985, Barrera 1979). This type of economic marginalization, however, also fosters the development of communities (e.g., Camarillo 1979, Romo 1983). The follow section provides a tentative answer to the question of whether members of the Nicaraguan community can be expected to rise occupationally over the years and become completely integrated into Anglo society.

The Economic Position of Central American Immigrants in Comparison to Mexican Immigrants

In the discussion that follows additional data are provided that suggest that there is a common Latino labor market limiting both Central American and Mexican workers. This discussion aggregates all Central American immigrants living in California to have a sample size large enough to make reliable estimates of different social and economic variations.

Central American immigrants have an advantage over Mexican immigrants because they have higher educational levels. Table 3-10 shows that in California approximately half of adult Central American immigrants have completed high school, while less than a quarter of Mexican immigrants have completed high school. Among the elderly, older men from Central America have graduated from secondary school at almost 3-1/2 times the rate of elder Mexican immigrant men. Central Americans are about three times as likely to have attended college as Mexican immigrants. Similar distinctions also occur to a slightly lesser degree

between Central American and Mexican women. While there are large groups with little or no education in both the Central American and Mexican immigrant populations, what is noteworthy is the comparatively large segment of Central Americans with high educational achievement.

Table 3-10

Final Grade Completed by Age and Sex
Central American and Mexican Immigrants
Living in California, 1980

	Central American Immigrant		Mexican Immigrant	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age 25 and over (n=)	(2220)	(3360)	(11306)*	(10312)*
0-6 years of school	22.4%	29.7%	36.8%	37.3%
7-11 years of school	24.6%	23.3%	41.3%	41.4%
high school graduate (12 years of school)	23.3%	25.3%	12.0%	13.0%
some college (13 years and up of school)	30.7%	21.7%	9.8%	8.3%
Age 55 and over (n=)	(241)	(597)	(3365)**	(3768)**
0-6 years of school	31.1%	41.0%	65.6%	66.8%
7-11 years of school	17.4%#	23.1%	19.4%#	19.0%
high school graduate (12 years of school)	26.6%	23.1%	9.0%	10.2%
some college (13 years and up of school)	24.8%	12.7%	6.0%	4.0%

* From 2% census sample.
**From 5% census sample.
All Central American-Mexican differences statistically significant at $p \leq .05$ except when marked #.

Source: U.S. BOC 1983c

Neither immigrant population is representative educationally of their homelands. While 73.2% of adult Central American immigrants in California have completed more than six years of school, only 12.5% of economically active persons[2] in Central America have attended beyond primary school. The gap is only somewhat smaller between the 63.0% of Mexican immigrants in California who report more than 6 years of

education and the economically active in Mexico where 12.9%[2] have more than a primary school education (ECLA 1984). These data support other research which finds that Latin American immigrants do not come from the lowest educational and occupational groups, but from groups with the resources and skills to emigrate (Cornelius 1981, Portes & Bach 1985).

Table 3-11

Occupational Background of Legal Immigrants to the U.S. from Central America and Mexico, FY1970-1974 and FY1975-1979 (excluding 1976-77 transition quarter)

n reporting occupation fiscal years	Central American (14,947) '70-'74	(28,674) '75-'79	Mexican (93,723) '70-'74	(121,502) '75-'79
White Collar (Professional, Technical, Sales & Clerical)	33.2%	28.4%	8.7%	10.8%
Blue Collar (Crafts, Operative, & Laborer)	40.9%	46.7%	60.8%	64.4%
Service	25.2%#	24.0%	24.6%#	14.7%
Farm	0.6%	0.9%	5.8%	10.1%

All Central American-Mexican differences statistically significant at $p \leq .05$, except when marked #.

Source: U.S. INS 1971 through U.S. INS 1980

Central Americans' educational advantage is reflected in their preimmigration occupations. Documented Central Americans immigrants nationally are much more likely to have worked in white collar jobs before immigrating than documented Mexican immigrants (Table 3-11). These INS data probably understate the two groups' occupational differences because they do not include undocumented immigrants. Undocumented Mexican immigration consists primarily of persons with status low occupational backgrounds (North & Houstoun 1976), while many undocumented workers from Costa Rica and El Salvador are from relatively high status occupational backgrounds (Poitras 1981). While both the

Central American and Mexican immigrant groups are heterogeneous, Central Americans have a much higher concentration of white collar immigrants.

Table 3-12

Most Recent Occupation
Central American and Mexican Immigrants 1970-1980
Living in California in 1980 Over Age 15, by Sex*

	Central American			Mexican		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Immigrants 1970-1974 (**sample n=)	(680)	(789)	(1469)	(1332)	(783)	(2115)
White Collar (Professional, Technical, Sales,& Clerical)	23.2%	26.1%	24.8%	9.3%	16.3%	11.9%
Blue Collar (Crafts, Operative, & Laborer)	61.8%#	35.1%	47.4%	61.4%#	55.7%	59.3%
Service	13.8%	37.9%	26.7%	13.8%	17.1%	15.0%
Farm	1.2%	0.9%	1.0%	15.4%	10.9%	13.8%
Immigrants 1975-1980 (**sample n=)	(1076)	(1090)	(2166)	(1494)	(734)	(2228)
White Collar (Professional, Technical, Sales,& Clerical)	15.1%	20.3%	17.7%	6.6%	14.4%	9.2%
Blue Collar (Crafts, Operative, & Laborer)	58.1%	33.7%	45.8%	53.7%	52.1%	53.2%
Service	23.8%	45.1%	34.5%	19.6%	22.4%	20.5%
Farm	3.1%	0.9%	2.0%	20.0%	11.1%	17.1%

* Includes all immigrant census respondents regardless of immigration status.
** Central Americans are from a 5% census sample, Mexicans are from a 1% census sample.
All Central American-Mexican differences statistically significant at $p \leq .05$ except when marked #.

Source: U.S. BOC 1983c

The most recent occupation of Central American and Mexican immigrants in California (Table 3-12) reflects the preimmigration INS data for the U.S. The categories obscure evidence of some downward mobility which occurs upon immigration, such as from professional to clerical within the white collar category. Differences in farm occupations for Mexican immigrants between preimmigration occupation

(Table 3-11) and California occupation (Table 3-12) are most likely an artifact of undocumented immigration since many immigrant farm laborers are undocumented (Reichart & Massey 1979).

Central American immigrants are about twice as likely to hold white collar jobs in California as are Mexican immigrants (Table 3-12). This is opposite the trend found between Nicaraguans and Hispanics in San Francisco, but the present data provide a better comparison because they control for length of residence since immigration. Statewide, white collar Central American immigrants are mostly in clerical and support jobs and least likely to be in technical positions. Blue collar occupations (mostly factory jobs) employ the most workers among both Central American and Mexican immigrant men, and among Mexican immigrant women. Central American immigrant women are most likely to have service jobs, at a rate about twice that of Mexican immigrant women. Women's service jobs are most commonly private household work. Few Central American immigrants are farmworkers, compared to about 15% of Mexican immigrants (depending on the immigration cohort) who are farmworkers. The nonagricultural character of Central American immigrants helps explain their urban concentration.

Gender differences are important because of the female predominance in the Central American immigrant population, versus the male predominance in the Mexican immigrant population. Even controlling for gender, however, the occupation distribution of Central American immigrants in California is different than that of Mexican immigrants. This is evidence that Central American immigrants may be incorporated in California's economy differently than Mexican immigrants. Structural theorists argue that immigrants' position in the economy can restrict

their mobility possibilities (Portes & Bach 1985) as well as that of their children (Barrera 1979). Central Americans may not, as a group, face the same barriers to mobility because of their different economic incorporation. Assimilationist theorists (e.g. Sowell 1981) would argue that the occupational differences are reflective of the immigrants' different backgrounds, not of different economic barriers.

Table 3-13

English Ability of Those Employed Full-Time in 1979*
Central American and Mexican Immigrants 1970-1980
Living in California in 1980, by Sex

	Central American			Mexican		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Immigrants 1970-1974 (n=)	(579)	(533)	(1112)	(5748)	(2774)	(8522)
Percent who:						
Can Not Speak English	5.7	12.7	9.1	17.3	27.9	20.8
Have Ltd. English Ability	31.8	33.6	32.6	39.1	37.5	38.6
Speak English Well	35.7	28.7	32.4	29.7	20.7	26.7
Speak Very Well or Speak only English at Home	26.8	24.9	25.9	13.9	13.9	13.9
Immigrants 1975-1980 (n=)	(804)	(691)	(1495)	(6115)	(2373)	(8488)
Percent who:						
Can Not Speak English	22.6	26.5	24.4	37.1	44.5	39.2
Have ltd. English Ability	43.0	39.9	41.6	39.6	34.0	38.0
Speak English Well	22.4	18.2	20.5	15.0	12.0	14.1
Speak Very Well or Speak only English at Home	11.9	15.3	13.5	8.3	9.4	8.6

* Full-time workers worked 35 hours per week or more in 1979.
All Central American-Mexican differences statistically significant at $p \leq .05$

Source: U.S. BOC 1983c

Immigrants' ability to use their educational and occupational skills in well paying jobs depends in part on their English abilities. English ability is also a commonly used component of acculturation measures (Cuellar, Harris, & Jasso 1980). Among recent immigrants who worked full-time in 1979, Central Americans reported better English

speaking skills than Mexicans (Table 3-13). One-third of the 1975-1980 cohort of Central Americans reported little or no difficulty in speaking English compared to under a quarter of Mexicans. After living in the U.S. for at least five years the proportion of all immigrants able to speak English rises, though Mexican immigrants are twice as likely to remain unable to speak any English as Central Americans.

According to assimilationist theory, recent Central American immigrants' advantages over Mexican immigrants in education, occupational backgrounds, and English abilities should result in higher earnings. Use of these advantages, according to structuralist theorists, may be blocked by the structure of the economy. As shown in Table 3-14, Central Americans' advantages do not create significant economic differences between recent Mexican and Central American immigrants in California. There is no statistically significant difference in the mean incomes of Central American and Mexican immigrants when controlling for gender, despite their different distributions in the occupational system.

When earnings (wages) are examined from full-time workers, the only statistically significant earnings difference exists between Central American and Mexican women who immigrated between 1970-1974. Only Central American immigrant women working full time appear to be able to turn their human capital advantages after several years into better wages when compared with Mexican immigrants. While Central American women immigrants follow the assimilationist predictions, Central American men follow the structuralist predictions for income. The female-male differences in occupations and earnings within the immigrant group suggest that female and male immigrants are subject to different

labor markets. Women's low earnings, when compared to men's earnings potential, prevent women's earnings advantage from making Central American's poverty rate dramatically lower than Mexican immigrant's.

Table 3-14

Economic Condition of Central Americans and Mexicans Immigrating Between 1970 and 1980 California, 1979

	Central American Immigrants		Mexican Immigrants	
Mean Income of Persons with Income:	1970-80		1970-80	
Males age 16 and over	$7872#		$8035#	
Females age 16 and over	$4682#		$4980#	
Mean Earnings of Persons Working Full-time:	1970-74	1975-80	1970-74	1975-80
Males age 16 and over	$9479#	$6825#	$9246#	$6769#
Females age 16 and over	$6497	$4950#	$5549	$4815#
	1970-80		1970-80	
Percent of all persons living in poverty	26.8%		28.9%	
Percent of females in poverty	28.5%		30.0%	
Percent age 65 and over in poverty	30.4%		13.2%	

Central American-Mexican differences statistically significant at $p \leq .05$ except when marked #.

Source: U.S. BOC 1983b and compiled from U.S. BOC 1983c

Overall, Central American immigrants are only slightly less likely to live in poverty than Mexicans. Recent Mexican immigrants had a 28.9% poverty rate in 1980 versus a 26.8% poverty rate for recent Central American immigrants (Table 3-14). Surprisingly, Central American elderly immigrants are the most likely of any subgroup to be poor. Full explanation of this would require an analysis of family composition,

migration, and earnings histories, since there are no statistically significant differences between Central American and Mexican elderly immigrants in presence or source of personal income, nor in mean household income. One possible explanation is that many of the Central American elderly immigrants are poor because they are fleeing political and economic turmoil in Central America. Rather than being part of a serial immigration where workers migrate first to establish an economic base, the Central American context may accelerate the the movement of older persons to the U.S. before their family in the U.S. can best support them.

Structuralist immigration theory, as presented in Chapter 2, would predict that Central American occupational success will depend more on the economic context than on the immigrants' skills. As a group, the preliminary evidence shows that despite advantages in education, occupational backgrounds, and English ability, recent Central American immigrant men are faring no better than recent Mexican immigrants.

The lack of Central American immigrant men's economic advantage over Mexican immigrant men may be caused by Central American men being incorporated into California's economy in the same way as Mexican immigrants. Occupational differences between Central American and Mexican immigrants would be of minor importance if they are both in the low wage sectors of those occupations. For Mexican immigrant men, Portes and Bach (1985) found the economic context more important than human capital, such as education and skill, in determining income. If Central Americans are entering the same stratified labor market as Mexican immigrants, background advantages would not lead to higher incomes.

Assimilation theory argues that economic advancement will depend on Central American immigrants gaining skills and attitudes that make them competitive in labor markets. The large advantage Central American immigrants have over Mexican immigrants in English skills can also be seen as an indication that Central Americans are acculturating faster. This would assist the Central Americans integrate into the economic system in the same manner as nonimmigrants. The educational, occupational, and English advantages held by Central American immigrant women appear to follow this theory in giving them an earnings advantage over Mexican immigrant women. The immigrant women continue to earn less than immigrant men, however, indicating the existence of gender related structural barriers in the Latino immigrant economy.

Further research is needed to determine whether the economic differences between Central American and Mexican immigrants are caused by other human capital characteristics not examined here (e.g. aspirations, other skills, modern orientation) or whether the economic context is more important. The large number of Central American immigrants entering California with human capital advantages have the potential of following the path of Cuban immigrants by moving into well paying occupations. Unlike Cubans, Central Americans are settling in a region with an established, low paid Latino labor force. The evidence presented here provides a preliminary indication that Central American immigrants are not able to use of their human capital advantages and are being confined to the same low wage labor market as their Mexican counterparts.

This presents a situation where most Nicaraguan immigrants will face similar experiences in the economic system as other Latino

immigrants. While the similarity provides a context where a community can form based on the collective experiences, there is no external (economic) reason for the immigrants to coalesce around nationality groups. Based on their local experiences, the immigrants could form a community around being Latino as easily as around being Nicaraguan. In the section that follows, I suggest that while there are little external political pressures to form a Nicaraguan community either, there is an active Nicaraguan politics in San Francisco nonetheless.

The Nicaraguan Community in the Political System

Not only may the economic system not differentiate between different Latino immigrant groups, but San Francisco's political system also does not pay much attention to national differences. The Mission District is considered an undifferentiated "Latino" area and has only minor political importance in the dominant political arena. Even as an aggregate of immigrant groups, the electoral power of the Mission is limited. During an election in 1980 when San Francisco had district elections and the Mission dominated a district, infighting led to the defeat of two Latino candidates and the election of a liberal Anglo.

Small businesses in the Mission, which could be organized to advocate for their common interests, have no strong organization. Those closest business organization of importance is the 24th Street merchants who put on annual street fairs during Cinco de Mayo and Mexican/ Central American independence day. Efforts at organizing to strengthen their economic position through cooperative buying or political actions have reportedly not been successful. City planning officials reported that Mission businesses had neither extensive contact nor access with their department. The city's urban development office reported little

outreach to the Mission business community until 1985. The limited business activity that has occurred has been oriented around a common Latino identity.

Thus, from the perspective of dominant social institutions, the Nicaraguan community shows little evidence of existing because it has little if any organized, direct contact with the dominant political institutions.

The Mission is NOT marginal in the political spheres involving Nicaraguan political movements, however. Many members of the community are involved materially and ideologically with factions of Central American political and revolutionary/counter-revolutionary movements. This activity is important for the position of San Francisco immigrants' relationship to their home countries, but has little direct effect on their political or economic status in the U.S. It has the indirect effect of directing energies and resources to political battles in Central America, perhaps diverting those energies from domestic community issues.

San Francisco has a history of being a center of Nicaraguan exile politics, first with anti-Somoza groups and then with anti-Sandinista groups. In the 1970's a group was established to act as a center for anti-Somoza activity. The identification with the political group extended to baseball, where a team in the Latin American Baseball League was referred to as "los Sandinistas" (F.S.L.N.). (Tiempo Latino 1980c). After the Nicaraguan revolution this group tried to take on a less political appearance and was renamed the Casa de Cultura Nicaraguense (Nicaraguan Cultural Center), although it remains in active support of the Sandinistas.

After there revolution the Nicaraguan consulate in San Francisco also tried to support community identification by sponsoring various events in the community, such as the fiesta of San Jeronimo, the patron saint of Masaya (Tiempo Latino 1980a). As is common with cultural events, this fiesta was also a fund raiser for a Nicaraguan charity. Although $1846 in profits from the celebration was sent to the Nicaraguan Ministry of Welfare for the support of the leper center in Masaya (Tiempo Latino 1980d), the political passions present in San Francisco are well reflected in this event. A group of Nicaraguans from Masaya who attended the event complained in a local Spanish language newspaper about the political nature of this cultural event. While they were treated to typical foods and music, one woman complained about the political speech making.

> I thought that we were going there to dance as promised, the same as the Ayuda Social Catolica Nicaraguense celebrates Santo Domingo every year. I didn't see any celebration. I'm not like the men who walked from table to table to talk. Do you think it is easy, with all due respect, to sit in one place, listening to the Nicaraguan Consul talk for four hours? (Tiempo Latino 1980b)

Several right wing anti-Sandinista groups became active in San Francisco after the 1979 revolution. Supporters of the Contras advertised their formation of political groups at the end of 1980, calling themselves the Asociacion Patriotica Nicaraguense (APANIC or Nicaraguan Patriotic Association [Tiempo Latino 1980g]) and the Nicaraguenses Autenticos Organizados (Tiempo Latino 1980f). While expressing support for the overthrow of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, the ads provided no information as to how other like minded Nicaraguans could join the groups. The Contra political-military group called the Alianza Democratica Revolucionaria Nicaraguense (ADREN or Nicaraguan Democratic Revolutionary Alliance [Tiempo Latino 1980h]) also

published its manifesto in a San Francisco Spanish newspaper.

The Spanish language media within San Francisco has been largely unsympathetic to the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. The most general interest Spanish newspaper, Tiempo Latino, gave heavy coverage to the revolution in Nicaragua and the aftermath. In 1980 there were more articles in Tiempo Latino about Nicaragua than any other subject, although El Salvador was also a common topic. Both the editorial line and the types of articles written were predominantly anti-Sandinista. During this time the circulation for the paper was 20,000, and the paper claimed that a total of 60,000 people read the bi-weekly (Tiempo Latino 1980e). According to the business manager of the newspaper, by 1986 the circulation rate exceeded 30,000 in the Bay Area, with the city of San Francisco accounting 17,000 copies. The editorial and news coverage continued to be critical of the Sandinistas. The local radio stations and television news were also reported to also take a critical stance towards the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, although the proportion of total news devoted to Nicaragua was less than Tiempo Latino's.

The size and political interests of the Nicaraguan community has made San Francisco an area where both Sandinista and Contra partisans make stops. In the first half of 1986, for example, both Eden Pastora (Pacheco 1986a) and Fernando Chamorro (Pacheco 1986b) stopped in San Francisco to argue their causes against the Sandinistas and to raise money for their forces. Chamorro reported that he was planning to begin a local group to support his umbrella political-military organization, Unidad Nicaraguense Opositora (UNO).

The Nicaraguan community can be characterized as marginal to the local political system, but centrally involved in the politics of the

homeland. While the economic outcome of being an immigrant appears similar for Nicaraguans and Mexicans, the internal politics of the Nicaraguan community is uniquely oriented to Nicaragua. This establishes an interesting set of conditions for the Nicaraguan immigrant: external pressures treat Nicaraguans as other Latinos while internal politics clearly set them aside.

The Implications of Demography, Economy, and Politics for the Elderly

This chapter has shown that there is an established, and growing, population of Nicaraguans in the San Francisco Bay Area. There are several significant demographic characteristics of this population that concern the elderly. There is a large proportion of elderly women in the Nicaraguan population. With 17.3% of the female population age 55 and over, women outnumbered men almost two to one in 1980 (see Table 3-5). Consequently, older women have a strong presence in the Nicaraguan population. These women also have a high likelihood of not living within a nuclear family, making their presence important in broader family contexts.

The second important demographic finding is the apparent increase in the number of Nicaraguans settling in the San Francisco area since the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution. Because immigration is typically family mediated, this large influx of new settlers will likely have contact with the elderly members of the community. This establishes a context where the elderly have the potential to be significantly involved in the incorporation of immigrants into a community.

The findings that there is a need for low skilled labor in the Bay Area and that Nicaraguan workers are concentrated in a limited number of occupations indicates that conditions exist to economically support a

Nicaraguan community. The concentration of workers in specific occupations makes the establishment of ethnic networks particularly useful in obtaining employment that is related to community membership. The suggestive finding that there may be a generalized Latino labor market indicates that Nicaraguan mobility in the future may be difficult. The lack of substantial differentiation in the economy or polity between Nicaraguans and other Latinos suggests a situation where there is little external pressure to form a uniquely Nicaraguan community. The internal politics, however, shows a lively internal dynamic that is distinctly Nicaraguan.

If the existence of a specifically Nicaraguan community is heavily dependent on internal forces, the elderly may have additional importance in promoting community formation. Without strong structural forces limiting Nicaraguan immigrants to a Nicaraguan community, the actions of the elderly in the symbolic, interactional, and organizational aspects of community may take on additional importance. This chapter is limited, however, by focusing primarily on economics and politics that are easily measured and observed. The following chapter provides an alternative conceptualization of the types of action that are important in creating community and social life. Chapters five through eight of this dissertation then analyze how the elderly are involved at each level of community, and how that involvement makes the elderly important actors in the immigrant community formation. By drawing our analytic attention to the activities of the elderly that fall outside of exchange type relationships, the conceptualization offered in the next chapter makes the analysis of chapters five through eight more complete and theoretically useful.

[1] The following discussion of employment patterns is drawn from data derived from the 1980 census. It is important to keep in mind that the 1980 Census gives only a partial picture of the employment patterns of Hispanics in San Francisco. The picture is only partial because undocumented immigrants, who are most likely to be in low wage service jobs (North & Houstoun 1976), are also most likely to be uncounted (Passel & Robinson 1985). The Census Bureau (Robinson 1985) estimates that the undercount of Hispanic the western states was over 6%, totaling about 56,000 in the San Francisco - Oakland SMSA. I would consider this a conservative figure since it is based on their lowest (best) estimate of 2 million undocumented residents nationwide, rather than on their alternative of 3-4 million. Castells (1983) estimates from his own fieldwork that approximately 20% of Latino workers living in the San Francisco Mission district were uncounted by the 1980 census. This is significant because employment in the lowest waged sectors is most likely to be undercounted, skewing occupation and labor force data somewhat upwards.

[2] There are a few problems with this comparison, though they do not negate the trends shown. First, the data on Central America and Mexico was collected in the early 1970's, while the California immigrant data is from 1980. Education levels in Latin American have risen some in that interval, which would slightly decrease the difference. Secondly, the universe for the Latin American region is the economically active population (beginning at ages 10-12), while it is all persons 25 and over in California. This second data bias runs counter to the first one and should partially compensate for it.

CHAPTER 4

USE AND EXCHANGE VALUE THEORY RECONSIDERED

As detailed in Chapter one, gerontological theory generally presents the elderly as marginalized, victimized, or isolated in society. Looking at how the elderly are involved in community, however, assumes that the elderly have some power over the course of their lives and their environment. While people make their own history, however, it is not under the conditions of their own choosing (Marx 1972e). To study how the elderly shape and are shaped by their community we need conceptual tools that show how socially organized production and reproduction occurs. Both the political economy and functionalist analyses of the contemporary United States theorize primarily about the production of material necessities by waged labor. This chapter introduces a conceptual framework for looking at how the elderly, outside of waged labor participation, are active in the construction of their own history (individually and collectively as a community) and how this activity is connected to the structural context of the current U.S. economy and polity. Some of the concepts developed by Marx (1972a) and used by contemporary political economy theorists are modified to provide this framework.

Marx conceptualized production as involving exchange values and/or use values. The distinction between the two types of values helps explain the creation of alienation and exploitation in a capitalist system. The analysis of use and exchange values can be broadened by drawing on feminist theory and analyzing the form of relationships rather than the exchanges within them. The concepts of use and exchange values are broadened beyond material production to include ideas and

relationships, allowing us to examine how the labor of the elderly can be involved in the creation of both use and exchange values. Concepts of exchange values and use values can be incorporated into an analysis of community that includes the elderly as important actors in the creation of that community.

Limitations of Marxist Concepts

Marxist theory often assumes that social life is simply a dependent variable in the structure of social production and reproduction[1] (Alford & Friedland 1985). Traditionally, Marxism has been concerned with analyzing the social relations of production and their consequences for people's lives and for history. According to Marx (1972a), production in a capitalist system involves the production of commodities. A fundamental limitation of looking at how the elderly are involved in American society exists within Marx's concept of production since the elderly are rarely directly involved in the factory model of commodity production in capitalist societies. Without a model of production that includes the elderly as participants, political economy analyses of society fail to include the aged as significant members of society. Those political economy analyses that do include the elderly usually focus on the ejection of the aged from production (i.e. retirement) or on systems of dependence that the elderly are placed in when they can no longer work (see discussion in Chapter 1).

Within Marxist theory is an analysis of different types of value created in social production that can be developed into a more complex theory of capitalist production. In a capitalist system, Marx conceptualized that human production is capable of creating two different types of value and corresponding social relations. One set of

social relations is organized around "use values" and the other around "exchange values" (values in this context refer to criteria of worth, not to norms). This distinction is crucial in understanding how the activity of elderly Nicaraguans is important both in the production and maintenance of the Nicaraguan immigrant community. This analysis also shows how activity of the elderly is linked conceptually with the organization of production that is central in other political economy analyses.

The Distinction Between Use and Exchange Values

Marx, in Capital, makes the distinction between use value and exchange value when analyzing the nature of commodities. According to Marx a commodity is "an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another" (Marx 1972a: 199). Commodities in capitalist society have two properties at the same time. First, a commodity has a "use value", the quality of the object that satisfies a human need. Second, a commodity has an "exchange value", the value contained in the commodity, "yet distinguishable from it" (p.200). Exchange values are quantitative measures that can be compared between dissimilar commodities.

Because a use value is the value of an object in satisfying a need, use values become a reality only when they are used or consumed. A stone has many different potential use values. It can be part of a wall, a mortar for grinding, or a weapon. Only when the stone is used to satisfy a need, however, is the use value actually established. Because the inherent qualities of the object provide its value in use, there is no use value apart or abstracted from the object.

The particular nature of use values makes it possible for their production and consumption to satisfy the needs of multiple parties. Burawoy (1978) argues that the interests of capitalists and laborers are not always in opposition as some suggest because use values are not dependent on a zero-sum relationship. Universal suffrage, for example, is a use value that workers fought for and won in Europe, but which has also been useful to capitalists in preserving the legitimacy of the capitalist system. Thus, use values are not finite and can serve multiple needs at the same time.

Use values are not directly comparable because human needs are qualitatively different. How can the nutritive value of a pound of rice be compared with the warmth provided by a coat? Their use values can not be compared because their utilities are of a different nature. Needs can also vary. Marx (1972a) defined needs as any human want or desire, regardless of whether the needs are intrinsic human necessities or externally induced wants. Marx did not elaborate further on this point, but based on the definition of needs we can conclude that needs are culturally and ideologically bounded. Thus, not only do use values differ when their utilities are different, but they may also differ socioculturally and historically.

Because wants and desires are not necessarily rational, we can argue that use values do not have to follow the criteria of rationality either. This implies that there is no necessarily correct or best way to satisfy a want based on use value criteria. Superstition, habit, and emotion can all serve to organize the manner of directly satisfying needs. Since the only measure of use value is the act of consumption in meeting a need, the history behind the consumption is invisible. As a

result, there is no way to quantitatively compare the contents of different commodities.

There are two criteria for evaluating use values that are based on consumption (use) rather than on production (contents). These are the ability and appropriateness of use values in meeting human needs. The ability of the use value to satisfy human needs is not quantifiable, but involves a qualitative indication of the sufficiency of the use value. The appropriateness of the use value for meeting the need indicates whether the use value is well matched to the need of not. For example, a coat's use value may be appropriate when a person is cold, but if it is a thin coat it may not be sufficiently warm. A different coat may provide sufficient warmth, but may be inappropriate because it is too small to wear comfortably. To make comparative evaluations based on production rather than on these consumption criteria we need a different and more abstract concept of value.

Exchange values abstract from the essence of the object, making qualitatively different commodities comparable. Marx built his concept of exchange value on a labor theory of value. When Marx asked what gave an object value in exchange he invoked his perspective of humans as laboring beings. "If then we leave out of consideration the use-value of commodities, they have only one common property left, that of being products of labor" (Marx 1972a: 201). In this analysis, even wild rice does not have any value until a person expends labor to collect that rice. Words have no value until a person speaks them, or until the poet arranges words in a particular way. The labor contained in these objects, as measured by time, becomes their value as commodities. Thus, the poem that takes the average poet an hour to write has the same

objective value as the pound of wild rice that takes an average gatherer an hour to collect.

For exchange values to become realized they must be put into relationship with each other. When a person labors to fulfill his/her own personal needs, but does not satisfy the needs of others through exchange, s/he produces use values but not exchange values. When a person preserves fruit at home, and who consumes it personally or gives it as gifts (outside of an exchange relationship), that person is creating use values but not exchange values. An exchange value thus involves both the labor contained in a commodity and the exchange of that commodity for another commodity (see Marx 1982a: 204n1).

The relationship between exchange values is a zero sum game (Burawoy 1978). Because exchange value is an objective measure of the total labor embodied in an object, it is impossible for both parties of an exchange to profit from the transaction. The exchange of a coat for a pound of rice may be to the benefit of both parties because of their use values, but the former owner of the coat loses exchange value if the coat embodies a day of labor while the rice that was received took only an hour to gather.

For an object to have an exchange value, it **must** fulfill some need, i.e. have a use value. Random words written on a page have no exchange value, unless someone else defines the words as art and feels an aesthetic "need" for that work. Marx made clear that there is no universal criteria for needs. Needs can be concrete human needs like shelter, socially created needs like jewelry, or whims like a picnic in the park. Unlike use values that have a subjective content because of their reliance on the definitions of "need", exchange values are

objective since a fixed socially necessary quantity of labor can be assigned to each commodity. Not **all** useful objects have exchange values, however. When there is no human labor embodied in the object, it can not have an exchange value. For example, air or a beautiful sunset have no exchange value.

The Use and Exchange Value of Labor

Marx was particularly interested in how use and exchange values were applicable to labor. In fact, Marx felt that his analysis of this use-exchange distinction was one of his main contributions to the study of capitalism (Gouldner 1980).

In a capitalist society labor becomes a commodity. Like other commodities labor has a both a use value and an exchange value. Its use value is in transforming nature into useful objects. The exchange value of labor under capitalism can be determined by measuring the amount of **socially necessary** labor needed to sustain and reproduce the laborer. Just as the socially necessary amount of labor in a material object depends on the historically variable level of technology, the socially necessary labor within a human varies with socially defined "needs" that vary historically[2].

While labor can be treated as either a use or exchange value, under a capitalist mode of production labor becomes a commodity. When labor power is treated only as an exchange value the worker loses human connection with his or her labor, i.e. is alienated from it. Marx's early writings analyze the consequences of labor as an exchange value in terms of how this type of labor creates alienation (Marx 1972d: 56ff.). The later Marx deals with the commodification of labor and the consequent loss of control over and connection to products when he

analyzes commodity fetishism (Marx 1972a: 215ff.).

For Marx the transformation of labor and human needs into commodities has consequences for all social relations. As the production of the necessities of life becomes organized into the production of commodities, there is an estrangement of the producer from the product. The producer loses consciousness that the product of labor embodies his/her effort and comes to see the product as if it followed natural laws.

> A commodity is therefore a mysterious thing, simply because in it the social character of men's labour appears to them as an objective character stamped upon the product of that labour; because the relations of the producers to the sum total of their own labour is presented to them as a social relation, existing not between themselves, but between the products of their labour. (Marx 1972a: 216)

Marx calls the relationship that occurs when commodities appear to act independently of human agency "fetishism".

Not only do producers approach commodities as separate things that are outside of themselves, but their relationship to the means of production leads them to become alienated from themselves and others as the producers of the world around them. Under capitalism,

> The product of labour is labour which has been congealed in an object, which has become material: it is the **objectification** of labour.... The **alienation** of the worker in his product means not only that his labor becomes an object, an **external** existence, but that it exists **outside him**, independently, as something alien to him, and that it becomes a power of its own confronting him; it means that the life which he has conferred on the object confronts him as something hostile and alien.... An immediate consequence of the fact that man is estranged from the product of his labour, from his life-activity, from his species being is the **estrangement of man from man.** (Marx 1972d: 57,58,63, emphasis in original)

Marx goes on to write that the alienation of people from each other occurs because they come to act toward each other based on their relationships to the production of commodities, not as human beings

creating the conditions of life. We can take this to mean that people come to interact with each other only in terms of exchange values[3].

Reliance on exchange production and consumption puts people in a dependent relationship to each other that negates their humanity as producers. Lukacs develops this analysis to assert that all social relations are penetrated by the logic of the commodity market. Human relationships under capitalism, according to Lukacs, are "thinglike relations of persons and social relations of things." The alienation of labor power from the laborer results in the worker's "de-magicization... [the] progressive elimination of the qualitative human and individual attributes of the worker" (cited in Arato 1978: 195). Braverman (1974) provides a similar view in his analysis of how work is degradated by capitalism as a result of the commodification of every aspect of social life.

The analysis of exchange value and use value can show the type of relationships that people develop as they labor to fulfill their needs of existence. An important consequence of the expansion of exchange value as the basis for human relationships is that it obscures human agency. Lukacs's theory that exchange relationships serve as the basis for every aspect of human life is an overstatement, however, since use values continue to have a vital place in contemporary social organization.

Offe (1984) shows how use values are a necessary result of the capitalist production process, though they also serve as an underlying contradiction of the welfare state. According to his analysis, early capitalist development changed the organization of society by destroying old feudal social relationships and replacing them with capitalist

social relationships based on commodity exchange principles. The central processes driven by capitalism revolved around the creation of necessary conditions of capitalist production, such as the commodification of labor and the rationalization of transportation. With the basic relations established, contemporary capitalism produces social forms that defend the necessary conditions of capitalist production. In a dialectical manner, Offe contends that the capitalist system of production creates the need for non-exchange organizational forms (such as welfare that provides resources without requiring labor or other commodities in return) that undermine the hegemony of the organization of production for exchange. Movement away from strict commodity exchange principles makes the political basis of capitalist economic relationships more visible. This movement entails a basic contradiction: capitalism inevitably creates non-capitalist forms of organization that serve as the core of anti-capitalist resistance.

Offe (1984: 40-46) illustrates the contradiction by examining how the labor force in different sectors of the economy relates to capital. For monopoly sector labor, the material conditions of life depend primarily on the exchange relationships under the control of that sector. The competitive sector is dependent on the monopoly sector and is more sensitive to state subsidies and controls, making the lives of its laborers dependent on economic and political power relationships in addition to exchange relationships embodied in the sale of their labor. State sector labor is even less involved in an exchange relationship because the state does not generally "sell" the products of workers' labor. State employees are affected even more by political decisions, and only indirectly by exchange. Finally, those in the residual sector

(retired, unemployed, students, etc.) are largely outside of an exchange relationship since their material needs are supplied through political allocations of resources rather than through the sale of labor. The fastest growing sectors, according to Offe, are those least constrained by commodified exchange labor. While exchange processes are essential for accumulation and thus the stability of the capitalist system, Offe argues that these processes are decreasing their hold over the organization of social life. The increasing presence of use values in people's lives can lead people to question and resist the political and economic organization that supports exchange.

The analysis of labor in Marxist thought centers on the labor of producing commodities for exchange and on labor as an exchange value. Use values, when considered, are usually seen as contradictory to the production of exchange values (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of how community as a use value contradicts city as an exchange value). As long as labor is analyzed in commodity production and exchange, the elderly will be excluded from the analysis because of their absence from the commodity market of labor. If the concept of use value is at the center of an analysis of social production, spheres of life become analytically important that would otherwise be overlooked because they do not create commodities through wage labor. The following section shows how an analysis that has classically included only exchange value can be expanded to also include use value, including the elderly and homemakers in addition to wage-earners.

Exploitation Based on Exchange and Use Values

At the base of Marx's critique of capitalism was not only that workers were alienated from their labor, but also that their labor power

was exploited by capitalists. According to Gouldner (1980), Marx felt that his analysis of surplus value, the basis of capitalist exploitation, was his other major analytic advance (in addition to the use-exchange analysis). The exploitation created by the production of surplus value can be seen as an exchange concept since it implies an unequal trade. Labor exploitation, which was Marx's primary concern, involves the worker not receiving the full value (e.g., in wages) in exchange for his or her labor.

Unlike other commodities, labor for Marx is a creative force and can create more value than it contains. A worker, for example, may need food, shelter, and other necessities that require an input of 10 hours per week of labor to create. That same worker can work 40 hours during that week, however, creating many hours more of value than s/he "contains." The ability to create this surplus is the character of labor that is exploited.

Marx (1972a: 239ff) developed a theory that details the inputs into production to demonstrate how the socially necessary labor content of any commodity can be determined. This theory is necessary for objectively determining whether the worker receives equivalent value in exchange for the labor s/he contributes in the creation of the object[4]. Marx then details how additional surplus value is obtained from workers by lengthening the working day and/or speeding up production. The basis for his evaluation of exploitation is the quantifiably unequal exchange that occurs between wage laborers and capitalists. The power that capitalists have to compel workers to submit to this unequal exchange is based on the structural position of the workers (who have to sell their labor power to survive) and the systemic logic of capitalism (that

creates labor as a commodity).

Is it possible, then, for a person outside of an exchange relationship to be exploited? Can we talk about exploitation in reference to use values? Is it possible to talk about a grandmother being exploited unless, in exchange for the grandmother's cooking, cleaning, and babysitting, she is not getting a fair exchange measured along some abstract dimension? If the grandmother is performing the tasks from a sense of duty and expects nothing in return other than seeing her adult children happy, is she exploited?

One possible answer to these questions is an analogy with the analysis of material commodity production. A person would not be exploited if they make something and then give the product as a gift because there is no exchange. If you spend four hours of labor helping a neighbor paint their home while expecting nothing in return, and you receive nothing in return, there is no exchange so there can not be exploitation. The labor in these cases was spent producing use values. Similarly, therefore, if the grandmother cooks and cleans as part of an explicit arrangement in which she receives room and board, there is an exchange. This example could be broken into the labor value of cooking and cleaning versus room and board to determine if one party is profiting from the exchange. On the other hand, if the grandmother is working to produce use values such as a sense of fulfilled duty, the labor falls outside the exchange process. This analysis departs from exchange theory (Dowd 1980) because exchange theory conceptualizes all social action as involving a measurable exchange. There are no use values in exchange theory, only commodities.

This creates the problem of excluding the elderly who are not in direct exchange relationships from analyses of social inequality and exploitation. Marxist-feminist theory provides an alternative. That theory's analysis[5] of the grandmother is that even when she is producing use values she is providing the conditions that enable other members of the family to engage in exchange relationships. The grandmother's labor thus benefits both men and capital. Domination in this relationship need not involve the rate of exchange that women receive for their use value labor, but may center on their relative lack of power compared to men who participate in waged labor (Barrett 1980). Men's power extends over women's bodies, their labor, and their products, with capitalists ultimately benefiting materially from this relationship. Exploitation in the home is based on unequal power within a relationship rather than unequal commodity exchange. While Marx had an interest in quantifying exploitation, many Marxist-feminist analyses of exploitation are less focused on a quantified evaluation based on exchange rates. These analyses place more emphasis on the pervasive nature of unequal power relationships.

Thus, Marx's concern with exploitation does not have to be limited to exchange values. The relationship between the creator of use values and the consumer can also be the focus of inquiry, independently of any exchange. This inquiry relies on a situational definition of power, such as Weber's (1946: 180) as the chance of an actor or actors to realize their will in collective action even against the resistance of others participating in the action. When the grandmother has little or no choice in the conception, production, or consumption of use values in the home because of the dictates of others in the household, the

analysis would conclude that she is exploited. Looking at the exploitation of use value production at the structural level would entail analyzing how the use values created by the elderly are circumscribed by dominant institutions. A systemic analysis would involve examining how the creation of the use values is conditioned by the systemic forces of capitalism and patriarchy (see Alford & Friedland [1985] for a discussion of the differences between situational, structural, and systemic power).

This sections has shown that use values and exchange values can involve similar types of social relationships, in this case exploitation. The following section moves beyond the parallel nature of use and exchange values by demonstrating their interdependence.

The Dialectics of Use and Exchange Values

In his analysis of production, Marx (1972a: 235) notes that many of the inputs into commodity production are use values; "other use-values, products of previous labor, enter into it [the new product] as means of production." Some of the "raw" materials of production are usually products of labor themselves. Marx focuses only on material objects of production, however. Thus, his examination of the use values involved in creating commodities was limited primarily to those use values embodied in other commodity production.

Feminist theorists have expanded the analysis of how use values are a necessary part of exchange value production by showing how use values that women produce are essential to exchange production in a capitalist society. They begin with Marx's notion that the costs of maintaining and reproducing laborers are a necessary cost of production. The "hidden work" of women in creating use values therefore underlies

commodity exchange production by providing for workers' needs that would otherwise have to be obtained through exchange. This theory argues that there are two coexisting modes of production, wage-labor and domestic labor (Sokoloff 1980). Women's use value production in the home supports not only wage laborers, but also the ill, disabled, and elderly who do not labor. Women's use production thus provides for some of the needs that capitalism generates but does not take care of (tired workers, illness, dependent elderly, etc.). Women's work in reproduction not only makes use values by bearing and providing for the needs of children, but also produces new potential workers who may later put their labor into the market (Barrett 1980).

One suggestion for eliminating women's exploitation is to change their production from creating use values to producing exchange values by making housework paid. The "wages for housework" movement asserts that women should receive wages equivalent to the exchange value of their work in the home so that women's work gains the same measure of value as men's work (Federici 1980). Landes (1980) points out that simply commodifying housework does not change the sexual division of labor between the family and economy. The structural patterns of dominance and exploitation would not necessarily change even though wages for housework would make women's production in the home more visible as necessary for the continued operation of the capitalist system.

Activities besides women's work in the home that create use values also support the system of exchange production. Certain children's (and adults') play can be analyzed both as creating the use values of happiness and sociation for personal consumption as well as producing

competitiveness and possessiveness in children that are necessary for the continuation of a capitalist exchange system. The use value that missionaries seek in saving souls in the third world can be analyzed as establishing social relationships that are a necessary precursor for the establishment of colonial domination based on exchange (Doyal 1979).

It is important to recall at this point that the creation of use values is not a zero sum operation. As a result, it is possible for people to create use values for themselves while at the same time they produce conditions necessary for exchange. The possibility that use values can satisfy multiple parties means that the grandmother's activities that support capitalist production do not have to be excused by her "false consciousness." She may be satisfying her needs as a result of her use production, with unintended (and for her perhaps irrelevant) consequences for the production system.

By looking at how use values are necessary for the reproduction and maintenance of the social relations of capitalist production, we can conceptualize use values as functional components of many different aspects of commodity production. Women, children, missionaries -- and as discussed in later chapters the elderly -- are all important participants in the system of exchange production through their creation of use values. Most feminist theories about use values, however, look only at how the values produced are useful to capitalism, without expressly postulating a contradictory aspect. Barrett (1980) criticizes this functionalist tendency, but her major concern is that the functionalism reduces women's exploitation to only the dynamics of capitalism (without taking patriarchy into account).

The feminist concern with the functional aspects of use values, nonetheless, provides a useful corrective to the view taken by many other theorists (see Offe [1984] above) that the social organization of use values are always contradictory to capitalism. The concept of use value can thus take on a dialectical relationship to the social production of exchange values. What is still lacking, however, is an analysis of the independent importance of use values in society, apart from their linkage to exchange values. While this discussion has brought the consideration of use values back into analytical consideration with exchange values, use values still play a subordinate role. This may be inevitable in a capitalist society where the dominant social relations are based on exchange relationships.

Use and Exchange Values of Ideas/Symbols & Relationships

While Marx and other theorists write primarily about material goods in analyzing values, there is no reason to limit the analysis to material goods. Marx defined use values as those fulfilling human needs. Material goods provide only a part of even the most basic human necessities. One unique human characteristic is that we are able to separate the idea of a object from the actual object and act in response to that idea or meaning (Mead 1934). This implies that we must constantly create meanings, often by taking on the meanings that others have created. There are thus basic ideational needs in human life. Similarly, humans are inherently social beings. The self is created through interaction and serves as the basis of our social nature (Mead 1934). While different people need different amounts and kinds of association, there is a basic human need for relationships (Benjamin 1977). Like material needs, **basic** human needs form only a small part of

the total needs of people since additional "needs" are socially created. Marx's analysis of the distinction between use and exchange values can be expanded beyond material production to also examine other categories of human necessity. Weber's (1946) categories of the organizational forces of social life are used to divide the necessities of life among material goods, ideas, and relationships (corresponding to class, status, and party).

The use value of goods, ideas, and relationships is that which directly satisfies human needs. The needs can be based on various constructs, such as health, beauty, or respect. Because needs vary (beyond the most basic biological needs), use values vary historically, culturally, and by class. For example, principles that underlie family relationships can be based on love in one time and culture, and can be based on duty in another. The use values of the relationships, ideas, and objects are not interchangeable; three hours of respect in a relationship can not be put into an equivalence relationship with three hours of health.

Marx based his analysis of exchange value on a measure of the labor (in hours) contained in an object. When considering relationships and ideas that have become commodified, however, it is impossible to conceptualize the quantity of labor contained in each[6]. Phenomena exist in their frozen state as containers of a specific amount of labor, but, more importantly they also have a dynamic state. This involves the nonquantitative aspects of use and exchange values discussed earlier: the alienation resulting from exchange, the power relations involved in use and exchange production, and the dialectical relationships between use value, exchange value, and capitalism. Each of these topics involve

an investigation into the use and exchange value production, but none requires a quantitative comparison of the values produced. There is, indeed, a "use value" of the concepts of use and exchange values.

Labor in the Creation of Value

Since the production of both use and exchange values requires labor, it is important to define "labor." Theorists often draw on the implicit analogy of factory labor rather than provide a definition of labor. Other theorists use the concept teleologically by assuming that any action that creates something of value is labor. In Capital Marx is quite explicit about defining labor as a process that involves the purposive, subjective action of human beings oriented towards satisfying human needs.

> He [the laborer] opposes himself to Nature... in order to appropriate Nature's productions in a form adapted to his own wants.... But what distinguishes the worst architect from the best of bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality. At the end of every labour-process we get a result that already existed in the imagination of the labourer at its commencement. (Marx 1972a:232-233)

At the same time, however, when Marx writes about the objects for which labor is expended he lists items like soil, forests, animals, and other "natural" products. Thus, Marx's examples of the objects of labor reinforce the concept that labor only exists when applied to material objects. His subjective component of labor does not require this limit and the concept of labor can be expanded to include any willful activity effected upon any material, ideal, or relational phenomenon.

Habermas (1970) presents a similar concept of labor, and distinguishes it from interaction. Habermas theorizes that work is purposive-rational action, guided by technical rules based on empirical knowledge or by strategies based on analytic knowledge. Labor involves

either "conditional predictions about observable events, physical or social" or "deductions from preference rules (value systems) and decision procedures" (p.92). The predictions and deductions can prove either correct or incorrect, but the willful nature of the action is essential. His definition of work is not limited to material objects. Interaction is counterposed as communicative action that is grounded in the intersubjectivity of the interactants and a mutual recognition of obligations and intentions. Habermas's identification of work with state and the economy and interaction with family and kinship reproduces Marx's oversight of the types of work "hidden" in the family.

A broader concept of labor can be developed out of the symbolic interactionist work Strauss and his associates (1985). Their concept of work implies any set of tasks that are purposive. This approach details the different types of work that are not often thought of as work, such as identity work, comfort work, articulation work, and safety work. Strauss and his colleagues are interested in how the different types of work are constructed by the actors, and how all the varied work is organized so that something gets accomplished in the face of the apparent flood of different types of work.

Marx was incorrect when he implied that the worker conceives what s/he creates before producing it because too many contingencies can shape the outcome of intended production. By adding the dimension of subjectivity to Marx's concept of labor we get the same intended effect: the worker is able to anticipate a meaningful outcome to his or her actions. By expanding the concept of meaningful outcomes, we are able to define as labor activities such as those designed to comfort others. If we are to include the elderly, women at home, children, and others in

an analysis of labor and production, an expansive concept of labor such as Strauss's is most useful.

"Labor" is therefore defined as any willful activity undertaken by people where they can attach a meaning to the results of their labor. Labor can be exerted on any physical, mental, or relational object, and the changes that result in the object will be the manifestation of the labor. According to this definition, swinging your arms when you walk down the street is not normally labor because there is no meaning attached to the activity. If you swing your arms to keep mosquitoes away, the activity becomes work because you have attached meaning (repelling mosquitoes) to the action. The sentimental work that Strauss and associates (1985) write about fits this model of labor because the worker interacts with another person in order to modify the other person's emotional state. Even the scientist who sits at home all day thinking of how to build a better mouse trap is working because s/he is willfully trying to create new ideas.

Since we are formally extending the concept of labor to use values as well as exchange values, the terminology of "production" is limiting. Because production conjures an image of the factory and of exchange processes the term "creation" is used when referring to the use value outcomes of labor. To talk about the labor involved in creating a use value is more accurate because, as noted earlier, the use value of an object is independent of the method used to create it. "Create" implies a more immediate, ahistorical process compared to "produce" which implies the existence of a specifiable process.

Having identified the concepts of use value and exchange value, and having described how these concepts apply to a variety of products of

labor, this chapter now identifies how exchange value and use value can be conceptualized within a community framework.

Use and Exchange Value in Communities

Exchange Value in the Community

Use and exchange values contribute to an analysis of the production or creation of symbols and relationships. Since ideas and relationships are usually seen as use values, it is necessary to show how ideas and relationships can also be analyzed as exchange values. This is important because political economy theorists who equate working class communities with use values base their analysis on the ideas and relationships within communities as contradictory to exchange value production. This section shows that even ideas and relationships can not be assumed, a priori, to involve only use values.

Like material commodities, symbolic and relational commodities can be involved in exchange. Although this exchange is not strictly quantifyable, the participants in the exchange approach each other not as human subjects but as objects who want to exchange commodities of a specific value. Exchange theory has developed an elaborate analysis of the different factors that can be involved in nonmaterial exchanges (Dowd 1980). Exchange theory is based on a normative evaluation of the value of different resources called decision rules that determine the equity of an exchange. This differs from a Marxist concept of exchange because exchange theory does not conceptualize the labor (in form or quantity) involved in the commodities being exchanged. Recall that commodities as manifestations of exchange value (in the Marxist sense) must contain labor. Using the definition of labor as intentional activity oriented towards tasks, it is possible to conceptualize how

ideas and relationships can be commodified and put into an exchange relation with other commodities. As in other political economy analysis, a community or urban area can then be conceptualized as the site where this exchange production assumes a specific social organization.

Ideas and relationships can assume **forms** in exchange that lose the imprint of the human source of those ideas and relationships. Ideas or symbols and relationships can appear to take on a life and power of their own, independent of their human creators (Berger & Luckmann [1967] refer to this as 'objectification'). When they become systemized ideologies and world views ideas and symbols become estranged from human creation. People come to relate to those symbols and meanings as "facts" that exist sui generis. Just as material objects become estranged as products of human labor when they become objects of exchange, relationships become estranged from their human foundation when they are formalized into organizations. The habituation of action that comprises organizations makes patterns of interaction impersonal and natural in appearance. Weber's symbolism of the iron cage of bureaucracy invokes the idea of the complete alienation of organizations from their human creation. Just as Marx described people confronting the humanly created material world as alien, so too do we confront organizations and ideologies as existing independently of their human origin under a capitalist exchange system.

Just as the commodity production of material goods can be seen as a basis for capitalism, the commodity production of ideas and relationships can also be analyzed as central to the social organization of capitalism. The ideologies of individualism, materialism, and

competition that underlie the mobilization of labor for production are perceived by the public as truths rather than as humanly created ideologies. Reproduction of the ideas supporting individualism occurs in a structured reality that rewards individualism with increased wealth and position, a production process oriented towards secondary rewards (through exchange) rather than directly satisfying human needs. In the realm of human relationships, Habermas (1975) suggests that one way capitalism depoliticizes the role of the state in the economy is by bureaucratizing the intervention process. Because the human relationships comprising bureaucracies appear to be independent of outside influence, decisions can be portrayed as rational and universal rather than as political and supporting capitalist production.

If the social relations of production of ideas and relationships are organized to perpetuate dominant ideologies and organizations, the day to day production of the ideas and relationships most likely occurs within the community. It is within communities that people experience the constraints of alienated relationships and ideas. Organizations and ideologies may exist nationwide and beyond, but individual's experience of them occurs in a local context and is mediated by interactions and institutions within their communities.

Material exchange relationships are also an essential aspect of community since most of the material goods needed for life are available principally by exchange. Community members as commodity consumers shape the outward appearance and operation of their built environments. In fact, the visible existence of a district where people from the same community live can be identified by the distinctive stores and services offered. In the low income Mission district in San Francisco, for

example, there are many restaurants and stores that sell Mexican, Nicaraguan, other Central American food and products, as well as many second hand shops and discount stores that cater to low income customers. The residents provide a demand for certain goods and services that businesses can provide through the exchange process, usually at a profit. The high density of the Mission and its relatively high proportion of buildings in poor condition is indicative of residents with limited resources in a setting where building owners are interested in maximizing profits. Members of the community are also engaged in selling their labor as a commodity in order to be able to acquire various needs via exchange. This pool of labor provides a source of low waged labor for the economy that transcends the community.

Use Value and Community

The unalienated forms of idea and relationship creation that occur in use value creation can be analyzed as both necessary for and contradictory to the commodity form. As with Marx's analysis of material commodity production, we can find use values necessary for most ideal and relational commodity production.

Socialization is a process that clearly has both use and exchange properties. As a use value, the initial creation of ideas and relationships for humans occurs in childhood as babies acquire language, establish an identity, and develop affective relationships with their mothers or caretakers in the process of fulfilling their immediate needs. Further development of concepts about the world along with kin and friendship relations occur as the child grows, providing the child with the symbolic and relational resources necessary to survive. In learning how to perceive the world and how to interact with others, the

child creates ideas and relationships for use that s/he can also rely on later for the production of commodity forms. Family relationships that provide the use values of nurturance and affection can also serve as the basis for making business or employment contacts.

If we posit a human need for an affirmative self concept and positive sociation, use values produced in the family and community take on a special significance. Those who toil at alienating or oppressive work in a hostile environment are unlikely to be able to meet needs for affirmation and positive sociation at work. The family and community can provide a setting where the individual encounters a reaffirmation of the self and can engage in mutually satisfying interactions (see Baca-Zinn 1979, Stack 1975, Gans 1962). This family and community creation of use values can then serve to maintain the worker, serving as a refuge from the work environment. As such, the use values can be necessary to keep the worker in the capitalist labor force.

In this way the community itself can have use value for its members. It exists as an organized group of persons where needs can be directly met. This includes the collective consumption that the political economy analysts of community refer to (see Chapter 2). No individual person or group in the community has to intentionally produce these needs, but the community as a whole provides them. Needs that may be met directly from a community include a source of a valued identity, sociation, and access to material goods. While a person may work at a devaluing paid job, he or she can have another identity within the community as a worthy person (as a parent, community leader, etc.). The community itself can serve as the basis for an individual's identity (Hummon 1986) and it can facilitate the formation of relationships.

If community helps counter alienation then it may develop an internal logic that helps community perpetuation and provides the basis for resistance to (through consciousness and group cohesion) or accommodation to (by retaining an ability to produce[7]) capitalism.

The analysis of community countering alienation provides a theoretical basis for the common analysis that Chicano communities are a "refuge" from the exploitation of the outside world (Baca Zinn 1979, Camarillo 1979). The concept of the community as a refuge fits into a coherent analysis if the community is conceptualized as a necessary counter to the alienation of the work place, especially for Chicanos (and blacks) whose average rate of exploitation is especially high. Contrary to Offe (1984), it appear that the labor power of minorities in the competitive sector is more commodified than that of whites in the primary sector. Based on O'Connor's (1973) sectoral analysis, the competitive sector is more sensitive to market pressures because of its low profit margins and use of capital. The labor intensivity of the competitive sector therefore structurally requires the competitive sector to structure labor according to exchange criteria. The monopoly sector is less exchange value oriented than the competitive sector because the monopoly position in the economy makes it more capable of absorbing use value criteria into its organization of production (e.g. meaningfulness, safety). An ethnic enclave sector (Light 1972) may pay lower wages than the competitive sector, but since its organization is based partly on nonexchange values (ethnic bonds), the alienation of this sector would also be less than the competitive sector even though the rate of exploitation is higher. Thus, community as a use value should be most important for those working in the competitive sector[8].

The political economy analysis of how communities serve as a contradictory base of capitalism (see Chapter 2) can be analyzed as much on the use value creation of relationships and ideas in the community as on the use value creation of material needs. When people develop use value relationships to their neighbors and create symbols of their community they are much more likely to resist the treatment of their neighborhood as a pure commodity. As Castells (1983) shows, communities often organize around what he considers intermediate levels of capitalism, such as the local bureaucracy (e.g., city hall) or stigmatizing labels (e.g., homosexuality as deviance). The community actions focused on these levels are founded on the ability of the participants to create use value ideas and relationships. Where exchange based relationships result in interactions in which people try to maximize their individual benefit, use based relationships and symbols can serve to unite people in collective action that is oriented towards social change rather than only individual betterment.

At the same time, an analysis of contradictions alerts us to the possibility that these ideas and relationships created to meet needs might also handicap the community. The ideas and symbols generated by people in daily life, even those created to resist domination, can constrain their creators to the benefit of capital. Willis (1977) provides a case study of how the symbols created in opposition to oppression by a group of British working class boys ultimately bound them to the working class and its exploitation by capital. The relationships created in a community may meet the needs for sociation and validation, but those same ties may end up supporting a job stratification system by helping to channel newcomers to a community

into the same low wage jobs held by their friends[9].

Community can be conceptualized as based on use value organized around particularistic criteria. The use values in the community, therefore, have a significance independent of their association with exchange values. Like use values, community can not be reduced to some abstract qualities that are then interchangeable. If communities were based on univeralistic or static criteria, a person could move from a working class community in Oakland to one in Chicago without any disruption. The economic basis of the two communities may be similar, and even the shared understandings may overlap, but the migrant from Oakland to Chicago has to work to become incorporated in the new community. When groups of people move from Nicaragua to San Francisco, a community of immigrants does not "spring up" but has to be created. They can bring money, knowledge, and family with them, but the symbols, relationships, and organizations embodied in a community must be created anew.

This membership in community is different from a person's class membership, which is portable. If a person has to sell their labor for a living in Oakland they almost certainly will have to do the same in Chicago. Likewise, an individual's exchange position in an organization can be similar whether that person is in Oakland or Chicago. A secretary in Oakland's city hall will find that a new job as secretary in Chicago's city hall puts him or her in a similar position in the bureaucracy.

The use value of a community, therefore, is both a necessary part of the exchange production that occurs in the community and an independent aspect of the community. The following section brings a

consideration of the elderly directly into this analysis of community.

Use and Exchange Value Created by the Elderly in a Community Context

The extension of the analysis of use and exchange value to ideas and relationships provides the conceptual breadth to look at how the elderly are involved in the formation and sustaining of a community. By returning to the earlier delineation of the four different analytical levels of community, the section suggests how the importance of the activities of the elderly at each level are highlighted by looking at both use and exchange values.

As shown in Chapter 2, the concept of "community" has traditionally been used in theories that involve geographic, interactional, and/or normative units of analysis. Communities are not necessarily co-terminal with political or economic boundaries and are commonly conceptualized as encompassing aspects of social organization that involve use values (though not in those terms). In community studies the elderly, when considered, are considered important primarily for their role in cultural transmission. Political economy analyses, in contrast, are primarily interested in the conceptual unit of cities and urban areas. Cities are units of analysis that are involved in commodity production, the component of local social organization that involves exchange values. Some political economy analyses are also interested in the city as the first line of political domination and as an organizing area of class conflict. Because the elderly are generally considered marginal to the exchange organization of society they are not usually seen as an important social force in urban studies.

Looking first at the symbolic level of an immigrant community, we need to consider both the types and content of the symbols that the

elderly are involved in creating. Meaningful symbols that are a part of immigrants' identity are likely to be somewhat divergent from the dominant symbols of Anglo society. Ethnic elderly, in their day to day lives, are likely to be active in creating and legitimating symbols that are more congruent than Anglo symbols with the experiences of the immigrants. The elderly are also likely to use symbols in exchange relationships, such as trying to obtain deference from younger people.

At the interactional level of community the elderly are involved more directly in relationships based on use value than exchange value because of their exclusion from the waged labor force. Their engagement in communications and in fostering relationships among community members is likely to involve the creation of use values, though those use values are also key to the production of exchange values within the community.

At the organizational level of community the elderly will be less visibly involved. Elderly persons are less often in key organizational positions than younger adults, and are less likely to be active in a wide variety of community based organizations. The elderly should be important in exchange values to the extent that the elderly are in contact with community organizations that mediate the forces of the economy. The elderly will be involved in the use value of the organizational composition of the community to the extent that they are involved in the institutionalization of the community's provision of human needs.

At the structural level of community we need to return to the earlier discussion of the particular importance of community for workers in the competitive sector of the economy. If the immigrants are heavily involved in the competitive sector (as the service workers in the

Nicaraguan community are) there will be a strong need for the support provided by a community. In this case, the social organization of exchange production results in a need for the creation of use values outside the production arena. The basis for that community is open, however, and could form as a working-class community, a general Latino community, or a specifically Nicaraguan community. The elderly, as creators of use values, will help shape the community by the foundation of their use value creation. The use values in the community created by the elderly will also influence whether the community takes the form of a subdued refuge or an insurgent base.

The examination of both use values and exchange values can bridge the two approaches to urban studies since use values and exchange values are dialectically related to each other. In this manner it is possible to bring the elderly into a political economy analysis, and to broaden a political economy analysis so that noneconomic relations are understood for their independent importance.

In sum, the conceptual distinction between use and exchange values provides us with tools to approach the ways in which the elderly are involved in the creation of material, ideal, and relational needs within a community context, even though they are not involved in the waged labor force. To the extent that the elderly are involved in the production of exchange values we would expect to find that the products of their production are alienated from the elders who produce them. The creation of use values by the elderly can be expected to both support and contradict the production of exchange values by other members of the community, and ultimately affect the process of accumulation that drives capitalism.

The following four chapters analyze levels of the Nicaraguan immigrant community, starting at the basic level of the symbolic community, and continuing with the interactional community, organizational community, and structural community. At each level important elements of the community are identified, as are the ways in which the elderly are important in the community through use value creation and how they affect exchange based production as well. Chapter nine returns directly to the issues of use and exchange value and its utility in analyzing the societal importance of the elderly and other non-waged laborers.

[1] The most notable exception to this tendency is found in E.P. Thompson's work where he looks approaches class "from the bottom up" (eg. Thompson 1963). His work looks at the daily lives and concrete experiences of common people and how they go about constructing their world, and their class, within the constraints of history.

[2] Marx is not entirely consistent on this point. In the mid-1800's, Marx witnessed continual pressure to reduce wages to an absolute minimum that allowed only for workers to exist and reproduce. Thus, he claimed that the wages of the whole working class would be forced down to this minimum (Marx 1972f: 176). The immiseration of the working class was one of the processes that Marx conceptualized as leading to the consciousness of exploitation and revolution. On the other hand, Marx clearly stated that human "needs" could vary in his writing on use values (Marx 1972a: 199ff). Marx adds that historical wants and needs become necessities. "With his development this realm of physical necessity expands as a result of his wants; but, at the same time, the forces of production which satisfy these wants also increase" (Marx 1972b: 320). Historical needs, then, affect the labor "socially necessary" (Marx 1972a: 202) to sustain and reproduce laborers. I draw on this less frequently noted aspect of the base wages because it is sensitive to historical and class variation.

[3] This is exactly what exchange theory proposes, that people interact on the basis of exchange values. Exchange theory is accurate to the extent that contemporary American society follows Marx's analysis that the labor process of producing commodities turns all social relationships into commodities that are related through exchange. I will argue that the social production of use value by the elderly and others is overlooked in most analyses, and contradicts the fundamental assumptions of exchange theory.

[4] Economists' operationalization of Marx's method for determining the amount of surplus value created by labor has led to many debates over the most valid approach (see Ganssmann 1983). The debate over how to measure the rate of profits and the utility of using labor time as the sole measure of value is important, but does not change my conclusions since they do not depend on being able to quantify exchange values.

[5] Sokoloff (1980) categorizes this approach as "early Marxist-feminist." Later Marxist-feminist analysis adds the concept of patriarchy into the analysis as a semi-autonomous or autonomous force. Marxist concepts do not explain why **women** are the primary producers of use value in the family. The analysis of patriarchy adds an explanation of why women are in that structural position. While capitalism may benefit from unwaged work, feminist analyses also show how men as a group benefit from women as a group performing the unwaged work.

[6] I concur that all commodities contain labor, even ideas and relationships. While it is relatively easy to measure the time spent on physical labor, it is not easy to measure mental or interactional labor. The inputs necessary for the production of ideas and relationships are not well specified whereas the inputs for material objects can be fully specified. Theories of the subconscious complicate the situation for

mental labor since it could be argued that we often work on producing ideas without realizing it. The creation of relationships is complicated by the fact that it takes at least two people to make a relationship. Ideas and relationships are further complicated by the question of the boundaries of an idea or a relationship. To quantify there must be a demarcated unit of analysis.

This inability to fully specify the labor contents of an idea or relationship means that it will be impossible to use Marx's analysis of exploitation as a quantitatively unequal exchange. This does not exclude a qualitative comparison of the exchange of ideas and relationships. The common discussion of how students are "exploited" when a professor uses a student's ideas without acknowledgment is a valid qualitative analysis of an unequal exchange.

[7] Burawoy (1978: 288) proposes that there are limits to the degree workers can be alienated from the production process without affecting accumulation. If workers are too closely associated with the link between the conception and execution of the production process it makes the appropriation of surplus value too transparent, while if workers are too separated (i.e. totally alienated) then the ability to create a surplus is threatened.

[8] To test the proposition that community can work to overcome alienation we would have to look at how community persistence is associated with the market segment participation of its members. The more alienated the work the more a community is needed. In the case of the enclave sector, the sector itself is based on the existence of the community so that even though the labor is less alienating, the community and the enclave will be mutually reinforcing. The prediction would be that monopoly sector workers are less likely to depend on community relationships while competitive sector workers are more likely to depend on community relationships because of the differential alienation generated by their labor.

[9] Portes and Bach (1985) found Mexican immigrants who expected help from relatives in finding jobs did **worse** in status and income mobility than those without family help. Since most Chicanos in the American Southwest work in the low paid secondary sector of the economy, that is where the relatives have their contacts and that is where the immigrants are directed, regardless of their skills, education, etc.

CHAPTER 5

THE ELDERLY AND THE SYMBOLIC COMMUNITY

As discussed in Chapters one and two, symbols are important in human life because they underlie shared meanings. Common symbols are the most fundamental dimension of community because they can serve as the basis for communal action. This chapter demonstrates that various symbols are important for the Nicaraguan community and that the elderly are involved in creating these symbols. The concept of being Nicaraguan is shown to be a central category in the world view of the elderly. The elderly's importance at the symbolic level is primarily through their use value creation of the symbols, though they are also involved in producing some symbols for their exchange value. At times the symbols created by the elderly for their use value come into conflict with the symbols created for their exchange value. Overall, elderly Nicaraguans are intimately involved in the creation of a Nicaraguan immigrant community through their daily involvement in the creation of Nicaraguan symbols.

Durkheim (1961) provided an early sociological analysis that demonstrated the importance of central symbols ("collective representations") in unifying individuals in a common group. Symbols represent a common response to the social and physical world that the members of the group experience. People use symbols to organize their experience of the world into understandable patterns upon which they can comprehend the past, act in the present, and make predictions about the future (Mead 1934). The way that people classify the world around them and the symbols they use tell us about their world view (Strauss 1969). Knowing that Eskimos perceive many different types of snow indicates the

significance snow has in their world. Similarly, if we find that Nicaraguan immigrants make distinctions between the origins of different Latino immigrants we learn that national origin has an importance in their lives.

Those symbols become an important part of the identity of the group's members. Identity is socially based, reflecting both the historical conditions in which the person lives and the social relationships the person has with others (Berger & Luckmann 1967). Using the common symbols of a group and an era, individuals develop a concept of self through evaluating themselves as others do (i.e., taking the role of the other [Mead 1934]). This identity, in turn, becomes the basis from which the individual constructs action.

The Symbols and the Elderly

A variety of symbols exist in the Nicaraguan community that distinguish its members from the members of other Latino communities and from non-Latinos. The most important symbols are contained in language and the Catholic church, while food and drink, social and cultural events, politics, and Nicaragua also serve as identifying symbols of community. The elderly are actively involved in the creation and sustaining of all of these key symbols.

Language

Language is perhaps the most important set of symbols that individuals use. Through language ideas are transmitted between individuals, creating shared meaning. Only through shared meaning is collective action in groups possible. Strauss (1969:149) notes, "groups exist as such only because of the common symbolization of their members." Members of a group do not even have to be aware of their

common membership, as long as cooperative action coordinated though the communication of common symbols occurs within the group. In later work Strauss (1978) has formalized this concept as a social world. Weber (1978:42-3) argues that the symbols that comprise a language are important in forming a community only when the speakers of one language are in contact with speakers of a second language. The speakers of the first language to come to understand that they share a common situation. In this situation, language is more than a set of symbols that unites individuals. The language itself becomes a symbol.

Language is the most immediate and important symbol of nationality among Nicaraguans and other Latino immigrants. During a year of observations at a senior center in the Mission I was asked countless times where I was born as people tried to place my Spanish accent. Numerous instances occurred during that time of strangers meeting and correctly identifying the homeland of their new acquaintances almost immediately[1]. Most Nicaraguan respondents generally found it easy to identify people from their homeland because of a distinctive Nicaraguan accent and use of idioms. A Nicaraguan Catholic Deacon reported that people who have recently come from Nicaragua have told him that his Nicaraguan accent is "very up to date" (032). This not only involves how he pronounces words, but also the idiomatic phrases he uses[2]. He attributed this to having extensive contact with recent immigrants, even though he himself has not been to Nicaragua for many years.

The use of language as an identifier has consequences for how people react to a speaker. The ability to identify nationality on the basis of a few spoken words allows people to quickly establish their common heritages. The power of shared Nicaraguan identities repeatedly

served as the basis for establishing relationships between members of one San Francisco senior center. These accents can also be a liability. One elderly woman talked in a group about her daughter, who was born in Central America and spoke fluent Spanish, but who was raised in the U.S and also spoke fluent English. She said that her daughter was a teacher and wanted to get into bilingual education so the daughter went to a Los Angeles college to obtain a certificate. The older woman told her friends that her daughter was told that she would never make a good teacher because "she doesn't speak Chicano" (10.16.84-2).

While Nicaraguan Spanish is a distinctive symbol of identity, Spanish itself is seen by most Nicaraguans as a particularly important aspect of their heritage. There are several possible reasons for the emphasis on Spanish. One is that Nicaraguan Spanish speakers associate Spanish with a much more expressive and emotional manner of talking. Spanish speakers tend to look at English as very utilitarian, where sentences are short and to the point, with little emotion or feeling. In contrast, Nicaraguan Spanish is seen as embodying more of the feeling that people have for each other when they communicate. Spanish sentences tend to be more embellished than English sentences with adjectives and extra words that convey feeling and appreciation for the listener, beyond the information communicated. This emotional content to the language is reflected in the way that Nicaraguans conceptualize their culture. The Nicaraguan respondents talked about their countrymates as being warm and friendly, but also of getting emotional at times and being quick to fight.

One example of how Nicaraguans are sensitive to the feeling of language is the popularity of poetry in Nicaragua, and the fact that the

most universally revered Nicaraguan is the poet, Ruben Dario. Nicaraguans often refer to, and sometimes quote from, Dario when speaking about Nicaragua. For example, one woman referred to Dario when complaining about the Sandinistas,

> Nicaragua will return to being a republic. Nicaragua will return to being the beautiful Nicaragua that Ruben lyricized and that all Nicaraguans lyricize because all of us Nicaraguans are poets and singers... (031-8)

Dario symbolizes both a love of Nicaragua, as well as the quality of Nicaraguan culture. Literary figures are well represented in the Nicaraguan revolution by poet Ernesto Cardinal, the minister of culture, and novelist Sergio Rami°rez, the vice president.

Poetry is both commonly written and widely read among Nicaraguans. Poetry is not limited to the elite or educated class in Nicaragua and is considered a legitimate form of expression among all social groups. The popular attraction of poetry has led the Sandinista government in Nicaragua to draw on the writings of revolutionary supporters in its political efforts. The three daily mass circulation newspapers in Managua all published poetry in the early 1980's, indicating the wide readership. One of the mass circulation Spanish language papers in San Francisco similarly published poetry on a regular basis in the early 1980's. This love of poetry demonstrates a closeness and feeling for the Spanish language that is not commonly perceived among U.S. English speaking Anglos.

Language also has a special significance as the "mother tongue." For those immigrants raised in Nicaragua, Spanish is associated with the homeland. During some interviews, immigrant respondents who were fluent in English would not be able to think of an English word to describe an experience of theirs because the concept or item was not translatable.

Some words refer to relationships between people that have no parallel meaning in English. "Hijo natural," for example, refers to a stepchild or adopted child but connotes a child that is a part of the family in the same manner as one born to the mother. Other words are common slang, like "ideay" meaning "its nothing." Still others refer to unique Nicaraguan items like "jicaras," carved gourds used for drinking. The symbolic association between Spanish and the homeland makes the use of Spanish a source of identity for the Nicaraguans.

Especially for older people whose first language is Spanish, language also has a very pragmatic importance -- comfort and clarity of understanding. Older Nicaraguans and other Latin Americans usually preferred to talk in Spanish during interviews unless they had lived in the U.S. for many years and normally spoke English at work or home. Even if they knew English, most wanted to speak Spanish because they were worried that they couldn't accurately convey what they meant in English. Those who were unsure of their English reported that they became especially uncomfortable when at a doctor's office or a government office, i.e. when dealing with an authority. An older community activist's comments sum up my observations.

> They feel at home when they can come and tell you the things in their own language, even if they know English they feel, like if they have to go to a doctor and they communicate only in English, they worry maybe something was left out so they have to talk in their own language, how they feel and everything. (xx1)

The elderly have a particularly strong interest in perpetuating the use of Spanish among their children and grandchildren. They usually have used Spanish longer as their primary language than younger generations and have their identity more associated with Spanish. As detailed in Chapter 3, elderly Nicaraguans are more likely than younger

generations to speak only Spanish, providing an instrumental need to teach younger generations Spanish in order to communicate with them. The following discussion shows how important Nicaraguan elderly consider Spanish and how they work to ensure the vitality of Spanish in the Nicaraguan community.

The most widespread expectation that Nicaraguan elderly place on their family is that they be able to speak Spanish. Ensuring that their own children spoke Spanish was merely a matter of speaking Spanish within the household when the child was growing up. Getting the grandchildren to speak Spanish often takes more conscious efforts. The most common way that respondents reported encouraging their grandchildren to know Spanish was to ensure that grandchildren speak only Spanish to them.

Grandparents who do not look after for their grandchildren on a daily basis have less control over their grandchildren's exposure to Spanish. These elderly persons typically use the grandchild's need to communicate with the elder to get the grandchildren to use the Spanish they know. A typical example is a man in his early 60's who pretends he does not understand English when his grandson is around. Talking in English during an interview he explained,

> When my six year old grandson comes over I make him speak to me in Spanish. When he talks to me in English I pretend I don't understand. He'll say, "Can I have an apple," and I look at him and say, "Que?" He says again, "Can I have an apple," and I say nothing. Finally he gets frustrated and says "Quero una manzana!" "Oh, is that what you want?" I tell him in Spanish, "Go get one from the refrigerator." (032-3).

This type of story was repeated countless times in interviews conducted both in English and Spanish.

Spanish is the language commonly used at home among adult immigrants, regardless of their English abilities. Some of these families only speak Spanish at home to teach their children Spanish.

> We speak only Spanish with our children. When they talk with us, it's only in Spanish. When they speak among themselves they speak only in English. My wife and I have tried to buy some books, we got them from Nicaragua, to help teach them Spanish well, so that they can guard it as their own language. (022-2)

When the grandparent, usually the grandmother, takes care of grandchildren on a daily basis she has more influence over the language abilities of the youth. Grandmothers are commonly responsible for Spanish instruction.

> My grandson is five years old now, and they pressure him in school to study more English... he has to speak more English because he knows how to speak Spanish. But, when he's in the third grade, then I'll teach him more because my mother taught my daughter how to add, subtract, and she taught her how to write in Spanish because I was working. So, its the grandmothers, the children here speak Spanish because of the grandmothers. (037-16)

The large proportion of elderly Nicaraguan women who live in extended households (see Chapter 3) supports respondents' claims that grandmothers commonly care for grandchildren while parents work.

The importance that elder Nicaraguans place on Spanish is well illustrated by a Nicaraguan woman who married a Canadian who does not speak any Spanish. She spoke Spanish to her daughter at home so that her daughter would learn the language.

> My daughter speaks Spanish and English very well. Her husband is of German descent, American born, and he don't know Spanish, but the children, my grandchildren, speak Spanish [her friend present at interview: Good!] because the mother used to speak Spanish to them. Then when I come to see her they listen to me and they know. They speak it and read it. (xx1-20)

Learning Spanish is not automatic for all children and grandchildren of Nicaraguan immigrants because children learn English in school and are surrounded by English speakers in an English speaking

country. The importance that the elderly place on their children and grandchildren knowing Spanish contributes to the knowledge and use of Spanish in the community. When the children learn Spanish from their Nicaraguan grandparents they will tend to associate Spanish with other attributes of their grandparents, including their Nicaraguan heritage.

By encouraging the use of Spanish, the elderly contribute to the continued existence of community by providing a source of identity that is Nicaraguan. Knowledge of Spanish provides a second set of symbols for second generation Nicaraguans that relate to their ancestral homeland rather than to their land of birth. With the ability to speak Spanish the younger generation not only has the ability to communicate with the older generation whose English may be limited, but also can communicate with other Nicaraguans in a distinctive manner that makes their difference from Anglos (and other Latinos, to an extent) noticeable. The importance of language in interaction is developed further in the following chapter (six).

Religion

Religion serves as the basis for important symbols in the Nicaraguan community. There are several religious celebrations that are particularly associated with Nicaragua or regions within Nicaragua. The most general celebration that symbolizes the continuity with Nicaraguan practices is the celebration of the immaculate conception (Purisima) that occurs on December 8. A Nicaraguan writing in a local Spanish language newspaper notes the symbolism of this event.

> It is a great triumph of Nicaraguan Catholics, having moved and been raised here, the devotion and the celebration of the Conception of Mary, which causes such happiness especially on the day of the Griteria, that we make ourselves feel like we are in our homeland. A homeland we never forget. (Pereira 1986; my translation)

In San Francisco the celebration at St. Paul's church involves eight evenings of prayers, singing, and eating to celebrate the immaculate conception. People cooperatively provide chica (a drink), sweet breads, and other food and drink. The ninth night is the "griteria" which marks the end of the celebration. The festivities themselves symbolize the links to Nicaragua, much as the celebration of the Virgin of Guadalupe (also celebrated at the same church) symbolizes Mexicans' association with their homeland (032). Purisima has been held at St. Peter's for many years, and is celebrated in other parishes around the San Francisco and San Mateo area where Nicaraguans are parish members (114). The celebration of the holiday is also commonly celebrated in individuals' homes. It is an occasion that fosters the reinforcement of shared meaning because even when celebrated in individual homes, those homes are open to friends and family who stop by to share in the celebration.

Another Nicaraguan celebration that occurs is the "Procesion de los Varones" (the Men's Procession) that is held on January 1. This celebration was first held in San Francisco in 1986 (Pereira 1986). The celebration attracted more Nicaraguans than expected, with several hundred showing up to sing traditional Nicaraguan religious songs and parade around St. Peter's church. "They were supposed to just go around the block, but they kept going, walking up the block and singing in the street. I'd never seen such a large group of just men at the church here before," commented a participant (114). The support and emotion reported shows a strong attachment to traditional Nicaraguan symbols associated with the Church.

Other religious celebrations that are normally held in San Francisco are associated with towns and regions, such as the celebration

of San Sebastian who is the patron saint of Diriamba and the celebration of Santo Domingo de Guzman who is the patron saint of Nicaragua's capital, Managua. Santo Domingo was among the first Nicaraguan holidays publically celebrated in San Francisco, with an organization beginning the celebration in the early 1960's (037).

Many Nicaraguan immigrants find it important to belong to a parish where other Nicaraguans attend. St. Paul's church in San Francisco has become known in the Catholic community as the "Nicaraguan church." The special feature that this church offers is a Nicaraguan deacon who normally officiates at the one Mass that is celebrated in Spanish. Many other churches have Spanish masses and are closer to Nicaraguan's homes, but the symbolic importance of having a Nicaraguan leading the ceremony causes hundreds of Nicaraguans to identify with St. Paul's as their home parish (032). The deacon is also very active in different parish activities, lending his Nicaraguan style to parish activities. St. Peter's, the flagship Latino Church in San Francisco, also has a Nicaraguan deacon who serves as a focus for organizing Nicaraguan events, but who does not celebrate Mass. While St. Peter's normally sponsors two or three Nicaraguan holidays per year, Nicaraguans comprise a smaller proportion of St. Peter's than St. Paul's, giving St. Peter's a less Nicaraguan character (114). A third San Francisco church, St. Anthony's, also has an identification as a church for Nicaraguans even though there are no Nicaraguan church leaders. Parish officials report that many Nicaraguans settled in the area served by St. Anthony's parish in the 1960's and 1970's and that they continue to attend the parish even though many of them have since moved out of San Francisco. The effort that many Nicaraguans make to attend a church with other

Nicaraguans indicates the importance of the association between the church and national identity.

Elderly Nicaraguans are important in keeping the Church identified as a Nicaraguan symbol. At various Spanish language Masses observed at St. Peter's and St. Paul's, more than of one third of the parishoners appeared to be over age 55. Attendence was commonly intergenerational, and elderly people were often accompanied by adult children and grandchildren. The Nicaraguan symbolism in the church was frequently dependent on elderly persons.

The woman who began the public celebration of the Purisima (Immaculate Conception) at St. Paul's church is an important example of how an elder woman helped to reproduce symbolism of the Nicaraguan community. When the woman immigrated initially in the 1960's her family would celebrate Purisima in the different churches that provided ceremonies, and in their own homes. She eventually brought a statue of the Virgin to San Francisco that had been in the family for almost 100 years when the 1972 earthquake destroyed the family's home in Managua. Also by the mid-1970's St. Paul's was attracting other Nicaraguan immigrants in addition to her large extended family. At this point she decided that she wanted to let the other Nicaraguans share in the celebration associated with her homeland. As a result, the woman organized the first Purisima celebration at St. Paul's in 1972, attracting a couple hundred people. Her knowledge of how the celebrations should be organized and run in an authentic manner, along with her possession of symbolically significant objects, made the public celebration of this event possible (035). When the founding woman fell ill and was not able to organize the event, she entrusted the statue and

responsibility to her younger sister who was in her late 50's. By the mid-1980's, more than 500 people were attending the celebration.

Other elderly persons are more indirect in the way they invoke religion as a significant symbol. Some elderly communicate the importance of religion through conversations where God may be frequently thanked or appealed to. Within this sample primarily women called on God or praised God in their normal conversations. One woman in her 50's drew God into the conversation when she explained why she entered the U.S. legally.

> ...he who walks with the law walks with God and where God is, there is nothing lacking. (031-4)

Some elderly freely intersperse "Thanks to God" throughout their interviews. An 80 year old woman exemplifies this on-going religiosity.

> When I talk with my family in Nicaragua I tell them that God brought us here... Yes, they have celebrations of national holidays, like the Griteria. In all the churches, thanks to God... Among the people here, among the Latins, abandon the elderly. Things that, for the grace of God, we don't do... I've never experienced any discrimination, thanks to God, but there are certain places where there is discrimination... I've only had my salary, and now my pension. Thanks to God I live well. (034-4,5,6,7)

Showing their commitment to religion in everyday conversation serves to show to others around them that religion is an important part of their lives. This helps to reinforce a religious element in the symbols of the Nicaraguan community.

The existence of specifically Nicaraguan religious symbols provides a powerful unifying force to the common understandings among Nicaraguans in San Francisco. As Chapter 7 details, the institutional nature of the Catholic Church provides additional force and stability to its Nicaraguan symbols. The elderly help maintain the Church as a center of Nicaraguan symbolism by encouraging the adoption of religious symbols by

others through their own involvement in the Church, and by fostering the symbols in the Church that are particularly Nicaraguan. To the extent that Nicaraguan immigrants adopt a religion as a component of their identity, the Nicaraguan character of many churches will become a part of their self conceptions and basis for their interactions with others.

Food and Drink

Among the most common symbols of a culture that are outwardly apparent in San Francisco are the typical foods and drinks of a region. There are many typical foods associated with Nicaragua, including a fish found only in Nicaraguan waters (Guapote), a distinctive tamale (nacatamale), several drinks made from ground corn and flavorings (including pinol), a rice and bean mixture (gallo pinto), a corn and beef stew (indio viejo), several soups (including bajo), a semi-hard white cheese that is often fried, and various bananas that are often fried. The meaning of these foods to Nicaraguan immigrants is demonstrated both by the efforts that people go to in order to obtain them, and the discussions that people have about foods.

While in Nicaragua I was approached by several people asking me to bring food back for their friends and relatives, including cheese and pinole mix. These items are commonly found in Nicaragua but are not found in the San Francisco area. The relatives wanted to send the food as a special remembrance of Nicaragua. For those who want to eat Nicaraguan food in the San Francisco area there were at least seven Nicaraguan restaurants in the Mission District in 1986[3]. When I was visiting one of the restaurants with a Nicaraguan for lunch, my companion and the owner of the restaurant held a heated discussion about one of the dishes. My companion asked what kind of fish was in the

"pescado de estilo Tipitapa." When he was told it was Guapote (found only in Lake Nicaragua) he argued that it could not be. The owner assured him that the fish was flown in from Nicaragua weekly. The conversation continued for several minutes, leaving my companion skeptical. The interaction illustrated the importance the two parties put on the origin of the fish. The dish had to have a Nicaraguan fish to be authentic since the symbolic connection with the homeland was what the restaurant was selling.

Steinberg (1981) dismisses ethnic food as a largely hollow symbol because he sees few social consequences coming directly from eating ethnic food. While simply eating nacatamales on a regular basis does not create a person's identity as Nicaraguan, food is a central symbol that often brings people together in the Nicaraguan community. The importance of foods was illustrated when one Nicaraguan family celebrated the anniversary of the death of their parents at St. Paul's Church (in June 1986). After the Sunday Spanish Mass the parish normally holds a social in a meeting room and provides coffee and Mexican pastries from a local bakery. As part of the special celebration the family provided Nicaraguan style nacatamales for the social hour. According to the Church's deacon, the turnout for the social hour was larger than usual, and about 100 people attended in order to eat the nacatamales and socialize. The crowd was also mostly Nicaraguan, attracted by the opportunity to eat homemade nacatamales, according to the Deacon.

Food is the central component of numerous other events, serving to attract people and give the gathering a national flavor. When one elder respondent was describing the celebration of San Geronimo at the Casa de

Cultura Nicaraguense, she listed three characteristics: dancing, food, and a Mass (in that order).

> They're going to have typical dances. You could see a little of Nicaraguan traditions... There is going to be typical food, drinks, orchata. Have you tried orchata? (yes). Indio viejo, have you ever eaten that? (yes). Tasty, isn't it? Its all going to be there tomorrow. Oh, you know all about Nicaraguan food, you've eaten it before!... It's going to be good, it's going to be so nice there. There's going to be a Mass. (037-12)

Many Nicaraguans would not place the Mass as the least important aspect of the event, but typical food is an essential part of these celebrations. Members of the Nicaraguan community take it for granted that religious festivals will include be typical Nicaraguan foods. Serving Nicaraguan dishes at events supports the Nicaraguan symbolism of the event.

The feelings that immigrants have about their national foods are evident when persons from different countries discuss the relative merits of their foods. The foods become a symbol of pride in their country. A discussion of tamales among a group of elders at a senior center raised nationalist tendencies as the Salvadorans claimed that Salvadoran tamales were the best, while Nicaraguans claimed that nacatamales could not be beaten. The only thing the two sides could agree on was that Mexican tamales were too spicy. The interactions surrounding foods turned objects that could be identified simply for their instrumental value into symbols of their homelands.

The elderly are involved in promoting Nicaraguan food and drink in at least two ways. They have a personal preference or liking for typical foods. This preference serves to provide a demand for Nicaraguan foods and drinks not only at fiestas, but also in more common family meals and other gatherings. Also, the elderly encourage typical

food and drink by knowing how to prepare them and actually cooking the foods. Respondents commonly reported that older women were involved preparing typical foods for celebrations. When elderly women are not physically able to take primary responsibility for cooking Nicaraguan foods, they may be in the background talking with the younger cooks and offering suggestions. The efforts of older women in cooking is particularly important at larger events where several hundred people are fed (such as at religious events, see below).

The continued availability and interest in Nicaraguan food in the San Francisco area provides a ready basis for attracting Nicaraguans to different events. While food alone does not provide the kind of basis for identity that language or religion do, typical food and drink provide a recognizable and widely enjoyed symbol of Nicaragua that facilitates interaction among Nicaraguans.

Social and Cultural Events

Many different celebrations occur that are symbolic of the community's Nicaraguan identity. Many of the socially significant events are religious, as described above. Other social and cultural fiestas occur that represent a symbolic reproduction of meaningful celebrations in Nicaragua.

One popular cultural symbol that has recently been used as an attraction for a dance is the "palo de mayo" dance. On the east coast of Nicaragua, which is culturally and linguistically different from the dominant Hispanic west coast, there is a typical May Pole dance that has become a popular folk dance in Nicaragua. The Casa de Cultura Nicaraguense in San Francisco decided in 1985 to have a yearly dance organized around this celebration. According to Casa leaders, the dance

provides a nonpolitical symbol that can attract a broader spectrum of the Nicaraguan community than the celebrations of the Nicaraguan revolution which the Casa also sponsors. The 1986 celebration attracted about 400 people to a private club in North Beach (across town from the Mission District) at $10 per person. The dance featured a live band and a disc jockey who played records before the band started and during their breaks. The actual palo de mayo dance lasted only about a half-hour of the five hour party. Local men and women danced the traditional folk dances for part of that time, and a contest for the best folk dancers from the audience was held. The winners of the contest received a pair of Nicaraguan carved gourds.

Several social organizations are also important in providing Nicaraguan symbols. A cultural club that is comprised of anti-Sandinista members (vs. the Casa de Cultura which is pro-Sandinista) organized a Miss Nicaragua pageant in 1985. The Asociacion Cultural Nicaraguense selected a "Miss Nicaragua of San Francisco and Queen of the Nicaraguan Cultural Association" in October 1985 in order to "extol in this manner the cultural values and beauty representative of that marvelous Central American country" (Tiempo Latino, 1985).

Sports are a common male activity that reinforce Nicaraguan symbols. Baseball ("beisbol" in Spanish for Nicaraguans) is the national sport in Nicaragua, a heritage of the occupation of Nicaragua by U.S. Marines earlier in the century (see Chapter 8). In 1985 the daily newspapers in Nicaragua were between 8-12 pages long because of paper shortages, but always published 1-2 pages of sports news. Several Nicaraguans play major league baseball in the U.S., and their actions are closely watched by sports fans in Nicaragua. Beisbol in both

Nicaragua and the U.S. is a major feature of the sports pages, even in the government controlled newspaper. The government owned Barricada (1985), for example, informed tens of thousands of Nicaraguans about how Nicaraguan first baseman David Green was performing for St. Louis after being traded by the Giants.

As a Nicaraguan sport, beisbol continues to attract immigrants in San Francisco. An amateur Latin American baseball league exists in San Francisco and provides the context for Nicaraguans to continue to play baseball as Nicaraguans. In the 1980's the local Spanish language papers have reported on both junior league and senior league baseball teams that have played under the names "Nicaragua Jrs." and "Nicaragua" respectively. Soccer, another popular sport, has also served as an organizing focus for Nicaraguans. As early as the 1950's there was a Nicaraguan soccer club that played in a city league, according to one of its members (027). Nicaraguan sports teams are an important symbol of Nicaraguan identity for spectators as well as players. Several men commented that sports, in addition to politics and religion, are the most common emotional topics for Nicaraguans. (027, 032). Sports provide a forum for Nicaraguans to act together as Nicaraguans, whether they play on a team, root for one, or discuss Nicaraguan teams and personalities with countrymates.

The continuance of Nicaraguan social patterns, whether religious or not, is an important part of reproducing the sense of commonality among Nicaraguan immigrants. Symbols elicit the same reaction in many people (Mead 1934). Providing social events where many Nicaraguans gather allows the elderly and others who have experienced the tradition for years as a Nicaraguan experience to socialize others to the meaning of

being Nicaraguan.

> It's in your system. In Nicaragua the sick can give something to San Sebastian hoping for a cure, the cured give something for thanks. People from all over the countryside come into town to celebrate, it's like a fair, for all ages.... Here we try to have it exactly like its done in our pueblo. We try to get people to come, drink, eat, enjoy themselves, dance, and not spend a cent. The kids don't have the same feeling from the celebration like we do, but you'll notice that most of the folk dancers are young. (022-3)

Although this respondent felt that older people felt more nostalgic and at home during the Nicaragua oriented celebrations, he noted that younger people were active participants in key roles. The same process exists in multiple arenas from sports to beauty contests.

Nicaraguan participation in social and cultural traditions typically involve family, either within the home or in public celebrations. As the senior person in the family, the older person has an impact on the family when they look forward to the celebrations and talk about them with the family. The importance of Nicaraguan celebrations was discussed by many elderly respondents. One woman in her 80's who was ill and rarely got out of her home (where she lived with her daughter) spent the weeks before San Sebastian's Day talking about the upcoming event. When the day came she went to the Mass and party that followed, even though she was weak and needed help to even walk (034). The ill woman's definition of the importance of the event likely had an influence on the way that the event symbolized being Nicaraguan for her immediate family.

Celebrating traditional events is an important symbol of a continuance of being Nicaraguan. The elderly appear to gain a feeling belonging when they attend fiestas that they have been a part of since their youth. The new generation may not have the same nostalgic

association with the symbolism of the celebration, but they do come to associate the celebration with their background, and they meet and see hundreds of others who share the same background.

Politics

Politics oriented towards the homeland provides a extremely strong symbolic link between Nicaraguans in San Francisco and the home country. Before the revolution, San Francisco was an active center of anti-Somoza political activity. Since the revolution, San Francisco has also become an active anti-Sandinista center. Contra leaders commonly stop in San Francisco when they are on publicity and fund-raising tours of the U.S., such as Eden Pastora (Tiempo Latino 1986b) and Fernando Chamorro (Tiempo Latino 1986a). In 1980, after the Nicaraguan revolution, a major local Spanish newspaper was filled with articles about the political situation in Nicaragua, and carried several declarations from various Contra forces promising to overthrow the Sandinistas (e.g. Tiempo Latino 1980a & 1980b).

Political identification is quite important in social groups. One professional complained that Sandinista supporters always labeled him as a Contra and Contra supporters labeled him a Sandinista because he was neither. He said that he feels many of the things the Sandinistas do are bad, but that he planned to return to his university position in Nicaragua because he wanted to help the people of his homeland (027). Partisanship is evident in almost any conversation that includes Nicaragua as people complain about the Sandinistas or praise the progress of the revolution.

People try to identify what country others are from and they also pay close attention to what people say about contemporary Nicaragua in

attempt to identify political leanings. During an interview, a secretary from the respondent's office joined the conversation concerning a local Nicaraguan merchant.

> I was listening to him talk the other day when he was in here. Raul said a lot of things about the Sandinistas and he didn't say anything in return, so I think that he's pro-Sandinista. (118)

The political stand attributed to an individual thus becomes a part of their social identity that shapes how others behave towards them.

While the national politics provides a strong symbolic bond between the community members and their nationality, it also divides families and the community. Political celebrations draw only part of the Nicaraguan community because of the political polarization, and do not fully represent the depth of feeling about the subject that Nicaraguans have. In addition, celebrations of the revolution and other pro-Sandinista events are as likely to draw Anglo supporters of the Sandinistas as they are to draw Nicaraguans. This serves to dilute the special identification of the celebration as Nicaraguan, adding an anti-U.S. policy character to what could have otherwise been a celebration of being Nicaragua.

The elderly are just as active as younger people in taking political sides and attributing political labels to others. When returning from a concert of Latin American songs (which included several protest and revolutionary pieces), a group of elderly women from a senior center discussed the performance. A Nicaraguan women observed,

> They all had such beautiful voices. They sang so well and so sweetly, but did you listen to the words? Ach, they're all communists! (11/84)

The disgust in the woman's voice indicated that while she appreciated the musical quality of the performance, she disliked the political views

of the performers.

While partisanship is not unique to the elderly, these people perpetuate the labeling of others by taking a stand on Nicaraguan politics. These labels are consequential to the extent that they become part of the identity of the person and become the basis for action. For one grandmother, her avowed support of socialism caused her to lose many of her more conservative friends, though she continued her close relationships with family members who were also more conservative (037).

The Country of Nicaragua

The country of Nicaragua itself has a symbolic importance as a reference point for many immigrants. For many, the country was equated with culture, allowing individuals to make comparisons between different countries. In one San Francisco senior center it was not uncommon for Nicaraguan immigrants to compare their homeland with other Latin American nations based on their knowledge of the culture of each. Since they defined Nicaraguan culture as being better than other cultures, they made their association with Nicaragua a particularly valuable aspect of their self identity. Culture in these evaluations usually referred to the arts and letters, along with the way Spanish is spoken.

In addition to culture, many people have a sense of history that is unique to Nicaragua that they feel is important for others to know. In explaining that most Anglos failed to distinguish between different nationalities of Latinos, one woman said,

> I think it's a lack of education. They (Anglos) don't know about the differences between the people in each country. The only thing that Latin Americans have in common really is the language, and the percent that are Catholic. But each country had different Indians and when the Spanish came that created differences. Like the Nicarao in Nicaragua were different from the Pipiles and Lencas in El Salvador, so you see the Nicaraguans are tall but the Salvadorans are shorter and stouter. And the Incas in Peru had

> slanted eyes so Peruvians all look like they have Chinese eyes. I can tell a person from Peru just by looking at him. (038)

The symbolism of the Indian heritage is important because the majority of Nicaraguans are mestiso. In knowing about the Indian heritage, Nicaraguans can create a positive symbolism of being related to Nicaragua's pre-Columbian Indians (e.g. 036), rather than feeling devalued because they have darker skin that Anglos. On the other hand, the most common reaction to dark skin was negative. The standards of beauty among Nicaraguans put fair skin and light hair above the darker Indian characteristics.

Some Nicaraguans who are more politically oriented will talk about the history of U.S.-Nicaraguan relationships, including the periods when U.S. soldiers were on Nicaraguan soil. Still others talk about the earthquakes that have flattened the capital city of Managua twice in the past century as important historical knowledge. This knowledge of Nicaragua's culture and history becomes important for those in San Francisco because it is not taught in schools nor is it common public knowledge. If the Nicaraguan community incorporates symbols that refer to the old country, it is necessary to make some of those references intelligible to those who do not have a full knowledge of the old country. "It's common to hear the old person saying, 'in the old country we...,'" commented a community leader (114). As a result, this knowledge becomes a symbol of being Nicaraguan, but to be shared with others and presented as something that makes being Nicaraguan special.

Nicaragua will never have the same significance for the second generation that it does for the first because second generation has experienced Nicaragua primarily second hand. The ability of the elderly to provide any second hand sense of Nicaragua to those around them

provides a degree of meaning to what Nicaragua is, and why an individual should value that as part of their identity. The symbolic ties that the elderly retain to Nicaragua are apparent daily as the elders identify with the nation in their conversations. When talking about Nicaragua most of the elders talked about "my country."

> I enjoy all the holidays celebrated in my country. (018-12)
>
> My last visit to Nicaragua was over 12 years ago. I went to visit family and to see my country. (018-4)
>
> I returned to Nicaragua only for pleasure, to go to see our homeland. (034-4)

The elderly themselves can become identified with the country as well. In this way the elderly become symbols of what Nicaragua is. When people see elders from the homeland they associate the older person with Nicaragua, and they see that person as being instrumental in passing on the sense of being Nicaraguan.

> The old are important only because they are symbols of Nicaraguan citizens, and as such they're persons who maintain the traditions and help the memory of the things of the past of those from our countries. They are the spirit of the race, of Nicaraguan nationalism. (018-13).

The elderly demonstrate their close association with the homeland to others in various ways. Some are very emphatic in acknowledging their ancestry. One man, when asked if he was Nicaraguan, responded, "Si, gracias a Dios!" (yes, thanks to God) (035-1). Some plan for their retirement or burial back in the homeland. A man in his 50's was planning for his retirement in Nicaragua by buying two farms so that he would have a place to live and a source of income after he quit working in San Francisco (022). Several deceased members of another family had been returned to Nicaragua for burial, and the two eldest family members have made similar arrangements.

> All of us want to be buried in Nicaragua. For example, Roberto, he hadn't paid yet, but when he got sick the family started helping him pay for it. I also began to pay for my burial and picked out the coffin, my clothes, the trip to Nicaragua, all the ceremonies. The Mass and the wake. We [she and her sister] are ready for the moment when our final hour arrives. It's our last wish to be buried there. (034-6)

Similarly, a woman in her 50's who had terminal cancer had arranged for her daughter to take a leave of absence from work to return with her to Nicaragua when further medical treatment becomes futile (033). The deep attachment to the land of their birth is clearly shown in the way that some of the elderly try to retain a physical closeness with their land at the end of their lives.

Summary: The Symbols and the Elderly

All of the symbols within the Nicaraguan community appear to have explicit references to the homeland. The language contains the uniqueness found in Nicaragua, religious ceremonies often rely on statues and other relics brought from Nicaragua, foods and drinks commonly contain ingredients that are popular primarily in Nicaragua, and cultural and political actions are oriented towards Nicaragua. As such, no symbols of the community were found that are unique to San Francisco's Nicaraguan community. There were no home-grown symbols, so to speak. It seems unlikely that Nicaraguan symbols can remain unaffected by the dominant symbols in daily life, and there will probably be some hybrid symbols developed that are different from those in Nicaragua but which retain a Nicaraguan identity. Because the social and economic conditions of Spanish speaking Nicaragua are different that those of Anglo dominated U.S., the symbols most effective in invoking a Nicaraguan identity in San Francisco are likely to become modified from the native Nicaraguan symbols.

The process of modifying symbols to the new environment can be seen among Chicano youth. The symbol of Chicano youth in the U.S. has become the cholo* (see glossary) who is a unique blend of Mexican and American characteristics and is associated with particularly American products (e.g. cars, clothes, etc.)[4]. Similar mixes of Nicaraguan and American symbols may have to wait for a large second generation that was raised with both Nicaraguan and Anglo-American experiences.

Since the symbols of community all recreate Nicaraguan experiences, the elderly have a particularly important place in the creation of the symbols of the community. The immigrants who have come to San Francisco in their later years have had the most experience with the symbolic life in Nicaragua and are most capable of faithfully reproducing those symbols in San Francisco. Other Nicaraguan elderly who have lived in San Francisco for many years are also often central actors in creating symbols of community through their actions. The symbolic association between the elderly and Nicaragua makes their presence an important symbol of common identity in addition to their actions.

A Nicaraguan poet in San Francisco summarizes some of the symbols of the Nicaraguan essence of being in his poem "Religious Tradition and Character of the Nicaraguan" (Jiron Lanza 1985: 21, my translation).

With your sad happiness and your insane reflexiveness
the nostalgic celebrations of December
are always approaching us
The Griteria of The Immaculate Conception on the night of the seventh
and the sounds of Christmas at the masses of the Infant.
To be happy until the background is obscured by tears
is the characteristic of the Nicaraguan.
Our Andalusen blood of the discoverers
mixed with that of the Chorotega and Nagrandano
explain this rebelious being in us
much of the Middle-East and some of Gipsy.
We live between lament and hope,
between the Mourner and the exalted Singer.
And I don't know, if to be far from our Homeland

one has an obligation to be a Catholic penitent
or to the ancestral tendency of a gipsy habit.
I only know --as a Nicaraguan--
that the poetry accuses us... and absolves us.[5]

"Nicaraguan" as an Explanatory Symbol

One consequence of developing a special symbolic universe is that the Nicaraguan elderly interpret their experiences in reference to those symbols. With their identity usually firmly embedded in being Nicaraguan, the elderly usually interpret the world around them in terms of their "Nicaraguan-ness." This identity can then provide the basis for others to come to see the world in a similar manner, or at least develop a perception that being Nicaraguan has consequences in one's life. The following illustration demonstrates the pervasiveness of the Nicaraguan identity among the elderly by showing how being Nicaraguan is invoked to explain their experiences.

The elderly respondents were asked if they had ever experienced discrimination in the U.S. and why they had or had not. Because almost all elders explained their experiences in intergroup terms (versus in terms of structural or institutional barriers), the question provided them with an opportunity to describe how they perceived the Anglo view of Nicaraguans. While the elderly have diverse impressions about how Anglos view Nicaraguans, all of the diverse impressions are built up on a view of Nicaraguans as special in some way.

While few outside of the Central American communities distinguish between Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, and Mexicans, some within the community perceive that there <u>is</u> awareness of the distinctions. Because their identity is focused on being Nicaraguan, they interpret poor treatment by outsiders as a result of their national origin. Several elders from upper class backgrounds explain that they think that all

Nicaraguans are looked down upon by Anglos because a part of the Nicaraguan immigration is comprised of poorly educated, low skilled persons who "give Nicaraguans a bad name." The U.S. consul in Nicaragua proved that some Anglos do hold this low opinion of Nicaraguans when he said in an interview that "Nicaraguan's are not known as hard workers, like the Salvadorans or Cubans. There's not a campesino* in Nicaragua that works past noon!" While few Anglos in San Francisco make the distinction between Nicaraguans and other Latinos, these elders hold a view of themselves as Nicaraguans who are degraded because of the "rotten apples" with whom they are associated. The distinction they talk about is based on class, but they are concerned about the consequences for the treatment of a whole immigrant group.

This sense of national identity is also used to explain the lack of discrimination that some elder Nicaraguans perceive. Those who claimed that there is no discrimination against Nicaraguans were asked why there was not any. Some explained that Nicaraguans are hard workers and therefore they are all treated well. "I think Nicaraguans are treated well by the English speaking community because the Nicaraguans are employed and are hard workers" (026-5). Some Nicaraguans compare themselves to the treatment they see of Mexicans.

> Both Mexicans and Nicaraguans are treated about the same by English speakers. Perhaps the Nicaraguans are treated better because with the common border with Mexico there are so many wet-backs and they dirty the name of all Mexicans. The Nicaraguan is at a higher level socially and culturally than Mexicans. Perhaps that's why we're treated better. I can't say that I've seen any discrimination against any Nicaraguan. (018-6)

This characterization of Nicaraguans as a group is different from the one of people who felt discrimination. What is significant is that this group of elders also generalize their attitudes towards Nicaraguans as

the basis for their explanation of their experiences. They are unaware that Anglos fail to distinguish between Nicaraguans and other Latinos, but for them it is a core symbol that is used in explaining the way the world works.

Those who believe that Anglos hold positive or negative impressions of Nicaraguans have generally had limited contact with Anglos. Those who have had more contact with Anglos are more likely to learn that Nicaraguans are perceived as a generalized Latino, or worse (from their perspective), as Mexicans. Many of the elders I interviewed spoke about being labeled as Mexican by Anglos. These elders resented the label for various reasons. Some respondents identified positive Nicaraguan attributes, such as the quality of the culture and language, that they felt were degraded by being identified as being Mexican. Others felt contaminated by having characteristics attributed to them that they associated specifically with Mexican immigrants, such as illegal immigration status and youth gangs. The media coverage of illegal immigration from Mexico has generally cast undocumented Mexicans as a "problem". Other negative associations with Mexicans comes from the problems that the Mission District has had with street gangs, who are identified as Mexican. Gangs typify the type of behavior that elder Nicaraguans disapprove of, such as using drugs and not being occupationally and family oriented. Thus, being confused with Mexicans makes Nicaraguans think that they are being characterized as belonging to a stigmatized group. Again, it is their strong positive association with being Nicaraguan that is at stake.

A younger Nicaraguan immigrant who perceives few differences between different Latino nationalities does not explain his experiences

as being Nicaraguan (since he does not see that category as having explanatory power for relationships with the Anglo world).

> We're like a circle, in the Mission District. For example, we identify as the Latino community, we have become like one another where the Nicaraguans marry the Guatemalans and Salvadorans, and we make ties with the other groups, or the other Razas*, or other families of different parts of Latin America. We're all one family. [Have you ever experienced discrimination because of your race, ethnicity, or religion?] In this case I can say from personal experience that we are not treated well by the English community because I have worked in American companies and I haven't been treated well. They always discrimination against one, they treat you bad, and they marginalize you because of the fact that we are Indo-American. We're always Indian as far as they're concerned, and I don't think that they view us well. If you have green eyes and are tall and very white, you're well received by them. (029-5)

The majority of Nicaraguan elderly respondents treated their nationality as a master symbol in explaining their interactions with Anglos. This point of view indicates the importance of being Nicaraguan in the elder's identity and to the way that their identity shapes their world view. The strength and centrality of the Nicaraguan identity for most Nicaraguan elders puts them in a central position for reproducing the symbols of a Nicaraguan community in their daily actions.

Symbols, Value, and the Elderly

Symbols that serve as the basis for individual identity and collective unity can be created either as exchange values or use values. Exchange values are produced for the secondary gain that is possible in their trade for other commodities. Use values are created for their ability to directly satisfy needs in their consumption. When nationalism is fostered during wars, the symbolism of nation is expressly disseminated for the exchange of mobilizing a populace. Those symbols of nation can also become a part of the identity of citizens who then orient their action in reference to those symbols (Shibutani 1961).

Symbols can also be created for their ability to serve as the basis for a positive identity, regardless of other consequences of those symbols. In this latter case the symbols are created for their use value.

In the vast majority of cases where the elderly are involved in creating and maintaining Nicaraguan symbols, they are involved in the making those symbols for their use value. In general, the elderly feel that being Nicaraguan is an important part of their identity and that it is valuable in its own right. Because of the value that they have for those symbols they are often interested in seeing that the symbols are continued and even passed down to younger generations. If the elders were concerned with language only as an instrument for getting a job, for example, the elderly would only be concerned that their grandchildren know English. The widespread and strong feelings that the elderly have about the retention of Spanish is not based on the impression that it will help grandchildren get jobs, but exists because Spanish is a key symbol of their heritage, their essence, and identity. Overall, whenever the elderly are involved in processes, their interest is in sustaining the symbols for their inherent value.

Many of the ways that the elderly sustain Nicaraguan symbols, such as using Nicaraguan ancestry as a central explanatory concept in their understanding of the world around them, present Nicaraguan symbols as a cornerstone of the elderly's world view. The symbols serve as tools for judging the motives of other person's actions and serve to guide the elder's response to those actions. In this way the symbols are used to fulfill the need for making sense of the world.

Perhaps most importantly, the elderly create community symbols collectively. There is little attempt to be exclusive about the

possession or use of community symbols by other Nicaraguans, except when people try to use the symbols to their own profit. The most common example of symbols being used for their exchange value is when political groups try to incorporate nonpolitical Nicaraguan symbols into their events. This is seen as misusing the nonpolitical symbols by many community members because they benefit only a segment of the community (that community members are typically opposed to) rather than the community as a whole. The symbols as use values, thus, are oriented to collective consumption.

The elderly are particularly well placed in the community to create and maintain symbols based on use values. As will be detailed further in the following chapters, the elderly are involved in family relationships and community organizations where they may have limited exchange power, but where they fulfill everyday needs. The elderly are less frequently at a point in their lives where they want to aggrandize themselves by using symbols for personal advantage. Their interests in Nicaraguan symbols are more family and community oriented, and their emphasis on the use values of symbols reflects this.

While Nicaraguan elders are primarily involved in the creation and maintenance of Nicaraguan symbols for their use value, those symbols are also important currency in exchange systems in the community. As will be discussed further in Chapter 7 (Institutions), Nicaraguan symbols form the basis for ethnic consumption that is often met by local businesses. Those local businesses and professionals that adopt Nicaraguan symbols do so in hopes of attracting business from Nicaraguans in the community. In this case the symbols become a secondary feature, a marketing strategy. The symbols themselves are not

important but the sales that the symbols generate are valuable. While the commercial use of Nicaraguan symbols benefits the merchants most, community members do not object to their use because it helps them identify where they can obtain desired goods and services. In this case all parties are using the symbols for their exchange value.

The creation of symbols for their use value can come into contradiction with the exchange values of symbols. This contradictory aspects of the symbolic order of the community is representative of the conflict between the conditions that help sustain the community and those that work towards its fragmentation. While there are many contradictory aspects of Nicaraguan symbols, the elderly are most commonly involved in the contradiction of promoting symbols of economic success while encouraging symbols of morality, as shown in the following section.

Contradictions: Symbols of Success vs. Symbols of Morality

The importance of the symbols in the lives of Nicaraguan elderly and their community does not imply that all symbols created or supported by the elderly help sustain a Nicaraguan community. Some of the symbols that the elderly help perpetuate work at cross purposes, creating a contradiction in their symbolic world. One of the clearest contradictions results from most of the elderly wanting their children and grandchildren to succeed while also wanting them to be moral.

The elderly always want the best for their grandchilden, and they almost always include a good job and good behavior in their definition of a desirable future. The emphasis on occupational success is based on exchange criteria. The job itself does not mean a good life for their grandchildren, but the money and security that the job will bring is the

intended result. Behavior, however, is an end in itself. A moral person who has characteristics that the elder values is seen as being a better person for those qualities. To succeed in the exchange realm, however, the person must often give up those use values that the grandparent wants.

Elder Nicaraguans, regardless of their class background, would like their family to establish themselves in well paying occupations and professions. One grandmother explained why she devoted herself to helping her children establish themselves, as she now expects her children to do for her grandchildren.

> I raised my children to be free. That is what I was thinking, to give them a career, a good occupation, so that they can be free. Free in the full meaning of the word, so that nobody can walk over them... I worked so much so that they would be free from ignorance, free from misery. (016:21)

In U.S. society where the ability to secure a good life is dependent primarily on wages earned in a market, these families need to be well equipped to compete in the labor market. The elderly recognize that one of the most important skills in the labor market is English. English skills also aid the immigrant in daily life - shopping, entertainment, bureaucracies - and many elders try to learn some English by going to classes or by studying on their own. In some cases, it is also useful to be bilingual to get a job when working in organizations that have contact with Spanish speaking clients. What the elders stressed, however, was that English was essential; Spanish was seen as secondary in the job market. Most elders feel that children born here will acquire English in the course of their schooling, so they express little concern with the children's English abilities.

The other skill that is universally acknowledged as important for success in the labor market for their family is education. It is generally felt that the higher the education, the better paying and more stable job a person can get. As a result many parents and grandparents do everything they can to have their kids get an education. This includes caring for kids whose parents are still in Nicaragua so that the children can get an education in the U.S., providing money and other assistance so that the child can go to a private school (where the education is perceived to be better), and encouraging the children to do well in school.

At the same time that the elderly are concerned that the youth succeed in the occupational structure, they are also very concerned that the youth retain a Nicaraguan identity. One of the central aspects of this identity is that they be able to speak Spanish. Almost all of the elders interviewed spoke Spanish exclusively with their grandchildren. One woman described that she pretended that she did not understand English, even though she does, with her grandchildren in order to force them to use Spanish with her. She does this, she says, to insure that her grandchildren keep up a usable fluency in Spanish.

This provides a double message to the grandchildren. They learn that they both have to know English to succeed in the labor market, but they also have to know Spanish as part of their heritage. While the mixture of the two languages can enhance a person's employability in economic sectors where there is Spanish speaking customer or client contact, the language is dichotomized more into opposing personal identity (use) and job success (exchange) categories.

While education is valued, there is also a different emphasis within the expectations of the educational system. Children are not only supposed to grow up technically knowledgeable, but also moral. Since children spend much of their time in the schools, parent and grandparents want schools to reinforce those moral values that they feel are important. One reason that many family members feel that parochial schools are better than public schools is that the moral climate is better. While some parents in Nicaragua send their children to the U.S. for education because of the opportunities it will provide, some Nicaraguans in the U.S. send their children back to Nicaragua if they feel that the moral climate of their child's schooling is having an undesirable influence. Elders' concern with "vices" raises problems if high school kids get involved in drugs and sex.

Conclusion

The presence of a set of common symbols among people is the necessary base upon which a group can formed. The symbols become incorporated into the identity of the group's members and are used in generalizing about the world around them. The presence of common symbols is necessary for undertaking collective action and can serve to distinguish group members from outsiders.

The Nicaraguan immigrant community in San Francisco contains a rich variety of symbols that constitute it as a common community and provide the basis for a Nicaraguan identity within San Francisco. Elderly Nicaraguans play an active role in creating and sustaining those symbols, including language, religion, food and drink, social and cultural events, politics, and nationality. The association of the elderly with Nicaragua also makes the elderly symbols of Nicaragua.

Because the central symbols of the Nicaraguan community are associated with experiences from Nicaragua, the elderly are in a position to be central in the recreation and validation of those symbols.

The importance of the symbolism of Nicaraguan community in the world view of the elderly is apparent in the way that most Nicaraguan immigrant elderly in this study interpret the actions of Anglos towards them. Whether the elderly had experienced discrimination or no discrimination, or had been mistaken for Mexican immigrants by Anglos, the elderly interpreted the actions of the Anglos in term of the elderly's Nicaraguan identity.

The symbols of the community that the elderly create are generally produced for collective consumption, not for exchange or profit. The elderly are usually oriented to community symbols for the sense of meaning that the symbols bring to their lives and the positive identity that results. At times, however, the symbols created by the elderly can be contradictory. This occurs when symbols produced for their exchange value, such as those useful in economic advancement, are contradictory to those created for their use value, such as symbols of morality.

By contributing to the creation of a collective set of symbols, the Nicaraguan elderly play an important role in creating the boundaries of community and in providing the means for collective action. Symbols in isolation, however, have potentiality but not effect. The following chapter on interaction provides an analysis of the Nicaraguan community and the elderly that places symbols in the context of social action.

[1] I initially found this quite surprising, though on reflection I realized that English speakers do the same thing. A typical San Francisco Anglo can probably identify a person from the South, possibly the Midwest, New York, Ireland, and England without much trouble. A San Francisco resident originally from Boston could probably identify other Bostonians in San Francisco from their accent.

[2] Two very common examples of "Nicaraguan" Spanish are the use of the words "vos" and "chavalo." In Castillian Spanish the form "vos" is used in the second person plural (a bit like "you-all" in English) and has a specific verb ending associated with it. In Latin America the form is either not used or it becomes a colloquial form that replaces the second person singular "tu" form when people are talking among friends. Mexican Spanish (the dominant form in the United States) does not use the vos form, while Nicaraguans and others from selected Latin American countries do (Garcia-Pelayo y Gross 1980). The term chavalo (similar to "kid" in English) is not used by people from Mexico or other Central American countries who I have talked with in San Francisco. According to one respondent the Salvadoran equivalent to chavalo is bicho. In terms of accent, Nicaraguans frequently drop the "s" sound when it falls at the end of words. This contrasts even with nearby countries such as Costa Rican where the "s" sound is pronounced.

[3] Nicaraguan restaurants identified by a Nicaraguan businesswoman [who had eaten in all of the restaurants] included: El Bramadero Restaurant (3215 Mission), Red Balloon Restaurant (2763 Mission), El Comal Restaurant (3115-22nd St.), La Olla Restaurant (2417 Mission), Las Tinajas Restaurant (2338 Mission), Sonia Restaurant (2943-16th St.), and the Nicaraguan Restaurant (3015 Mission).

[4] New symbols of ethnic identity are commonly created. McWilliams (1968) describes how "zoot-suits" became a common form of dress among teenaged Chicanos in the 1940's as both a style and symbol of defiance.

[5] Tradicion Religiosa y Caracter de lo Nicaraguense

Con su tristeza alegre y su locura reflexiva
se nos acercan siempre
las nostalgicas fiestas de Diciembre.
La Griteria de la Purisima por la noche del Siete
y los sones de pascua en las misas del Nino.
Alegrarse hasta el fondo oscuro de las lagrimas
es lo characteristico de lo nicaraguense.
Nuestra sangre andaluza de los descubridores
mezclada con la del Chorotega y el Nagrandano
explican en nosotros este ente rebelde
mucho del Medio Oriente y algo de Gitano.
Vivimos entre la endecha y la esperenza,
entre la Planidera y el Cantor exaltado.
Y no se, se el estar lejos de nuestra Patria
se debe a una penitencia de catolico
o a la ancestral tendencia de un habito gitano.
Solo se --como nicaraguense--
que la poesia nos acusa... y nos absuelve.

CHAPTER 6

THE ELDERLY AND THE INTERACTIONAL COMMUNITY

While symbols (Chapter 5) are important for the creation of meaning and the mobilization and rationalization for collective action, symbols themselves have importance only when they occur within interaction. This chapter shows how the elderly are involved in facilitating interaction within the community through associations made between people and through the relationships that are formed. The elderly are involved in encouraging Nicaraguans to associate with each other, especially within families. The resulting communications and level of interaction are aspects of the Nicaraguan community. The creation of shared meaning in relationships is another aspect of interaction. Beyond the surface level of association, the relational content of interaction is important for the sentiments that it carries and is contrasted by many respondents to what they regard as the colder and more utilitarian orientation of Anglos. The elderly are centrally involved in building a specifically Nicaraguan universe of understanding because of their effect on relationships.

As discussed in Chapter 4, interaction can create both use values and exchange values. Since interaction is situated, the context of the interaction will influence whether use values or exchange values are created. Child care provided by grandparents serves as an example of how the meaning created in interaction can influence whether use or exchange value results. Use value created by the elderly, however, can also serve as an exchange value for other levels of social reality, such as organizations and society.

Interaction is the most basic level of social life, and is the life activity that underlies the dynamic aspect of communities. In some theories of community, interaction or communication is conceptualized as the primary basis for a community or social world (see Chapter 2), though community can also be conceptualized as incorporating levels of reality from the symbolic through the structural. The interactional level is a crucial component of community because interaction is the medium through which people develop an identity, organize for collective action, and come to establish and understand a commonality of experience.

The Building of Association

When community is conceptualized as bounded by communications or interactions, the basic level of contact between people is association. Boundaries on interaction are created by language and geography, but there is a wide variation possible for how often the people within those boundaries actually associate with each other. The actions of the elderly that foster the on-going contact and interaction between Nicaraguans helps to strengthen the Nicaraguan community. The elderly are normally oriented towards creating association as a use value. They are not interested in building a formal organization that will provide them with power, nor are they concerned with other personal "paybacks" that they may receive from multiplying Nicaraguan ties within the community. The creation of association as a use value, however, also has exchange value for others in the community and even in Anglo society.

The following section notes some of the limits on association in the Nicaraguan community that provides general boundaries. It then

shows how the elderly are involved in fostering association among Nicaraguans 1) by the people to whom they introduce other Nicaraguans, 2) by encouraging and supporting the interaction of family members, by serving as a communications link among family members, 3) by encouraging and facilitating the growth of the size of the Nicaraguan community through encouraging others to have children and through immigration, and 4) using other positions of influence and institutional authority they may have to reduce intracommunity divisions.

Boundaries of Association

There are several objective boundaries to interaction. The most important one in the Nicaraguan community is language. While the last chapter noted that Spanish was an important symbol in the Nicaraguan community, it is also an essential tool in the interactions that create the community. This is particularly true for the elderly since the majority of Nicaraguan elders in the San Francisco area speak mostly or only Spanish. Thus, their interactional arena is limited primarily to others who also speak Spanish, except in those instances when they are dealing with public agencies and use an interpreter or when they are in situations where communication is limited (e.g. buying groceries).

The other barrier to interaction in San Francisco is geography. While the telephone and automobile have accomplished much to lessen the consequences of distance on interaction, the separation of people geographically still makes it more difficult to maintain relationships with people that are based on continual interaction. The sense of distance is very different for the Nicaraguan elders interviewed than for the average Anglo. Respondents were all asked if they had any family who lived nearby. Invariably the elders would only list family

who live in the same city (usually San Francisco). When asked if they had relatives in other parts of the Bay Area they frequently noted that they also had relatives in Daly City, San Mateo, or elsewhere in the Bay Area. While these other relatives were often no more than an hour away by public transit, the elder Nicaraguans perceived the distance as "far." The distance does not necessarily make interaction difficult, but it does make a more continuous and intimate interactional pattern difficult. Geographical separation becomes an even greater issue for immigrants who still have family in Nicaragua because of the high costs of international phone calls and travel.

Association in the Community

Patterns of introductions provide the most basic example of how Nicaraguan based ties are initiated. A senior center that attracted elderly from different nationalities used senior volunteers to staff a front desk. Volunteers at this desk recognized the regular attendees of the senior center and introduced themselves to newcomers. The volunteers said that they usually ask where a new visitor is from and introduce the visitor to a few regular center users who were from the same country. In this case, nationality was used as a means to facilitate interactions because it was assumed that people from the same nationality would have common interests. This pattern of introducing people works to help create friendships and other associational patterns among the elders based on nationality.

Association within families commonly occurs around an elderly person who serves as the center of a family network and as the primary symbol of the family. Diverse cousins, aunts, and children can identify their relationship to each other via their relationship to the central

elder. Occasionally this elder person will have been the first of the family to have immigrated to the U.S., as in the case of a woman in her 80's who began the migration of her family from Nicaragua.

> After I was here two years I brought my sister and brother-in-law, Manuel, then after two more years I brought Ernesto, my brother... Then Marcos came, Roberto who came was the last, and the little ones... My brothers had seven children who are still alive, three girls and four boys. And then the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of my brother. Just the grandchildren number 21. The whole family numbers more than 50. All of them are very close. (34-3)

In addition to being related, all of these family members share a common bond by being related to this woman and her sister who are both still alive. This provides a common relationship that helps bind the wider family, and a relationship to a person who keeps an active and vocal identity as Nicaraguan.

The family networks within which the elderly play a central role can extend outside of the San Francisco area as well. This is particularly common when elders serve as the focus of ties between family in Nicaragua and family in San Francisco. The strong ties that many elders who are firmly settled in the U.S. still retain to their homeland is due to their family and friends there. One woman's response to being asked what she misses about her country is typical.

> Well, I miss everything. I like being here [in the U.S.], I love it, and wouldn't ever leave. But, I would like to be able to travel every two years to spend a month there [Nicaragua]. I would like that to see my friends, my distant family[1] that I have, to talk to them... because I've gone twice to Nicaragua and I took many things, even though they were from second hand stores, I took them clothes and everything that I could. I like to be able to help them. (12-11)

The elderly are important in helping keep family networks intact by disseminating information. The elderly are often the family members who keep the closest contact with the largest number of family members in

both San Francisco and in Nicaragua. Elderly kin can help sustain the bonds among the family members by providing information to different members of the family about the entire family network. In this way all members of the family maintain contact even though they are not able to do so personally.

The linking provided by the elderly becomes particularly important when there is family divided between Nicaragua and the United States. The family member in closest contact with family in Nicaragua is most commonly an older member, in part because of the length of their association with family in Nicaragua. This individual becomes the major information source about the family that remains in Nicaragua and with information about Nicaragua itself that they learn of from their contact. The elderly's activities in serving as a channel for information from Nicaragua is important in keeping the Nicaraguan community informed about the homeland. While there is much information available about Nicaragua in Spanish language newspapers and television, it tends to be political news. The information that the elderly pass on is more likely to be personally connected to the lives of people here in San Francisco because it concerns their relatives and family friends, giving them more of a sense of connectedness with the events occurring in Nicaragua.

Communications between family in Nicaragua and San Francisco is complicated by the fear that most people have about lost or intercepted messages. The general lack of confidence in the mail service is not uncommon in many third world countries. Mail delivery in Nicaragua is complicated by the lack of street addresses. A typical address is "from the 8 km. marker on North Road, 3 blocks towards the lake and 2 down."

Mail is also slowed by the infrequent air service between the U.S. and Nicaragua. There are many stories of mail that was sent but neither delivered nor returned.

More importantly, people fear that mail and phone conversations will be monitored by the Nicaraguan government and that antigovernment opinions or information could result in damaging the interests of the relatives still in Nicaragua. There are enough stories of interrupted phone calls, mail delivered open, and other suspicious events to keep the concerns alive.

> They can't say anything on the phone because the communications are intercepted. (018-11)
>
> She (respondent's mother) is not able to speak about conditions there. You can't speak or write the details about the situation, it's bad. (026-4)

The commonality of stories about mail and telephone problems serves as evidence of the attempts people make to communicate with family in Nicaragua. The common lore about communications problems also serves as a basis for interaction among family and friends.

The mail and phone problems prompts many to communicate with family and friends in Nicaragua through personally carried letters. Whenever a person is known to be going to Nicaragua from San Francisco they are guaranteed to be approached by friends and relatives to take letters, packages, and money to people in Nicaragua. For example, before I traveled to Nicaragua I was warned by several Nicaraguans not to let other Nicaraguans know that I was going because they feared that I would be inundated with packages. When one acquaintance showed up with a suitcase of candy, clothes, and toys for me to take to her family, several other Nicaraguans complained that I was being taken advantage of. While some respondents agreed to take only envelopes for relatives

when they traveled to Nicaragua, it is unusual for a traveler to travel between San Francisco and Nicaragua without family and others wanting to send something.

Since this mail is usually hand delivered, recipients frequently give return mail to the traveler. When the traveler returns to San Francisco, he or she not only brings mail back but has also spoken with relatives and friends in Nicaragua in the process of delivering mail and can provide additional news about the conditions in Nicaragua. Personal mail delivery also provides a reaffirmation of the personal contact that Nicaraguans value. The contact with the bearer of the messages can also provide a more human characterization of the sender of the message.

News of the family in Nicaragua is an important topic of conversation between the elder and other family members when there is new information. Discussions about the problems that the family in Nicaragua is facing, births and deaths, marriages, and other family news are presented in the context of the conditions of Nicaragua. If the recipient of the letter or information is not the elder, s/he is usually contacted and told what the younger family member has learned. The elder in many families thus becomes a central point of knowledge about the family. This on-going contact through the elder members of the family helps to maintain a sense of identification with the family still in Nicaragua, reinforcing the ties to Nicaragua.

Elderly parents who are left behind in Nicaragua by immigrants to San Francisco also provide a source of attachment to Nicaragua for the younger generation. For some immigrants, the presence of parents in Nicaragua provides a reason to visit and phone regularly. One respondent, for example, reported that he visited Nicaragua yearly while

both of his parents were alive in the 1970's. When his mother died his visits fell to every other year, and ended entirely after his father's death even though he has other family still in Nicaragua (018). Thus, whether elderly parents live in San Francisco or Nicaragua they serve as central actors who promote associations between geographically separated portions of Nicaraguan families.

In addition to fostering contact among Nicaraguan family and friends through introductions and through serving as a center of contact, the elderly build the network of Nicaraguan contacts by encouraging the formation and growth of "Nicaraguan" families.

There is a high social value on children, which the elderly reinforce in their daily contact with kin and others. It is believed that to be a successful adult a person must have children. In lightly populated Nicaragua (which has the lowest population density in Central America) this results in an average of 5-6 children per mother (INEC 1983). Nicaraguan women over age 40 who immigrated to California between 1975-1980 had a completed fertility of approximately four births (see Chapter 3). While the family size is smaller for most Nicaraguan families in San Francisco, the value of children remains high. Possible explanations for the smaller family size include the higher class backgrounds of the immigrants than the general Nicaraguan population (see Wallace 1986) as well as the difficulty and expense of raising children in San Francisco. The fertility rates of Mexican and other immigrants is known to decrease with the higher education that correlates with higher classes (Bean, Swicegood, & Linsley 1981).

Childrearing is often more difficult because there is usually less family to assist and the family available is more broadly dispersed in

the San Francisco area. With fewer family and friends who can help with childrearing it is more difficult to physically and financially manage large families (033). The availability of grandparents to help with new grandchildren becomes particularly important under these conditions. The common aid that grandmothers provide throughout their grandchildren's growing up makes having additional children less of a burden on mothers.

The elderly also assist in increasing the associational patterns of Nicaraguans in San Francisco by helping others immigrate from Nicaragua. The elderly encourage and/or aide members of the family to immigrate to San Francisco, helping with families, and help them get established when they arrive.

Immigration laws often make older persons who are permanent residents or U.S. citizens the best people to sponsor kin in Nicaragua to come to San Francisco. The first priority for immigration under U.S. law is the unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens. Spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of permanent resident aliens have second priority. In addition to having relatives, potential immigrants need sponsors who can provide proof that they can support the immigrant so that the immigrant does not become a public charge. Older Nicaraguans who have lived in San Francisco for a long time are more likely to own property, which is one of the best ways to prove their ability to provide support.

The other common method of obtaining entry into the U.S. is for Nicaraguans to apply for tourist visas to the U.S. and not return, becoming "undocumented residents". Between 20,000-30,000 Nicaraguans legally entered the U.S. on nonimmigrant visas each year between 1980

and 1985, with the majority of entrants coming on B2 visas (temporary visitor for pleasure [US INS 1985]). The U.S. Consul in Nicaragua estimated that 10-20% of temporary visa holders remain in the U.S. with expired visas, becoming undocumented residents. Having family in the U.S. or having documentable wealth is almost essential for Nicaraguans to obtain a U.S. visa. The consul explained in a 1985 interview that the consulate is more likely to grant visitor visas to people with family in the U.S. because if the visitor remains in the U.S. they will have family who can sponsor them for permanent resident status. Having an elder relative in San Francisco is considered a good reason for obtaining a visitor visa.

For those who have worked in the U.S. long enough to accumulate savings, it is also possible to "buy" your kin into the U.S. There is an elaborate network of smugglers who will arrange for a Nicaraguan to fly from Managua to Mexico City, travel to Tijuana, then be smuggled over the border. One woman's family reported paying US$1,000 in 1984 to get her to San Francisco; she was hidden in the back of a cramped truck for the journey over the border (026).

Some elderly work hard at being able to help their family immigrate. The director of a Catholic senior group described the efforts of several Nicaraguan seniors who became very concerned for the lives and safety of their families after the 1979 revolution. "One woman, she cried and cried, every day, just thinking about her daughter and grandchildren in Nicaragua." Believing that they would be able to bring their family over only if they were U.S. citizens, they decided to apply for U.S. citizenship. This group worked with an instructor, in Spanish, on the citizenship questions for several weeks. They

strategized the quickest way to learn how to pass the English language citizenship exam with their weak English abilities. They drilled on the recognition of key words in each English question, and drilled on the English responses. When the first group took the exam all four passed and they promptly applied to bring their relatives over (103).

Some elders try to make it possible for family to immigrate, others try to motivate family to immigrate. Pressure to immigrate can be quite intense from family members. During the month I was in Nicaragua, for example, I stayed at the house of a 52 year old widowed woman, Mercedes. Most of her family had emigrated to the U.S. and she reported that they were constantly asking her why she did not join them. She would tell them that she wanted to be close to her daughter in Managua, but she also told me that she did not want to leave her supervisor's job to come to the U.S. to become a babysitter. When I returned to San Francisco I spoke with Lucita, Mercedes's 72 year old sister. While Lucita was quizzing me about the living conditions in Nicaragua and how her sister was managing, Lucita's 91 year old mother called. Lucita recounted what I had just told her about the difficulties in Nicaragua and that Mercedes's daughter was leaving Managua for Miami. "If her daughter leaves Mercedes will have to move. She can move to Tere's (Mercedes's daughter) in Miami and help her with the children, or she can come to San Francisco and live with me like she's done all of her life" (2.85-2). The pressure continued from her family in San Francisco, but a year later Mercedes was still in Managua.

The actions and desires of the elderly are not the only, or even the most important, reason that Nicaraguans immigrate to San Francisco or why they have children. People are leaving Nicaragua primarily

because of political and economic circumstances that do not depend directly on the elderly. The elderly, however, do work to facilitate and encourage their kin in migration and childbearing. In that sense they work to enlarge the interactional matrix of the Nicaraguan community in San Francisco. The elderly help form a number of associations among Nicaraguans, but they also act to increase the strength of those associations.

Other social characteristics can combine with age to reinforce the elders' actions in facilitating the formation and operation of interpersonal association. The deacon of St. Paul's, who is 60 years old, became the center of an active Nicaraguan network because of his heritage, his position, and because he worked to foster the conditions under which Nicaraguans may associate with one another. His age contributes to his appearance as a spokesman for Nicaraguan traditions. While personally involved in networks himself, such as helping new immigrants, he also works to establish and sustain other Nicaraguan networks in which he plays no active role.

To encourage interpersonal contact, the Deacon sometimes uses the symbols of Nicaragua to foster interaction between members of the Nicaraguan community. In particular, he noted that the Purisima (Immaculate Conception) celebration in December is a time when he tries to reduce community tensions that are caused by Nicaraguan politics by appealing to the more universal symbolism of being Nicaraguan.

> On December 8th I really give it to both (political) sides. The Purisima is a really religious event. In Nicaragua the Saint's Days are full of drinking and carnivals and partying, but Purisima is special. I tell them that we're all in a nostalgic spirit because we are away from our home and that Nicaraguans everywhere are celebrating, wherever they are. They shouldn't hate each other and split up families, because we are all Nicaraguan. (032-7)

The elderly also are participants in activities that fragment the community. The most divisive activities in the Nicaraguan community appear to be the politics of Nicaragua. Emotions run high and political positions often determine whether or not people will engage in normal friendly relationships. Nicaraguan immigrants tend to associate with friends who share similar political perspectives (pro- or anti-Sandinista). This has affected the lives of some elders whose personal political convictions differ from that of their friends. A retired woman who calls herself a Sandinista complained that many of her friends from before the revolution refuse to spend time with her any more because of her political convictions (037). Many families are also divided in their political views, although family ties often overcome the political divisions. Even though family members may hold opposing political opinions, they continue to gather socially and for special occasions. While disassociative patterns occur, the associative actions of the elderly are the most common.

The orientation of the Nicaraguan elders in this study towards encouraging the association of Nicaraguans in the community was primarily based on use value. In many cases, such as when they assisted family immigration, the elders' actions actually cost them elderly rather than benefit the elders materially or in effort. The cost-benefit analysis is not usually part of the elderly immigrants' orientation, however. They are oriented towards the inherent value they feel for family, friends, and countrymates. This is true whether they are involved in introducing people, encouraging family interaction, providing a source of communications, or using their positions to try and decrease community divisions.

Not all of the actions of the elderly involve associations that are created for their use value. Most of the associations that elderly Nicaraguans produced for the exchange value, however, were oriented to associations that do not directly sustain a Nicaraguan community. When an associations is produced for its exchange value it implies that the interaction is not involved in the immediate satisfaction of a human need but is a means to obtaining other needs. As an exchange value it is interchangeable. The elder's association with the Nicaraguan checker at Safeway can be replaced by a similar association with a Chinese checker at Lucky's without changing the elder's ability to obtain needed food.

Much of the Nicaraguan elder's daily life that is organized around obtaining the necessities of life is oriented to exchange values. By living in a social system where housing, food, clothing, and medicine are available primarily as exchange commodities, the elderly also must contend in those markets. Most elderly respondents talked about being price sensitive in making purchases. They commonly chose low cost housing and shopped at stores with the best prices. The elders' association with their landlords, merchants, and sales personnel is therefore heavily mediated by exchange values.

For most Nicaraguan seniors who were interviewed at a senior nutrition site, the attraction of the meal site was a cheap ($1) lunch rather than the opportunity to socialize. The elderly there were observed to generally treat the volunteers who helped distribute the lunch as servants. They could be quite demanding when they felt that they had not received what they had paid for. Some who were kind and friendly expected special treatment, such as secretly being given extra

cartons of milk. The draw of the senior center for many of these individuals was its exchange value, not its use value. The associations most elders had with the people providing the exchange value in the senior centers were based solely on maximizing that exchange.

Exchange, as Marx and Weber note, is an impersonal basis for association. When a Nicaraguan elder interacts with a landlord over the rent for an apartment or interacts with a clerk in a store to buy some fruit, the associations formed provide little support for the Nicaraguan community. That same type of association is repeated millions of times worldwide as people interact over the exchange value of property and food. Theorists such as Weber (1958) and Park (1950) analyzed this type of impersonal exchange interaction as breaking down interactional barriers between people because of its universality. The associations based solely on exchange can characterize a market or a class, but not a community.

The associations based on use value are not contradictory to exchange values, however, and can serve as the basis for exchange. Associations that involve exchange are important to the community to the extent that they also incorporate a basis in use value. In this situation the exchange relationship is modified and the interaction between the parties involved departs from market logic. The most common example of the use value basis of purchases is when purchases are made on the basis of nationality ties as much as on the basis of economics. Several elderly respondents bought travel tickets at specific agencies because the agencies were owned and managed by Nicaraguans. The Nicaraguan former coworker of one respondent now owns travel agencies in both San Francisco and Oakland. The respondent preferred to go across

the bay to Oakland because the agent is Nicaraguan, while the agent in San Francisco is South American (032). When the elderly make economic decisions such as this based on the desire to associate and help out Nicaraguan businesses, the actions help reinforce the Nicaraguan community -- because of the elder's orientation to the use value of being Nicaraguan.

The associations among Nicaraguans also serve to make a segmented labor market possible. As shown in Chapter 3, Nicaraguans in the San Francisco area are heavily concentrated in a limited number of service occupations. Those occupations can depend on Nicaraguans to comprise a significant segment of their labor force because of the associations between Nicaraguans in the community. Employers are able to recruit new employees through these informal networks.

> People learn about jobs through other people who they talk with... Then for having talked, by communicating with a friend who's working, one shows the other where there's work. For example, in my work they asked me [said in English, the rest of interview was in Spanish]: "Maria, you don't know somebody that want to make work?" Do you know anyone? Oh, yes! I told them, and then I called friends and I told them, look, el Boss needs a person to do hand work... because the Nicaraguan is that way, open and helping each other. (37-11)

Maria's associations are not created to serve as an employment service, but her networks based on use value **can** be mobilized to serve exchange ends. In the process of helping her boss find employees (and her friends work) the associations become a means to another end.

Meaning and Interaction

The interactional component of the Nicaraguan community goes beyond the multiple associations among Nicaraguans to include a shared universe of experience and meaning. On the basis of that shared meaning community members can or do orient their interaction to that meaning in

collective actions. The elderly are essential actors in this creation of Nicaraguan meanings by attempting to shape the meaning of family and meaning of being a **Nicaraguan** family. This provides members of the Nicaraguan community with a common basis of understanding that facilitates both the creation of a Nicaraguan identity and the formation of collective action.

Some political economy analyses overlook the efforts made on an interactional level to counter dominant institutional forces. A typical example of this oversight is Offe's assertion that members of society have "delegated to state institutions" the primary and secondary socialization of children (1984:269). It is true that universal education and the mass media provide a powerful and pervasive socializing pressure. Interpersonal relations, however, commonly go beyond the relatively superficial associational patterns discussed in the previous section and beyond the purely instrumental relationships of the market. Interaction also involves the creation of shared world views and orientations toward life that may not be the same as those supported by state institutions. This is particularly true within the Nicaraguan community.

The Importance of Relationships for Nicaraguans

Interaction is an important aspect of life for Nicaraguans as it is for other groups, and interaction has a special style for them. Nicaraguans have a reputation for being friendly and hospitable. During fieldwork in Nicaragua I encountered numerous situations were strangers were personally friendly and helpful. Evidence of the friendliness is manifested by my encounters with the elderly members of three different households who I interviewed. At the end of my visit in each of the

households the elderly person extended a personal invitation for me to stay as a guest in their home during my next visit to Nicaragua. Nicaraguans in San Francisco report that the same types of efforts are made to be warm and friendly among immigrants.

This open approach to interaction is also reflected in several common Nicaraguan social conventions. When a new person comes to visit a home, the host may say "Mi casa es su casa" (my house is your house)[2]. More than just saying welcome, the phrase indicates a level of familiarity that is being offered to the visitor. When a person thanks another for a favor or kindness an acceptable response is, "A la orden" (at your service). In addition to acknowledging the "thank you," the response indicates a willingness both to continue in relationship and the readiness to be of help. Both these phrases indicate an orientation to interaction that are neither short term nor exclusively instrumental.

Many immigrant informants expressed difficulties in initially adjusting to the different interactional styles of people in San Francisco. At one level it involved small irritations. One woman, Maria, complained that when she first came to the U.S. nobody offered her a cigarette when others lit up. Cigarettes in Nicaragua are a normal part of socializing and are usually offered to others present when one person gets out a pack. Maria said that at first she thought people were being intentionally rude by smoking in front of her without offering to share a cigarette. After several months she realized that people rarely offered anybody cigarettes and that she was not being singled out (033). On a more consequential level, many immigrants commented on how neighbors rarely interact with each other in San Francisco. This perceived coldness between people who live in the same

apartment building bothered them. Those interviewed generally felt that the lack of meaningful interaction with neighbors was hardest on the elderly who had the least mobility.

> For me the hardest thing about old age here is the lack of communications that exists between adults, the lack of relationships between neighbors. It's not like our countries where adults can go to their neighbors and talk. Here many times people don't even know their neighbors when one is young, much less when one is old. (20-7)

A different respondent noted how interactional conditions for the elderly were different in Nicaragua.

> There is a different environment for the elderly there (in Nicaragua). There the elderly are respected. People know your family, and they recognize you on the street. People see you and say good morning, good afternoon, come in and have something to drink. (036-4)

This friendliness is generally attributed to nationality[3]. People of different nationalities were assumed to intrinsically behave in different ways interactionally. For example, I was frequently asked what my nationality was, in part because people could not determine from my accent where I was from and in part because of my friendly personality. One elderly Nicaraguan community leader was particularly insistent in pressing me about my background. Telling her that my father's parents came from Poland did not satisfy her. Telling her that one set of my mother's grandparents came from Germany did not either. I finally told her that even further back I had ancestors from England, and maybe some from Ireland. "I knew it!" she proclaimed. "It's the Irish in you. The Irish are such a warm friendly people..." (xx1).

North Americans, in general, are usually seen as impersonal and less friendly. Nicaraguans respondents (and other Latinos) commonly argued that North Americans care more about money than anything else and that Anglo life is too impersonal. They see this attitude demonstrated

in brusk interactional styles of Anglos. Some Nicaraguans also asserted that Anglo's lack of interest in poetry and literature reflects the Anglo interpersonal coldness. In Nicaragua, and to a lesser degree in San Francisco among Nicaraguans, poetry is a popular medium of expression (see Chapter 5). A few respondents commented that in Spanish language telenovelas (television dramas or soap operas) the characters die over love, while in English language shows they die because of money.

The Elderly in Relationships

The elderly are identified by Nicaraguan immigrants with instilling the young with an identity associated with the traditions of Nicaragua. A popular Nicaraguan musician in San Francisco made the following observation.

> Elderly people are important because they orient the new generation that is somewhat corrupted here. Older people try to provide an example of sane customs, clean morals that we bring and keep. I consider myself elderly, although I'm only 38 years old, and I have my high morals and clean customs. For that I'm part of the group of older people who try to provide an example. (29-4)

The most intimate interactions that the elderly have are within their families. When I was attempting to locate respondents for background on the Nicaraguan community during the 1950's and 1960's, I usually got the response from Nicaraguan residents that the elderly they knew who were in San Francisco during that time "mostly kept to their family." This family orientation reflects the predominance of women among older long-time residents and Nicaraguan women's focus of activity in the home. The importance of the family in the lives of many Nicaraguan elderly makes family relationships the most common focus of the efforts of the elderly.

The elderly usually take an active role in trying to sustain what being a family means. The conversations and actions of the elderly often contain suggestions about the proper behavior that is expected towards different family members, such as reminding members that their presence is expected at certain weddings, fiestas, and so forth. The elderly also try to shape family relationships by their actions. When an elder calls exclusively on family for support in time of need, and when they confide their concerns only in family settings, it serves to reinforce ties between different family members with the elder at the center.

An elderly woman, Maria, who is dying of cancer, demonstrates the focus on family. Maria had to be taken to the county hospital on a regular basis for chemotherapy. The bus trip took several hours and Maria was afraid to travel alone, both because of her failing strength as well as out of fear for her personal safety. As a result, when she began her chemotherapy, her brother accompanied her on the bus and stayed with her for the day while she received her treatment. Since he was bilingual and Maria was not, he also served as a translator when needed. After some months, her brother returned to Nicaragua. The ill woman had both a sister and a daughter living nearby, and Maria turned to them to help her. The sister, however, refused to accompany Maria further after making the trip a few times, leaving Maria totally dependent on her working daughter. The daughter could take Maria to the hospital before work and pick her up afterwards, but at times the daughter had to be at work several hours before the chemotherapy unit opened. When the daughter suggested calling family friends to help out during these days, Maria protested that she did not want to bother other

people with her problems. While she eventually accepted the family friend's help at times, it was never without protest and feeling depressed because her family was not able (or was unwilling) to help her go to the hospital. The family perceived that Maria expected to be able to depend on family, and only family, when she was in need. The small size of the local family (one daughter and one sister) and the labor force participation of the daughter meant that Maria had to look, unwillingly, outside of the family. Maria's actions put pressure on her family to behave in a specific manner that she defined as correct.

The influence that the elderly try to have over family relationships can be more overt as well. An example of the latter is provided by Juan, a Nicaraguan man in his 50's. When Juan's sister migrated to the U.S., Juan helped raise his niece, Julia, in Nicaragua. Julia migrated to San Francisco in her 20's but remained estranged from her mother who was also living in the San Francisco area. Juan later came to the U.S. and stayed with Julia. He became concerned that Julia never spoke to her mother and that Julia's children barely knew their biological grandmother. Julio made frequent appeals "for the sake of the family" to have Julia call her mother, invite her over, or do things with her, to no avail. Julia continued to have strong feelings of resentment towards her mother for past actions and current attitudes (such as denying her child by a Caribbean man as a full grandchild). Seeing that he was having no effect, Juan asked the family priest to visit their house and convince Julia that it was her Christian duty to make amends with her mother. When the priest arrived at the house Julia was surprised, not knowing why he was making the visit until a half-hour into the visit when he raised the topic of childrens' responsibility

towards their parents. This did not change the situation either, but Juan continued to suggest the reestablishment of a relationship regularly during conversations (033). While the uncle was unsuccessful in influencing Julia's actions, his strenuous efforts typify many Nicaraguan elders' attempts at keeping familial relationships strong.

While in neither example did the older family member succeed in obtaining the desired behavior from other family members, the expectations of the elderly that family relationships be defined as central was obvious. While many of the younger respondents do not carry out every wish of their elderly parents, their interactions with the elderly are oriented to the general expectations of the elders.

The power of the elderly to influence the meaning of the family can also work against them. The same status that gives the elderly legitimacy to attempt to shape family relationships constrains the elders because of their age. Their high social value can lead to cases where the elder is taken care of by the family more than the elder desires. This reflects the attitudes of Nicaraguans that the elderly are valuable and should be supported if possible. According to one woman who came to the U.S. a year after being widowed,

> When I came here I was already pretty old, I was 63 when I came here. I could have worked. I had my residence papers and all but my brothers didn't want me to work. I was old, they told me, and because of that I wouldn't have any needs because they would help me, look after me. (12-4)

Many other Nicaraguans expressed the same sentiment, that the elderly should be supported by their family if they were in need. This includes not only financial support, but also caregiving if the older person becomes ill or disabled.

While family is clearly the most significant basis for relationships in the Nicaraguan community, there are situations where the family does not always hold together and provide a solid unit. A poor woman in Nicaragua who lives in a shack without running water typifies how family can fail. She is without a husband and has raised five kids, washing and ironing for a living. The eldest son is married and moved out of the house and she rarely sees him now. The second son who is 21 year old quit his job to join the military service and he is no longer able to help the family financially. The next two younger sons neither go to school nor work, but continue to live at home. Her youngest daughter, age 9, is still in school. When asked what she would do in her old age when she can no longer work she responded that, "my daughter is my only hope, that she will be able to help support me. The others just grow up and move away" (AF 285).

A similar story was told by a Nicaraguan immigrant in San Francisco who worked two jobs in the San Francisco area to put her two sons and a daughter through school in the U.S. and in Spain. Now that they are all adults and have families of their own she has almost no contact with them, even though the daughter lives in San Francisco. Because of the bad experiences she had with several different people she befriended in San Francisco she mainly keeps to herself, watching TV and reading science fiction (016). While this woman still identifies herself as Nicaraguan, she is largely isolated from social contact with both family and the Nicaraguan community.

These cases point out that there is variation in the strength of the Nicaraguan family, both in Nicaragua and in San Francisco. While these fragmented "families" do exist, they appear to be uncommon and

often leave their elderly as marginal actors in society. In theory, however, these elders also have the potential to become more involved in community affairs by directing the energies that they would have directed towards their family to the community. The most active elder Nicaraguan organizer among the elderly in the community, for example, was an older woman with a small family (husband and one adult daughter/ son in law/ grandchild). This woman appeared to have strong relationships with her family, but she also commented that her husband offered to move a bed into her organization's office because of the time she spent there. Her level of organizing work would have been impossible if she had a large family that she felt responsible to assist.

It is possible to assume, based on incomplete data, that the Nicaraguan elders who are most active in the community outside of the family also have close ties to their families. Women, who have the primary responsibility for caring for family members, might be particularly sensitive to family size. The smaller the family, the more effort older women could put into community based relationships. Elder immigrants who encounter circumstances where they are isolated from family relationships may also be in situations where they are also isolated from other types relationships, including those in the community.

Creating a "Nicaraguan" Family

In addition to working to influence the types of relationships that family members have, elderly Nicaraguans differ from other Latino elders in the meaning that they bring to those family relationships. A Nicaraguan immigrant family in the Nicaraguan community is normally more

than an isolated "Zelaya" family. They are the Zelaya family that is a part of a broader family system that in turn is intimately associated with the identity of being Nicaraguan. In this process the elderly work to reinforce the meaning of family as a Nicaraguan family. The existence of an immigrant family is most significant for the Nicaraguan community when that family also identified as Nicaraguan and interacts with other families and organizations as Nicaraguans.

The elderly sustain the meaning of family as Nicaraguan in both symbolic and practical ways through interaction. The symbolism of being Nicaraguan is apparent to family members in the stories told by the elder that include references to the elder's experiences in and knowledge of Nicaragua. Some elderly, even those who have lived in San Francisco for many years, retain a feeling of attachment to Nicaragua to the point of arranging to die and/or be buried there. They associate their essence, such as the warmth they feel for people and their values, as being uniquely Nicaraguan, and want to end their lives where they began it. These elders, in particular, talk to their family members about what they see as the special qualities of being Nicaraguan. This provides a reference point that other family members can use to legitimate their own perceptions as being special and valid.

In daily practice, the elderly are more likely to have preferences for "typical" Nicaraguan foods, celebrations, and ways of doing things. These preferences may develop into family patterns that continue even after the elder dies. This can take place when a family takes an elder to a church in a parish with a Nicaraguan deacon. The family develops a relationship with the church as the "family" church, an identification that continues beyond the life of the elder (035). The importance of

Nicaraguan identified events for some elders is reflected in a 90 year old woman who had been in the U.S. for 40 years. Though in poor health, she anxiously awaited the celebration of the patron saint of her home town. When the day came, she went with her daughter, granddaughter, and great grandchildren to the six hour celebration, even though she would not normally leave the house for social occasions on account of her health (018). Because of the high social value of the elderly, younger people are likely to make an effort to provide things the Nicaraguan way for the elder. The value of the elder person also provides a valued association with those distinct practices.

One of the most common ways that the elderly work to help keep Nicaraguan networks intact is by being a part of family gatherings. The older members of the family generally feel that encouraging the family to gather at fiestas helps reinforce the feelings of community and nationality in the younger generation.

> We're very traditional, us Nicaraguans. And as such, we celebrate all the fiestas of our country in our families, remembering and feeling. We talk, remember the past, and usually share the family traditions that have deep roots. We celebrate with all the family who can join us and with close friends. (18-12)

More indirectly, children and grandchildren pick up traits that others can use to label them as Nicaraguan. Depending on the amount of contact that the younger generations have with the elder, they learn Nicaraguan ways of speaking Spanish. They may also develop "fond memories" of Nicaraguan foods or practices because of their association with a grandparent, as much as because of any inherent positive association with the Nicaraguan content of the practice. Nicaraguan children and adults interact with older people more than the Anglo norm because most family and community gatherings are multigenerational, even

when the elderly are not the central force behind the gathering. This is true, for example, at dances where the music is oriented towards the tastes of younger people. If the theme of the event is around Nicaragua it will attract elders as member of the families who attend.

The involvement of the Nicaraguan elderly in family and community events that also attract younger people needs to be emphasized because it creates a significant amount of intergenerational contact. There were no activities found that were identified as Nicaraguan where elderly persons were never involved. The interaction between the elderly and other Nicaraguans in the varied collective activities of the community provide the elderly with the opportunity to help shape a relationships around a Nicaraguan identity.

The elderly are active in the creation of meaning of family and of being Nicaraguan. This influence is particularly strong within the family, but the effect is to make a Nicaraguan family whose members share in a common universe of understand with other Nicaraguan families within the community. The following two cases illustrate how interactions in which the elderly foster community associations and meanings can involve either use or exchange values, although the elderly most commonly engage in the interactions for the use value. Interactions created for their use value, however, can also be turned into exchange values. While the use values provide the primary orientation of the elderly to the community, the exchange values establish conditions that also make community possible.

Grandparent's Childcare as Use and Exchange Value

Not every grandparent provides daily child care for his/her grandchild, but the grandparents interviewed uniformly expressed concern

with the upbringing of their grandchildren. This concern often includes keeping a Nicaraguan heritage alive. One man, when speaking about why the young were important in the Nicaraguan immigrant community, said,

> They're the hope for the family, the parents, the pride perhaps of Nicaragua. Though they may be born here, they carry the blood that represents our country, and therefore we feel proud. (29-4)

Almost all of my respondents talked about the young as the holders of the future. With this orientation, the interactions between the elderly and the young take on an added importance to the elderly if they are to pass on a Nicaraguan identity.

Both parents and grandparents are concerned with how their children will grow up morally. The elderly are seen as individuals with good moral values and an interest in raising children with the proper orientation. As a result, many parents reportedly prefer that grandparents babysit because they feel that the grandparent will instill the proper values in the children and will maintain a desirable relationship with the child.

> Grandmothers are very important, the older people, because they help the children and also help to give a human warmth in keeping the home, so that the children won't be unloved, see? (37-16)

Both the parental and grandparental orientation in child care is towards the use value of the elder's child caring, towards the moral development that they feel is necessary for children.

Pictures are one medium that is used to form a family identity in children. Many of the elderly interviewed spontaneously offered to show pictures of their family that they carried with them. When the elderly care for their grandchildren these pictures can also serve as a reference for the children to see who their family is. The situations depicted, such as weddings, family gatherings, and so forth can

reinforce the meaning of those family centered events for the child as important events. At times, the picture album can also be used for purposes beyond identifying family. One grandmother included pictures of Fidel Castro and Che Guevarra in the middle of her family album. When her grandson looks through the album it provides the grandmother a context for talking about politics.

> When my grandson looks through the pictures he knows now about Castro and says, "Oh, he's the head of a country, like our president." When he asks about Che, I tell him that he was a leader who got killed trying to help the poor. (037-4)

In this example the grandmother was pleased that her grandson was learning to perceive Castro as a world leader, not as the evil person most conservative Nicaraguans make him out to be. By taking care of her grandson on a daily basis she was able to teach him her world view, using photos and other means.

One of the most common answers elders gave when asked what they were most proud of in their children was that the children did not have any vices. When the elderly care for their grandchildren they enforce these expectations of proper attitudes and especially behavior. The emphasis on behavior was also reported by several public school teachers who have primary grade Spanish speaking immigrant children in their classes. They reported that parents and grandparents often felt that a Catholic school was better than public schools because they provided stricter discipline, and that the parents were highly concerned with how the children get along in with others in the classes (115, 116). One of the teachers noted that when she had teacher-parent conferences, the parent's first question is usually whether the child is behaving well in class (115). This concern tends to be common throughout Latin America. What distinguishes Nicaraguans is that for them Nicaragua is seen as the

best place for the children to learn to interact correctly. At an extreme, when the interactional patterns of the youth do not meet with the approval of parents or others, they are returned to Nicaragua to learn the proper way of behaving[4].

One man interviewed disapproved of his daughter's political activities in college when she was younger and schemed to get her to visit Nicaragua during the 1970's. When she was there he took her passport away, forcing her to remain there for two years at the University of Central America. He feels that the time she was forced to spend there gave her more "sensible" values and made her less interested in radical politics (032-5).

Similarly, a young man interviewed in Nicaragua in 1985 had been living in Daly City with his older aunt when he was in high school. He claimed that he had been a cholo* and pretty rowdy at the time. At one point he got upset at his aunt and smashed the windows of her car with a bat. To get him away from the influence of his cholo peers in San Francisco the aunt sent him to another aunt in Texas. He described the racism there as being quite open, and it was only a short while before he got into several fights against white gang members. He was then sent back to Nicaragua "for his own good." At age 21 he was working as a telephone operator, supporting a wife and two children. In both of these cases the relatives sent their kin to Nicaragua (before the revolution), against their will, because they felt that American society was making them into bad people. The action was oriented towards the use value of raising the young to hold certain meanings about the way to live and act.

Childcare in the Nicaraguan community is a predominately female activity. For the elderly women it provides a sense of worthiness and connection to family. The act of caring for a child can directly satisfy the need that many older Nicaraguans have of doing something meaningful, i.e. it provides a use value. This is exemplified by one 75 year old woman who spends most of her time caring for her grandnieces. She says that she wants to give the children all of the advantages possible so that they can enjoy life as much as possible. From her efforts towards her niece and grandnieces, who are all of her family in San Francisco, she feels a sense of belonging and meaningfulness.

> Everything that I've done has been for them (her niece and grandnieces), I don't know why... Neither kids nor babies bother me. They can be making a racket or whatever and it doesn't bother me. The young people can be with their boyfriends, dancing, and it doesn't bother me. I'm happy just to be with them... (she no longer goes on trips) because I have dedicated myself to the little girl (her grandniece) this enjoyment of things. I give everything to her. (014)

The importance of grandchildren in the lives of the elderly is also reflected the common expectation that grandparents will go to see their newborn grandchildren, wherever they may be. Grandparents hold a strong feeling that they need to see new grandchildren as they are added to the family, regardless if the baby is in San Francisco or Nicaragua. This serves to reaffirm the identity of the grandparent and to enjoy the presence of a new family member. The visiting also provides a context in which the elderly are able to visit with different family members and reaffirm their ties with them. When the elder returns home that information becomes an object of interest for other family members, providing the elderly with the ability to continue to be a source of valued information in the family.

Caring for children, therefore, offers the opportunity for creating use values both in what it provides for the children and in what it provides for the elder. Parents often prefer to have grandparents care for their children because of this orientation. At the same time, however, elder person's child caring can create exchange values.

The same child care that is the meaning of life to one grandmother can be the source of unhappiness for another. In the cases where the grandmother was unhappy with babysitting it was because she was being shorted in the exchange value created in babysitting. In these cases, the women felt that they were being exploited.

A woman who came from Nicaragua specifically to take care of her daughter's children in Daly City reported that she felt trapped by the arrangement. She says that for two years she was "stuck" in her daughter's house, never making many friends or getting out to discover what San Francisco could offer. She finally moved out of her daughter's house when the grandchildren started school and established a life that is not centered around caring for her grandchildren. An older Nicaraguan woman who is active in organizing senior groups felt that this was due to the family's concern with money.

> They send for the parents, they bring them, but instead of having a pleasant life they're working, the husband and the wife. The poor lady stay in the house, taking care of all the children, doing the work and cooking. I have seen that in a couple of families that are very poor. And I think they really exploiting the poor old lady... I think it's injustice because they shouldn't be using them... and that person can't go out anyplace, or see anything, they stay there all the time. I seen that in several cases. Now people are interested in making money. Long time ago the people were more interested in raising a nice, decent family. (xx1-14)

When the use values created are the reason that the grandmother is caring or her grandchildren, it is usually perceived by those concerned as good. Childcare as a use value involves activity oriented towards

the direct fulfillment of a human need. When one of the needs satisfied is the grandmother's desire to be useful or needed, or to see a grandchild raised under optimal conditions, she is not in a position to perceive an unequal exchange. She would likely be unhappy only if her activity was made under unfree conditions, where she had no power over the means of "production".

When the grandmother sees herself (or is seen by others) as caring for her children because of the exchange value (saving money) it is more commonly interpreted as exploitation. They are more likely to perceive themselves as giving much of themselves and benefiting little in return. Given the prices, wages, and consumer expectations in San Francisco, both Nicaraguan parents commonly work. Since babysitting can cost almost as much as a low waged immigrant worker makes, the availability of a grandparent makes the second worker's discretionary income much higher. Thus, there is an objective exchange value to the grandparent's child care, one that makes it possible to increase the total income of the family and provide additional laborers to the economy.

There are several points that can be made from this analysis. The first is that use values and exchange values do not have to be contradictory. It is possible for a grandmother to create the relationships, aid, and socialization that comprise babysitting in order to meet human needs. Her actions can be defined by her and those around her as social goods. At the same time, her actions can have an objective, even if unintentional and unneeded, consequence of saving the family money for babysitting. The exchange outcome of her babysitting may not affect the grandmother, but its effect is present in the spending power of the family and the ability of both parents to be in

the labor force. When enough grandmothers are available for babysitting the laborforce comprised of mothers becomes more flexible and can serve different economic needs than mothers without family child care.

The potential complementary outcome of use value creation and exchange values is important because in many political economy analyses use and exchange value are conceptualized as inherently contradictory forms of social organization. Childcare can be organized around use values in the family to the benefit of the Nicaraguan community, but at the same time create exchange value for the family and the dominant economy.

The second point is that meaning plays a central role in determining if interaction is creating use values for the participants. Taking only an "objective" perspective on the babysitting situation might lead us to analyze all Nicaraguan grandmothers who devote their days to grandchildren as exploited. This overlooks the human experience involved in caring for children and the use value that the child care has for the Nicaraguan grandparent in meeting needs for meaning in their lives. Because human needs vary historically, culturally, and by class (see Chapter 4), there is no universal criteria by which we can determine if child care (or any other activity) is oriented towards meeting needs. To evaluate the use value created we need to understand the world view of the actors and the era. The abstract nature of exchange value, however, means that we can evaluate the exchange value of babysitting regardless of its context. We can therefore evaluate how babysitting contributes to the economic resources of the Nicaraguan community without concern for the meaning of the babysitting. To understand how that same action directly serves the interests of the

community, however, the subjective content of the action also needs to be determined.

Conclusion

At the interactional level, the elderly are important for the Nicaraguan community for the use values that they create. Interaction is important as a value in itself for the Nicaraguan immigrants; it is also important for the associations and shared meanings that interaction creates.

The elderly are central members of the community in bringing people together either directly through face to face interaction or indirectly through information. Through their efforts the elderly also aid in enlarging the community by encouraging and assisting immigration and childbirth. These actions help broaden the interactional boundaries of the community by providing a larger universe of Nicaraguans who share an identity, history of action, and experiences that are specifically Nicaraguan.

The elderly are also involved in perpetuating the Nicaraguan community by interacting with their family and others in ways that recreate a Nicaraguan world view. Most of the situations described in this chapter are drawn from the family because that is the source of highly valued interactions in the Nicaraguan community. The elderly are important in the family both because they provide other members of the family with a source of meaning that is based on being Nicaraguan and because their actions in the family provide a source of meaning in the lives of the elderly. The intergenerational composition of most community events provide additional opportunities for the elderly to help shape the meaning of relationships around a Nicaraguan identity.

Coming to define and relate to others using a world view where being Nicaraguan is important provides the basis for a Nicaraguan immigrant community. The world view provides an interpretive schema for the immigrants that shapes how people make sense of the world (Berger & Luckmann 1967). The holders of the same world view relate to others based on the categories contained in it. Holding the same definitions of social reality provides the basis for joint action and provides a set of legitimations for institutionalized practices. This common set of understandings and the set of relationships that are built upon these understandings is one of the levels of community discussed in Chapter 2.

Use values are at the center of the elderly Nicaraguans' contribution to the formation of the Nicaraguan community because being Nicaraguan, for them, has primarily use value. The elderly work to create associations between individuals and encourage the formation of relationships as Nicaraguan for the use value inherent in human interaction. One version of social exchange theory posits that if elderly persons disengage from society it is because as they get older they have fewer resources for exchange. As a result, they withdraw from interaction (aka exchange) because they are less able to engage in favorable exchanges (Dowd 1980). This analysis of interaction may be accurate as far as it goes, but it overlooks the importance that the elderly have in the creation of use values. The elderly in my sample had a limited amount of resources that they could exchange, but they were constantly involved in interactions that they undertook on the basis of their use value. There does not need to be a "profit" in interaction if the interactants are oriented to the sentimental or other use value of the interaction.

As I will show in more detail in the coming chapters, the use values created by the elderly are often appropriated by institutions and the social system in order to further exchange values. The use values produced by the elderly do not have to be contradictory to exchange values as I have shown in this chapter. The associations and relationships that form with the help of the elderly may have been created for their use value, but the associations and relationships are not limited to only use value uses. The clearest example of the exchange value of relationships is the informal job and housing networks that operate within the community. When finding work or housing the associations people have become a means to fulfilling other needs. The elderly do not intend to foster the conditions that make an ethnic labor market possible. The significance of the use values created by the elderly therefore go beyond fostering the creation of a community at the interactional level by also establishing conditions necessary for exchange. The following chapter continues to show how the elderly are involved in the creation of use value and the consequences for exchange value, at the institutional level of community.

[1] She is making a distinction between "close" family like her brothers and their kids, and more "distant" family like cousins.

[2] This is common throughout Latin America. Outside the airport in San Salvador, El Salvador, a billboard in 1985 displayed a similar phrase "Nuestra Pais es Su Pais" (our country is your country).

[3] Just as the relationships between Anglos and the immigrant respondents was commonly attributed to national characteristics (in Chapter 5). This is another example of where national heritage is used as a master symbol that orients the elderly immigrant's understanding of the world.

[4] This may be changing now because of the revolution. Even in the absence of the Contra's war against the government, I would predict that Nicaragua would be a less attractive place for many parents to send their children. The Spanish language media (see Chapter 7) and common conversations complain that the Sandinista government is trying to undermine the Nicaraguan family and change the moral basis of the nation. Nicaraguan government efforts to support the equality of women, redistribute wealth, and establish an anti-imperialist popular ideology is not favored by most of the conservative immigrants who left Nicaragua because of the revolution. Other Nicaraguan immigrants, however, welcome the changes.

CHAPTER 7

INSTITUTIONS IN THE COMMUNITY AND THE ELDERLY

This chapter examines the institutional composition of the Nicaraguan community and how the elderly are involved in those institutions. The mere existence of institutions does not create a Nicaraguan community, however. The structured relationships between different institutions, Nicaraguan immigrants, and forces outside of the community are the feature that lead to a Nicaraguan community. The chapter is organized around three different types of "social support" that institutions provide for the Nicaraguan community: infrastructure, legitimation, and mediation resources. The term social support is used because the important institutions in the Nicaraguan immigrant community transcend the limited number of specifically Nicaraguan institutions in San Francisco. Under the current historical conditions, specific non-Nicaraguan institutions generally support the social organization of a Nicaraguan community. The primary institutions considered include the Catholic Church, the Spanish language media and the Mission business sector, service organizations, cultural and recreational organizations, and political groups.

Whether or not the institutions involved have a significant number of elderly members, the elderly are a vital part of the institutional relationships of community support because of the use values that the elderly create. The institutional "support" of community can have contradictory effects at times, undermining community as much as supporting it and creating conflict with the efforts of the elderly. By showing how use values and exchange values are created in the process of institutional support I identify some of the causes of the

contradictions and conflicts.

The following section reviews the theoretical importance of institutions in any social analysis. The institutional infrastructure is then examined, demonstrating how previously existing institutions in the Mission district have been used in creating a Nicaraguan community. The fragmentation of those institutions and the conditions of the Mission district have contributed to the marginality of the Nicaraguan community in city politics. Within the community, however, institutions are shown to be important for the legitimation they provide for features of the the Nicaraguan immigrant community. Institutions are also important in mediating the distribution of resources between the larger society and the Nicaraguan community as well as within the community.

The Importance of Institutions

Institutionalization is a necessary aspect of complex social life. Institutions are those collectivities that have some type of authority structure, resources, and collective goals (see Weber 1978). The face to face interactions important in families and other small groups can not serve as the exclusive basis for the common identity or collective action of a community among tens of thousands of individuals. Some type of organization is needed to articulate the actions of the individuals. Through institutions the activity of multiple individuals can be directed towards the same ends without all of the actors needing to interact with each other. Institutions can have a variety of purposes, including economic (e.g. factories), pleasure (e.g. sports clubs), and domination (e.g. the military). Institutions are also important because they persist over time, unlike interactions that tend to be transitory (Giddens 1979). Nicaraguan symbols, knowledge, and other socially

constructed phenomena can be preserved over time by being incorporated into institutions.

Institutional patterns also create conditions the limit action and provide opportunities. The analysis of institutionalized racism shows how patterns of racial oppression are built into the normal functioning of institutions (Blauner 1972). When institutionalized, conscious racially oriented action by individuals is not needed to create racial inequality. Similarly, institutions can create the opportunity for some individuals to exert more power and control over others than would be possible without the institutional position (Domhoff 1979/1980).

Institutions are often conceptualized as conservative forces because of the difficulty of changing their functioning. The obdurate nature of institutional arrangements led Marx (1972a) to conclude that substantial changes in the institutional order of society could only occur under certain (revolutionary) historical conditions. Piven and Cloward (1979) and Castells (1983) distinguish social movements from institutional processes by the collective nature action in social movements and the conflict they engage in with the established order. When discontent is channeled into institutions (such as electoral politics) it is diffused and fails to challenge the sources of inequality. Von Eschen, Kirk, and Pinard (1971) note that institutionalized action can also enhance popular movements by helping to mobilize and coordinate action. The example of "comunidades de base" (Christian Base Communities) growing out of the Catholic Church in Latin America is a contemporary example of how an institution can mobilize individuals to work for social change (Montgomery 1983).

The institutions analyzed in this chapter are primarily located in San Francisco's Mission district. The Mission district transcends the Nicaraguan community, as do most of the its institutions. The Mission district, as described in Chapter 3, includes people from a wide variety of Latin American nations. Many of the institutions in the Mission district are distinguishable by their use of Spanish and their appeal to Latin American cultures. Most of the institutions that involve the Nicaraguan community are located within the Mission district in San Francisco. The largest number of Nicaraguan immigrants in the Bay Area live in San Francisco, providing a large concentration of potential institutional participants. Even when individual Nicaraguans live outside of San Francisco they often come into the Mission district to take advantage of the different cultural, religious, and political activities that are distinctly Nicaraguan. The most basic relationship between the Nicaraguan immigrant community and Mission institutions is the way that the institutions provide an infrastructure for the community.

Providing an Infrastructure for the Nicaraguan Community

When Nicaraguans immigrate to San Francisco they have to learn how to survive in a new environment -- but not a totally new one. The institutional infrastructure that is present in the Mission district provides a sense of continuity to newcomers because of the similarities between some of the Nicaraguan institutions and the parallel institutions in San Francisco. This congruence between San Francisco and Nicaraguan institutions also helps the survival of the Nicaraguan community in San Francisco. Nicaraguans have been able to quickly fit into several different institutional spheres and de facto take them

over. Because of the availability of the infrastructure, the elderly are able to be more active and visible in the community and play a greater role in its existence. While this pre-existing infrastructure has been used by the Nicaraguan community, it remains a fragmented structure that has little power outside of the Mission district. The institutional fragmentation, combined with the conditions of the Mission district, contribute to the marginality of the Nicaraguan immigrant community within San Francisco as a whole.

The Church

The importance of the Catholic Church derives in part from its importance in Nicaragua, where it probably ranks second behind the state in institutional influence over people's lives. There is a strong representation of religion of many different denominations in San Francisco's Mission district. In the early 1970's twenty denominations had over 40 active churches in the core area of the Mission alone (the "Inner Mission") (Bourne & Montes 1974). By 1986 there were over 50 active churches in the listed in the telephone book for the inner Mission representing 24 different faiths (see Appendix C). At least as many churches exist in the outer (south) Mission where many Latinos also live. The large number (12) of non-Catholic Christian churches listed in Appendix C that offer services in Spanish[1] raises questions about the dominance of the Catholic church (where five parishes have Spanish Masses) in the Mission. The number of non-Catholic Christian churches serving Latinos does not reflect their institutional importance, however. While Catholic churches account for only about 10% of all the churches in the inner Mission area, by extrapolation from the respondents in Appendix C, about three-fourths of all active Spanish

Speaking members (about 3,700 persons) of Inner Mission churches are Catholic. Catholic churches have the largest congregations and offer more Spanish services and activities than any of the other denominations. The Catholic church promotes many nonreligious activities including youth and senior centers, immigrant services, and social events. The other denominations offer few special institutionalized activities to Spanish speaking immigrants, though one Catholic church respondent noted that the smaller Christian churches often provide assistance to immigrants on an informal and personal basis (108).

Another important aspect of the Catholic church is that it is the only denomination contacted where Latin American celebrations were a normal part of the church's routines. Church support for religious and political (such as Independence Day) holidays that are identified with specific Latin American nations provides a strong institutional base for immigrant communities. With the help of the Church it is possible to recreate many of the mass participation events that identify a people with their country. The importance of the Catholic church in the Mission district mirrors the importance of the Church in the lives of those living in Latin America (Wolf & Hansen 1972, Skidmore & Smith 1984). Because of the institutional importance and dominance of the Roman Catholic church in the Mission district, the analysis of religion in the remainder of this chapter relies on the case of the Catholic church.

There are no "Nicaraguan" churches in the Mission, but several churches have large Nicaraguan congregations. St. Paul's parish (just outside the formal boundary of the Mission district), where Nicaraguans

are the largest Latino group in the congregation, has the reputation of having a conservative Nicaraguan congregation (108). This parish also has a Nicaraguan deacon who is active in many Church activities, giving parish activities a Nicaraguan flavor. Nicaraguans are also the most numerous Spanish speaking parishioners at St. Anthony's parish. The "flagship" Latino Church in the Mission, St. Peter's, also has a large number of Nicaraguan parishioners. Thus, while there may not be any Nicaraguan churches, Nicaraguans have carved out segments within different Churches in the Mission district. Those segments have become central parts of the **Nicaraguan** community.

The colonial history of Nicaragua has made some of the institutions in Nicaragua similar to their American counterparts. The oldest colonial institution in Nicaragua is the Catholic church. While the Church plays a more important role in the daily lives and government of Nicaraguans than (North) Americans, the institutional structure and practices of the Church are similar in the two countries (Dodson & O'Shaughnessy 1985). As a result, migrants from Nicaragua to San Francisco have not had to recreate religious institutions from scratch.

San Francisco has a long and strong Catholic heritage. The first European settlers in San Francisco were Spaniards who established the first church and a presido (fort). The east-central part of San Francisco was named after the Catholic Mission, which has continued to be an important landmark. San Francisco lost its much of its Spanish character when the U.S. took California from Mexico. When gold was discovered 100 miles away there was a large influx of immigrants of U.S. and European heritage who overwhelmed the Mexican population. The Mission, however, continued to have a Catholic character as a result of

Italians settling in the area. Most of the Catholic churches in the Mission were built in the late 1800's to provide for Italian congregations (see Appendix C). As Mexicans, Central Americans, and South Americans began to immigrate to the Mission after World War II, they encountered a ready made religious infrastructure. The buildings, priests, schools, bureaucracy, and other components that comprise the institutional Church had already been established.

As Latin immigration continued in the 1960's, the Church in the Mission district took on a Latino character. Several congregations became primarily Latino, Spanish speaking priests were brought into the area, and Masses in Spanish began. In response to the changing composition of the church membership in the area, the Archdiocese established an office of Hispanic affairs in the 1970's to address the spiritual and social needs that they saw as unique for the Latino population (108). This population continued to grow with continued Mexican and South American immigration and with the large influx of Central American immigrants in the 1980's. By the mid-1980's half of the Archdiocese's 250,000 members were Hispanic (San Francisco Catholic 1986).

In 1985 there were 20 parishes in the San Francisco, Marin, and San Mateo areas that had Spanish Masses according to the Office of Hispanic Affairs. While Mexican immigrants predominate in San Mateo County, Central Americans are the majority in San Francisco and Marin. In spite of the strong Latino presence in the Church, only 25 priests in the Archdiocese spoke Spanish and only 10 were Latin American in 1985, out of the approximately 400 priests in the Archdiocese (108). In addition there were only two permanent deacons who spoke Spanish, both of whom

were Nicaraguan (032). In 1986 the Hispanic Affairs office began a lay minister train program in Spanish in order to increase the number of Latino Church ministers (San Francisco Catholic 1986).

Nicaraguans who immigrate to San Francisco can readily make use of the infrastructure established by the Catholic church. Although the Church provides its services as Pan-Latino, Nicaraguans have been quick to recreate their own specific religious forms within the Church. The Church infrastructure has facilitated the formation of Nicaraguan religious and cultural actions because of the physical facilities and the context it provides for joining Nicaraguans in collective actions.

At the most basic level, the pre-existing facilities and organization of the Church have been useful sites for gatherings that bring Nicaraguans together. Public Purisima* celebrations, for example, need a large site to celebrate Mass and to have the fiesta where all of the participants are able to gather. Three of the six inner Mission Churches reported Purisima celebrations (Appendix C), and several Churches outside of the inner Mission also reportedly hold the celebration (114). In the 1980's the Purisima celebration at St. Paul's parish has attracted at least 500 persons (035) in space that the Church gives free of charge. The backing of the Church also provides an effective source of advertisement since hundreds of people hear of the event from the announcements from the pulpit and in the bulletin. Organizing volunteers becomes easier with a Church base because of parish clubs have experience in providing labor and ideas for group events. Without this pre-existing infrastructure it would be much more difficult to hold Nicaraguan gatherings and reinforce Nicaraguan religious practices.

The Church also serves as a site for Nicaraguans to make contact with each other. When the influx of Nicaraguans reached a critical size in the early 1980's, one of the congregations in the Mission assumed a heavily Nicaraguan composition. While this church offers only one Spanish Mass, making it less Spanish speaking parishioner oriented than other Churches that offer two or more Spanish Masses daily, a Nicaraguan deacon is a central member of the parish staff. The parish has continued to grow around this deacon, attracting Nicaraguans from areas outside of the parish boundaries. This parish now has a definite Nicaraguan character, often to the dismay of the Mexican immigrant parishioners who attend the Spanish services (032).

St. Anthony's sponsors special Nicaraguan, Cuban, Mexican, and Salvadoran clubs that meet regularly. Many of the worshippers at both St. Anthony's and St. Paul's come from outside the immediate parish. These churches draw Nicaraguans from all over San Francisco, Daly City, and South San Francisco because they offer a context for worship, socializing, and being political that involves many other Nicaraguans. Other Church related functions that are primarily Nicaraguan include many charismatic groups, celebration of Nicaraguan Saints' Days, and other special gatherings. Several Churches sponsor "comunidades de base" (Christian base communities) that usually attract Salvadorans and Guatemalans, although one comunidad was reportedly formed by a group of Nicaraguans (114).

The physical and organizational structure of the church make it possible to institutionalize certain celebrations that recreate of a sense of the homeland and bring the community together. Especially in larger gatherings there may be hundreds of people from a similar

background that lends an atmosphere similar to the old country.

> The celebration of San Sebastian, above all, was beautiful. They had the toro-vaca*, the tingita*, and the macho baton*. It was so beautiful. It takes you back to your country so that, until the tomb, the memories and traditions will continue. (034-4)

> More than all, they feel a sense of identification, they feel that they are in a little part of Nicaragua. (028-5)

The Church provides the occasion (the saint), the facility, and an organizing focus for events such as these.

Nicaraguans have also established subgroups focused on prayer and bible study that are formally outside of the Church bureaucracy, but center on the Catholic religion. Associations made within the Church, and knowledge of others in the community, provide a pool of persons interested in religious retreats and other study. An example of such a group is the 80 Nicaraguans who gathered for a weekend in 1985 in San Francisco to study and worship with several lay Nicaraguan religious leaders who had come from Miami. Another informal use of Church connections is for fund raising, such as when a nun from Nicaragua makes her annual visit to San Francisco to raise funds for her orphanage in Nicaragua. A local Nicaraguan restaurant owner makes his business available for a special lunch that is designed to attract people who are interested in contributing to the orphanage (027).

Religious orphanages in Nicaragua provide an organizing center for many groups in the San Francisco area. As early as the late 1950's the Ayuda Social Catholica Nicaraguense (Nicaraguan Catholic Help Society) was formed for the purpose of raising funds to send to a specific Catholic orphanage in Nicaragua (114). While the orphanage was the organizing focus, the group also helped to organize celebrations of the Purisima in San Francisco in the 1960's. During the 1960's the group

held Masses in different churches during the novena, rotating between St. Paul's, St. Peter's, St. Anthony's, San Carlos's, Epiphany, and Corpus Cristi churches (035).

The availability of these events provide an important forum for the elderly to be involved in the community and to use their abilities to reinforce the Nicaraguan community. The elderly are more likely to attend Mass than other age groups, and they take an active part in many of the activities of the church. Church activities are a common source of intergenerational activities, from a grandparent taking a grandchild to church (or vice versa) to fiestas that attract all age groups. In these activities the older person is in a context where his or her knowledge about Nicaragua and the activity are useful and valued.

The Media

Full time broadcasting by radio and television in Spanish began in the mid-1970's. Spanish newspapers were published prior to that time. By the 1980's the Mission district developed popular media in print, radio, and television[2]. The Spanish language media is a crucial institution because it provides the infrastructure necessary to disseminate information among the large Spanish speaking population. Like the Church, the Spanish language media generally takes a pan Latino orientation, but is adaptable to the uses of the Nicaraguan community. The media provides an institutionalized source of information on Nicaragua and Nicaraguan culture. While there is no local Nicaraguan mass circulation paper in San Francisco, the general papers all provide extensive coverage of the events in Nicaragua. One paper, Noticias del Mundo, has separate sections for U.S. national, Mexican, Central American, South American, and international news. The other papers and

broadcast media also provide extensive coverage on Nicaragua and Latin America, as well as coverage of many Nicaraguan and other events in San Francisco.

The local Spanish language radio station has special shows on Sunday afternoon devoted to the music and culture of Nicaragua, Cuba, Guatemala, and El Salvador (KIQI n.d.). These special shows provide a forum for announcements about upcoming events and issues of interest to the different communities. In addition, the radio station has a daily "community calendar" that provides free announcements for community organizations (sponsored by Pacific Bell). A example of typical calendar (broadcast September 10, 1986) consisted of notices for: an Ecuadorian fiesta, a fund raiser featuring Mexican food for a Guadelupe* celebration, a celebration of a Peruvian saint, a Costa Rican cultural conference, and a Guatemalan sports club meeting. As with the churches, the lack of a specifically Nicaraguan mass media has not prevented Nicaraguans from making use of the existing institution to help create a community.

Business & Entertainment

The business sector of the Mission district gives the area a Latino character that is obvious to the outsider. In addition to scores of Latin American restaurants (some city officials wondered how so many taquerias were able to survive), the Mission contains Latin American bars, grocery stores, travel agents, and Spanish language movies, banks, and other services. The most significant common link among businesses in the Mission is the presence of Spanish speaking sales personnel. It is possible for a person to live in the Mission district without having to speak any English because of the variety of businesses in the area.

The area also contains a large number of second hand stores and businesses that provide liberal credit terms to the low income population that comprises the inner Mission. The Mission's business sector primarily caters to a pan Latino clientele. Most nonfood businesses do not emphasize association with any one country in order to attract the broadest clientele from among the mixture of Latin American nationalities present in the Mission.

The most conspicuous businesses that cater especially to Nicaraguans are the Nicaraguan restaurants. There have been Nicaraguan restaurants in San Francisco since at least the early 1960's (037). They have proliferated in the 1980's as the size of the Nicaraguan community grew and now number at least seven along with several bars attract primarily Nicaraguan clients. A number of grocery stores sell the special ingredients necessary to make Nicaraguan foods. While Nicaraguans own at least three travel agencies in the Mission (039), along with a variety of other stores, the other businesses are not obviously Nicaraguan. In some businesses there are subtle clues, such as one travel agency that has clocks marked Managua time, Miami time, and San Francisco time. Nicaraguan businesses are also more likely than others to post flyers for Nicaraguan cultural and social events. Thus, there is both a specifically Nicaraguan business sector in the Mission, as well as a more general Latino sector that provides Spanish speaking sales staff and caters to the non-Nicaragua specific needs of the Nicaraguan residents.

Nicaraguan restaurants provide an alternate institutional site to the Catholic church for holding gatherings. The restaurants have sponsored fund raising events for charitable organizations in Nicaragua

such as orphanages, they have served as the distribution site for tickets for Nicaraguan events, and they provide a location where political leaders can meet and speak publically. The restaurants are important for the Contra leaders because there is no cultural facility operated by Contra supporters (vs. Sandinista supporters who run the Casa de Cultura) and the churches do not let political groups use their facilities. The Nicaraguan restaurants also provide a center where family gatherings can be held outside of the home, such as birthdays and anniversaries.

As with the Church, the colonial history of Nicaragua has led to institutional parallels in popular sports. Baseball became one of the most popular sports in Nicaragua when it was introduced by U.S. Marines when they occupied the country from 1912-25 and 1926-1933. This baseball interest finds a ready outlet through the amateur Roberto Clemente Baseball League. The popularity of baseball among Nicaraguans has led to the creation of several baseball teams in the San Francisco area, including teams called "Managua," "Nicaragua," and "Nicaragua, Jrs." The Latin American interest in soccer has led to the formation of a Latino soccer league in the San Francisco area, the Liga Latinoamerica de Futbol de San Francisco. The two sports leagues have provided the infrastructure necessary for regular games to be played between Spanish speaking teams in the San Francisco area. Whenever enough Nicaraguans gather to form a team there is a pre-existing structure for them to associate with that provides them with the means to gather regularly as Nicaraguans. The existence of other nationality teams also provides the Nicaraguan teams with a competitive environment where they can assert their uniqueness from other Latin Americans.

Institutional Fragmentation and Marginalization

In spite of the hundreds of groups that are involved primarily with Spanish speaking people in the Mission district, the Mission district has limited power outside of its own boundaries. Latinos in the Mission do not have the electoral power of San Francisco's gays, the economic power of downtown interests, nor the organizational power of local unions. The Mission's political marginality is caused by several factors, including its low voter registration, poverty, and institutional fragmentation.

Voter registration and turnout in the Mission is below the city average, in part because of the large number of noncitizens and residents without immigration papers who live in the area. While the Mission accounts for at least 7% of San Francisco's population it accounted for only 5.6% of the registered voters (23,849 in the Mission versus 424,091 city-wide) in 1984. Voter turnout was also lower for this Presidential election, with 64.5% of registered Mission residents voting compared with 70.3% city-wide (Patterson 1984). The low registration combined with an "at large" system of voting for the city reduces the electoral potential of Mission residents. This reduces the incentive of organizations to form coalitions aimed at mobilizing voters to influence electoral politics.

The low incomes of residents in the Mission also make the region a marginal power. The mean income per person[3] in 1980 was $4020 in the heart of the Mission district where immigrants were most likely to settle, compared with a San Francisco city mean of $7265. The South Valencia area, more of a transition neighborhood between the Mission and nonLatino areas, had a mean ($6301) closer to the City average (Dept. of

City Planning 1985). The lack of wealthy Mission residents eliminates any advocates among power brokers within the city, while the lack of large or powerful businesses eliminates the possibility of power within business circles. Business and governmental institutions have little to gain from the Mission district, so it remains marginal in the planning and operation of those spheres. During the early 1980's, therefore, the political and economic interests in San Francisco paid limited attention to the Mission (104, 117).

The lack of interest by dominant institutions in the concerns of those in the Mission district leads to two tendencies that work to marginalize the Nicaraguan community. The first tendency is the pressure by many organizations towards the homogenization of all Latinos in the Mission district into a generalized "Latino." This homogenization is obvious in many of the governmentally funded agencies that operate in the Mission. Government programs tend to categorize target groups in ways that cross national origin, such as low income persons, Spanish speaking persons, or the elderly. Anglos personnel in particular frequently did not perceive any differences between persons of different nationalities. As a result, they did not feel that there was any special need to orient programs to different communities within the Mission. These pressures in housing, social services, and city planning to treat all Latinos as the same provides a subtle pressure against individual group identification.

Secondly, even when there is an awareness within an agency of nationality differences, Nicaraguans are often stigmatized by non-Nicaraguans. Those who acknowledged differences between the Mexican, Salvadoran, and Nicaraguan communities tended to be Latino staff

members. In at least two organizations that provided services to seniors, executive staff characterized Nicaraguans unfavorably. One director, while noting that all elders received equal treatment, complained that Nicaraguans were "arrogant, demanding, and selfish... those from Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala are humbler and more grateful for what you do for them" (112-3). Religious leaders involved in different immigrant services voiced the same evaluation of the Nicaraguans they worked with. One minister noted that "the Nicaraguans are harder to work with, they're more impatient" (119). Within the Catholic church, San Francisco's Nicaraguans (since the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution) are seen as more politically conservative than the local Church (108). For the most part, these characterizations are portrayed negatively. Thus, the hidden nature of the Nicaraguan community may be compounded by the antipathy of non-Nicaraguan leaders in key positions within the Mission district who feel little need to publicize the needs of Nicaraguans.

The most noticeable exception to the marginality of the Mission is the Mission Coalition Organization's (MCO) success in stopping redevelopment of the Mission in the late 1960's and early 1970's. The MCO mobilized disparate groups, including labor, churches, and different national and ethnic groups, around the common issues of redevelopment and the control of federal antipoverty money. During this time the city government had access to millions of federal dollars in model cities funds that could be spent in the Mission and big business was interested in profiting from redevelopment. When the threat of redevelopment was ended and federal antipoverty money declined, however, the organization lost its major unifying issue. In documenting this organization

Castells (1983) provides evidence that the Mission district was able to exert successful pressure when its survival as an urban neighborhood was threatened. There does not appear be be any comparable generalized Latino or Mission neighborhood power in the 1980's.

The limited focus of community organizations and leaders is a common organizational outcome of many social movements. Piven and Cloward (1979) argue that the logic of formal membership, bureaucratic organizations that grow out of social movements leads them towards oligarchic leadership and integration into the dominant social system. The limited goals of these types of organized social movements are normal, they find, and the limited nature of the goals are usually more realistic than more radical goals. When these social movements become institutionalized their may become participants in elite competition. As the movements become dependent on state resources they also become subject to the tendencies towards fragmentation and specialization inherent in the state (Alford & Friedland 1985).

The organizational capacity of Mission district groups in the 1980's has also been limited because of the insularity of the different organizations. The coalition activism of the early 1970's turned into uncoordinated social service type agencies that are run by former activists or influential people in the community. Many of these organizations continue to receive city funding. In 1985, for example, $1.3 million of Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) federal funds went to Mission district public service organizations out of a total of $3.15 million allocated to service organizations citywide (MOCD 1985). Each organization has a slightly different focus of service and the energies of the staff and participants tend to get tied to that

particular service. The Mission did not fare as well in obtaining a share of total CDBG funds. Of $21.3 million spent citywide for all purposes only $3.5 million was directed specifically to the Mission district (MOCD 1985).

Many organizations are oriented toward specific purposes. This is especially true of organizations devoted to the politics of homelands, such as the Casa Cultura Nicaraguense, the Casa El Salvador, and El Comite El Salvador. Other groups are organized to help with the needs of specific groups of refugees, such as the Father Moriarty Central American Refugee Program and the Comite de Refugiados Centro Americanos (CRECE), which both target Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees. These types of specialized groups are usually able to raise both funds and volunteers because their activities are politically or culturally popular with certain segments of the population. Because of the issue that each group targets, the organizations sometimes find themselves in competition for scarce resources. The competition over resources to serve Salvadoran refugees during the mid-1980's as that group became "politically popular" was noted by several respondents (102, 106). Despite the resource competition, the primary contacts that these groups have with other organizations are with organizations conducting similar programs. This leads to an insularity where organizations become so devoted to their specific program goals that they do not often look to the other or larger issues in the communities where their members live. This is especially true of service organizations where the staff commonly reports being overworked, underpaid, and understaffed, leading them to have to continually run faster just to stand in place (101, 112, 106). Castells (1983) found a similar failure of Mission organizations

to consider the interrelationships between the issues of poverty, culture, and urban problems during the 1970's[4].

Mission community leaders are also limited to narrowly focused institutions. When organizational representatives in the Mission named community leaders, about a half dozen individuals were named repeatedly (mostly non-Nicaraguan Latinos). The people identified have generally built their reputation and connections through public programs, such as Rosario Anaya who heads the Mission Language and Vocational School and Chuck Ayala who heads the CYO in the Mission and is a member of the Community College Board. The access that these individuals have in government and business is largely limited to their specific organizations.

The elite networks and pressure groups that do exist form around specific organizations that have specific agendas. The housing agencies are interested in obtaining funds and support for their construction projects, senior centers are interested in the number of meals they can serve, and refugee programs are mostly concerned with the legal and other services they can afford to offer. This weak political organization is reflected in senior citizen issues in the 1980's. Senior advocates talk about how the Mission constituency is weak when they compare it with the Chinese community.

> If the city council has a hearing on money for a senior program in Chinatown, they have a whole busload of Chinese elderly at the meeting. As soon as their money passes they all leave. You never see that [turnout] with the Latins" (GC 85).

The weakness derived from conflicting interests in the Mission are exemplified by the one election where San Francisco had district elections and the Mission district was in its own supervisorial district. In that election an Anglo woman won the Mission district

supervisor's seat over a divided field of Latino candidates who had endorsements from different Mission groups (Castells 1983).

Leadership and action in the Nicaraguan community is similarly dispersed. Nicaraguans in organizationally important positions are usually oriented towards the work of that organization rather than the specific needs of the Nicaraguan community. The Nicaraguan official of a major union says he avoids the Nicaraguan community and its politics because it would complicate his job. The two Nicaraguan Catholic deacons devote their energies to their respective parishes (one deacon was a community activist in the 1970's but is less active in the 1980's). An active organizer of senior events has been the center of various Latino social organizations over the past 20 years, but always limited to those organizations.

Those who are most politically active in the Nicaraguan community have put their energies into Nicaraguan politics rather than local issues. There are frequent political actions organized by both supporters and opponents of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua that require considerable organizing and community support. One Nicaraguan advocate of senior citizen interests complained that all of the energy of the community went into Central American political issues, depriving the community of political energy that is needed to push the interests of senior citizens (xx1). While it is unlikely that the energy put into nationalist politics could be transferred to age related politics, the nationalist political efforts do occupy most of the efforts of a significant number of local Nicaraguan activists.

Summary: Providing Infrastructure

The Nicaraguan community began forming at the same time that the Mission district took on a Latino character in the 1960's and 1970's. The institutions that have developed as a part of this Spanish speaking enclave in San Francisco have made it easier for Nicaraguans to form a community, especially during the large influx of new residents in the 1980's. Nicaraguans have been able to take the existing institutional infrastructure and modify them for their own use when needed. The clearest case of where Nicaraguans established themselves in long-existing institutions is in several Church parishes. Nicaraguans have also made use of other existing organizations, such sports leagues, to form Nicaraguan chapters. Finally, the immigration and settlement of Nicaraguans in the Mission has been facilitated by the broader economic and government infrastructure, allowing the Nicaraguan community to grow and solidify. The same infrastructure also facilitates the types of intergenerational contact where the knowledge that the elderly have concerning Nicaragua can be disseminated and used.

While the organizational infrastructure of the Mission has been of use to the Nicaraguan community, the Mission has little power over citywide political and economic affairs. The Mission's comparatively low voter registration, weak economic base, and organizational fragmentation create a situation where the Mission district has a low profile among outside institutions.

Legitimation, the Nicaraguan Community, and the Elderly

The symbols discussed in Chapter 5 as Nicaraguan have an importance in identifying actions and people as Nicaraguan, but the power to use those symbols is not available to all Nicaraguans under all

circumstances. Nicaraguan symbols are useful in mobilizing for collective action. Nicaraguan interactions often carry a degree of obligation and/or trust that is not accorded to others. The power of these symbols and relationships is both supported and protected by different institutions. Many people would like to use the mobilizing power of Nicaraguan symbols within the Nicaraguan community, but the use of those symbols must often be legitimated by appropriate institutions. Legitimacy is also important because Nicaraguan symbols and relationships are undermined by dominant cultural forms that are spread through education and the media. The Anglo ethnocentrism of American education works to delegitimate other cultures and forms of organization, while the media glorifies popular American culture and action. With the constant messages present about the superiority of mass American society, institutional support of Nicaraguan culture and action becomes essential. The following shows how local institutions provide important sources of legitimacy for the Nicaraguan community. The actions of the elderly are an important to these institutions, especially in the role of the institutions as sources of legitimation.

As Weber (1978) notes, social action is often involves the belief in the legitimacy of the social order. Legitimacy is one basis for social action, others include habituation and expediency (such as profit or avoiding punishment). Weber was interested most in how legitimacy aided in the acceptance of systems of domination by those involved in stratified relationships. In the Nicaraguan community the institutions act at times as gatekeepers while at other times they serve to validate the symbols as genuinely Nicaraguan. The institutional base of the Nicaraguan community also provides a powerful basis for the legitimation

of Nicaraguan culture that is portrayed as deviant by institutions outside the community.

The elderly are both participants and beneficiaries of institutionally fostered legitimacy. As sources of institutional strength the elderly are involved in supporting institutional actions that provide legitimacy to the community. Institutional reinforcement of the perception that actions carried out as "Nicaraguan" are acceptable and even desirable heightens both the legitimacy of the existence of the Nicaraguan community and the legitimacy of the actions of many elderly. With this institutional sanction, the elder's beliefs and actions that are oriented towards a Nicaraguan identity or style are more likely to be attended to by others. The elderly, as sources of knowledge and effort in maintaining a Nicaraguan identity, become an integral part of the community as embodied in the institutions.

The Church

As one of the largest and most dominant institutions in San Francisco's Nicaraguan community the Church provides an important source of institutional legitimacy and support for the community. Historically the Church has been a major source of support for political rulers in Latin America (Skidmore & Smith 1984). In the overthrow of the Somoza regime, however, the Church was a major legitimizing and tactical force. The subsequent split in the Church over support for the Sandinistas has caused significant political turmoil, indicating the continuing importance of Church support in the legitimacy of the Nicaraguan state (Dodson & O'Shaughnessy 1985). The elevation of the Bishop of Managua to an Archbishop was a major source of pride for many Nicaraguans, as well as a politically significant event since the new archbishop is

openly antagonistic to the currently ruling Sandinistas. In Nicaragua the Church is responsible for many educational and social service programs, including schools, orphanages, and old age homes. In the daily routines of Nicaraguans religious holidays are significant cultural and religious events. For example, the most significant holiday in Nicaragua is "la semana Santa" (Holy week, at Easter). The entire country (business, government, schools) shuts down for several days; religious processions, ceremonies, and rites reach a peak; and the more secular minded take a long holiday.

In San Francisco the legitimating power of the Church is evident in the types of requests that the Nicaraguan deacons have received for attendence at various community events. The invitations are offered as a result of the organizational position of the deacons, under the assumption that the presence of a Catholic deacon would give the event an increased appearance of legitimacy (032). The Church's support provides a cover of neutrality for events that would otherwise be considered highly political. At St. Paul's, for example, an organizer for Contra supporters asked that a special prayer be said at Mass for those who died fighting against the Nicaraguan government in early 1986. Having the deaths publically acknowledged at a Mass (even if somewhat obliquely by praying for those killed in the conflict in Nicaragua) helps provide legitimacy to their fight against the Sandinista government. The political significance of the Mass was made clear when a group of Contra supporters showed up for the Mass in military uniforms. Fearing an over politicization of the event, Church officials told the men that they would have to be in street clothes before they entered the church. The men quickly returned to their cars and changed

(032). In this way, the approval of the Church provides an important source of public legitimacy within the Nicaraguan community.

Gatherings organized around Nicaraguan religious events automatically have legitimacy as Nicaraguan and as being worthy of support and participation. The involvement of the institutionalized Church in actually organizing the events is limited since Church officials normally take little part in the organizing and running of the Saint's days and other Nicaraguan festivities (032, 114). Holding a Nicaraguan event as a Church celebration, however, helps legitimate the celebration as a Nicaraguan gathering (vs. a political or commercial event) and provides a recognized reason for the gathering. The use of the Church to validate Nicaraguan symbols and legitimize collective action in San Francisco dates back at least as far as the mid-1950's. The first public Purisima celebration in San Francisco was reportedly in 1955. The celebration was held at St. Peter's Church because one of the parish priests at the time was Nicaraguan.

> The ceremonies were held on the front steps of the Church. People would come and go in little groups. They would stand in front of the Church and sing to the Virgin and at the end cry, "Viva la Virgen!" And then, because we were not in Nicaragua, they would also cry out, "Viva Nicaragua!" There were about 100 to 150 different people who participated that year. (114-5)

In the context of celebrating a Nicaraguan religious holiday it was acceptable to shout "viva Nicaragua" from the steps of a church, a self reaffirming action that had the sanction of the Church.

Even when the majority of the participants in the celebration do not participate in the religious part of the celebration, or when the religious element is a minor aspect of the celebration, the religious association with the event can give the celebration a legitimate Nicaraguan focus. The secular nature of religious holidays is

exemplified by the celebration of San Sebastian, the patron saint of Diriamba, Nicaragua. While the celebration is religious on the surface, it is carried out in a largely secular manner in San Francisco. The 1986 San Sebastian celebration was a scaled down version of the festivities that occur in Diriamba. In Nicaragua, statues of the patron saints from two nearby towns traditionally join a statue of San Sebastian and lead a procession of townspeople into Diriamba at the beginning of the festivities. Several people from one of those nearby Nicaraguan towns now live in Los Angeles and brought a statue of their patron saint up to San Francisco to recreate that part of the celebration. About 40 people attended the Sunday Mass on San Sebastian's day in 1986 in an outer Mission church. Shortly after the Mass the worshippers were joined by about 300 more Nicaraguans in an adjoining school gym to watch folk dances that are typical of the celebration, and to eat, drink, and dance to two bands. All of the events were free, with various women providing the food and a local store owner providing the alcohol (I5/S.S86).

While the event was based on a religious event and held in a parochial school gym, the primary attraction was the opportunity to talk with others from Diriamba, to recreate some of the symbols and memories of their homeland, and to have fun dancing. The only involvement that the Church had was to provide the space and the tradition. A committee of Nicaraguans from Diriamba organized the event, forming committees that were responsible for publicity, entertainment, fundraising, etc. The particular church was chosen as the site for the celebration because one of the organizer's children attend that parish's school and the father knows the priests in the parish (027). This event had more

social significance than religious meaning for most of those involved even though the religious signification complemented the regional identification, making it possible to organize and draw people to the event.

Association with the Church can be used to generate a turnout at events with other purposes as well. The Nicaraguan consulate in 1980 guaranteed a good turnout for an event by promoted it as a celebration of San Jeronimo, the patron saint of Masaya. The event was also associated with the Church because it was held in the meeting hall of St. Peter's, the flagship Latino Church in San Francisco. Some who attended the celebration complained of the lack of religious symbols at the event, "There were many comments about the lack of an image of San Jeronimo in the Patron's celebration...." More serious was the complaint about the political speeches that were made, "that certain elements abuse and play with the sentiments, of the Miraculous Saints, in order to convert them into a political event, mocking our traditional beliefs" (Tiempo Latino 1980d:7). These complaints imply that the legitimacy of the Church was improperly used for a partisan event.

Other social and religious celebrations, such as baptisms, quincineras*, weddings, and funerals usually use Church facilities and can involve special Masses. While these events are not uniquely Nicaraguan, they do provide the opportunity for serving typical foods, playing Nicaraguan music, and socializing among Nicaraguan family and friends. The encouragement and sanction that the Church gives to these events provides a legitimate forum to express a Nicaraguan character.

In these ways the Church serves as a gatekeeper to the use of certain Nicaraguan symbols. Without a Church connection, the

celebration of a saint would not have the same community wide legitimacy. The Nicaraguan character of other Church sanctioned events provides a public form of approval for the continuance of Nicaraguan patterns of behavior.

The Spanish Language Media

The importance of Spanish among Latin American immigrants makes the messages carried by the Spanish language media particularly powerful in providing legitimacy in the Mission district. The Nicaraguan community gains legitimacy from the media's presentation of the political situation in Central America.

Most of the popular San Francisco Spanish language media is politically conservative in international affairs. News coverage tends to parallel the Reagan administration's perspective on world affairs in being conservative, anti-(Castro) Cuban, and pro free market. On local issues, the media provides positive coverage of ethnic issues, especially around language. A topic that the Spanish language media have critiqued strongly has been attacks on the use of Spanish. One local paper, Tiempo Latino, was sued for libel in the early 1980's for an editorial calling the drafter of a city ballot measure "racist." The ballot issue was an advisory measure calling for the elimination of bilingual ballots (the measure passed in the election; the libel suit was dropped).

The media and political groups are important in helping legitimate the large influx of Nicaraguans that occurred after 1979, while retaining a Nicaraguan identity. The media and antigovernment political groups both provide an image of Nicaraguans fleeing oppressive conditions in Nicaragua. This image is produced by the anti-Nicaraguan

government news and analyses provided by the media after the revolution. Antigovernment figures are given prominent coverage and their statements reported uncritically. U.S. financed Contras are presented as "rebels who are trying to liberate Nicaragua from international communism" (El Bohemio News 1986: 1). The rhetoric of the local Contra political groups is the same. Conditions in Nicaragua are portrayed as oppressive to the average citizen. For example, the Nicaraguan Ministry of Education published a directive that would have had school children spend December in the countryside to learn about rural conditions. This was condemned as "Order #154: Snatching the Young from the Family Breast" which would "break and destroy the religious sentiment" (Tiempo Latino 1980b22:22). The news article argued that this was a deliberate attempt to separate young people from their families at Christmas time in order to weaken family ties and isolate the youth from religious celebrations.

In contrast to the reporting of negative news about Nicaragua's government, the media generally presents positive news about government forces in El Salvador and Guatemala. The news is more likely to concern the progress El Salvador is making towards solving their national problems. There has been almost no reporting on refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala (106). One possible reason for this editorial slant is that the owners of the local media are mostly wealthy immigrants from Latin America who share class interests with the rulers of El Salvador and Guatemala. The owner of the newspaper Tiempo Latino, for example, is a Salvadoran immigrant (xxl). Thus, for the Spanish speaking person in the Bay Area whose main source of information on Latin America is the mainstream media, they will get an impression that

Nicaraguan immigrants are fleeing repression and communism. This would serve to increase the legitimacy of the presence of an increasing number of Nicaraguans in the area. At the same time, the news about the progress of Salvadoran land reforms and other types of progress works to provide the impression that Salvadoran immigrants are more likely to be economic immigrants like Mexican immigrants. The legitimacy of Nicaraguan immigration is important because the other Latinos have helped established a Spanish speaking infrastructure in the Mission that the Nicaraguans are able to take advantage of. Nicaraguan immigrants are most likely to compete with other Latinos for the use of that infrastructure and other resources devoted to the Spanish speaking. Foster the legitimacy of the Nicaraguan's claim to resources in the Mission is thus important to their relations with other Latino groups and with the Mission's institutions.

The Legitimacy of Spanish

The legitimacy of using Spanish in everyday life may be the most important consequence of institutional actions. As noted in Chapters 5 and 6, Spanish is one of the most important symbolic and interactional components of the Nicaraguan community (Berger & Luckmann 1967, Padilla 1985). There is a general community consensus that knowing English is necessary to advance economically in San Francisco, but membership in the Nicaraguan community depends on the ability to speak Spanish. The size of the Spanish speaking population in the Mission district has created a demand and market for the use of Spanish in institutions. Mass communications in Spanish provides a public acknowledgment of the importance and viability of Spanish. Other businesses likewise support the normalcy of Spanish usage by providing services in Spanish. Church

services in Spanish provide an institutional validation of the use of Spanish in the immigrant's spiritual life and in some of the most important transition periods of their general lives. Nicaraguan social groups hold most of their activities exclusively in Spanish. Service organizations in the Mission all provide bilingual services.

The legitimacy of Spanish fostered by institutions supports the actions of the elderly in promoting Spanish usage in younger generations. The ability of a grandmother to take a child to a Spanish Mass, go shopping in stores where sales clerks speak Spanish, and turn the T.V. to a Spanish language channel provides an important validation to the child that the grandmother's language is **not** simply a curious relic from the old country. Similarly, the community institutions legitimate importance of the elderly's knowledge. By sponsoring traditional Nicaraguan fiestas in the traditional language, the community institutions provide a context where traditional knowledge of Nicaragua is needed and useful.

The institutional legitimacy of Spanish use counters its definition as illegitimate by the dominant Anglo English speaking society. This is most clearly seen in the battles over the existence of bilingual education. Bilingual education is most commonly conceived by Anglos as acceptable only if it teaches English better than other methods, not because it allows children to retain a command of Spanish while teaching English (San Miguel 1985). An antiSpanish language mood has developed in California as Latin American immigration has grown during the inflationary and recessionary period of the late 1970's and 1980's. This mood has been expressed by ballot measures calling for the end of multilingual ballots in San Francisco and declaring English as the

official language statewide.

The legitimacy provided Spanish is particularly important to the elderly. Elderly Latinos' heavy reliance on Spanish is reflected in their high use nationwide of Spanish media. Elderly Latina women are most likely to listen to Spanish radio, averaging 37 listening hours per week. Elderly Latino men are more likely than younger Latino men to listen to radio (Arbitron 1985). The institutionalized use of Spanish in the media and the common usage of Spanish in religion, business, and service organizations supports the definition of Spanish as a valued means for communications among Latinos. This definition lends legitimacy to the efforts that the elderly expend in trying to perpetuate the knowledge of Spanish by their grandchildren and others.

Summary: Legitimation

The institutions in the Mission district serve as important sources of legitimation to Nicaraguans and to other Latinos for the existence of a Nicaraguan community. Within the Nicaraguan community, institutions such as the Church are gatekeepers of the use of many of the popular symbols that confer a Nicaraguan identity on events. The legitimacy of the Nicaraguan community's claim on outside resources is also supported by the institutional practices within the Mission district. Because the Nicaraguan identity is so strongly attached to the Spanish language (see Chapter 5), the institutional support for Spanish in the Mission provides a crucial source of legitimacy. Institutional legitimacy is particularly important to the elderly because of their central involvement in advocating for Nicaraguan symbols and relationships that are often considered deviant in the dominant Anglo society.

Members of the community not only benefit from institutional legitimacy, but can also serve as a source of legitimacy to various institutions. Both a Mission housing official and a Mayor's Office official spoke of how the elderly were the most "fundable" during the 1980's. Targeted federal funds have been available only for construction of elderly housing during the mid-1980's, and federal funds have continued to be available for nutrition and senior center programs while funds for other programs became scarcer (104, 109). Even Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) money was perceived by an economic development official as less likely to be cut during budget reductions if it went to housing and services for the elderly (104). To the extent that elderly Nicaraguans participate in those programs, the provide some of the legitimacy for the programs' funding.

Mediating Resources

Institutions serve as an important agent for the distribution and redistribution of resources within the Nicaraguan community. Most importantly, resources from outside the community are channeled into the Nicaraguan community through the Church and through government agencies. Resources from outside the community are not only monetary, but also include housing, legal aid, food, and educational resources that help community members improve their English and job skills. Within the community institutions include human resources that are used to reinforce the symbolic aspect of the community and serve as a source of prestige and status for some community members. These resources are used both in collective consumption for their use value and are also important in their exchange aspect that makes the community and its members the source of profits.

The elderly are both major recipients and providers of the resources that are distributed through institutions. The elderly are among those considered most needy by many government programs and are thus more likely to receive government assistance than other age groups. The elderly are an integral part of the flow of resources from outside the community into the community because they are more likely to spend some of that money on family and within the community. On the other hand, the elderly are also frequent volunteers in different organizations. When the elderly are cooking food for celebrations, visiting the ill, or motivating younger family members to be involved in Nicaraguan institutions, the elderly are providing an input of resources into the Nicaraguan community. While many respondents felt that the youth was most important to the community because the youth would determine the future of the community (or lack of community), the elderly are important to the current institutional community because of their contribution of human resources to it.

Resources from the Outside the Community

Few institutions outside of the Nicaraguan community are aware that a Nicaraguan community exists and there are no programs targeted for Nicaraguans that are established by outside agencies. Nicaraguans do participate in programs for immigrants and for Spanish speaking persons. To the extent that the resources are obtained by community members, those programs benefit the Nicaraguan community. The major outside resource sources are government programs and the Church.

It is difficult to quantify the importance of government programs in the Mission and the Nicaraguan community. Statistics gathered by most government agencies are reported for Hispanics rather than for

specific subgroups. As a result, it is impossible to tell how many Nicaraguans take advantage of community college English classes or how many receive welfare payments. Data from the 1980 Census showed that of all those of Nicaraguan birth or ancestry in the Bay Area, about 6% received social security income (over one-third of those aged 55 and over received social security) and about 6% received public assistance payments (about one-quarter of those aged 55 and over) (U.S. BOC 1983c).

Service delivery is probably the most common institutional goal in the Mission district. One clearinghouse listed 105 distinct community service sites within the Mission district in 1985 (La Raza Information Center 1985). These organizations included, for example, government health and welfare services, nonprofit legal and material aid for immigrants, and community programs for education and job training. While most of these organizations are involved in working with Mission district residents, few of them rely on community residents for volunteers or funding. They generally have paid staffs and formal programs. The most important source of resources for most community service organizations is the government, with foundation support being the second largest source of funds.

Historically, many of these community organizations grew out of grass-roots movements in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Programs that were advocated for by community leaders to address the needs of immigrants and the poor attracted government money when the Model Cities program poured resources into poor areas. Many of the resulting job training, language, housing, and other programs became institutionalized and dependent on government financing. Some programs continue to direct substantial resources, such as OBECA/Arriba Juntos that had a $1.2

million total budget in 1985 for employment training, home weatherization, and psychological counseling services (United Way, n.d.). Other organizations, especially in housing, have shrunk in size and activities as federal money for low rent housing construction and rehabilitation has shrunk (104, 109).

Several service organizations have been established specifically to help the refugees who have fled the wars in Central America. These organizations, such as the Father Moriarty Central American Refugee Program and sanctuary churches, provide services primarily to Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees. These organizations, which work against government policies, are dependent on private and foundation support for financing and make use of volunteers. The financing and volunteers primarily come from outside of the Mission district.

I did not identify any organizations that provided social/ medical/ legal type services primarily to Nicaraguans. Most of the Nicaraguans I interviewed, however, did make some use of government and/or voluntary services including medical care, income support, housing, transportation, education, senior services, and so forth. The service institutions are not involved, therefore, in supporting the community as "Nicaraguan," but do serve as a source of resources.

One respondent (036) had seen Nicaraguans making use of government government programs, especially language and job training, more effectively than other groups because of Nicaraguans' educational level. Those responding to the 1980 Census in the San Francisco area, however, demonstrated no statistically significant education difference between immigrants over age 15 from Nicaragua and El Salvador or Guatemala (see also Chapter 3; U.S. BOC 1983c). Statewide 1980 Census statistics do

show that Central American immigrants' educational level is statistically significantly higher than Mexican immigrants' level (Wallace 1986). Immigration since 1980 has reportedly included more people from lower educational backgrounds among the Salvadorans and Guatemalans while the Nicaraguan immigration has continued to include a large number of well educated persons (036, 106).

The historic educational advantages over Mexican immigrants and more recent educational advantages over other Latino immigrants should provide Nicaraguans an advantage in accessing programs because of the bureaucratic barriers of such programs are easier to manage with higher education. During my research, for example, I helped several people fill out food stamp applications because the forms the Spanish speaking immigrants were given were in English. I found myself having difficulty at times understanding what the forms wanted, despite my graduate education. Those with better education are likely to be more experienced with bureaucracies and more likely to be able to negotiate their way through them. Similarly, language and job training usually occur in a typical classroom format. Those who have had success in completing many years of schooling will have a better background for succeeding with that type of learning, as well as have a better understanding of grammar (for language learning), math, and so forth. Health and welfare professionals are also known to prefer to work with people from similar class backgrounds ( ), which would also work to the benefit of Nicaraguan immigrants[5].

Resources from the government in the Mission have decreased substantially and shifted since the 1970's. The decreased funding has been part of a federal move away from support for social and community

programs (Estes & Gerard 1983, Reagen & Sanzone 1981, Brand 1980). During the 1970's there was a significant amount of money available through antipoverty programs. Model Cities alone budgeted $3.2 million per year over five years from 1971-76 (Castells 1983). Other significant programs that have since been eliminated or reduced include Manpower Development Training Assistance (MDTA), CETA, and Community Development Block Grants (CDBG) (036). Beginning in the late 1970's and into the 1980's the new money that has become available has often been for senior programs as new senior centers opened and they began providing subsidized meals and other programs. These programs are important because they do not require proof of legal residency, allowing seniors to use them with less fear. Other important government funded programs include general welfare programs, including public housing, general assistance, food stamps, and MediCal. Most of the latter programs require some proof of legal residence status, making them less accessible to many immigrants.

Resources available from the Catholic church, on the other hand, have been increasing. To respond to the needs of the influx of immigrants the Archdiocese established an "immigration project" in 1980 that is located in the Mission district. In 1985, approximately 15% of the persons using the Archdiocese's "emergency services" (food, jobs, shelter) were Nicaraguans using the immigration project. Salvadorans and Mexicans in the immigration project each comprised only a slightly larger proportion of the caseload (San Francisco Archdiocese 1986). The demand for their services is so high compared to their resources that the immigration services project has not actively advertised its services for the past few years. Clients come primarily from referrals

from parishes and other agencies (102). According to the staff, the traditional organization of Catholic social services around human needs on a nonexclusionary basis attracts immigrants to their services.

Catholic social services (CSS) has a special immigration project that serves newcomers with legal and social service aid. This provides a source of resources, but more importantly they are "safe" resources. Immigrants in the U.S without documents or who fear for their safety for political reasons often avoid government programs to avoid being detected. As an independent, nongovernmental institution the Church is perceived as a safe place to turn. Since Central Americans are accustomed to relying on the Church in their home countries (due to the lack of government sponsored programs), Church staff say that it is only natural for the immigrants to look for help from the Church in San Francisco. The Church also has an image of protecting its members, reducing the fear that undocumented residents have of public programs. CSS staff estimate that about one-third of their general emergency services users do not have legal U.S. residence, while another third are nonimmigrant natives (101). Nicaraguan immigrants are also helped by services provided by informally by one of the Nicaraguan deacons who provides food and referrals for housing and jobs. Several organizational leaders noted that the Church was commonly the first institution that immigrants contacted after arriving in San Francisco because it was a safe and familiar place.

Catholic social services (CSS) help bring new resources into the Nicaraguan community since most of the funding for the services comes from outside the community. The United Way alone contributed almost $1 million of San Francisco's CSS $4 million 1985 total budget (United Way

n.d.). The city, acknowledging that immigrants are more likely to use CSS services, provides funds for a CSS mental health worker (102). CSS also has a contract to distribute commodity foods that are supplied by the federal government (101). Occasional special collections at Mass and gifts from all over the Archdiocese contribute to the budget.

Resources from Within the Community

Institutions also provide an organized set of relationships that help to redistribute resources within the community. The most widespread mobilization of resources within the Mission over the past several years has been in response to natural disasters in Latin America. Local institutions were essential in facilitating the movement of resources from the local Latino population to the affected countries. In general, however, because the economic condition of the community is not strong the resource most available from within the community is labor power. This is particularly important because many of the symbolic elements of the community exist as a result of unpaid labor. This is an arena where the elderly are particularly active because their exclusion from the waged labor force provides them with more time to engage in unwaged labor than employed persons.

The local media also influences the distribution of resources in the Mission by being active in organizing fund drives to help victims of natural disasters in Latin America. In response to a natural gas explosion in Mexico City in 1984 the local Spanish language radio station received donations or pledges of over $40,000 from over 5000 people in one day (San Francisco Chronicle 1984). When earthquakes struck Chile in March 1985 and Mexico in September 1985 the same radio station raised $50,000 and $130,000 respectively. Another natural

disaster in November 1985, the Colombian volcano that started a devastating mud slide, resulted in the local radio station raising an additional $50,000 (San Francisco Examiner 1985). Fundraising by the radio station for victims of the 1986 Salvadoran earthquake collected over $150,00 during two days according to announcements made at the end of the fundraiser. During the fund drives the station continuously announces the amount of pledges, and the names and nationalities of pledgers.

During the September 1985 fund drive the donors were almost exclusively Latin American, with Salvadorans, Mexicans, and Nicaraguans the most numerous. This provides further evidence of the interest that Latinos in the San Francisco area have about distinguishing their national identities. The high proportion of people donating money whose heritage was not from the affected countries, however, also indicates a pan Latino identification. These fund drives reinforce both the nationality identification and the pan Latino sentiments of Bay Area residents, as well as serve to redistribute income from Mission residents to various Latin American nations.

The ability of the Latino population to mobilize in support of the victims of the natural disasters was based primarily on the availability of mainstream Spanish language media. The media provided information about the severity of the disasters and served as the organizing centers for collecting resources from tens of thousands of individuals. It would not have been possible to coordinate the concern expressed by all of those individuals without an institutional base that was trusted (to send the money to groups that would assist the disaster victims) and accessible to the entire Latino population. This ability to mobilize

the Latino population points to how the Spanish language media in the Mission are an important institutional resource.

Drawing on the resources provided by both local and national advertisers, the local media also provides money, free advertising, and organizational support for various community events. Media support has been a necessary ingredient in the success of different Mission district cultural events such as Cinco de Mayo celebrations*, Mexican/ Central American Independence Day celebrations, and Carnival* (150, 151).

Labor power is a resource that is more available than money in the Nicaraguan community. That labor is often used to support the work of institutions in carrying out community activities. The elderly are often an important human resource to institutions, such as the Church where they play a disproportionate role. Observations at the predominately Nicaraguan parish in 1986 suggested that roughly one-quarter of those who attended the Spanish Mass were older (age 55 and over), with women comprising the majority of the elderly. One respondent reported that when he was growing up in Nicaragua in the 1940's it was considered unmanly to go to church except for the young and the old. While he said that Mass is no longer considered a women's only event, women are still more likely to attend church functions and lead the family's religious life (027). A Nicaraguan deacon in San Francisco noted that attendence, especially of men, was better at Masses if the Masses included special attractions like live music (032). The elderly can be a resource to the institution because the attendence at Masses and the collections made at Masses influence the size of the staff and budget that each parish is allocated. St. James parish reported that its declining attendence was responsible for decreased

staffing, leading to problems in providing services for its members (6d). The elderly can serve as a core membership in a congregation that insures a minimum allocation of resources from collections and the Archdiocese.

The eldest woman is usually the central spiritual figure in the Nicaraguan home. The religiosity of the elderly in Nicaragua is reflected in the reports of those who work with the elderly. One Nicaraguan government official who works with the elderly in Managua reported that some elderly, especially women, retain the tradition of not using a stove and not running during Easter week. This is because "he's in the ground," referring to Christ's burial before his resurrection. These elders feel that cooking, running, or otherwise disturbing the ground is sacrilegious during Easter. As the most religious of the family they are central persons in seeing that religious rituals and observances are carried out in the family.

Elderly women in San Francisco continue to be central figures in assuring that religious traditions are carried on. At both St. Peter's and Mission Delores the person in charge of the statue of the Virgin Mary used during Purisima is an older woman. In both cases the women assumed responsibility from older women relatives of theirs who had initiated the public Purisima celebrations in their respective parishes (035, 6b2). At St. Peter's the responsibility has been shifted to a younger sister (who is in her 50's) because of the illness of the a third older woman due to the that this woman is ill the responsibility has fallen to a younger sister, leaving the responsibility of the icon in an older woman's hands. The responsibility for helping organize the celebration that comes with the icon is such that older women are

usually chosen because of their religious orientation and ability to mobilize family support. Thus, older women can be important not only for the resource of the icon that they control, but also for their ability to mobilize others to contribute to community activities.

Older women are also involved other types of labor that helps keep the the church a vital community institution. Friendly visitors who visit ill parishioners are almost primarily women, and are more often older women. They help the ill and disabled keep the contact with the church, and their shared nationality helps to reaffirm those bonds. Similarly, within the Latin American club at St. Paul's, the majority of the members are women with a higher proportion elderly than in the general population. This club is important because it provides the impetus and labor for special events that occur within the parish. The Nicaraguan majority in the club assures that there will be Nicaraguan identified events at the church (032). For Mexican and Central American independence day, for example, Central American flags and foods were as prominent in the celebration as the Mexican symbols were.

Older women are also important because food is a significant attraction at many of the events. Since women are almost exclusively associated with the preparation of food, they are responsible for the planning, preparation, and serving of the typical dishes that are common at special events identified with a nationality. While the eldest women may not have the strength or stamina to do mass cooking, they are often involved in directing or supervising the creation of these dishes. The labor and direction that the elderly provide in preparing the national foods is not easily replaced because of their expertise in that specialized cuisine. They thus serve to help motivate younger family

members to provide their labor in the events and serve as a guarantor of the authenticity of the food and other objects produced.

While the elderly are often involved in providing resources to the community, they are rarely involved in providing those resources with an exchange or profit in mind. The women who control the statues of the Virgin do not try to manipulate their power to their personal benefit. In fact, these women would have an easier time if they kept their statues at home and held smaller family ceremonies (035). Instead these women are devoted to the collective expression of their faith and Nicaraguan identity and therefore put the effort into helping provide public celebrations in Churches. This orientation to collective consumption is characteristic of use values. In contrast, the Church as an institution **does** benefit in exchange for its sponsorship of this same event because it is publically identified with the event.

Similarly, the elderly's production of typical foods for celebrations and the encouragement that they provide the youth to be a part of Nicaraguan institutions are oriented to the use value of creating a positive, Nicaraguan, identity. The institutions that draw people to their events by offering these typical foods, entertainment, and other attractions, benefit from the use values created by the elderly. Whether the event is sponsored by a political group, cultural organization, or church, as an institution it has a vested interest in promoting a Nicaraguan identification only as long as it increases the membership or finances of the organization. When sponsoring Nicaraguan activities threatens these, such as during potentially political actions at a church, the organizational evaluation of the exchange value of the event becomes negative and the event is not sponsored.

Summary: Mediating Resources

The institutions in the Mission district are important to the Nicaraguan community for their role in distributing resources to community members from outside the community, and in mediating the redistribution of resources from within the community. The government and church are the two largest outside sources of resources. While there are no government or church programs specifically targeted to Nicaraguans, it is possible that their higher educational and class backgrounds serve to enhance Nicaraguans' access to the programs aimed at Latinos and Mission district residents. The institutional logic of this distribution is most often based on exchange values as the organizations attempt to justify their budgets to outside funding sources. Within the community, the institutions serve to organize the redistribution of resources. While the institutions can mobilize the residents of the Mission to work for financial redistribution (as in the fundraising for disaster victims in Latin America), the most available resource is labor. The elderly are important in providing labor that supports the work of institutions such as the Church. The institutional logic of most organization is oriented to the use value of their actions as they attempt to secure members, while the work contributed by the elderly is generally oriented to the use value of contributing to the collective consumption of the community.

Institutional Exchange and Use Values

The role of most institutions in the Nicaraguan community is provided as a result of their emphasis on exchange value. The support that the elderly provide the community is most often a use value, but similar in the ends achieved. Whether the institution is the Church,

the media, or government funded agencies, the exchange logic of institutions is usually in contrast to the use logic of the elderly.

The Catholic church, like any other organization, is faced with problems of institutional survival during historical changes. To attract members the Church has historically adapted its ceremonies and character to reflect the indigenous culture and beliefs (Wolf & Hansen 1972). In San Francisco this change has involved incorporating Spanish Masses, ceremonies, and other activities as the Spanish speaking population grew to comprise half of the Archdiocese (San Francisco Catholic 1986). To attract and keep this vital membership attached to the Church spiritually and financially the Church must be comprehensible to those who speak Spanish. Promoting national festivities is one way to attract membership by associating the Church with strongly felt positive symbols.

The concern with the consequences of national celebrations is evident in the way that some churches avoid sponsoring celebrations that are associated with potentially divisive groups. An official at Mission Delores said that the Mission declined to sponsor January 1 Nicaraguan celebration of "El Cancion de los Varones" because it had the reputation of being an exclusive celebration in Nicaragua. Mission Delores officials were afraid that the association of the celebration with Somoza supporters and the upper class would create dissension in the church. The hierarchy of this church was not willing to legitimate a Nicaraguan religious event at the risk of alienating other parish members. The cost-benefit analysis that underlies the granting of legitimacy is most obvious in cases where the legitimacy is denied.

The resources provided by the Church serve both use and exchange values. The use value of providing resources is the good that comes from helping others. The social work model used by Catholic social services provides the workers with a sense of helping others. As one worker put it,

> I don't see myself as someone who can change the big system, but helping the community is a personal thing. There are lots of people in need... and everybody has to deal with their own conscience about what they feel they can do. (101-3)

In this way the Church is providing for the needs of both the recipients of its aid as well as for the needs of those providing the aid.

The exchange value of the resources is also a key aspect of their provision. The churches in the Mission are in a competition for members with each other. A community priest noted that many of the fundamentalist Christian groups were active in proselytize in the Mission and that they were often aggressive in seeking out and aiding the needy among new immigrants, thereby making new converts (108). Catholic immigration services provide a competitive way of attracting or keeping members in the Church. These resources thus both an altruistic service as well as a source of contact for immigrants with the Catholic church to retain their loyalty.

The exchange value nature of these activities is evident because the Church can obtain membership through a variety of means, with providing legitimacy and resources to the Nicaraguan community being only two ways. Other possible ways include providing meeting spiritual needs and serving as advocates for various social reforms. While similar in form, the Church's creation of legitimacy is unlike the use values that the elderly promote. Older people who encourage their grandchildren to speak Spanish, participate in Nicaraguan networks, and

help with the preparations for events are not usually concerned with repayment for their efforts. While exchange values can be easily interchanged, the use value created by the elderly is not easily replaced.

The major media in the Mission district are inherently oriented towards exchange because they are for-profit businesses. Their interest in providing Spanish language programing and newspapers is based on their ability to sell advertising and generate a profit. Their participation in cultural events is high profile, generating lots of visibility for their money (151). The promotion of culture and language is a marketing tool for the organizations, oriented towards the revenues they receive in exchange for attracting an audience. What differentiates this media from the dominant print and broadcast media in the Bay Area is Spanish. In addition to selling a Latin American cultural and news emphasis, the media are foremost selling information and entertainment in **Spanish.** In this manner, community identification and the promotion of the Spanish language is institutionally essential because of its exchange value[6]. The legitimacy provided can therefore be analyzed as an important marketing strategy, where institutions provide legitimacy as a tool to increase their own visibility and popularity.

The elderly are members of the community who are most committed to the continued use of Spanish in the younger generation and to the continuation of their national culture and identity as **use values.** The elderly are not considered an important market by the Spanish media, however, and are therefore not directly linked with the media. San Francisco's Spanish radio station's marketing materials stress that they

are "number one by wide margin in all ARB [Arbitron listener survey] books for the past year and a half, primarily in our **target audience, 'Adults 18-49'**" (KIQI n.d., emphasis added). Marketing studies emphasize the youth of the Latino audience, implying the sales potential in that market (Arbitron 1985).

If the media was oriented to serving those most concerned and dependent on Spanish and a Latin American identity for use values they would target the relatively small elderly population. The media is dependent on exchange values rather than use values, however. As a result the media identifies the largest sales market, the younger population, and tries to identify their interests in order to attract their attention. In helping perpetuate Latino cultures the media serve the same needs as the elderly, but to different ends. The media and the elderly are allied in their actions that help reinforce some of the central symbols of the different national communities. The media is also a mass marketing tool that works in many ways to provide a pan Latino product that reaffirms the consumer's Latin American identity without any national identification. In this way it may work against the efforts of the elderly.

Government resources are also provided for their exchange value within the Mission. At times the Spanish speaking constituency provides the legitimation for the organization that is channeling funds into the Mission. One of the senior centers in the Mission that serves many Nicaraguan and Salvadoran elders used a name in English until the mid-1980's. At that time the competition for money between senior centers became worse and the director complained that the center was not recognized as serving a primarily Latino group. To improve the center's

image as a minority center for the sake of funding agencies, the center added a Spanish name to its title (MH84). The concern in competitive for funds was as much to protect the organization as it was to fill the needs of Spanish speaking elders.

The dependence of the nongovernmental organizations on outside funding creates an institutional logic that emphasizes the performance criteria government and foundations use in evaluating applications for future funding. Especially with the fiscal retrenchment in public funding in the 1980's, these organizations have had to justify their existence based on quantitative measures of effectiveness. In housing, for example, this was the number of units built and managed (109), while in senior centers it was the number of meals served and persons using services and activities that was most important (112). Most organizational representatives I interviewed in this sector discussed the need to be "cost effective" in providing services in order to be attractive to funding sources. This emphasis reflects a quantitative exchange based evaluation criteria that does not take into account qualitative criteria such as cultural appropriateness. The criteria follow an exchange logic, rather than a use logic of assessing communal needs and orienting resources towards those common needs.

Conclusion

We could consider the Nicaraguan community in San Francisco a loose social movement. The goals of the Nicaraguan immigrants are not publically formulated as in a political manifesto, and there are no individual leaders who symbolize the community or articulate its actions. In other words, there is a low level of institutionalization that is specific to the Nicaraguan community. At the same time, the

actions of community members indicate that there is collective action occurring. The numbers of Nicaraguans who are engaged in holding their own symbolic universe against that of the dominant Anglo society is not an isolated circumstance. The perceptions of the community members frequently place their own interests as against the pressures of the dominant society. This activity is not unlike the identity politics that Anspach (1979) describes among disabled advocates.

This collective action is not an aggregation of individuals who happen to be moving in the same direction. To coordinate the actions and provide a focus for tens of thousands of immigrants there has to be an institutional base upon which the Nicaraguan community depends. Such as base is found in San Francisco's Mission district where there is a complex set of institutions that involve different cultural, religious, social, governmental, and political entities that are distinctly Latino. While these institutions are fragmented, reducing their power outside of the Mission, they are still important in providing an infrastructure, legitimacy, and resources to the Nicaraguan community.

Institutions form part of the base that a community is built upon. Nicaraguan symbols, ways of life, and collective action that might be considered deviant or undesirable by the dominant society are sheltered and legitimated in this institutionalized environment, helping the community persist as distinct from the dominant society. Many of the institutions that are important in the Nicaraguan community pre-date the community. These provide an institutional environment that is somewhat familiar to many of the immigrants, making the transition from Nicaraguan to U.S. society easier. The Nicaraguan immigrants often adapt the pre-existing institutions to their own needs, eliminating much

of the need for institution building resources. Institutions also make resources available from outside the community that the immigrants need in their daily lives.

Institutional dynamics require that different entities be concerned with the exchange value of their activities. Institutions must worry about their survival by at least recruiting members and/or securing funding. As the institutions provide legitimacy, an infrastructure, and resources to the Nicaraguan community they are also receiving some of their institutional needs in return. This exchange value oriented action provides for a context than can change as the conditions of the exchange change. Only Nicaraguan social and political organizations depend entirely on the existence of a Nicaraguan community. The other organizations have less of a stake in the perpetual existence of a Nicaraguan community because they can shift the basis for their existence to other groups, just as the Church has done when the national origins of Catholic immigrants in San Francisco has shifted. Similarly, the conditions of exchange can shift for different institutions. If serving Nicaraguans became politically unpopular and threatened the funding of service agencies, those agencies could easily drop their support of Nicaraguan immigrants. If the conditions of the exchange change, other institutions could easily shift their legitimacy, infrastructure, and/or resources to other groups that lend larger or more powerful memberships, or more funding.

The lack of any inherent dependence of most institutions on the Nicaraguan community sets up a potential conflict with the activities of the elderly. The elderly are more oriented towards Nicaraguan collectivities and the institutions they involve for use value created

for themselves and the community. The elderly are concerned for identity, spirituality, and relationships for the human and collective needs that they fulfill. Being Nicaraguan cannot be replaced by a different symbol of meaning because it has no exchange value for most of the elderly. In this way the Nicaraguan community is important because of the use values that it makes possible, not because of the exchange values it creates. Even though they are often oriented towards different types of value, the elderly and community institutions generally work in a common direction in this particular historical period. As a result, the elderly are important contributors to the existence of some of the institutions and contribute to the institutional outcomes. Under different structural conditions, however, the institutions could come into conflict with the elderly. This potential contradiction is shown most clearly in the following chapter on the systemic aspects of the Nicaraguan community.

[1] This assumes that churches provide Spanish services if their name is in Spanish, in addition to those churches contacted that reported providing Spanish services.

[2] In the mid-1980's there were several mass circulation Spanish language newspapers that circulated in San Francisco. The weeklys El Bohemio (owned by a Cuban) and Tiempo Latino (owned by a Salvadoran) were both founded in the 1970's, and La Prensa was founded in the early 1980's. The dailies El Mundo (published in Oakland) and Noticias del Mundo (a national paper) also circulate widely. Spanish radio is dominated in San Francisco by KIQI and Spanish television by Channel 14 (a Spanish International Network [SIN] affiliate). There are also a variety of bilingual publications in the Mission, such as the monthly El Tecolote (circulation 20,000).

[3] Mean income per person is calculated by dividing mean household income by the mean number of persons per household. This gives a better estimate of the wealth of Mission district residents than total household income because the there are more dependents in Mission households than in the City at large.

[4] Nor did the organizations then or now generally see poverty as a class issue, culture as a race issue, or neighborhood as an urban or city issue.

[5] The class backgrounds of the Nicaraguans could also work against their ability to maximize public programs. As noted earlier, several agency directors negatively characterized Nicaraguan clients as pushy and demanding. This perception of Nicaraguan clients could subtly work against their interests if the staff became less concerned about their needs as a result. On the other hand, the demands are also likely to gain the clients benefits that they may not have otherwise been granted.

[6] I should point out here that I am speaking of <u>institutional</u> dynamics. Most of the individual staff members of the papers and stations undoubtedly feel very strongly about their language and heritage as an inherent good. As an institution, however, it has no basic interest in providing a source of meaning, attachment, or unity to Nicaraguans or others except when it helps attract advertisers. Even the fund raising drives to help natural disaster victims, that might be seen as altruistic, are used in the radio station's marketing materials to show their market strength.

CHAPTER 8

STRUCTURAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY AND THE ELDERLY

Marx's axiom that people make their own history but not under the conditions of their own choosing is applicable to community formation. In the final analysis, a community is made up of its members whose lives are intimately associated. They are involved in creating and keeping the community alive, but they have limited control over the social conditions that affect their ability to do so. Urban residents can not reproduce common symbols, patterns of interactions, and local institutions in isolation from societal level political, economic, and ideological forces. This chapter examines some of the major forces that affect the Nicaraguan community and the elderly's ability to participate in community formation. The chapter begins with an examination of the historical uses of immigration and how immigrants have been essential to the growth of the San Francisco as a major urban center in the international economy. The historical links between the U.S. and Nicaragua provide a context that facilitates the creation of a Nicaraguan immigrant community. The state is also involved, and not involved, in facilitating and using immigrant incorporation to the economy. Within the Nicaraguan community the elderly are ideological symbols that provide both legitimacy to the U.S. state as well as to the Nicaraguan community. The community is also importantly involved in the process of immigrant settlement and in mediating the economy for community members.

Chapter 8

Immigrant Labor in San Francisco

Historical elements of capitalism have set the stage for the formation of San Francisco's Nicaraguan community. Immigrants of color have played a key role in the growth of San Francisco ever since it became an important part of the world economy in the 1850's. Immigrants have historically been used for their cheap labor. Besides working for less than native workers, immigrants' foreign origin allows native workers' unrest over their own wages to be blamed on the presence of the immigrants rather than on the interests of business. The large numbers of immigrants and the opposition they faced in San Francisco has lead them to establish separate residential communities. The future growth of the low waged service industry in San Francisco indicates that we are likely to continue to see immigration to San Francisco.

San Francisco became a major city almost overnight when gold was discovered nearby, and solidified its base when the Comstock Load of silver was discovered in the 1860's. As the major port in the region, San Francisco immediately became the supply and finance center for the gold and silver trades. The volume of people and goods coming in and gold going out of San Francisco made it the fourth largest port in the U.S. in 1851. Speculators made immense profits on land in the heart of San Francisco as the boom town grew from under 25,000 in the early 1850's (Soule, Gihon, & Nisbet 1966) to 56,000 in 1860, and to almost 150,000 in 1870 (Elliott 1984). Banks were established and grew from the money trade. Railroads, headquartered in San Francisco, were built to take advantage of the mines and later the rich agricultural land of the state. The wealth created from these enterprises provided San Francisco with a colorful and varied set of upper class families that

are usually the topic of local histories.

This wealth was only possible because of the efforts of hundreds of thousands of laborers. The growing commerce and mining sectors created an expanding need for laborers, much of which was filled by immigrants. In 1854 there were reportedly about 5000 each of French and German immigrants in San Francisco, along with about 3000 each of Chinese and "Hispano-Americans." The ideology about immigrants of that time was not unlike that of today.

> They preserve their national characteristics, and do not seem capable of thoroughly adopting American thoughts and fashions.... In San Francisco they have monopolized many professions of a semi-artistic character. They are the chief shoeblacks and hairdressers, cooks, wine importers and professional gamblers. (Soule, Gihon, & Nisbet 1966: 462)

The French laborers described above, along with the Germans and the Irish, had the advantage of being white. Their descendants quickly became part of the American mainstream and did not face unusual exploitation.

The Chinese were not so fortunate. Most were brought over to California as laborers, mainly for building railroads, digging in mines, and clearing swamps. When those large scale construction projects were completed many Chinese moved to San Francisco in search of employment, with low waged work the only available to them. Employers welcomed the increased number of exploitable laborers as a way of increasing profits. The whites who competed with them for wages were not so pleased. Even the San Francisco county sheriff complained about the competition, noting that few employers were willing to pay 50 cents a day for convict labor when they could hire Chinese labor for 25 cents a day.

The Chinese were useful to capital for more than their low wages. San Francisco had the beginnings of a labor movement ever since the

first strike in 1851. The shoemaking industry responded in 1869 by hiring the Chinese shoemakers to break a strike (Mei 1984). The labor movement continued to grow, fueled by demands over wages, working hours, and most of all -- the elimination of Chinese laborers. The focus on the "Yellow Peril" helped direct labor's energy away from the robber barons and on a more defenseless target. Aside from xenophobia, whites feared the low wages paid the Chinese and their use as strike breakers (Nee & Nee 1974). Small business owners contributed to the anti-Chinese movement because Chinese entrepreneurs began to establish small businesses that undercut white owned firms (Mei 1984) The anti-Chinese agitation led the U.S. Congress in 1882 to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act that prohibited the immigration of any additional Chinese. The Chinese population began to fall after that, but remained a significant presence who were the target of labor exploitation and continued white racism. For jobs and personal safety most Chinese moved to and stayed within Chinatowns in urban areas (Nee & Nee 1974, Mei 1984).

The supply of Chinese labor was cut off, but capital's demand for cheap labor had not changed. Japanese laborers began to be imported in 1890 to work in occupations where profits required workers who could be paid less than whites. As a primary entry port, San Francisco quickly developed a sizeable Japanese community (Glenn 1984). The Japanese suffered the same fate as the Chinese when the Japanese tried to take their agricultural experience and begin their own farms. While business was happy with the Chinese and then the Japanese as laborers, they did not want them as competitors. Anti-Japanese agitation led to the Gentleman's Agreement with Japan in 1908 that ended most Japanese male immigration. In 1913 California legislature passed an act prohibiting

Japanese from owning agricultural land (Light 1972), just as it had passed a foreign miners tax 50 years earlier to force Chinese and Mexican miners out of independent occupations that competed with whites (Nee & Nee 1974). This forced the Japanese into urban areas for employment and fostered the continuance urban Japanese communities. All Asian migration was ended by Congress in 1924.

The depression of the 1930's helped solve any problem with a shortage of laborers. San Francisco's population was also essentially unchanged during that period (Elliott 1984). World War II changed that situation with the growth of war industries, especially shipbuilding. Again, the demand for labor by large employers outstripped the supply of laborers. This time it was Southern blacks who entered the San Francisco labor market to fill the need for human labor. Discriminatory housing and employment practices led blacks to settle in segregated neighborhoods, including the Fillmore in San Francisco where Japanese had recently been taken from to be sent to internment camps. The black population of San Francisco grew from under 5,000 in 1940 to over 43,000 in 1950. In the tightened labor market after the war, blacks generally lost their better paying industrial jobs and moved into the low paid sector of San Francisco labor (Daniels 1080).

Immigration since 1960 has been more complicated than earlier periods because the demand for low cost labor has been met by several different groups. Immigration law reform in 1964 allowed Chinese to immigrate to the U.S. in sizeable numbers for the first time in almost 80 years. The result was a large influx of Chinese, particularly from Hong Kong. Many of these immigrants settled where the ancestors had, in San Francisco's Chinatown (Nee & Nee 1974). Latin American immigration

as described in Chapter 3 was less dramatic, but has also contributed to a large immigrant presence. By 1980, Chinese and Hispanics each comprised about 12% of San Francisco's population (Elliott 1984).

Since World War II, San Francisco has followed in the deindustrialization of America, steadily losing its industrial character and becoming more of the finance and tourist center as described in Chapter 3. The labor needs of finance capital are different that that of industrial capital, with more executive and white collar workers and fewer unionized blue collar workers. The major source of unskilled labor needed by finance is in the construction and maintenance of its building. Tourism also has little need of skilled blue collar laborers, while it has a high need for low waged and low skilled labor. This trend will continue as the internationalization of production continues to draw factory jobs away from the San Francisco area, leaving it with a growing finance and administration sector. The growth of high rise office buildings provides visible evidence of the employment shift and of the control of the business sector over local urban planning (Hartman 1984). To support the changing business patterns 67,000 **additional** service jobs are projected for the City of San Francisco alone between the years 1980 and 2000 (ABAG 1985).

Based on historical experience and the lack of any significant political or economic changes, it could be predicted that the newest set of low waged jobs will also be filled by immigrants. The continuing influx of Central American refugees are a possible source of labor, as are Indo-Chinese refugees, and the growing number of Filipinos. The dynamics of exploitation, however, will most likely lead these immigrants into poor neighborhoods with their countrymates where they

can establish local ties and institutions to survive. While their ethnicity and community may shape their identity, interactions, and even types of organizations, the changing economic structure of San Francisco and the world economy will shape the way that the immigrants earn their living. The macro structural context and micro interactional processes will combine to provide opportunities and constraints on the elderly and their communities.

Nicaraguan immigrants are not unique in the pattern of their settlement in San Francisco. They have entered the City at a time when the labor market was growing and there was a need for low skilled labor, the type of labor that does not require citizenship or language skills. Few immigrants from Nicaragua speak English at first, limiting the range of employment they can take. During the 1970's and 1980's San Francisco became home to many new immigrants from China and IndoChina who also entered the low wage employment sector. The relatively limited resources of community members would not have been able to economically support the large influx of immigrants for the months or years it takes to gain English and job skills than can compete with native laborers. As a result, without the growth in service sector employment that absorbs a large proportion of immigrant workers it would be difficult for the Nicaraguan community to support the kind of growth that it has experienced since the late 1970's.

The U.S. Legacy in Nicaragua

The history of the growth of and development of the economy in San Francisco is only one part of history that affects Nicaraguan immigrants and the efforts that the elderly make that foster community formation. We also need to look at the history of Nicaragua's relationship to the

U.S. to understand the dynamics of the elderly in San Francisco's Nicaraguan community.

The classical immigration studies of the Chicago school (see Chapter 2) dealt with immigrants coming to the United States from turn-of-the-century Europe. Models of assimilation that still dominate social science continue to be built upon the analysis of these immigrant communities. The political and economic context of the European countries in 1900 from which these immigrants came are quite different that that of Nicaragua today. The following attempts to show the importance of the position of Nicaraguan as a de facto colony of the U.S. and the continued relationship (now conflictual) of the two nations.

One of the most fundamental differences between the turn of the century European migration and the contemporary Nicaraguan migration is the history of U.S. involvement and influence in Nicaragua. The turn of the century Polish immigrant that Thomas and Znaniecki (1984) described came from a rural area in a country where the U.S. exerted no prior political, economic, or ideological influence. The economic organization of Poland had only recently moved from one of feudal serfdom to capitalism with direct connections to the world system. Thomas and Znaniecki's interest was in showing the adaptation of the Poles to an industrializing capitalist city in the U.S. in the 1910's as they tried to reorder their lives after the abrupt transition from a rural to urban organization of life. Poland was not only politically, economically, and ideologically independent of the U.S., but transportation in that era meant that contact between Poles in the U.S. and Poland depended heavily on new immigrants and on the slow mails.

The relationship of the U.S. to Latin America has been very different than the turn of the century relationship between the U.S. and Europe. United States - Latin American relations have been based ideologically on the Monroe doctrine that was originally formulated in 1823 to counter possible czarist Russian designs on the American Northwest (Skidmore & Smith 1984). It asserted that the American continents were off-limits to European colonization. This doctrine was later extended to include a warning against the influence of European political power in Latin America. In reality, European influence continued to be central to Latin America's economy and society until after World War I when U.S. economic and military activity began to increase and widely displace European activity in the region (Feinberg 1982).

The possibility of joining the Atlantic and Pacific oceans with a canal across Nicaragua drew the attention of U.S. interests early on. The discovery of gold in California in 1848 and the consequent increase in shipping between California and the East contributed to the economic savings that would result from shortening the oceanic shipping route between the coasts. In the 1850's, one faction of an internal Nicaraguan political fight appealed for outside help. William Walker, backed by a transportation company interested in a potential interoceanic canal across Nicaragua, answered the call with a few hundred North American mercenaries. Shortly after arriving, Walker turned against both sides of the political dispute and took over the country and had himself elected president of Nicaragua in 1858. During his short-lived government, Walker gained official recognition by the U.S., declared English the official Nicaraguan language, and legalized

slavery in a move to bolster the legitimacy of slavery in Southern U.S. states. He was pushed out of Nicaragua by a combined army of the other Central American nations who were assisted by the British (Weber 1983, Skidmore & Smith 1984).

U.S. forces landed in Nicaragua for a longer stay in 1909. The liberal dictator at the time, Jose Santos Zelaya, took a highly independent stand over negotiations for a Nicaraguan interocean canal route and antagonized the U.S. over various political and economic issues. Zelaya was forced to step down and a conservative, Adolfo Diaz, asked for U.S. military assistance to protect North American economic interests and prevent a possible civil war. Along with the U.S. soldiers came New York banks that took over the Nicaraguan bank and railway system as security on the bail-out money they were providing. The new Nicaraguan government signed an agreement in 1914 that gave the U.S. exclusive rights to build a canal in Nicaragua, guaranteeing that no other nation could build a canal to compete with the Panama Canal (which was completed in the same year). The U.S. marines and banking interests remained in Nicaragua until 1933 (Skidmore & Smith 1984).

This presence of U.S. Marines gave the populace a first hand look at North Americans and their way of living. It had personal consequences for a some who emirgated later, such as one respondent (003) whose first marriage was to a U.S. Marine in Nicaragua. She married the American in 1930 when she was a young woman. Her husband was killed in action in Nicaragua a year later. U.S. involvement in Nicaragua has had an important economic and cultural legacy that continues even in postrevolutionary Nicaragua.

Even though the soldiers and bankers formally withdrew, the U.S. continued a strong presence. Before the marines left in 1933 they created a National Guard that remained as the principal political force in the country until 1979. In 1937 the head of the National Guard, General Anastasio Somoza Garcia, took the presidency and began a 42 year dynasty (Skidmore & Smith 1984). His family's leadership assured close political, economic, and ideological ties to the United States. Nicaragua's largest single trading partner was the U.S., from a high of 75% of all exports going to the U.S. in 1950, to a prerevolutionary low of just under one-quarter of all exports in 1977. Nicaragua was even more dependent on imports from the U.S. (Maxfield & Stahler-Sholk 1985). Nicaragua's ties to the U.S. integrated it into the world capitalist economy through a system of export agriculture where large tracts of land belonging to a few families produced cash crops. In the 1960's there was also an emphasis on developing an industrial sector and a Central American common market was established to encourage local industrial development. This economic dependence on raw material exports and finished goods imports from an industrial state is characteristic of peripheral countries in the world system (Portes & Walton 1981, Chase-Dunn 1983).

U.S. penetration of Nicaraguan life was high. During my interviews in Nicaragua many people talked about the North American products that dominated consumer items. An upper class immigrant in San Francisco noted that, "In the time of Somoza there was almost everything available. The supermarkets were filled just like the stores in the United States" (003b-2). While the poor had limited access to these items, the U.S. brands were the items that were seen as desirable.

Coca-Cola and Pepsi are ubiquitous; the most common alcoholic drink is rum and Coke. A woman in a poor Managua barrio* complained to me in 1985 that she had not been able to buy Gerber brand baby food since the revolution. It was not uncommon to see people wearing T-shirts and caps from the U.S. (e.g. "Ford" caps and "S.F. Giants" shirts). While the shortage of foreign exchange after the revolution has limited the import of foreign consumer goods, they remain a powerful symbol.

The media was also heavily influenced by North America. U.S. politics and news was a regular part of the Nicaraguan news and North American television and movies were (and still are) regularly dubbed and broadcast in Nicaragua. The opposition newspaper, La Prensa, typically ran cartoons such as Blondie, Popeye, Hagar the Horrible, and the Fanthom. A typical edition of the government newspaper, Barricada, carried a full page of entertainment ads on February 8, 1985. Included in the movies listed were Marlon Brando in "The Godfather," Margaux Hemingway in "They Call Me Bruce," Jack McClelland in "Don't Enter the Forest Alone," and the Walt Disney film "Tron." On television the same night was a film starring Leonard Nimoy from the U.S. and Benny Hill from England. The reach of North American television programs should not be underestimated. At one shack I visited in a poor section of Managua in 1985 I encountered a television set surrounded by all of the neighborhood children. Many of the cartoons that they would watch are made in North America.

Nicaraguans who immigrate to the United States, unlike turn of the century European immigrants, have already lived in a context where they have experienced many of the same economic and ideological forces that they will encounter in San Francisco. This extends from sports where

baseball is the national sport of both countries, to Nicaraguan voluntary organizations that are chapters of U.S. organizations, to ideal patterns of consumption of U.S. products and ideas. The mixture of U.S. and Nicaraguan cultures in Nicaragua makes it easier for Nicaraguans to claim a place in established U.S. institutions and cities because of their familiarity with the operation of those types of structures.

Most immigrants are also from urban areas and so have experience at living and working in a context where labor is treated as a commodity. Many of the aspects of daily life - from renting a place to live, riding public transit, or dealing with government bureaucracy - are skills that the immigrants have already mastered. A North American orientation and skills are probably strongest among the Nicaraguan middle and upper classes who are likely to have been educated in the U.S. or to have had U.S. type education in Nicaragua. Despite the myriad of differences between Nicaragua and the U.S., the basic economic and political patterns are analogous.

The on-going U.S. involvement in Central America also has several consequences for Nicaraguan immigrants in San Francisco. First, the level of rhetoric in the U.S. political system insures that Central American nations remain in the media spotlight. The Nicaraguan political and economic turmoil that is presented in both the mainstream and Spanish language media provides a constant stream of information about their homeland. The open interest of the U.S. state in Nicaragua's affairs also legitimates immigrants' concerns with the political situation in Nicaragua. There is little opportunity to forget the homeland under these conditions, even if the immigrant has no

contact with the immigrant community.

The historical political and economic conditions of both Nicaragua and San Francisco thus set the conditions under which Nicaraguans are able to immigrate to San Francisco and establish an immigrant community. While the U.S. state has had an important influence militarily and economically in Nicaragua, it is even more centrally involved in establishing the conditions under which Nicaraguan immigrants live in San Francisco.

The State

Because the state controls national borders, it is a major force in the lives of immigrants in San Francisco. A comparison can be made between the way that the state has reacted to Nicaraguan immigration and the way that it managed the influx of hundreds of thousands of Cubans from the 1960's through late 1970's Mariel boatlift. This is an instructive comparison because the U.S. state has taken similar policies towards revolutionary Cuba and revolutionary Nicaragua, but has taken a different approach to the treatment of Cuban and Nicaraguan immigrants.

In the early 1960's Cubans immigrating to the U.S. were designated as political refugees. Portes and Bach (1985) argue that the labels, "political" and "economic" refugees, are political categories with little analytic usefulness. Many of the Cubans came to the U.S. because they feared the loss of their wealth and position in Cuba (an economic motive), but were defined as political immigrants. The "political" label, however, allowed the U.S. state to develop a series of programs and initiatives that helped the Cubans become a model of successful immigration. Professionals in the Cuban community were offered retraining and credentialing programs that allowed them to use their

skills in the U.S. There was never any question of the legality of Cubans' presence in the U.S., so Cubans were able to access governmental programs and agencies without fear (Pedraza-Baily 1985). The state in that era was also in a politically expansive period, undertaking the war on poverty and establishing a variety of new benefit programs. It would appear that the same model of incorporating the poor into society through training programs and other benefits was also applied to the Cubans. While this approach has had a limited effect on the poor, it was more successful with the Cubans who were geographically concentrated and able to build on the government assistance within an enclave economy (Portes & Bach 1985, Pedraza-Baily 1985).

The 1960's was also a period where capitalism was being actively confronted by socialist movements (e.g. Viet Nam and Cuba) (Chase-Dunn 1982). The ideological gain of welcoming hundreds of thousands of persons "fleeing communism" helped legitimate the hostile U.S. ideology against Cuba and other socialist states. The U.S. was was also experiencing sustained economic growth that allowed the continued absorption of workers from other countries. There was little economic threat posed by the Cuban immigrants while the political gains were large. By the time 125 thousand "Mariel" Cubans came to the U.S. in 1980 the economy had deteriorated, but the state had made an ideological commitment to encouraging Cubans who fled their country. This led Congress to pass special legislation granting refugee status to the Mariel entrants.

The Indo-Chinese influx of refugees presents another case where immigrants were politically important to the state. The U.S. was at the end of a severe recession when U.S. troops left South Vietnam and and

about to begin another recession in the late 1970's when refugee status was awarded to the Vietnamese. On purely economic grounds, the interests of the U.S. state would not have been served by allowing a large influx of Indo-Chinese refugees. The political logic of allowing immigration, however, was probably predominant. After losing over 50,000 soldiers in a lost war, refusing Indo-Chinese refugees would have been too symbolic of a lack of human interest in the Vietnamese who American soldiers fought to save from communism (Rose 1985). As with the Cubans, there is a large ideological gain in spotlighting masses of people "fleeing communism" in its legitimation of U.S. actions against Vietnam and other socialist countries.

Nicaragua provides an interesting case where this political logic has not predominated. Nicaraguan-U.S. ties have been very close historically. The wealthy of Nicaragua often did their vacationing and shopping in Miami, many sent their children to the U.S. for higher education, and there was a high level of U.S. economic penetration of the country. When the Sandinistas took power it was obvious that they were charting a political and economic course that diverged from U.S. interests. After briefly supporting the new Nicaraguan system under Carter, the Reagan administration began to treat Nicaragua as it does Cuba with the cutoff of aid, an economic blockade, and funding of counter-revolutionary forces (Leogrande 1985).

The political context of Nicaraguan immigration has been similar to the Cuban immigration of the 1960's. All those close to the Somoza regime fled, mostly to Miami, with much of their wealth intact. Then Nicaraguan economic conditions deteriorated and many of the privileges of the middle class were lost, leading to an exodus of a large

proportion of Nicaraguan professionals. Like the Cubans, the Nicaraguans in the US are disproportionately well educated and skilled (Wallace 1986, U.S. BOC 1984).

In the current situation, however, the state has not tried to capitalize either economically or politically on The Nicaraguan exodus. There are three possible reasons for the failure of the state to use Nicaraguan immigration for political purposes. The reasons include U.S. intentions towards Nicaragua, the domestic use of immigration to defuse worker unrest, and the economic position of the state.

One possibility is that unlike Cuba and Viet Nam, the U.S. government has not yet written off Nicaragua as a lost cause. If U.S. backed Contras overthrow the Sandinista government, Cuban and other foreign technical and administrative aid to Nicaragua will disappear. The most readily accessible source of these necessary skills would be the Nicaraguan middle class and professionals who have now emigrated to the United States. This means that, perhaps, current immigrants should not be aided in settling too permanently because it would make their return less likely. Programs designed to help Nicaraguan immigrants become socially and economically settled in the U.S. would only accelerate the permanent settlement of Nicaraguans.

A second possible reason for the lack of state support for Nicaraguan immigrants is that the state has helped orchestrate an anti-immigrant ideology among the American populace as a way of depoliticizing the changing economic conditions of the country. Declines in heavy industry are blamed on foreign countries and unfair competition. Blue collar workers in the U.S. are encouraged to direct their hostilities towards Japan and Korea rather than against the system

that has created an international division of labor (Omi 1981)[1]. Joblessness is also blamed on immigration, especially from Mexico (Yzaguirre 1985). A few respondents had personally experienced this reaction.

> Once I had this guy tell me that I just came over here to take his job away. He said I had this job and a house and everything at his expense. I told him I had all these things because I worked hard, because I came from Nicaragua and so I couldn't go on welfare, so I worked for my future. I was that guy's supervisor, so I told him to clean up the whole shop room, and if he didn't like it he could find another job! (032-6)

A dramatic example of how the state fosters the ideology of immigrants causing unemployment was the INS action in 1982 called "Project Jobs." This nationally coordinated, high visibility, action was designed to arrest as many undocumented aliens at work sites in one week as possible. The media angle was to show how many decent paying jobs were being held by undocumented immigrants. The district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in San Francisco was quoted in a page one newspaper article as saying that the raids were planned because,

> a large number of U.S. citizens and permanent residents would like these jobs... I'm sure that there are several unemployed citizens and permanent residents who would take these jobs. (San Francisco Chronicle 1982)

The anti-immigrant ideology also being institutionalized with the 1986 immigration law changes. This Congressional law is being portrayed as providing measures that will prevent undocumented immigration, in particular by establishing fines for employers who hire immigrants (U.S. Congress 1986). Again, the focus is on employment, with the message being that immigrants take jobs. The anti-immigrant ideology is not unlike the anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese agitation that was spread through the working class at the turn of the century. In the 1980's it

would be publically contradictory to admit several hundred thousand Nicaraguan immigrants in one move as political refugees at the same time that the state is portraying (especially Latin American) immigrants as an economic threat to domestic workers.

A third possible reason for the lack of state support for Nicaraguan immigrants is that the state has argued that it is in a period of of fiscal crisis. With the tax cuts of the early 1980's and large military increases, social expenditures have become the victim of budget pressures (Piven & Cloward 1982; Estes, Newcomer, & Associates 1983). Unlike the expansive period of the 1960's when Cubans immigrated or the relatively stable period of the 1970's when the Indo-Chinese arrived, the 1980's have been a poor time for a refugee group to appeal for any government financial help. While the hundreds of thousands of Indo-Chinese newcomers posed a potential social problem because of the lack of well established community infrastructure to ease them into American society, Nicaraguans have been able to settle in established Latino communities where the basic infrastructure needs already exist. There were preexisting Latino labor markets, housing, educational, and other structures that softened the impact of Nicaraguan immigration. Without a social crisis, the economic crisis of the state may have taken precedence in discouraging action to help the Nicaraguans.

The result is that Nicaraguan immigrants have to apply under regular immigration laws for asylum or regular immigrant status. For asylum in the U.S. the immigrants have to be able to show clear cause for fearing that they would personally be endangered by returning to Nicaragua. During the third quarter of 1983 there were over 12,000 Nicaraguans who had asylum applications pending. This is only about 10%

of the 116,000 asylum cases pending for Cubans (INS 1985). Thus, only a small number of Nicaraguans are being processed through the established channels to gain legal residence (outside of the 2-3,000 per year who gain entrance as lawful permanent residents). The social issue of Nicaraguan immigration for the immigrants has been made into individual problems of immigrants facing the INS.

Without the massive granting of legal status as has been done for the Cubans and Vietnamese, fewer Nicaraguans in the San Francisco community are able to draw on government resources to stabilize their lives and build a successful **Nicaraguan** enclave economy. The state, in effect, is encouraging Nicaraguans to use the programs that are available to other Latinos. Unlike the additional resources provided to the Cubans and Indo-Chinese, the Nicaraguans have to compete with other Latino nationalities for a piece of the pie. At the same time, this makes Nicaraguan immigrants more dependent on the Nicaraguan community and institutions associated with it. This is where the elderly appear to be important, because their actions in strengthening the community make it a place that is better able to provide support for the immigrant and to make him/her more comfortable. In this way it facilitates the immigrants' incorporation into San Francisco's economy.

Even though the state does not provide specifically for Nicaraguan immigrants, state programs for the elderly do help many older persons in the community. While these programs are not oriented to the Nicaraguan community, they help support the ideology that the immigrants hold about the U.S. as a land that cares about its residents. The following section illustrates this central contradiction within the Nicaraguan community between the use value associated with being Nicaraguan versus

the exchange values embodied in the U.S. polity and economy.

The Elderly as Ideologically Symbolic: The Contradictory Location of the Elderly in American Society

One of the most striking contradictions that elderly Nicaraguans and their kin evidence is their perceptions of how the U.S. government is concerned about the elderly while Anglo families are not concerned with the plight of the aged. This is contrasted with the immigrants' view that the Nicaraguan government does not help the elderly while the family in Nicaragua is vitally concerned with the welfare of the elderly. The consensus of the respondents in this study was that the quality of life for the elderly is better in Nicaragua because of the elder's social importance, though some add that the current economic problems of Nicaragua make it less desirable. The contradiction in the evaluation of the community members about the best location for the elderly is representative of the contradiction within the Nicaraguan community in San Francisco between the exchange values embodied in the state and the use values embodied in the community. The perceptions of the community members, however, are not complete representations of the reality of the the social and political treatment of the elderly in the U.S. and Nicaragua.

Discussions by Nicaraguans of the elderly in the family and under different governments are always framed using concepts that can be described as use values. A former Nicaraguan official in his 60's says that in the U.S the elderly are "defendida" (protected or aided) (18-3), as opposed to Nicaragua where there is no government support for the elderly. This retired man is receiving Social Security because he worked for five years after immigrating. He is impressed at the ability of people who earn good wages to increase the amount of Social Security

they receive. He calls California "paradise" at this time compared with Nicaragua, largely because he has a stable economic position here and is free from worries about political retribution for his past associations with the Somoza regime.

Nicaraguan immigrants interpret this interest by the U.S. state in the elderly as guided by use values. Their image of the state action is seen as a value based concern, just as they see their own concern for their family. The immigrants talk about how the state "provides for", "cares for", or is "interested in" the elderly. They do not consider what the state receives in return, the exchange aspect of the state programs. Their conversations indicate that the U.S. state does receive a valuable return on the government programs for the elderly in the Nicaraguan community -- enhanced legitimacy. The U.S. state is discussed as a wise and benevolent institution in connection with its treatment of the elderly, a perception that fits with and reinforces the ideology of the state as responding to the common need.

Habermas (1975) argues that the state depoliticizes these types of social decisions to reinforce its legitimacy. The state takes actions that appear to appeal to universalistic criteria, such as helping those in need like the elderly. The actual dynamic underlying these actions, however, usually involves trying to promote the conditions that make profits possible such as social peace, a well regulated labor force, or conditions that obscure the nature of exploitation. Piven and Cloward (1971) detail how various social programs have worked historically to regulate the poor; Evans and Williamson (1984) show how social security serves social control ends.

More than U.S. state actions and ideology lead to the immigrant's interpretation of U.S. social programs for the elderly. The immigrants' identification with Nicaragua gives them a reference system against which they compare almost all aspects of life. Nicaragua was among the last of the Latin American nations to enact a social security program (Wallace 1988). Only a small proportion of Nicaragua's working population was covered by Social Security until after the revolution, pensions have been meager, and other social programs that benefit the elderly (eg. health care, housing) were also almost invisible prior to the revolution[2]. The beggars that used to be common in Nicaragua were frequently elderly, and the elderly in Nicaragua continue to work at light-duty jobs such as newspaper vendors and shoe shiners because of the need for the income (Wallace 1988). Thus, the financial condition of the elderly in Nicaragua has been very tenuous.

In coming to the U.S., Nicaraguan immigrants have found a well developed welfare system unmatched in any Central American nation (Mesa-Lago 1985). While immigrants, legal or not, are not supposed to use most welfare benefits, in practice many can and do access various programs. The ability of the elderly to get cash benefits (as legal residents), medical care, and food because of their status of being **elderly** provides evidence to them that the U.S. government cares about the elderly. They cast their comparisons of the two systems in personalistic use value terms of governmental "caring".

The other side of paradise is how the immigrants see the American family treating elders. One respondent said in the U.S. people,

> don't feel the love of family that exists in our country. A sincere love. Here the young, more than anything, are devoted to drugs, they don't look after their parents, they're gone from home... They don't like the older people. (029)

There is a perception that in the U.S. most Anglos have low esteem for the elderly and that this low esteem is translated into neglect. A man in his 60's complains that when Americans age and they are no longer of "use" to anyone; they are treated as objects and "the human part disappears" (18-19). The use value of the elderly in American society is seen as zero.

Most Nicaraguans cite their belief that most Americans put their elderly into nursing homes when they discuss how the elderly are devalued in the United States. A woman who has lived in the San Francisco area almost 40 years sumarized it by saying,

> Here the elderly are more alone, there [Nicaragua] the elderly are never alone. We never abandon our elders. Here, 80% put them in rest homes and they forget them... I think the situation for older people is better over there. (18-8)

This woman's 80 year old mother, who is in failing health, lives with her in San Francisco in the same manner that she would if they were living in Nicaragua. One man blamed the American situation on economic necessity. "If everyone goes to work, and at times the elderly need some help, they prefer to send the elder to a place for old people." (28-8) Another feels that this makes it hard for Nicaraguans in San Francisco, too. "Here the work, the time, the distance, makes the closeness of the family more difficult. One always tries to maintain it, but it's more difficult" (20-8).

In reality, Anglos are supportive of their elders. Over 80% of all supportive care provided to the disabled elderly in the community comes from their families (Manton & Liu 1984). Only about 5% of all North American elderly live in institutions, though this is significantly higher than the institutionalization rate of Latino elderly (Wallace & Facio, forthcoming). Anglos most at risk of institutionalization are

older women and other who have no accessible family (Manton & Liu 1984). While the Nicaraguan immigrants' perceptions of Anglo practices are exagerated or incorrect, the immigrants view of the social status of the elderly in the United States affects their evaluation of U.S. society.

In contrast to their view of the Anglo treatment of the elderly, Nicaraguan immigrant respondents characterized families in Nicaragua as generally taking care of their elders. This caring is reportedly provided because of Nicaraguans value of the elderly and their feelings of kin ties. The lack of income of the elderly is not the only reason that people live in multigenerational households in Nicaragua. Even the rich who could afford to support themselves separately often live in or near the household of other family members.

Most of the Nicaraguan immigrants interviewed felt that the family relationships and support of the elderly were, in the last analysis, more important than the financial support of the government. While family support can replace government aid, money can not buy the type of relationships that Nicaraguans expect to be available to the elderly.

> It's certain that an old person (viejito) here is receiving their little check, but they don't have the warmth, the love of their children and their grandchildren. I think that the most important is this warmth and this love. (28-8)

The ideal situation that some discussed was for those who worked in San Francisco to retire in Nicaragua. In that way as a young person they could benefit from the material advantages of the U.S., and in old age they would have the interpersonal benefits of Nicaragua. One man's response is typical.

> I think that aging in our country (Nicaragua) is more favorable. I think it is more comfortable for a person who worked in this country, who has reached retirement, to spend their last days in their country. (20-8)

He went on to take about the quality and quantity of the relationships that older people had in Nicaragua that do not exist here. He talked about the closeness of the family, the friendliness that exists between neighbors, and the generally higher level of "communication." Retiring in Nicaragua solves the problem of income since a worker in the U.S. can take their Social Security with them to Nicaragua where they would then be in a more "humane" environment.

One woman interviewed had gone to the point of building a house in Nicaragua with her income when she was employed in the U.S., intending to retire there. She says that she did not move there because of the war. Others talked about planning to or wanting to return to Nicaragua eventually to retire, but after raising a family in the U.S. and having many of their relatives immigrate, they no longer had family ties in Nicaragua to return to. During my fieldwork in Nicaragua spike with several elders who had returned to Nicaragua after working for years in the U.S. These elders still had family in Nicaragua, and their economic situation was stable due to their previous work. In practice, few Nicaraguans have taken advantage of this option (U.S. GAO 1982).

The social use value of the elderly make them an important symbol within the Nicaraguan community. The way that the any state or society treat the elderly becomes important for Nicaraguans as indicators of the legitimacy of the state and society. The immigrants interviewed used use values such as compassion and warmth in comparing the treatment of the elderly by different states and societies. They did not generally use exchange criteria involving paybacks or equity in their evaluations. The legitimacy of the U.S. state was enhanced because it was perceived as acting on use values to aid the elderly. U.S. society, on the other

hand, was devalued because it was perceived as lacking the use values of human warmth and caring.

While the Nicaraguan state was perceived as being unsupportive of the elderly, Nicaraguan society (and to a lesser degree the San Francisco immigrant community) was seen as holding a preferred orientation towards the elderly. This sets up contradictory tensions between being U.S. residents and Nicaraguan immigrants. The U.S. state deserves their support, but so does Nicaraguan society. This tension is probably best reduced by the actions of an active Nicaraguan immigrant community. In this way they are able to confirm their valued Nicaraguan social identity, including reinforcing the use value of the elderly, while remaining in San Francisco. For the U.S. state, it provides a source of legitimacy among a group that the state has not specifically helped even though it has helped similar groups in the past. The state has not made any efforts to gain the support of Nicaraguan immigrants. If the U.S. state was not considered legitimately serving the needs of some of the valued groups in the community, it is possible that the community would organize to protest what several informants perceived as the government's "unjust" neglect of Nicaraguan immigrants as a group.

The interplay of use and exchange values in the Nicaraguan community is also shown in the activities of the community around immigration. The use values of the community are vital to the settlement of the newcomer, even as s/he becomes incorporated into the local exchange system.

The Use & Exchange Value of Immigration

A classical immigrant situation based exclusively on exchange values is the case of indentured servants. In this case the sponsor

pays for the immigrant's passage and provides room and board for a specified number of years in exchange for the domestic labor of the immigrant. While indentured the servant is not the free laborer of capitalism's labor markets, but the relationship between the indentured servant and master is entered into under a free contractual manner. The process of entry and settlement into the new country thereby occurs entirely within an exchange framework.

Nicaraguan immigrants to San Francisco do not typically exchange labor or any other quantity for room and board immediately upon arriving in San Francisco. Almost all of the immigrants interviewed reported that they and the immigrants they knew had a relative or friend of the family in San Francisco who was able to help them become established in the community. A Nicaraguan man noted the bonds of being Nicaraguan when he was asked if he had helped anyone settle in the San Francisco area.

> In this form (aiding recent immigrants) yes, but in humanitarian cases. I've helped orient people, above all when they look me up. They were mostly friends, but a few have called me at the suggestion of others I know. I try to help orient them and find their way, like they were my brother. (29-1)

In addition to friends and family, there are also informal networks of Nicaraguans in the community who try to help the new immigrant get established. A Catholic deacon describes one such group.

> There are 12 of us, all friends, who get together when there is a need. We each put in a little money. And each of those 12 has friends, too. I tell them, "even if you don't put in at the church, give something now." With that money we buy them 50 pound bags of food. Rice, beans, and if they have kids in the family I give them a few dollars to buy milk. This isn't part of the church, its just something we do to help out Nicaraguans who have just come here. (32-4)

This aid is given as a temporary measure, to help the newcomers until they have become integrated into the cash economy and are able to earn some money to buy their own food. The donors undertake this action out

of a use value orientation -- they want to help other Nicaraguans who are in need. They receive nothing tangible in return. Groups and individuals also provide housing on a short term basis to newcomers until they get a job and can afford to rent an apartment of their own.

> I came to the U.S. with $800 in my pocket. That would barely last a month! On the plane coming here I met a Nicaraguan woman who offered to let me stay in her home until I got settled. If she hadn't offered me a place to stay I would have spent the night in the airport. (4/3/85-1)

If the new immigrants had to rely exclusively on relationships and organizations based on exchange values, most immigrants would probably never be able to survive their first weeks or months in San Francisco. The result of the temporary use value mediated relationships is that they allow an orderly transition of the newcomers into the exchange systems of the community. Since the use systems have continuity with the homeland there is little new knowledge that is needed to effectively interact with the use networks. The exchange organization is more varied, and having a safe location in a use system makes it easier to learn about the local organization of exchange. In this way, the use values that are the organizational basis for helping and supporting immigrants is functional in providing a transition phase while the newcomer learns about the exchange systems.

People who provide needs based on their use value to newcomers may encourage the recipients of the needs to move into the exchange system, depending on the conditions. Newcomers normally stay with family or friends in the area until they are able to secure their own housing and the means to pay for it. Conflicts can occur, however, over how long a person can wait before moving onto their own in the exchange system.

> I don't shelter new immigrants any more because of problems I had in the past. It's a shame, because it's just me and my wife in

> this big house. But, when we let people stay here they would sleep-in until 10 am and wouldn't get up and look for a job or anything. I didn't like that, so we don't offer our house any more. (032-4)

Those who do provide housing and other support for newcomers are not engaged in a profit making activity. In fact, given the poor financial status of many of the new arrivals, they would have no ability to pay for the help. Instead, Nicaraguans who offer their homes usually do so as part of a communally oriented action, to help those from the home country. The alternative for some of the new immigrants would be to live on the streets.

These use values created in assisting recent immigrants has important economic implications, however. The relationships and networks that help to support the newcomers in a nonexchange environment can be conceptualized as providing an entry route for the newcomers into the exchange based economy. Other researchers have noted how the immigrant community helps new immigrants enter into the host economy (e.g. Gordon 1964, Shibutani & Kwan 1965, Portes & Bach 1985), but they have not fully conceptualized this. What is important is that the actions of members of the ethnic community have a very different basis than the importance of the outcome of that action. This could be seen as part of the unwaged labor of the ethnic community, or part of its exploitation because it taxes the resources of an already poor community.

The elderly are also important in the immigrant settlement, even when they are not directly involved. Their creation of use values in the community, such as the identity of being Nicaraguan and the importance of Nicaraguan relationships, reinforces the interest of community members in helping new immigrants. By fostering use value

relationships between immigrants and other members of the community, the newcomers are more likely to be brought into the symbolic, interactional, and institutional framework of the community, and are more likely to come into contact with the elderly of the community.

The exchange system that the immigrants and community members become part of also has elements that are distinctly Nicaraguan and oriented to use value. The exchange system, however, provides a link between the community and the dominant world economic system and the U.S. social system. The following section briefly describes that exchange system and its dependence on use values.

The Economy

The production, consumption, and distribution of goods necessary for life can depend on noneconomic criteria as well as market mechanisms, creating structural conditions in which the elderly may be involved. For most Nicaraguan immigrants, one of the conclusions of this study is that the most central noneconomic category that influences production, consumption, and distribution of needs is "membership" in the community. These influences have important consequences for profits and the ability of the larger economy to exploit the community because forces of community are different than pure market forces.

One of the most commonly discussed community based forms of production in sociology is the ethnic enclave (Light 1972, Bonacich 1984, Portes & Bach 1985). This type of organization creates a source of employment and demand for goods that is mediated primarily by ethnic community membership rather than market forces. The presence of such an enclave would be indicated by a high proportion of self employed Nicaraguans and a large number of Nicaraguans who work in businesses

owned by Nicaraguans. Census data from 1980, however, indicate that only a small proportion (5%) of employed Nicaraguans work for themselves. While there is a marked concentration of Nicaraguans in a few employment sectors, this stratification does not appear to be related to those businesses owned by Nicaraguans according to community respondents.

San Francisco has long had the reputation as a liberal city. Before the Nicaraguan revolution the Nicaraguan community in San Francisco was a major site of anti-Somoza activity. Partly in response to this, wealthy Nicaraguans who made they money under Somoza's rule were reportedly loathe to invest any of their funds in the San Francisco area. They preferred Miami both for its welcoming political climate as well as its proximity to Nicaragua. When Somoza was toppled, he sent the rest of his fortune to Miami and most of other wealthy Nicaraguan's money followed the example (036). The World Bank estimated that capital flight from Nicaragua prior to and during the revolution "exceeded half a billion dollars" (World Bank 1981:2). The failure of any substantial Nicaraguan capital moving to San Francisco after the revolution eliminated the possibility that the Nicaraguan community in San Francisco could become economically self sustaining through the creation of an enclave economy.

While the economic structure does not appear to be mediated by an enclave market, there are strong ethnic influences in the San Francisco economy. This includes the small sector devoted to providing Nicaraguan identified goods and services and the preferences of many Nicaraguans for Nicaraguan identified services.

Most of the Nicaraguan elderly respondents knew of Nicaraguan goods of services in the community. Many of elderly had visited a Nicaraguan professional at one time because the professional was Nicaraguan. These elders often felt that the commonalities that they shared with Nicaraguan professionals resulted in them getting better service. Speaking of doctors, a man in his 50's noted,

> I was treated equally by Nicaraguan and nonNicaraguan doctors. What occurred was that they understood me better when I visited a Nicaraguan doctor, compared to when I visited a doctor from another region, like an Arab doctor. (22-5)

A Nicaraguan professional is commonly felt to be able to emphasize more with the client and perhaps try harder to help them because of their common ties. One man's experience with his lawyer was based on this perception of better service resulting from the community ties.

> I went to a lawyer when I applied for political asylum. I chose the lawyer due to the recommendation of a family friend. I think that Nicaraguan lawyers are better for Nicaraguans to use because they have protected the Nicaraguans, they're more available to them, they support them. (18-3)

On the other hand, a few elders have a negative impression of Nicaraguan professionals, and avoid them because of their nationality. One woman explained it as follows

> I've never seen a Nicaraguan doctor. The doctor who I've been going to is Salvadoran. There aren't any good Nicaraguan doctors here that I know about. I don't respect them and don't know of any who are competent, who I could have confidence in. I wouldn't go to a Nicaraguan doctor here if I live here 100 years! (18-7)

People who seek out (or avoid) Nicaraguan professionals do so not because they get a better deal, or for other economic reasons, but for the quality or feeling of service that they receive. Common experiences and heritage are not a product that can be commodified and traded between professionals in search of clients. It is a use value that draws (or repels) Nicaraguans from certain professionals because of

their perception of the type of relationship that they can develop with that professional.

Producing goods for this ethnic market also provides a source of employment, often in the informal sector. One respondent was a woman in her 50's who was in San Francisco on a visitor visa, but needed extra money to pay rent on the apartment she and her youngest son were living in. To make ends meet she began to cook typical Nicaraguan food in her kitchen, selling nacatamales once a week and entire meals to take out more often. Her network of friends in the San Francisco area provided her with enough clients, and the client's desire to have typical homemade food provided the market (031).

In addition to an ethnic market for goods, there is an ethnic market for labor. This relies on the use value of the community to provide labor for the exchange oriented economy. Networks that are established for their use value - for the enjoyment of sociation or the commitments of family - are also put to exchange purposes. Almost all of the people who interviewed talked about themselves or others' getting jobs through personal contact.

These networks have structural consequences, as seen in the concentration of Nicaraguan workers in several occupations (see Chapter 3). This type of network and communications outcomes helps explain how Nicaraguan women come to be in the textile industry and how Nicaraguan men come to be overrepresented in janitor occupations. The interactional patterns that are established for personal reasons end up having important economic consequences. This is an important point because interactional patterns that are established based on one value are able to be accessed for the other. While most Nicaraguan

interactional patterns are initially established on a use value basis, the presence of those patterns allows people to draw on a variety of networks and relationships for their exchange value as well.

The segmented labor force, as described in Chapter 3, in turn works to encourage community formation both through providing contact between people with the same backgrounds and by giving these people similar interests. At the same time, the structure of the economy works to separate people. This is particularly true of the elderly since they are forced out of the waged labor force.

As described in Chapter 1, modern capitalism has made the elderly redundant in the workforce. Graebner's (1980) analysis of the creation of retirement shows how the elderly have become the most vulnerable segment of the labor force because of their higher earnings and the structural conditions of profit making business. This, along with the alienating nature of most work, pension availability, and age discrimination, results in most people retiring by age 65 in the United States. The dynamics of the labor market and the way that waged work is organized leaves few jobs that are available for older persons.

The social organization of retirement has different consequences for Nicaraguan elders than U.S. elders, depending on how long the immigrants have worked in the United States. Immigrants who have worked for many years in the U.S. will have access to Social Security and other income that is secure and continuous. For these elders, retirement can be a time when they are able to participate more in the community than when they were working and raising children. Those who are eligible for Social Security have fewer concerns about their personal income and can devote time to help their children with childcare or to participate more

fully in community events. The demands of work and raising a family are time consuming; when neither work nor family are demanding it creates new opportunities.

Elderly immigrants who are not eligible for Social Security lead a more tenuous existence. Many of the elderly immigrants who are brought over by their family are supported by them for their daily needs. While this places a further economic burden on the family, the elderly often contribute to the family by taking care of children. As discussed in Chapter 6, childcare is strongly oriented to use value rather than exchange value, but in the overall economic context, the exchange value of the childcare becomes important. At the same time, many of the elder's interviewed who do not have an independent source of income would like to work but, are unable to find jobs. An elder Nicaraguan organizational leader encounters older people looking for work continuously.

> You'd be surprised how many people come here, older, looking for work. I know how the work situation is. But they come looking for work, 80 year old people, 70 years old, and they don't know the English, either... They want to work even taking care of children. They want to work so they don't have to be a burden to their own children. They come here all the time, I have a list of people that come all the time. (xx1-5)

Some work is available through the underground economy. One active 70 year old man who was a daily volunteer at a senior center was approached at the center by another man who offered him work cleaning offices part time at $2 per hour. The volunteer said he was tempted, but that he did not think his health was good enough for that kind of work.

The economic structure of San Francisco and modern capitalism has a central role in shaping the lives of those in the Nicaraguan community. It both provides some of the impetus for community as well depends on

the use value organization of the community for the benefit of employers. The elderly are also affected by the economic organization, especially those who want a degree of economic independence and are unable to achieve it. While the community can provide for the needs of identity and meaning, it is not organized sufficiently to provide on-going economic support to many members.

Conclusion

The political and economic history of San Francisco forms a backdrop for the contemporary Nicaraguan immigration to San Francisco. It is not a coincidence that there is a large and growing number of Nicaraguans in San Francisco. The history of San Francisco's economic base demonstrates a need for immigrant labor that has been met by various groups during the past century. The continued growth of the service sector has provided recent Nicaraguan immigrants with a labor market capable of absorbing their labor along with the labor of other immigrant groups that have come to San Francisco in the 1970's and 1980's. This economic context provides for the material basis that is necessary for any community to survive.

The history of the relationship between the U.S. and Nicaragua provides a further understanding of the knowledge and skills that Nicaraguan immigrants bring with them. The historical U.S. military and economic presence in Nicaragua has provided immigrants from Nicaragua with a familiarity with the U.S. social and economic system. The familiarity eases the transition between nations and makes the social conventions of San Francisco's Nicaraguan community less conflictual with dominant Anglo patterns.

The contemporary relationship between the U.S. and Nicaragua has parallels with the relationships between the U.S. and Cuba and the U.S. and Viet Nam during periods of high emigration from the latter nations. While the U.S. state provided assistance to Cuban and Indo-Chinese immigrants to its political benefit, it has failed to use Nicaraguan immigrants in a similar manner. The U.S. state may have failed to treat Nicaraguan immigrants as special political refugees because of (1) a possible U.S. interest in repatriating Nicaraguan professionals should U.S. supported forces overthrow the current Sandinista regime, (2) the contradictions of publically encouraging immigration at a time when lowering immigration has become a popular political issue, and/or (3) constraints imposed by the fiscal crisis of the state. The absence of any special state support makes the Nicaraguan community more important in the settlement of newcomers. This dependence on the community, in turn, increases the importance of the elderly in the immigration process because of their active role in community formation.

The elderly also serve as an important symbol of the legitimacy of the U.S. state within the Nicaraguan immigrant community. By comparing their perceptions of how the state and society in Nicaragua and the U.S. treat the elderly, Nicaraguan immigrants legitimate the actions of the U.S. state while condemning U.S. society. The negative evaluation of U.S. society works in the interest of maintaining a cohesive Nicaraguan community by stigmatizing the competing social organization of Anglo society. The legitimacy provided the U.S. state, on the other hand, is useful in reducing conflict since it is impossible for immigrants to distance themselves from association with the U.S. state while living within its territorial boundaries.

The importance of the community that the elderly work to support is evident in the use values it provides to new immigrants. These use values ultimately have an exchange value as well because the use values allow the new immigrant to take a place in the local economy. While the local economy of the Nicaraguan community has not formed an enclave, there is a small ethnic business sector in addition to the ethnic segment of the larger labor market.

All of the historical, political, economic, and ideological forces reviewed in this chapter have an important influence on the ability of the Nicaraguan immigrant community to exist. While each force shapes the community, none of the structural forces alone or in combination fully determine that a community must exist. The concluding chapter reviews the findings at each level of community to show how the symbols, interactions, institutions, and structure combine to determine the existence of the Nicaraguan immigrant community and San Francisco and the importance of the elderly in the formation of that community.

[1] In a well publicized case, a Chinese American was beaten to death in 1982 by a laid-off Detroit autoworker and his stepson who thought Chinese American was Japanese and blamed him for their problems.

[2] Since the 1979 revolution, the Nicaraguan state has undertaken a rapid expansion of health and social programs that benefit the elderly and others. Pensions have been expanded, government run residential and nonresidential care facilities for the elderly have been established, and the medical care system has been made available to most of the population (Wallace 1988). While this provides evidence that the Nicaraguan government "cares" about the elderly, these recent changes were not widely known by the immigrants.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

The central question in this dissertation is to determine how the Nicaraguan elderly are active in helping in the formation and continuance of the Nicaraguan immigrant community in San Francisco during the early 1980's. The review of the literature on elderly Chicanos and Latinos demonstrates that elder Latinos are active within their families, but provides little suggestion of how they might be involved in their communities. Aging theory does not provide a conceptualization of how the elderly might be important members of modern communities in a capitalist economy. Theories that conceptualize the elderly as active shapers of social worlds have generally limited empirical work to age segregated settings and limited social worlds. Theories that conceptualize the elderly in relationship to broader social forces tend to place the elderly as exploited or marginal within society. Conceptualizations are needed that provide an analysis of the elderly as actors and builders rather than reactors, and that show how the actions and experiences of the elderly are linked with broader social forces such as the economy and the state.

The conceptual distinction between use value and exchange value has been presented as an approach that can link the analysis of the political and economic structures of society with the activities of the elderly. The use value of a product is its ability to satisfy human needs. The creation of use values, therefore, is oriented to particularistic ends. Exchange values are an abstraction of commodities and are realized in relationship to other commodities. The exchange value of a commodity is based on what other commodities it can be traded

for and may have little relationship to how well it satisfies any human need. The use-exchange distinction is useful because macro political and economic processes in a capitalist system are based on exchange values, while many of the daily activities of older people (and women in the home) create use values. By showing how use values and exchange values are interdependent, this work attempts to show how the value that the elderly create plays a role in the political and economic processes in society.

The following section of this chapter discusses some of the limitations of this study. The chapter concludes by summarizing the findings of this study.

Limitations of this Study

One of the most important questions that this study cannot answer is, how unique are the Nicaraguan elderly in their importance to the immigrant community? Because this work is a single case study, rather than a comparative analysis or a national survey, it is able to provide in depth information but can not be directly generalized. There are several factors that would suggest that many of the conceptual categories are common to most immigrant groups, while other conditions that are unique to Nicaraguans would be expected to generate special findings.

In any immigrant community the elderly are most likely to have the largest store of knowledge about the homeland and to be involved in helping maintain a special sense of identity within the community. Similarly, the elderly are probably the most able to maintain communications among family members and others within the community, helping to keep the community more cohesive. In general, the analysis

of how use value and exchange value are dialectically interdependent in the contemporary American system should be a useful way of examining the actions of any elderly. In these ways, the analysis of elderly Nicaraguans could be extended to other groups, but only other studies could determine the scope of the validity of this analysis.

Both the identity and the history of Nicaraguan immigrants set them apart from other immigrants. As detailed earlier, many of the areas where Nicaraguan immigrants develop a sense of an independent identity are common areas of identity for most immigrants and many nonimmigrants. Language, religion, and politics serve as aspects of identity for many groups, but there are specific qualities of the language, religion, and politics (among other areas) that are specifically Nicaraguan. While the categories are more universal, the specifics within each category are distinctly Nicaraguan. Historically, Nicaragua has had a unique relationship with the United States. The U.S. has had a higher intensity and duration of control over Nicaragua than any other Central American nation. This research can not answer the question of how the variation in exposure to U.S. cultural and economic forms creates different experiences and styles of immigration. If a comparative study were conducted along the dimension of U.S. penetration of the sending country, Nicaragua would be at or near the top of the scale as shown by the history reviewed in this study.

This study also does not provide a full accounting of the politics of the Nicaraguan community and how the elderly are involved in the political dynamics of the community. The study shows that the primary community political activity is oriented towards Nicaragua, but the dynamics of the split in the community between Sandinista supporters and

Sandinista critics is left not rigorously examined. The limited attention to the political split of the community is a limit of the data collected, since only limited data was collected specifically on the politics of the community. The sensitivity of many respondents to the political divisions would have made this information more difficult to collect, even though it may have been informative. The limited attention to the split has made it impossible to determine if there is a significant difference between the elderly who are pro- and anti-Sandinista. I would hypothesize, based on the limited data collected, that the elderly are involved in similar activities oriented towards the community regardless of their political affiliation. The primary difference would be the community organizations and social networks within which those activities occur. Conservative Nicaraguan elders, for example, are active in certain cultural organizations and church groups while radical elders are more likely to be associated with the Nicaraguan Cultural Center.

Questions may be raised about the generalizability of the study's results to the entire Nicaraguan immigrant community. While the data includes only 32 formally interviewed community members (see Appendix A, Methodology), I also obtained respondents from community organizations, conducted hundreds of hours of participant observation were conducted, made a survey was made of local churches, and demographic data. The sample size may have limited the discovery of some of the variation present in the community, but the consistency of information among the diverse data sources suggests that other variation would most likely occur within the same boundaries and categories as the current findings.

Finally, the scope of the analysis in this work requires that some of the analysis be suggestive rather than conclusive. It has not always been possible to gather sufficient data to support the varied lines of analysis that show how the immigrant community is comprised of different levels of reality from the symbolic through the structural, and how the elderly are involved at each level. At the structural level, for example, the interviews and observations that this study uses as primary data were not able to provide detail about some of the dynamics of the state. The data directly show only how community members perceived the actions of the state, and the results of state policies on their lives. Answers to other questions, such as why the state has not treated Nicaraguan immigrants the same as Cuban immigrants, can only be hypothesized based on historical comparisons until further research addresses these questions.

Summary of Findings

The elderly in this study are members of a Nicaraguan immigrant community. The literature suggests that community may be an intermediate level of social organization that mediates between the lived experiences of individuals and the structural forces of the economy and the state. Community is not a "thing" that does or does not exist, but is a set of social and economic relationships that connect the daily lives of its members with the structuring historical forces of society. This linkage makes the community a useful focus for studying the role of the elderly for the larger society, since actions of the elderly in the community can be placed analytically in the framework of broader social processes. This dissertation conceptualizes community on four analytically different levels: the symbolic, interactional,

institutional, and structural. By analytically distinguishing between levels of community where different types of social dynamics occur, research can show how the lives of individuals such as the elderly are a part of larger institutional and structural processes.

The Nicaraguan immigrant community in San Francisco is found to exist because of a conjunction of historic, political, and economic forces, combined with the actions of the elderly and others immigrants. The external conditions constrain the immigrants from becoming incorporated into Anglo society, but do not necessitate the formation of a specifically Nicaraguan community. Many political and institutional forces in San Francisco support the existence of a generalized Latino community. The impetus for the formation of a Nicaraguan immigrant community comes from the immigrants themselves, including the elderly. Building on the symbols and forms of relationships that the immigrants define as characteristically Nicaraguan, they create a common universe of meaning and use Mission district institutions in creating a community.

The political context does not directly support the creation of a Nicaraguan community, but, like the economic context, it provides the generalized conditions that make a Nicaraguan community possible. The growing backlash against racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. during the 1980's (see Omi & Winant 1986) has not created a welcome setting for a Latin American immigrant group to grow and establish a strong community. The decline in federal funds available for community development and other programs that focus on minorities and the poor has reduced the resources that might have been available to a new community fifteen years ago. The anti-immigration sentiment of the country and

other factors have prevented the state from using the exodus from Nicaragua for political purposes in its war against the Sandinistas. The result is that the state treats Nicaraguan immigrants much like other Latin American immigrants. The Nicaraguans do not benefit from the types of political forces that have provided conditions that have helped foster the formation of Cuban communities, especially in Miami.

The lack of any physical segregation of the different nationalities in the San Francisco's Mission District makes it different from many other U.S. cities where immigrants from multiple Latin American countries live. Businesses, service organizations, and social groups identified with different nationalities are intermixed in the same geographic area. There is no "Nicaraguan" neighborhood, nor any other identifiable single nationality residential exclusivity. This contributes to the invisibility of the Nicaraguan community to outsiders.

This dissertation has identified some political forces that are useful in forming a Nicaraguan community. The state's actions against the post-revolutionary Nicaraguan government have been strong and widely publicized, giving the Nicaraguan immigrants a sense of legitimate uniqueness. The portrayal of the Central American conflicts by the San Francisco Spanish language media follows the ideology of the Reagan administration, providing a local context that supports the Nicaraguan's contentions of being political refugees. The media coverage also helps keep the home country fresh in the minds of community members.

Within this setting, there are a relatively large number of elderly Nicaraguans, many of whom have lived in the area for many years. It is under these specific political and economic conditions that the

activities of the elderly take a particularly central place. The activities of the elderly that foster the construction of a Nicaraguan identified community are not blocked by structural or organizational forces, and indeed are enhanced and reinforced.

The elderly are central actors in the formation of the Nicaraguan community, particularly through their actions that create Nicaraguan symbols and encourage interpersonal interaction based on a Nicaraguan identity. By conceptualizing how the actions of the elderly create use values, the analysis of the elderly in the community can move beyond the family where much of the interaction occurs.

Nicaraguan immigrant elderly are involved in fostering a world view that incorporates a Nicaraguan heritage as a central interpretive category. This contributes to the creation of a Nicaraguan community at the interactional level because the common understandings provide a basis for joint action and the formation of relationships among Nicaraguans. The elderly influence identity, for example, by reinforcing the identification of family as Nicaraguans. Individual immigrants form a community that is specifically Nicaraguan because they share, apart from other Latino immigrants, a specific identity and way of interpreting the world that involves being Nicaraguan.

The use values of Nicaraguan symbols and interactions can also have exchange value for the community, organizations, and society. Use values created by the elderly are often appropriated by institutions and the social system in order to further exchange values. The use values produced by the elderly do not have to be contradictory to exchange values. While the elderly do not generally intend that their efforts influence the economic organization of the community, their actions that

create use value also provide some of the conditions that are necessary is the community is to serve as a site for exchange value production.

The ability to analyze the elderly as active in the creation of community is possible because of the interdependence of the four levels of community. The elderly are particularly effective in the symbolic and interactional levels of community, and somewhat less important in the organizational and institutional level. Traditionally, this has been analyzed as the elderly being only socially important at the interpersonal level of the family or immediate social worlds. The linkage between the different levels of community allows us to see how the symbolic and interactional power of the elderly affects the institutional composition and structural position of the community, even when the elderly are not directly involved in all aspects of community organizations or structure. Similarly, the political and economic structure provides specific constraints and opportunities for the elderly in the Nicaraguan immigrant community that would result in a different community role for the elderly if the structure and organizational setting were different.

In examining the community at all four levels, it appears that the use value of the community is the most important noneconomic force in the lives of the Nicaraguan immigrants in San Francisco. The community serves as a source of meaningful symbols and positive identity, the locus of interaction and the creation of identity, the location of institutions that mediate conflicts, and as the economic and historical context of their lives.

The review of the urban political economy and structuralist immigration literature raised the question of the usefulness of

community to capitalism. Theorists who focus on the functions of the city in capitalist production conclude that community was contradictory to capitalist production because community is based on a noneconomic organization. Community, in their analysis, is where use values are most important, while the maximal operation of a capitalist system is based on the extension of exchange value organization to all spheres of life. Community can provide the basis for collective resistance to exploitation. The focus on contradictions to capitalism focuses on how the community aids its members overcome exploitation and depersonalization.

Political economists who have studied immigration more commonly analyze how immigrant communities are able to provide benefits to capitalist production. This analysis shows how the use values created in communities can provide for the needs of immigrants. By allowing immigrants to survive on lower wages and in poorer living conditions than native workers, immigrant communities allow immigrants to be exploited more than natives. The analysis of the benefits of immigration to capitalist production is similar to the analysis of the role of women in the home made by some feminist theorists. Household production, according to a Marxist-feminist analysis, is conducted for its use value in satisfying the immediate needs of the household. The use value created, however, is an essential component of the capitalist economy because those use values make it possible for the wage workers of the household to produce exchange values. The analysis of the functions of community for capitalism focuses on what community offers to the economy and to capitalists rather than to its members.

In a dialectical analysis, the community does not have to be either functional or contradictory to capitalist production. Depending on the historical conditions, community can be both functional and contradictory to various degrees. Most of the data in this dissertation show how the community is of use to its members, particularly in providing identity and meaning in the lives of the immigrants. In this aspect, community serves as a use value to the immigrants. Data are also presented, however, that show how the symbols, relationships, and institutions of the community are useful to community members in obtaining jobs, housing, and other necessities through the marketplace. In this sense, community serves as an exchange value to its members, often by mediating structural conditions (e.g. the labor market or housing market). To the extent that the symbols, relationships, and organizations of the community facilitate the participation of the Nicaraguan immigrants in the economy, the community is of benefit to capital accumulation. To the extent that the common identity of community members is used to mobilize collective action aimed at meeting collective needs apart from the exchange system, the community contradicts the process of accumulation.

The community is shown to create exchange value in several ways. It helps bring new immigrants into the economic system as wage laborers, provides for some of the needs of laborers that would otherwise have to be paid for by wages, and serves as a market for selling commodities. The elderly are involved in the community in ways that enhance the community's ability to be of use to capital. Those who were pioneers in the 1950's and 1960's are now mostly elderly. They provide support and aid for the new immigrants coming into San Francisco. Even the elderly

who are recent immigrants often exert a pull on other family still in Nicaragua to immigrate. Thus, the elderly are involved in increasing the potential labor pool and commodity market present in the community. One of most direct economic contributions of the elderly is babysitting. This allows multiple members of the immigrant households to enter the low waged labor force. The elderly's most significant contribution to the exchange value of the community is their involvement in maintaining the existence of a Nicaraguan community.

Some theorists, such as Offe (1984), present use value organization as contradictory to capitalism because it makes the exploitation and politics of capitalism more visible. This work shows that, on the contrary, it is possible for individuals to perceive capitalist organization as organized around use value. Because Nicaraguan immigrants were oriented to the use values needed by the elderly, the immigrants interpreted the actions of the state for the elderly as also based on use values. An analysis of exploitation or inequality, however, depends on the analysis of exchange value. This demonstrates that even when individuals are in a situation where use value is central, it does not necessarily generate awareness or consciousness of how structures work through exchange values.

In the area of theory, the most important contribution of this dissertation is bringing the analysis of use value and exchange value into the study of aging. It is important to continue to develop new ways to conceptualize how aging is involved in society so that we can better understand the dynamics of the process of growing old. Bringing the concept of use value into the analysis of aging shows how the elderly continue to be involved in the process of social organization

and social change, even as their actions are removed from the exchange processes of society. This conceptualization also provides a more complete picture of communities. The early Chicago research showed how communities met the needs of its residents; the recent urban political economy shows how cities meet the needs of capital. Combining the two shows how communities are a part of the dynamics between human needs and economic processes.

This chapter has briefly outlined some of the major limitations of previous approaches to the study of aging and has suggested that the concepts of use value and exchange value are of use in overcoming those limitations. Several of the limitations of this study were then presented. The chapter concluded with a summary of the major findings of the dissertation. The findings include that external political and economic factors prevent Nicaraguan immigrant incorporation in Anglo society but do not necessitate a Nicaraguan community; that the impetus for a Nicaraguan community comes from the elderly and younger immigrants themselves; that the elderly are key actors particularly through sustaining Nicaraguan symbols and interactions; and that the community encompasses both use and exchange values to the benefit of both the residents and capitalism.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

The methodology used in this dissertation is in an appendix so that lengthy and more personal comments can be presented at length about the process through which the data gathering and analysis proceeded. The first section reviews a topic rarely discussed in academia: how the dissertation topic emerges. Several stages of the research process are then discussed in detail, beginning with how I recorded and organized my data. The section on memos and writing details some of the process of moving from raw data to preliminary analyses. The different dissertation groups outlined next shows some of the strengths and weaknesses in the help others can provide. A discussion follows of the some of the pitfalls encountered by using different methodological approaches and suggests that combining inductive and deductive methods has advantages over the exclusive use of either. The appendix concludes with a brief description of the study sample, including a listing of the respondents formally interviewed.

Arriving at the Research Question

One of the precepts of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967, Glaser 1978, Strauss 1987) is to let analytical categories emerge from the data, and for the analysis to be guided by what you are finding in the field rather than by preconceived notions or received theory. Professors often say, go into the field with an open mind and you will see phenomona that you would not have expected. My own previous experience was that this is true. I became a "convert" to qualitative, inductive research during a summer field study as an undergraduate. I spent eight weeks in a community health center, working as an office

nurse and taking copious notes. I found that by observing the interactions in the clinic, looking for strategies, constraints, and processes, I was awakened to a whole world that had been previously clouded by taking for granted so much of the world around me. This experience helped to catalyze my interest in medical sociology, adding to my inclination to abjure a clinical medicine career for one where I could use my "sociological eye" (Hughes 1984).

My dissertation began in a similarly unstructured manner. I took my longstanding interest in stratification and inequality along with a newly developed curiosity about aging and decided to do "something" about "elderly Chicanos". I had written papers about Chicano health and about Chicanas and health care, and I had done fieldwork in a community health center where many patients were Mexican immigrants. I knew what many of the health issues were for Chicanos, at least from the academic perspective.

I began by talking with some Chicano professionals who were knowledgeable about the local Chicano community. The first man I talked to, an administrator at UCSF, mentioned to me first of all that most older people didn't like to be called Chicanos, since years ago the term was pejorative rather than positive as it is now for the young and for intellectuals. I knew this from my readings, but wasn't comfortable yet with how to deal with the terminology that denotes people from Mexican and Latin American heritage. I didn't realize at the time how common my dilemma was (see Hayes-Bautista & Chapa 1986, Trevino 1986).

From conversations with Chicanos at UCSF I was given the name of some people at a mental health clinic in the Mission. I made an appointment to talk with a member of their staff to explore issues that

might be pertinent to the elderly in the Mission. I was struck when waiting in their offices by the photos of the staff and the identifications under each member's background: Salvadoran, Puerto Rican, Chicana, Colombian, etc. There were few indicating Mexican heritage; the diversity and magnitude of Central and South American's presence surprised me.

The interview went well, with the staff member providing me information about the common needs of the elderly in the Mission, and some demographic information as well. Most importantly, I was given the name of a man working in a senior center located in the Mission. He would be the first person I could interview who worked specifically with elderly people from Latin America.

My interview with Jorge Santis was more of an introduction to the senior center. As director of volunteer services he immediately signed me up to work in the center. I explained to him that I was interested in meeting and talking with older Hispanics. Since I had found serving lunches an easy way to meet people during a field placement in the tenderloin, I opted for helping out in the lunchroom. Useful suggestions on how to gather qualitative data in such situations are made by Schatzman and Strauss (1973), Hammond (1964), and Emerson (1983).

My interests were still nebulous. I began to talk with the people at the senior center, discovering that most were from Central America rather than Mexico. I spent hours talking with the "leaders" in the center, those who spent most of their days in the senior center and took the problems of those in the center as concerns of their own. Working in the dining room turned out not to be as effective as I thought since

people were directed to fill one table at a time, eliminating the possibility of my sitting at random tables after I was finished serving. The seating arrangement meant that the servers had to sit with each other, limiting the number of people I could talk with during lunch.

Since I was still learning Spanish I decided that one way to both improve my Spanish and speak with more people was to volunteer as an aide in an English class. Here I anticipated a great deal of one on one contact, meeting people who spoke some English, and people who might also help me improve my Spanish. The English instructor was pleased with my offer to help since she was trying to teach those barely able to understand English as well as those who already had a basic command of the language. Working with small groups from the English class was ideal for establishing relationships with some of the older people, and also provided an opportunity to raise subjects for discussion that could help me understand their lives better.

Based on my observations, I constructed an open-ended question guide for use with older people which was essentially an open ended life history (see Appendix B). Through discussions in the senior center and formal interviews I quickly discovered that the largest issue for this group of Central American seniors was immigration. This is hardly a startling discovery since many of them were uprooted from their homelands by war and a fear for their personal security. Even those who came to the U.S. for other reasons (e.g. family, economic opportunity) mentioned changes in their lives and their outlooks that had been profoundly affected by their immigration. Questions I raised about health, a topic I first thought would be important, raised little spontaneous discussion. Perhaps compared to the turmoil of leaving a

homeland and making a new home the trials and tribulation of one's health (among a fairly healthy, ambulatory population) were minor. I dropped the questions on health as diversionary.

Around this time I also spoke with Bob Blauner (a professor of sociology at U.C. Berkeley who is interested in race and ethnicity) about being on my committee. In explaining my broad interests to him he asked, "What do you want to show? Do you have an agenda you want to carry through in your research?" I had failed to ask myself how my research might address my interests in empowerment, in overcoming exploitation and social injustice, or in other agendas I had at heart. Consequently, I explained that I planned to let the elderly tell me what was important, and that I would study what "emerged". Accepting the validity of the methods advocated by Strauss and others, Blauner both agreed to be on my committee and wished me luck.

Have an agenda? I felt that was unobjective! I wanted to be true to the methodology I had learned in graduate school, though I admitted to myself that I was impatient and wanted results faster than they came. I was convinced, however, through my accomplishments in various data analysis classes, that I had the ability to succeed inductively and produce worthy research analyses. Thus, I continued my routine of volunteering at the senior center, conducting occasional formal interviews, and focusing more on immigration, which was clearly what most has affected the seniors.

I buried myself in the immigration literature, which seemed to be of limited use since most of that literature concerns young migrants who move in search of work. This was also heartening, since the lack of research on elderly immigrants meant that whatever I finally focused on

would be a contribution to the large body of academic knowledge on immigration. The more time I spent in the senior center, however, the less motivated I became in writing about these people who came from Central America. There was a missing spark. The majority of the people in the senior center were from middle class backgrounds in Central America, though their current status was much more humble. There was no outrage and little injustice to uncover. Where was the "big news" that Robert Park (1950) said sociologists were particularly able to provide? I considered accompanying the home delivered meal drivers to also meet immigrants who were less fortunate than those enjoying the senior center. I also considered developing a comparison group for those seniors who had immigrated. Since the most important issue was immigration, the logical group would be those who did not migrate and remained in Central America. Continually comparing groups or situations where only a few central variables differ can make the effect of that variable visible (Glaser and Strauss [1967] call this the constant comparative method).

I brought up the subject with my companera, my "significant other". She was dead set against my going to Central America. The portrait painted in the U.S. media at that time was one of war, disappearances, and revolution. Conversations with the seniors and careful readings of dominant and alternative media led me to believe that I would be safe in Nicaragua. The war there was in the mountains, not in the towns or the capital. I argued that the Nicaraguans would be the last people to endanger me since the government would not want a pretext for a U.S. invasion to "protect" its citizens, while the contras would not want to estrange their principal backer. Her concerns for my

safety prevailed.

My discussions with a classmate on the topic reconfirmed my convictions on going to Nicaragua. She, too, became convinced that I should go in order to gain a first hand understanding of the culture and conditions of the land the migrants were leaving. My compañera withdrew her objections, and I was reinvigorated with the prospect of spending a month in Nicaragua. I arranged to stay with the sister of a woman I knew at the senior center, wrote to some government officials asking for interviews, and devised a set of general questions to guide me in speaking with older people in Nicaragua who themselves did not migrate but who had family members who had migrated.

My research in Nicaragua was both scary and exciting. It was my first experience at being in a country where I had to survive exclusively in Spanish. While one reason for the trip was to improve my Spanish by living with it, I was still embarrassed by my mistakes and hesitant for fear that I would not know what to say in new situations. I was impressed with the warmth and friendliness of all the people I met. To ensure that I would meet a diverse range of people, I offered to carry letters and packages with me for friends and family of elders at the San Francisco senior center. That offer provided me with a week of work acting as a postman, but also helped me learn about the geography and people of Managua. During my stay I spoke with and interviewed a number of older people, and gained access to officials in the social security institute as a result of my letter requesting an interview with the Minister. As during my first field research experience at the community health center I was amazed at what I learned simply by keeping my eyes and ears open. Every day I sat at a

typewriter and recorded notes of my encounters and conversations. I returned to the U.S. with a great deal of written and tape recorded data, and my senses filled with experiences from a different culture.

I dug further into the immigration literature to make sense of what I was learning. My interactions with the elders at the senior center still failed to spark me, however. After seeing first-hand a society trying to institutionalize a revolution in the social as well as the political order, analyzing the processes by which individuals' migrate seemed less of less importance. Compounding this was my tendency to slide into analyses about the motivations of those who migrated since this was a dominant theme in discussions among the elders. I did not want to deal with individual motivations, however, since my interests were in social (versus individual) processes and conditions. If could have tried to change the direction of my data collection, but I decided that I would finish the dissertation as it was heading and later move on to something more exciting.

That spring a course in formulating research questions was offered by Bob Alford, a visiting professor from U.C. Santa Cruz. Since I already "knew" what I was doing, I assumed that the class would not be of use to me. My advisor encouraged me to take it, so I did, thinking that it would be interesting but not really helpful. The class was designed to have us conceptualize a general theoretical question that framed our research, as well as the substantive questions that we could collect empirical data to answer. The question I had generated from my data was "What are the personal, family, and social conditions involved in the process of immigration of older people from Central America to the United States?" and "What is the <u>process</u> of immigration?" Not very

provocative questions, either theoretically or substantively, but that was what I found addressed most commonly in my data. The class, I thought, might help me rephrase these better.

The second week of class I went to talk with the professor about how I was trying to rewrite my questions to fit his distinction between theoretical and substantive questions. In our discussion he commented, "Steve, you don't sound very excited when you talk about your research." Was this a therapy session or a sociological dialogue? I replied that I was not, but that I thought that I had gone too far to turn back, so I had resigned myself to the topic until I finished. Alford probed to find out how much of my data analysis I had written up, which was little. He encouraged me to "bracket" my subject for a while, and write about what <u>really</u> interested me in sociology, the issues and concepts that made me want to be a sociologist. In doing so, I returned to my interest in stratification, inequality, and injustice - all issues notably absent in my analysis of elderly migration. Next, Alford encouraged me to look beyond individuals to organizations and communities, using the interviews and data I already had to inform me about how immigration was influenced at a more structural level.

I read and reviewed a new book by Portes and Walton (1985), <u>Latin Journey</u>, that raised those issues about the structural shaping of immigration, settlement, and community (see Wallace 1986b). From this review I began to generate new questions and new interest in the topic of Central American immigration, but this time with a focus on community formation and stratification. More reading and thinking about immigration and community, and how they were expressed in San Francisco, got me off and running again. I began interviewing leaders of community

organizations, at first just trying to get a sense of exactly what the structure of the Central American immigrant communities were. I realized that after spending over a year with the elders in one senior center, I had little idea of what the larger community was! Most individuals' social worlds are limited, and they give little insight into the articulation of their realms of experience into a community. By seeking out persons who were active in different aspects of the community, however, I began to understand exactly what the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan communities were.

My thesis advisor was happy to see my renewed interest, but raised a subject that I had lost: "where are the elderly?" My dissertation had been on the elderly, and I had a commitment to research the elderly, but they had slipped out of the picture. I quickly drew up a memo on how the elderly could be analyzed as being central to the economy of a community, but was forced in class to realize that this was different from my earlier questions about immigrant community formation and stratification. Despair reigned for a few weeks as I felt that I was once again back at square one, trying to decide exactly **what** my dissertation was about. I wrote furiously, drawing from the gerontological literature, the immigration literature, and my data, trying to find a link between community formation, the elderly, and stratification. I went up a lot of blind alleys, but the process of writing memos for myself allowed me to play with different threads that might tie my interests together.

Finally I realized that the reason gerontology, immigration, and stratification would not fit together was that studies of the elderly consider old people as economically marginal, while immigration and

stratification studies are concerned primarily with the economically "productive". If I could not mix the topics because of the rules of the game, I would have to change the rules. The first rule that I changed was that the elderly had to be considered economically marginal. Drawing on my studies of feminist theory, I knew that waged labor was not the only connection between the economy and society. Thus, I looked for evidence that the elderly were connected to the economy and society in ways that influenced immigration and stratification. This led me to look at the community again, and more closely. After digesting more of the literature on community I reconceptualized my research, linking the elderly, community, immigration, and stratification. All my interests were now unified in the challenge of showing gerontologists a new way of analyzing the elderly, uncovering bases of stratification in the community, and explaining the consequences of immigration for communities.

Alford had told me earlier that I would probably be able to use my earlier interviews for any new direction I developed, and he was right. In returning to interviews I had conducted over a year before I found lots of information on how the elderly were involved in the community and how the elderly were linked to the economy. This evidence was not usually the point of their conversation, but the information was there as illustrations of other points they were making or within other stories. I ended up being neither purely inductive nor deductive. I went back to my data with a specific set of questions in mind about how the elderly were involved in the community and economy. I remained open minded, however, and as I recoded interviews I added categories that I had not though of earlier and modified deduced categories to fit the

data. The interviews and observations provided "grounded" data to test, add to, and modify the concepts I returned to the data with. In moving back and forth between the framework I was interested in and the data I had I was able to modify my thoughts and concepts. Without the framework, however, I would have continued to "muddle around" in the data without a clear sense of where to go.

Others, I realized, do the same thing when they approach data in an allegedly wholly inductive way. Those interested in the area of work and occupations approach a hospital ward looking for how patients, staff, and others do "work" (e.g. Strauss, et al. 1985). A patient may be more interested in pain, the family in medical mistakes, and the staff in managing compliance. A researcher will always have a theoretical or substantive interest, however hidden, which may not coincide with the concern of those under study. Without being up front about the sensitizing focus, however, the researcher is likely to get lost in the competing concerns of those under study.

On the other hand, those approaching a study with a questionnaire may be able to get the research done quickly and efficiently, but will be unable to reconceptualize the topic of study as the data collected calls for it.

Field Notes

I collected my data through informal conversations, formal interviews, and reviews of printed matter. For the informal conversations I recorded the data in a variety of ways. I repeated what I had done in earlier field observations, taking a small pocket-sized notebook with me an inconspicuously jotting down notes through the day (especially when I went to the bathroom). At the end of the day, or

sometimes the next day, I would sit down with the notebook and recount as much as I could about the events, conversations, and circumstances of the day. This tended to be a long and sometimes tedious process, and I often found myself "editing" as I wrote by only recording events or conversations that seemed different from what I had already seen or seemed interesting for some reason. At times I figured I would remember well enough of the daily routine, which did develop into a routine after a while. As I became less interested in the dissertation topic I also took less time to record fieldnotes (see Schatzman & Strauss 1973, Lofland & Lofland 1984).

Remembering back I do not regret having "lost" potential fieldnotes from many routine days. I do know, however, that my memory is quite incomplete and people have occasionally reminded me of things that they told me that I had forgotten. While that data was not available as primary data, the experiences still provided me with background knowledge that was valuable in developing my analysis.

Interviews were easier. I had a set list of open-ended questions that I asked a person. I did not necessarily follow the order of the questions if the conversation seemed to naturally flow to other topics first, and I followed up on comments that seemed useful. When conducting interviews with organizational representatives I customized my questions to apply to the organization. I recorded these interviews on tape when possible and transcribed them (I typed the English tapes, native Spanish speakers typed most of the Spanish interviews). Since I approached the interviews as general life stories I met with little resistance from people when I asked for an interview. Some people asked me if I would like to interview them.

The advantage of typing my own fieldnotes and many interviews was that it put me into close contact with the materials. Listening to the person speak, or remembering standing and talking with a person made me pay more attention to the data than reading over someone else's transcription. While typing the notes I am also at a typewriter, so when I notice a new analytic category, a connection, or a dilemma, I was able to stop writing the field note and write a brief memo about what I saw in the data. I found that even if I jotted down a few key words and waited until later to write the memo, the richness of what I had thought was gone and I produced a much less interesting memo (see Glaser [1978] and the classic piece by Mills [1959] on the importance of memos.)

Memos and Writing

One of the key steps in the writing and thinking of this work was memoing (this process is also detailed by Strauss 1987, Glaser 1978, and Mills 1959. This involves writing 1-10 page essays on specific topics, problems with the dissertation, or interviews. One of the important qualities of a memo is that it is written to yourself. Especially in the beginning it is hard to write to for specific chapters, and it is often intimidating to write literature reviews or analytical pieces for a faculty member. Writing memos to myself reduced the pressure to produce perfect (or even meaningful) pieces, since if a memo went nowhere it could be filed and forgotten. When writing a memo I am not concerned particularly about its relevance to the larger picture, since worrying about "how it fits" distracts from getting all of my ideas down on paper. It is when I rewrite a memo that I worry about how it fits with the other pieces that I have written, if it fits at all.

Memo writing is particularly useful when developing theoretical approaches or devising an analytical model. When developing my framework around the elderly as important in the economic system, I wrote a memo about the literature on aging and how it overlooked the contribution of the elderly to the economy. I also knew that since I was interested in community I had to review the community literature, so I wrote several memos summarizing different parts of that literature. It was not until several months after I rewrote these memos that I realized that they were in fact the bases for chapters in my dissertation. I knew when writing and revising them that they contained information that was essential to the conceptualization of my project, but it was not until I sat down and outlined chapters that I realized they formed large portions of chapters.

I approached the analytical chapters similarly. When it struck me that several middle-class immigrants I knew were profoundly bored (due to the absence of valued activities they could participate in here) I sat down and wrote a memo on immigrants and boredom. While writing I developed more ideas about immigrant identity and some of the structural barriers to retaining valued identities in the new community. While this memo never worked into a part of a chapter, working through the ideas on paper made me more sensitive to the issues around identity and how structural conditions bound identity. Thus, even if a memo was not useful itself in a chapter, it could help spark ideas that were useful.

Another advantage of memos is that by being of "do-able" size it is possible to write them frequently. I found that when I had not sat at the word processor keyboard for over a month at one point (not even to type a letter), I feared trying to write anything. Since I had not

written for a long time, what could I write? I had no ideas, no special project. I had interviews, but the keyboard looked uninviting. At this point, my companera noticed that I was avoiding the word processor. She gave me an assignment: write a page a day. It did not matter if it was a page of free-form writing, but I had to get into the habit of sitting and writing without needing a big emotional buildup. I could have easily avoided the computer for another month had she not provided the assignment.

In a short time I was writing three to five page memos every day that helped me conceptualize the analytic framework of my dissertation. I never sat down to write a five page memo on "definitions of community," but when I started writing about what I had been thinking, reading, or interviewing about that day the topics seemed natural. At points I thought about areas that I needed to write about, so that when I sat down to write I was more directed on specific topics. The major point, however, was that it got me into a routine of writing. In a discipline where "productivity" is measured by the written page, feeling comfortable writing is essential (see Becker [1985] for an excellent discussion of the conditions that create a fear of writing).

I found that my personal style was to take a topic and write about it without an outline. I do not believe that I think linearly, as an outline requires one to be. More unstructured writing allowed me freedom to try out new ideas while writing, to be open to an inspiration, and to feel less constrained to keep writing when I am worn out. Once memos were written, I frequently went back to them and outlined what I had written, finding out what my most important points and ideas were, and then reorganizing the memo in a more logical manner.

In writing little pieces on a daily (more or less) basis my work was broken down into little tasks. This was the approach taken in Alford's class on formulating research questions. Five pages here, three pages there, and by the end of the week I had written 20-30 pages. By the end of the month there was a tidy stack of memos and rewrites. If I had approached writing this same amount by thinking, "I have to write 100 pages about the elderly and their role in the community over the next 30 days" I would have frozen. Who would have thought that there was that much to say at first? Memos, however, have a way of building up over time, of connecting to each other, and of creating chapters. This approach is what Glaser (1978) advocates in a more formalized manner, i.e. writing a memo on each concept as you develop it from the data. Writing a memo on "Frustration with Spanish Comprehension" may not be conceptually useful, but it helped reduce some tension which made the rest of the work a bit easier!

Working with Others

While working on my dissertation I belonged to several different groups whose purpose was to help people working on their dissertations. I found that each group had its own special strengths, but that none provided support in all areas of my dissertation work. Groups I worked with helped at different times with writing, analysis, conceptualization, and "getting done".

Probably the trickiest problem to get help with was analysis. Each person has their own interests and style. I was never comfortable with a group in doing the analysis of my own data. I have worked in the past very effectively in analyzing data for group projects or in classes, but I was not able to find an appropriate group that could take pages of

field notes or interviews and provide categories or linkages to my framework that I found useful.

Perhaps the easiest group to form is a writing group. Since a sophisticated analysis is useless if it is not communicated effectively, I think a writing group is essential. People in the writing groups did not always have the same interests as I did, but they were able to tell me when ideas were incompletely developed, sections awkward, or connections missing. Sometimes I already knew what needed to be said, I was just too close to the material to see the gaps, but other times I would scratch my head and wonder how to solve the problems. I found writing groups an unqualified help. The only caveat is that writing can always be improved, so I occasionally found myself telling other members that improvements could be made in their piece, but further changes should be the last priority because it was basically sound.

The other writing "group" useful to me was Trudy, my significant other. Her education is in classical Greek and Latin and she worked as a technical writer. Her sharp mind and lack of training in sociology provided her with the perfect skills for critiquing my writing. She told me for years that if I could not explain my argument in English (rather than obtuse terms) that I did not know myself what I was trying to say (Becker [1985] makes the same assertion). As a nonsociologist, Trudy was also able to read my writing and comment on the logic of the argument without being influenced by a predisposition to accept or reject my line of reasoning. In the final draft of the dissertation she provided a close edit that helped make the writing flow better.

Meeting with a friend to work on his dissertation served to also help me keep moving forward. I met with this classmate irregularly, but

often every week or two for periods of time, and read materials he was preparing for his dissertation. In seeing his problems with moving forward I made suggestions, many of which others had made to me, e.g. "make a chapter outline". It was not until I saw the needs and problems of my classmate, however, that I was able to apply the suggestions to myself! I frequently thought as I returned home, "Gee, I should be doing that too." This is one advantage of working with someone at approximately the same stage in their dissertation since you can always see blocks and courses of action better for others than yourself.

A specialized group that I am particularly grateful for was the problem development class. This class of nine people met weekly to work on developing theoretical and empirical questions. The chemistry of the instructor and class members made the class exhausting as I worked through questions of what drew me to sociology, how I could address those questions in an empirical study, and how to frame my research rigorously. Because of the chemistry, the class continued on an irregular basis for a couple of additional meetings after the quarter. Losing the strong central focus on problem formulation, however, made it too unstructured and it became nonproductive. The group was later reconstituted to read and discuss Alford and Friedland's (1985) book, Powers of Theory. Because the book deals with sociological theory and its application to research, the group once again became a productive center for thinking through issues in my research. The close and critical reading of this book that the group provided has influenced the way that I approach the concept of "levels of analysis" in my study of the Nicaraguan immigrant community.

Inductive or Deductive? Both.

As noted in the beginning of this chapter, one of the strengths of grounded theory is that the categories of analysis are allowed to be found in the data and built upon from further data, rather than forced into preconceived boxes which may not be the best interpretation of a set of data. In grounded theory analysis the researcher is supposed to sit with multiple interviews, biographies, or other data and exhaustively code each page of data until patterns begin to emerge. Once patterns emerge, indicating basic processes, conditions, and interrelationships, the researcher can concentrate more selectively in searching for data that demonstrate variation or otherwise revise the emerging analysis (Glaser 1978).

In the standard deductive research the sociologist takes some body of theory, makes a set of hypotheses based on that theory, and develops a series of indicators which he or she can test to prove or disprove the hypotheses. In developing the indicators to use the researcher usually depends on reviews of past research to learn what has and has not been successful, and perhaps uses some creativity and insight to add some new indicators to the test.

In my analysis of the elderly in the Central American communities and economy I used both approaches. I have already discussed at length how I moved both inductively and deductively to determine my research question. The process continued as I began the analysis and the writing of the thesis. Most methods texts now recommend this approach (see Babbie 1986).

Most of the memos I wrote I would classify as inductive analysis. I usually write them shortly after interviews or reviewing data when I

begin to see some patterns emerging or questions arising in my mind about why something is happening. I have found that the process of writing is itself creative and that explanations emerge and patterns become visible more frequently when writing than when only sitting with data and thinking (Glaser 1978, Mills 1959).

On the other hand, I have an inquisitive mind that finds most social phenomena interesting. As a result, even with a firm research question, I could write hundreds of pages of memos related to the research question that fail to create the logical argument needed for a dissertation. As a result, after writing several extended theoretical memos (later to become parts of theory chapters) and after having collected substantial data, I sat down and created a draft outline of what I thought my dissertation might look like. I started with just chapter headings, making sure that there was some logic in the progression of chapters. Then I filled in topics that seemed important to me under each chapter heading, with as little or as much detail as possible.

This can be seen as either inductive or deductive. When I drew up the first outline I had lots of data in my head, but I did not generate the outline solely by looking at how memos I had written interrelated with each other. Many of the chapter headings were generated on what I knew from my theory readings, and by knowing what points I had to make to advance the argument implied in my research question. I might have been able to generate a similar general outline before having collected any data.

The major inductive thrust came when I sat down with my data again and began to go through page by page and see where I had data that

addressed the issues in each chapter. In this case I went through and noted on the outline the number of the interview and number of the page that contained data pertinent to each chapter. In this process I found that I uncovered additional categories that I had not thought of in the more deductive phase, and I found new arguments contained in the words of my respondents on many of the points I initially raised. This process was somewhat like grounded theory coding because as I continually added categories and indicators of issues I found that I could collapse many of them under more abstract categories. At the same time, the deductive knowledge that I had made me search for variation that might not have been apparent. This is especially true around issues of class and gender (since age was a central comparative category in my interviewing, that dimension was more readily apparent). Because some of these dimensions had to be sought out (rather than let "emerge") does not make them less valid. The subtlety of some of the variations are due to social form and convention that helps social life move more smoothly. The issues are not less important.

This process of making chapter outlines was recommended both by students and faculty. I can only reiterate that the outlines should be used playfully and not as the final word. My outline changed continually but simply having it helped keep me from going on wild but interesting side trips. If it was a particularly interesting side trip I would make a very short memo on the topic and file it away so that I have a store of exciting research and/or teaching ideas if I ever need them (again, see Mills 1959).

At the same time, even after going through many interviews there was little information pertinent to some issues that I had deduced. I

then had to decide whether to return and gather more data or to drop that line of analysis. In the case of organizations, my initial sample of elders at a senior center had few other organizational attachments or knowledge. Part of the problem was the way that I asked about organizations - few seniors considered a church as an organization. They were thinking about places like the senior center, the Lions club, or a political party. Rather than getting second hand information about organizations from these seniors I decided to interview organization members and officials to learn more about the institutional structure of the Nicaraguan community. Inductively, I would not have come to consider organizations an important aspect of the lives of the elderly and the community from my interviews with the senior center members.

Organizing the chapters was also a mixture of inductive and deductive processes. Part of the structure was determined by the formalities of dissertation writing. I knew that I had to present the required literature reviews first. The focus of the dissertation, however, required a mastery of several literatures. The dissertation centered around the elderly, so there was a review of the aging literature. But the study also focused on the elderly in an immigrant community - so the work on community and immigration were key areas. The division of the literature review into two chapters was no problem, but after working on the literature reviews I realized that I also needed to write a theory chapter to discuss the conceptual framework that I was developing. My theoretical framework was based on deductive reasoning as I tried to conceptualize how it was possible to theoretically bring the elderly into a social analysis that did not marginalize of victimize them. Based on my reading of the theoretical

underpinnings of the literature on aging, community, and immigration I felt that the potentially best way to integrate the three was by using the conceptual distinction between use and exchange value. This was a distinction used in feminist theory in the analysis of women as important members of society, and there were hints of this analysis in the community literature. I had drawn the parallel between the analysis of women and the aged early in my study, but it was not until I had finished most of my data collection that the use-exchange value concepts could be of use.

Having identified a set of concepts, I returned to the data to see if the concepts were really useful. Because I had already collected most of my data, I knew that the concepts would probably work, having evaluated them against data I remembered. Looking through my data more systematically it seemed like the elderly were mostly involved in activities organized around their use value. Activities that reinforced culture, family ties, supported organizations, and integrated the community into the larger society and economy did not appear usually to be done for a secondary gain, but rather for the sake of the activity itself. Organizations and the dominant society, however, seemed to be organized more around exchange, providing services and support because of they would benefit in return. I reorganized this distinction between the use value creation of the Nicaraguan elderly versus the exchange orientation of organizations in outline form and showed it to several people. The response I received was that the distinction seemed interesting but too rigid. This is a potential problem with deductive reasoning; it is tempting to fall into the trap of making polar distinctions that are analytically useful that do not fully explain

reality. My advisors suggested, based on deductive reasoning (e.g., see Alford & Friedland 1985), that I also look at how the elderly are involved in exchange value and how organizations are also involved in use value, paying attention to contradictions between them.

Yes, I had data on both the use and exchange value creation of all parties involved. I made a tactical decision to organize chapters around the major concepts of use value, exchange value, and contradictions. The more I wrote and analyzed, however, the more I realized that the primary activity of the Nicaraguan elderly was their creation of use value, even though they were also involved in exchange value. Giving equal emphasis to the creation of use and exchange in separate chapters no longer made sense, so I reorganized the chapters around the different levels of analysis of community that I was using. This made more analytical sense because I started with the most micro, the symbolic aspect of community, and built my way up through the interactional and institutional to the macro level of the structural aspects of community. This also allowed me to show the connections between the use values that the Nicaraguan elders created and the exchange values that are important in the community. Thus, I began the chapter organization with a scheme I developed deductively, but when the data failed to support this organization I worked inductively from the data to decide how to best structure the chapters. I did not discard my deductive categories, but modified their use. As a result, I began by building my analysis inductively from the data, then applied deductively generated categories, modified the categories based on the data, reapplied those categories, further refined them, and ultimately obtained the best analysis through continually working back and forth

between inductively and deductively generated schemes.

Statistical Data and Respondents

My primary source of statistical data has been the 1980 U.S. Census. Because Nicaraguan immigrants are not a large enough group statewide, there are no printed census tabluations that break out Nicaraguans per se. Since I knew nothing about the aggregate characteristics of Nicaraguan immigrants, I decided that I would have to tabulate the data on my own. This turned out to be a time consuming operation since I had to learn computer data processing from scratch. I was fortunate that a research assistant in the sociology department at U.C. Berkeley was working with census tapes and generously gave me copies of all the information and programs she had gathered concerning processing census tapes. It was also fortunate that the computer consultants at UCSF were patient in helping me figure out how to use the SAS program to manipulate the data in useful ways. In the process of learning how the use SAS and the computer system I spent more instruction and research computer funds than most other student users.

The census data I used was the Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS). These tapes contain a 5% stratified sample of all census forms filled out in California in 1980, generating data on about 1.18 million persons. While some data fields had been recoded to preserve anonymity of the respondents, I was able to gain information on a variety of social and economic variables on Nicaraguans and other Central American immigrants.

From the California PUMS records I abstracted all individuals who listed a Central American birthplace or ancestry (n=11,236) and all those born in Mexico (n=64,195). Of the Central Americans, 2635 lived

in the six San Francisco Bay Area counties of San Francisco, Marin, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Alameda, and Contra Costa. While these statistics were used primarily for descriptive purposes, I also ran a few tests of association. The primary drawback of this data is the undercount of the Census and its timing. Castells (1983) estimated that the 1980 Census had a 20% undercount of Latinos in San Francisco. Comparisons of reports from Nicaraguan community leaders would indicate a possible undercount of up to 50% for Nicaraguans. This would have occurred for various reasons. First, the 1979 revolution in Nicaragua led to an influx of refugees who were associated with the old dictatorship. Many of them entered the U.S. on tourist visas and, though intending to stay permanently, would not have reported these intentions to government census takers. Second, several people I interviewed mentioned Nicaraguan's distrust of the government and the likelihood that a household with four or five people would report only one or two. More importantly, the census occurred April 1, 1980, about nine months after the conclusion of the Nicaraguan revolution. Because this was a time of flux in the new Nicaraguan government, many professionals and others had not yet left the country in response to the eventual leftward shift of the government and the Contra war. The immigration to San Francisco between 1980 and 1985 is undoubtedly much larger than the immigration between 1975 and 1980. Population patterns present in 1980, however, are probably representative of the total Nicaraguan immigrant population.

Other data sources I use in this dissertation include Immigration and Naturalization statistics on legal immigrants to the U.S. and various statistics collected by the city of San Francisco and state of

California. I also collected data in September 1986 through a telephone survey of the churches located in the inner Mission district in San Francisco. For this survey I began with a list of all of the churches in the area in 1974 as compiled by the Mission Housing Development Corporation (Bourne & Montes 1974). By going through both the white and yellow pages of the telephone directory I determined which churches no longer existed and added the new ones. Over a period of several days I attempted to contact every church on the list. The smallest churches were the most difficult to contact and least cooperative in providing information on the services they provide in Spanish and the characteristics of their worshipers.

The most significant data I collected was from participant observation and interviewing persons in the Nicaraguan community. Most of my informal observations were at the 30th Street Senior Center where the majority of Latino elders were from Nicaragua and El Salvador. I obtained respondents for my informal interviews through snowball sampling and through directly contacting organizations. The following list provides details about the people who I formally interviewed in San Francisco. I have divided the interviews between Nicaraguans who are individuals in the community (Table A-1) and representatives of organizations that influence the Nicaraguan community (Table A-2). I asked the individuals more about their personal and family experiences, while I asked the organizational representatives more about community events and organizations. In addition, I have spoken informally with dozens of other Nicaraguans both in San Francisco and in Managua, Nicaragua. I wrote formal field on many of these conversations.

Table A-1

Nicaraguan Community Respondents
San Francisco, 1984-1986

ID #	gender	age	years of education	year of immigration	special notes
xx1	female	71	<12	1938	community leader
003	female	72	12	1980	
005	male	63	15	1980	
012	female	71	4	1978	
014	female	75	8	1958	
016	female	60	8	1964	
018*	male	67	15	1972	ex-Nicaraguan
018	female	mid-50's	15	1950	official
018	male	62	15	1979	
019*	male	17	12	1972	children of 018
019	female	24	16	1972	
020	male	41	14	1978	
021	male	34	14+	1977	
022	male	51	7	1960	
024	female	20's	12	unknown	
025	male	40's	unknown	1970's	
026*	male	27	13	1979	son and father
026	male	55	11	1980	
027	male	58	16	1985	community activist
028	male	38	15	1984	community activist
029	male	38	13	1968	cultural figure
030	male	36	15	1976	
031	female	55	12	1985	
032	male	60	8	1952	Catholic deacon
033	female	35	14	1979	
034	female	82	<9	1944	
035	female	70's	<9	1961	
036	male	40's	12+	1970	community activist
037	female	63	4	1957	
038	female	30's	12	1964	
039	female	30's	12	1964	business owner
114	male	55	12	1955	Catholic deacon

* Several different respondents have duplicate numbers because the numbers refer to interview tapes, and multiple interviews were recorded on a few tapes.

Table A-2

Community Organization Respondents
San Francisco

ID#	Position
101	Catholic Social Services, Emergency Services Director
102	Catholic Social Services, Immigration Project Director
103**	Catholic Social Services, Emergency Services Senior Services Coordinator
105	Catholic Social Services, Aging Services Director
118	Catholic Social Services, Immigration Project Organizer
108	Centro Pastorada, Office of Hispanic Affairs, Director
119	Lutheran Latino Ministries, Director
104	Mayor's Office of Housing & Economic Development, Deputy Director for Economic Development
107*	Mayor's Office of Housing & Economic Development, Mission District Specialist
117	San Francisco Department of City Planning, Mission Planner
109	Mission Housing Development Corporation, Executive Director
112	Centro Latino (Senior Center), Director
122**	30th Street Senior Center, Volunteer Coordinator
113**	Mission Community Centers, Director
121**	24th Street Community Center, Director
123**	Instituto Familiar de la Raza (community mental health center)
115**	Mission Newcomer School, teacher
116	Mission Newcomer School, Assistant Director
106**	Father Moriarty Refugee Program, Co-Director
120	Immigration and Naturalization Service, San Francisco Regional Deputy Director
110*	Service Employees International Union, Local 87 (Janitors), Vice President
111**	Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees, Local 2, Vice-President
150**	KIQI, radio channel 1010, General Sales Manager
151**	KDTV, television channel 14, student intern

* Respondent is Nicaraguan
** Respondent is Latino but not Nicaraguan
All other respondents are Anglo

In 1985 I also formally interviewed the following Nicaraguan Institute for Social Security and Welfare officials in Managua:

- Minister/President
- General Director, Planning
- Coordinator, Senior Programs
- Coordinator, Senior Center (Managua)
- Coordinator, Old Age Home (Managua)

I also interviewed the director of the Catholic old age home (asilo) in Managua. During that month I formally and informally interviewed numerous older people in their homes, on the streets, at the senior center, and the government old age home. I taped many of these conversations and kept notes on all of them.

Conclusion

Topics that are discussed in this appendix contribute to the discussion of issues such as the possibility of objectivity in research, the relative merits of inductive and deductive reasoning, and the best strategies for recording and analyzing field data. As sociologists we should not be surprised by my presentation of knowledge as socially produced, involving multiple actors working under historically specified structural constraints. Students of sociology, however, are often presented with idealized versions of how research and writing occurs that are not sensitive to the process of producing a dissertation. Research and the written findings of research are usually presented as the product of a single researcher or a small team. In writing this appendix I have tried to draw attention to the diversity of individuals who have contributed to the conceptualization, research, and writing of this dissertation. I hope that by also showing some my wanderings in trying to settle on a research topic I have given hope to others who are dispairing about the lack of focus of their own research.

APPENDIX B

QUESTION GUIDES

Questions For Elders: Final Community Topics

Preguntas en espanol
Pais de nacimiento:
Ciudadano de:
Anos de edad:
Sexo:
Anos de escuela:
Habilidad con ingles:

----------inmigracion----------
Cuando vino a los EE.UU. la primera vez?
Donde se establecio primero (ciudad)?
  --(si no es SF) Cuando vino a lo region de SF?
Porque escogio SF en vez de una otra ciudad como Miami o LA?
  --Como encontro los hogares donde vivia?
    (si recibio ayuda de familia o amigos) Me puede descirbir el proceso de buscar vivienda en que su familia (o amigo) le ayudo.
  --Con quien vive ahora?
  --De que nacionalidad han sido los propietarios de las viviendas que su familia ha aquilado en SF?
  --Conocia ud. a cualquiera de las otras residentes en los edificios o las vecinedades antes de su transladado?
  --Como es el proceso mas efectivo para consequir vivienda por un recien llegada en SF?
  --Conoce ud. a personas de su pais que tienen propiedad en SF? Que clase de propieded tienen (pregunta por numero de propiedades, tomano [casa, edifico con 4 apartmentos, propieded comercial de 3 pisos, etc], locacion [Mission, Daly Cityt, etc).

----------familia----------
Que familia suya vive cerce de ud aqui?
  --Que familia suya vive en otras partes del area de la bahia?
  --Con que frequencia ve a su familiares? Cuales son los ocasiones cuando les ve? Quien inicia estas reuniones? Me puede describir que sucedio en la ultima reunion familiar?
  --Como ha ayudado a otras miembras de su familia (o amigos) desde 1980? (por ejemplo: inmigracion, vivienda, transportacion, cuidado de ninos, prestamos o regalos de dinero, ofertas de consolacion en tiempos dificil, ayuda con cocinar-limpar-coser, tener fiestas familiares, etc.) Me puede dar un ejemplo de un ocasion cuando su ayudo o apoyo fue particularmente importante? Tambien, me puede dar un ejemplo de ayuda o apoyo que usted da frequentemente a su familia, por menos que sea?

Quien le ha dado a ud. el mayor apoyo en SF? En que aspecto? Me puede contar una situacion cuando ellos le dieron este apoyo?

En su familia, quien recuerda a sus hijos o otra familia las

responsibilidades a la familia? Cuando ha occurido esto? Que les hace?
(si es de otra persona) Lo hace a veces?

(Si la persona es bilingue): Que lingua habla con su hijos y nietos normalmente? Porque habla con ellos en esta idioma?

----------la patria----------
Ha visitado Nicaragua desde su emigracion?
--(si: si) Cuando fue la ultima vez que fue alla?
Porque fue en estos entonces.
Que hizo en ese viaje?
Traje cartas o regalos de familia/amigos a Nicaragua? Que, de quien?
--(si: no) Porque?
Han visitado Nicaragua desde 1980 otros miembros de su familia que viven aca?

Todavia tiene familia en Nicaragua? Quien?
--Quien en su familia aca tiene el mayor contacto con la familia en Nicaragua?
--Porque el/ella/ud. lo tiene?
--Llama ud. o escrita hasta Nicaragua a menudo?
--De que les dice ud. de la vida aqui en California?
--Que le dicen a ud. ellos de la vida ahora en Nicaragua?
--En que otra manera obtiene noticias de su faimilia, amigos, y pais?

Ha pensado alguna vez regresar a su pais? Cuando?
Que le paro ud?

Ha ayudado a otras personas a emigrar de Nicaragua hacia aca desde 1980?
--Quien? Me puede describir sus aciones en ayudar una de esas personas?
Ha ayudado a otra familia o amigos a establecerse en esta area? Como?
--Quien en su familia han sido el mas por las recien llegadas? En su opinion, porque han sido el (ella) el mas?

----------cultura----------
Celebra ud. las fiestas nacionales de Nicaragua aca? (por ejemplo: el dia de independencia, los dias de los santos, la segunda indepencencia).
--Quien organiza estas fiestas? Como se sabe donde ocurrira la celebracion?
--Porque va a estas fiestas? (Que hace durante esas fiestas?)
--Con quien celebra?

Que otras fiestas le gustan mas? (e.g. navidad, pasqua, dia del gracias, otras fiestas como el 5 de Mayo, etc.)
--Con quien celebra estas fiestas?
--Porque se gusta estas celebraciones?

Conoce algunos lugares, (como clubes, tiendas, centros sociales, o iglesias), que son popular particularmente con los Nicaraguenses. Sabe porque estes lugares son tanto popular?

----------La comunidad aca----------
Se encountra a menudo en calles o en las tiendas con personas que ya conocia en Nicaragua? Me puede dar ejemplos?

Piensa ud. que existe una comunidad Nicaraguense aqui en la area de la bahia?
(si: si) En que formas piensa que existe una comunidad?
--Que es el extenso geografico de la colonia? (incluye San Mateo? Oakland? San Jose? Marin? Otras ciudades?)
--En su opinion, quienes son la personas mas importantes en la colonia?
--En que forma es la iglesia importante por la comunidad?
--En que aspectos son personas mayores importantes en la existencia de la colonia? En que aspectos son los jovenes?
--Es la comunidad mas importante por los viejos o los jovenes? Porque?
--Como es diferente las posicion de los porbres de la media clase en la vida de la comunidad?
--Como son diferentes las colonias Nicaraguense, Salvadorena, y Mexicana en SF.
(si: no) Porque no piensa que se ha formado una comunidad?
--Piensa que hay comunidades Salvadorena o Mexicana en SF?

En su totalidad, como piensa los Nicaraguenses aca que son tratados por la comunidad de habla ingles?

Adonde va cuando necesita atencion medica?
--Como supo la primera vez acerca de ese doctor o hospital?
--Ha visitado alguna vez a doctores o dentistas Nicaraguenses? (si no va a ellos ahora) Porque dejo de visitarlos? Piensa que las Nicaraguenses reciben mejor servicio de medicos Nicaraguense? Porque?
--Tiene ud. seguro medical, Medi-Cal, u otra forma de pagar su atencion medica?
--Quien en su familia sabe mas como tratar enfermidades? Como le ayuda ella/el la ultima vez que ud. tuvo un enfermidad?

Ha buscado consejo legal alguna vez? (por inmigracion, herencia, divorcio, etc)
--Como selecciono a esa persona? Como le dieron ayuda?
--Conoce a abagados Nicaraguenses? Ofrecen mejor servicio a los Nicaraguenses que otros abogados? Porque?

----------trabajo y economia----------
En que trabajaba antes de venir a los EE.UU.?
Ha trabajado desde 1980?
--(si: si) Donde? Fue dificil encontrar trabajo? Como encontraron trabajo usted y otas Nicaraguenses que conoce?
--(si: no) Como se ha mantenido desde 1980?
Que otras fuentes de ingreso tiene? (pensiones, ayuda del gobierno, inversiones, ayuda familiar)

Hay trabajo o empleados que conoce donde la mayoria de los empleados son

Nicaraguenses o Salvadorenos? En su opinion, porque estan concentradas estas personas en eses empleos?

Cuales son sus mayores gastos?
--Aproximadamente, cuanto paga por vivienda?
--Ha tenido un voz (o ha hecho) en algunos gastos mayores en su familia desde 1980 (como televisores, refrig, boletos aereos, auto, etc.)
--Donde los compro? (Mission, Macys, etc) Porque escogio esas tiendas?
--Conoce a personas que trabajan o son duenas de tiendas o resturantes?
(si: si) Que tipos de tiendas, donde, y en que posiciones?

Cual es la parte mas dificil para los Nicaraguenses que envejecen en EE.UU.?

Como son diferentes las condiciones en EE.UU. para los mayores que en Nicaragua? En cuales aspectos?

Questions for Family Members: Final Community Topics

Country of Birth:
Citizenship:
Age:
Years of school:
English ability: (eg. Fluent, very good, able to get by, poor or none)
Current occupation:

------For immigrants-----
What did you do in Nicaragua before you came to the U.S.?
When did you first come to the U.S.?
Where did you settle first?
(if not San Francisco area) When did you come to the San Francisco area?
How did (elder relative) help you move here?

In what ways did you help your (elder relative) come to the U.S.?
--Did you encourage him/her to move here? How? Why?

In what ways has (your elder relative) helped others immigrate and settle here?

How does (elder relative) help out the family?
--Who usually helps out most during pregnancy, childbirth, and during the first few years of new child in the family? Why do you think this person helps out the most?
--In what ways does (elder relative) make life easier or more enjoyable?
--Who would do what (elder relative) does if (s)he wasn't available?

In what ways do you help (elder relative) out? (eg. taking to Dr, helping find a place to live, giving money/food/etc).

Does (elder) have a say or other influence in family purchases? Can you give me an example of when s/he had a major influence in a family purchase?
--Do you ever buy things for (elder) or for your family with him (her) in mind (eg. food, presents, type of car, etc)? Explain.

What activities are you involved in with your elder relative? (eg. church, Sunday dinners, trips, etc.)
--Do you do things at these occasions especially for the elder relative?
--Are there any events where (elder relative) is the most important person at the event? Can you describe to me the last time this occurred?
--When do you <u>not</u> want (elder) to be around? How do you keep them away from <u>those</u> events? How do they react to that?

How do you think that (elder relative) has influenced your children?
[if not already mentionned, also ask:]

--Do your children normally speak Spanish with (elder)?
--What language do you speak with (older relative)? What language do your kids normally speak at home?
--Does (elder) tell your children about Nicaragua? What does (s)he tell them?
--Does (elder) try to tell you or your children the proper way to behave? How do they show their approval or disapproval of the actions of family members?
--Does (your elder relative) pressure people in your family to marry certain types of people [eg. Nicaraguans or U.S. Natives]? Who do they prefer and how do they exert pressure.
(if they don't pressure) Do they have preferences? How do they let their preferences be known?

Does (elder relative) ever tell you or other family members that you are not fulfilling family responsibilities or not doing other things right?
--In what areas do they usually make suggestions?
--What do you usually do in response?

Who is most knowledgeable about the lives of all of your family?
--Who do you talk to who knows the most (news, gossip) about what's going on in the Nicaraguan community?
--Are older people more likely to spread family or community news (gossip) more than younger people? Why do think so (or not)?

Do you think that there is a Nicaraguan community in the Bay Area?
(if: yes)
--What makes it a community in your opinion?
--In what ways are YOU a member of the Nicaraguan (Salvadorian) community?
--What does (your elder relative) do that helps makes you feel Nicaraguan?
--Is the position of the poor different from that of the middle class in the community? How?
--How are the elderly important in the community? Do you know of any places where elder people work as volunteers? (Specify places)
*Do you know any older people who are especially helpful to the ill? What do they do?
*Do you know any older people who are especially helpful in finding work or housing? What do they do?
*Do you know any older people who are especially active in community organizations (such as organizing national fiestas) or in the church? What do they do?
--Is the community more important in your life or the life of your (elder relative)? Why?
--How would the community change if all the older people left?
How would your life (or of your family) be different if (elder relative) had stayed in Nicaragua?
How is life different here for older people like your (older relative) than in Nicaragua?
What problems does your (elder relative) have in their lives that you think will not be problems for you when you grow old. Why don't you think you'll have them?

Questions for Elders: Original Life History Topics

Interview Questions

1) Background
-What country are you from? From what part?
-What is your: age, marital status, year of immigration?
-What type of housing do you live in? (apt, house, room, etc.)
-Do you live with anyone else (besides spouse)? Who?

2) Key Events
- Tell me about the events and times most important to you in your life.

3) Culture:
- How would you compare Latinos with Anglos in the U.S.?
- Do you think that the life of an older Latino person is different than the life of an older Anglo person? How?
- Have you ever experienced discrimination? Would you tell me about those situations? What image do you think Anglos have of Latinos?
- What are your favorite: resturants, stores, church, social activity, family event?
- Who are the best known people in the community? Why are they well known?

4) Family
- Tell me about your family, when you were growing up & your own.
- When did you marry/why (or why not)? Did your wife (husband) work? Why/ where?
- How do newcomers to the community meet someone to marry?
- How many kids do you have? What do they do now? Where do they live? What about your children gives you the most pride?
- Do your children help you out at all? If yes, what do they help you with and when do they do so? Do you think children should help their parents? Why?
- What responsibility did you have/ do you have for helping your parents and/or other relatives? Did anyone else (also) help out your parents? How?

4) Work
- How have you made a living during your life?
- How did you end up doing that? Did you ever want to do something else?
- How did you get your first job in the U.S.?
- Were you able to save much when you worked? What kind of retirement did you earn? What other kinds of savings, investments, or other types security were you counting on for after retirement?
- When did you (do you) plan to retire? Why did (will) you? Has your life changed much since you retired, how? What is the best thing about being retired? What is the worst?
- About how much is your income now? Where does you income come from? (social security/work/SSI/MediCal/FS/family/other)

5) Health
- How would you describe your health now?
- Is your health different than when you were younger, how?
- What do you do to keep healthy?
- Have you even been seriously ill? Tell me what happened.
- How did you find a doctor (hospital) when you first came to San Francisco?

Age

- How is your life different now than it was 20 years ago? What caused those changes?
- As a person who has experienced a lot in life, what advice would you give to a (Latino) youngster who is just getting started in life?

Organizational Questions

1) Purpose of Organization

- What are the goals of your organization?
- Can you give me a short history of the organization?
- What services do you provide? What do you offer especially to new immigrants? Have your members/clients changed over the past 5-10 years?
- How many people belong to the organization or are served by it? What is the rough nationality breakdown of your members/clients?

2) Finance & Structure

- Where do you get your operating funds? What kinds of funding changes have occured in the past 5 years? What has caused them?
- What are your biggest expenses?
- How many employees are there? In what positions? What proportion speak Spanish? What nationality are they?
- Who governs the organization? What degree of autonomy does the director have?
- What contacts does your organization have with other organizations in the community? What kinds of working arrangements do you have within the community?
- How well known is your organization? How do you recruit members/clients?
- What kind of influence does your organization have in the community?
- Does your organization sponsor any special events or projects?

APPENDIX C

CHURCHES OF THE INNER MISSION
1974 and 1986*

1. Assemblies of God, Independent
(1974 & 1986)
a. Bethel Temple, 1325 Valencia. 285-1433
Founded: pre1955
Active Members: 570, regional membership
Services: 3 Sunday services; none in Spanish
Ministry: 1 Mexican minister, leads one bible study & one "care group" in Spanish; other ministers Anglo

2. Assemblies of God
(1974 & 1986)
a. Iglesia Sion, 2764 Folsom. 282-3555
(not listed in 1986)
b. Mission Bethel Church, 856 Capp
c. Iglesia Roca de Salvacion, 22nd (Bryant & York)

3. Baha'i
(new since 1974)
a. Baha'i Center, 170 Valencia. 431-9990, 621-9692

4. Baptist
(1974 & 1986)
a. St. Mark's Institutional Baptist Church, 875 Valencia. 550-9020.
b. Tabernacle of Faith, 1414 Valencia (formerly 875 Valencia). 647-3670.

c. Spanish Speaking Baptist Church, 2970 Folsom. 648-7949.
Founded: 1980
Active Members: about 80
Services: 2 Sunday, 1 Wednesday. Other group activities include men's and women's groups, Sunday school, prayer meetings, and special events such as bazaars. All in Spanish.
Ministry: 1 Mexican minister.
Congregation: 70% Central & South American, 10% Mexican, 20% other (e.g. Cuban). Largest groups are Salvadorans and Nicaraguans.

d. Primera Iglesia Bautista del Sur, 976 S. Van Ness. 647-1000.
Founded: 1950, moved to present location 1963
Active Members: 250-300, San Francisco & Penninsula
Services: 4 Sunday services, Wednesday prayer group & youth group, 90% of activities in Spanish
Ministry: 1 Mexican associate pastor, 1 Mexican and 1 Guatemalan song leaders
Congregation: Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Guatemalan

e. Emanuel Baptist Church, 23rd St. (near Alabama). 821-1650.

(new since 1974)
f. Iglesia Bautista Jehova Es mi Pastor, 1367 Valencia. 550-6444.
g. Pleasant Hill Baptist Church, 2535 - 24th. 285-2032.
h. Delores St. Baptist Church, 208 Delores. 861-1434.
(not listed in 1986)
i. Great Shepard Baptist Church, 2491 Folsom.

5. Buddhist
(new since 1974)
a. Dharmadhatu Buddhist Meditation Center, 2017 Mission. 626-0852.

6. Catholic, Roman
(1974 & 1986)
a. Latin American Mission Program, 2915 - 24th (formerly @ 2863). 648-7444.

b. Mission Delores, 3321 - 16th (@ Delores). 621-8203.
Founded: 1776
Active Members: 1046 persons attend masses, 1200 families registered in parish; Mission district residents
Services: 4 Sunday masses (1 in Spanish), 3 Saturday masses, 3 daily masses. Latino groups include: Comunidad de Base, El Senor de los Milagros, Guadelupe Society, Young Adult group. Immigrant group being formed in 1986. Major Latino fiestas include El Senor de los Milagros (Peruvian, novena Oct. 19, since 1984), Virgen de Guadelupe (Mexican, Dec. 12), Purissima (Nicaraguan, since 1970 or before). Most meetings are bilingual, such as planning for 210th anniversary celebration, council meetings, etc.
Ministry: 1 Mexican, 1 Spanish Speaking Irish (2 in resident priests do not speak Spanish), 1 Nun
Congregation: 45% Latino. Of Latinos, half are Salvadorans & Nicaraguans, plus a growing number of Peruvians.

c. St. Anthony's, 3215 Army. 647-2704.
Founded: 1893
Active Members: 1400 persons attend masses, 700 families registered in parish; Many active in church from Daly City, S. San Francisco & Penninsula
Services: 6 Sunday masses (2 in Spanish), 1 Saturday mass (English), 3 daily masses (1 in Spanish). Latino groups include: Youth, Carasmatic, Encuentro (couples), Coursillo, Nicaraguan, Cuban, Mexican, Salvadoran. Celebrations of Purisima (Nicaraguan), Lady of Charity (Cuban), Guadelupe (Mexican), Salvador del Mundo (Salvadoran), and Puerto Rican saint. One of the first churchs in San Francisco to offer Spanish services.
Ministry: 1 Puerto Rican priest, 1 Filipino priest bilingual in Spanish (2 other nonSpanish speaking priests).
Congregation: 1/2 Latino (1/3 Nicaraguan, equal numbers Cubans and Mexicans, fewer Salvadorans); 20% Filipino and growing, 30% Anglo

d. St. James Catholic Church, 1086 Guerrero. 824-5881.
Founded: 1888
Active Members: 820 persons attend masses, 1200 families registered in parish; Mission residents
Services: 4 Sunday masses (1 in Spanish), 1 Saturday masses (English), 2 daily masses (English). Latino groups include: Youth, and Bible studies. Celebrations of Guadelupe (Mexican), Salvador del Mundo (Salvadoran), and El Senor de Esquipulus. Also special Latino emphasis on Santiago holiday.
Ministry: Both Irish and Polish priests are bilingual in Spanish.
Congregation: 1/2 Latino, declining collections reported.

e. St. Peter's, Alabama & 24th. 282-1652.
Founded: 1876; in current building since 1886
Active Members: 1800 persons attend masses, about 2500 families registered in parish; Mission District residents.
Services: 7 Sunday masses (3 in Spanish), 2 Saturday masses (English), 2 daily masses (1 Spanish). Groups in Spanish include: 2 Comunidades de Base, 2 Charasmatic groups, religious education, lectors' group & bible study, housing committee (bilingual), youth group, Choir. Celebrations include Santo Domingo de Guzman (Nicaragua), Purisima (Nicaragua), Cancion de los Varones (Nicaragua), El Salvador del Mundo (El Salvador).
Ministry: Priests from Spain (who worked many years in Mexico) & El Salvador and a Nicaraguan Deacon (plus two Anglo Spanish speaking priests).
Congregation: 70% Latino (half Mexican, 1/4 Salvadoran, 15-20% Nicaraguan).

f. St. Charles Catholic Church, 713 S. Van Ness. 824-1700.
Founded: 1887
Active Members: 1000 persons attend masses, 2000 families registered in parish; Mission district residents
Services: 5 Sunday masses (3 in Spanish), 2 Saturday masses (1 in Spanish), 3 daily masses (2 in Spanish), Latino groups include: Catechumenical, Legion of Mary, El Grupo Charasmatico, Estudio de la Biblia, Asociacion del Santisimo, Hijas Catholicas de Am., Los Cuurrisitas, and Conferencias de San Vicente de Pablo. No national or cultural events reported.
Ministry: 2 priests from Spain (one more expected late 1986)
Congregation: 85% Latino, 10% Anglo, 5% Filipino. Most Latinos from El Salvador/ Nicaragua, and other Central and South American countries. Parish size nearly doubled in past 5 years.

g. Society of St. Francis, 573A Delores. 861-1372

7. Christian Science
(1974 & 1986)
a. 2nd Church, 655 Delores. 647-0521.
b. Reading Room, 2287 Mission. 647-1846.

8. Church of God
(new since 1974)
a. First Church of God - Anderson Indiana, 3728 Army. 647-1330.

b. Iglesia de Dios, 3155 Army. 285-3371.
(not listed in 1986)
c. The New Testament Church of God, 3004 - 16th.
d. All Nation Church of God, 3532 - 20th.

9. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons)
(1974 & 1986)
a. Spanish Bishop's Office (formerly Mission Ward Bishop's Office), 3715 - 26th. 994-8148, 585-8309.
Founded: 1976, preceeded by Mission Ward since 1960's
Active Members: 125-200, regional
Services: 1 Sunday plus Sunday School, Youth group and Religious society Wednesday; parallel services for Spanish speakers, Filipinos, and English speakers
Ministry: Puerto Rican bishop
Congregation: Spanish speaking congregation, 50% Salvadoran, some Mexicans, a few Nicaraguans

10. Covenant
(1974 & 1986)
a. First Evangelical Covenant Church, 455 Delores. 431-8755.
Founded: 1907
Active Members: 350, citywide
Services: 2 Sunday, home bible studies during week; no Spanish speaking programs but makes facility available to Iglesia del Pacto Evalgelico (see 10b, below) for larger events
Ministry: None speak Spanish
Congregation: 80% Anglo middle-class, some Koreans, Asians, Blacks

b. Iglesia del Pacto Evalgelico, 856 Capp. 648-6449.
Founded: 1974, spin off of First Evangelical Covenant (10a)
Active Members: 66 members, 80-100 people at services; 1/2 from Mission area, others from other San Francisco and Penninsula
Services: 2 Sunday plus Sunday School, Youth group Saturday, Prayer Wednesday; all services in Spanish except one Sunday school class
Ministry: bilingual Anglo minister; previous minister Salvadoran
Congregation: 3/4ths Salvadoran and Nicaraguan, some Mexican, a few of other nationalities

11. Episcopal
(1974 & 1986)
a. St. John the Evangelist Episcopal Church, 1661 - 15th. 861-1436.
Founded: pre1900 (3rd oldest Church in San Francisco)
Active Members: 130; Citywide
Services: 1 Sunday high mass, 2 daily prayer sessions; no religious services in Spanish -- one outreach ministry is St. John's Educational Threshold Center that since 1970 has provided ESL classes to 50 children and 50 adults daily
Ministry: none speak Spanish
Congregation: Mixed Anglo, 10-20% Latino of mixed nationalities

b. Holy Innocents Mission District Episcopal Church, 455 Fair Oaks. 824-5142, 282-6527.

12. Gospel of Christ
(1974 & 1986)
a. Voice of Christ Full Gospel Church, 680 Guerrero. 626-5890.

b. Free Evangelic Church Full Gospel, 449 - 14th. 861-3788, 282-9147.
Founded: 1964
Active Members: 200; Citywide
Services: 2 Sunday services, Tuesday prayer meetings; none in Spanish
Ministry: Reverend does not speak Spanish
Congregation: Anglo, with 5-7 Latino families
(new since 1974)
c. Lighthouse Full Gospel Church, 3265 - 16th. 863-9106.
d. Full Gospel Assembly, 3327 - 17th. 864-0575.

13. Jehovah's Witnesses
(1974 & 1986)
a. Mission Congregation, 1342 Alabama. 824-8425.

14. Krishna Consciousness
(not listed in 1986)
a. International Society for Krishna Consicousness, Inc., Radha Krishna Temple, 455 Valencia.

15. Lutheran
(1974 & 1986)
a. Golden Gate Lutheran Church (Ascension & Trinity Lutheran merged to form), 601 Delores. 647-5050.
Founded: pre1900 (original churches, Ascension began as a Scandinavian church using the vernacular while Trinity began as Scandinavian Church using English))
Active Members: 125 attend Sunday services, 350 members; large neighborhood membership plus citywide
Services: 1 Sunday plus sunday school and adult education, no programs in Spanish; rents space with SF City College sponsored preschool where 50% of children speak Spanish
Ministry: none speak Spanish
Congregation: 90-95% white middle class

b. St. John's Lutheran Church & School, 3126 - 22nd. 647-2717, 641-5356 (Latino Ministry).
Founded: 1887 (in same building since 1906)
Active Members: about 150 attend Sunday services, 250 members; primarily Mission and neighborhood residents
Services: Parallel Spanish and English Sunday services, combined once a month for bilingual service. Sunday bible study (in English). Sponsors community food pantry, job co-op, weekly well baby clinic, k-3 school (bilingual program), open door program (social, referral). Wednesday worship in Spanish planned for late 1986.
Ministry: 1 Anglo bilingual in Spanish (plus 1 monolingual Anglo pastor

and 1 Anglo intern)
Congregation: about 60% Latino, 40% Anglo

c. St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, 3281 - 16th. 863-6371.
d. Trinity Lutheran Church, 722 S. Van Ness. 282-6049.
(new since 1974)
e. Lutheran Latino Ministries, 1050 S. Van Ness. 647-2212.
(not listed in 1986)
f. Trinity Lutheran Church (now merged w/Ascension), 722 S. Van Ness.

16. Mennonite
(new since 1974)
a. Mennonite Church of San Francisco First, 1050 S. Van Ness. 647-5772.

17. Methodist
(new since 1974)
a. Iglesia Metodista Unida Central, 754 - 14th. 861-0078, 861-1442 (Refugio Central Serv. Soc.).
b. Samoan Methodist Church, 601 Delores. 647-5050.

18. New Age
(new since 1974)
a. Church of New World Religion, Inc., 2940 - 16th. 431-8790.

19. Orthodox Eastern
(1974 & 1986)
a. The Annunciation, Greek Othodox Cathedral, 245 Valencia. 861-0057.
b. Russian Covent of Our Lady of Vladimir, 19th & Capp. 824-3475.

20. Pentecostal
(1974 & 1986)
a. Apostolic Temple of San Francisco, 3459 - 17th. 861-2439.
Founded: 1952
Active Members: 100-200; primarily from Peninsula
Services: Sunday services, Sunday school, daily morning prayer meetings, evening meetings three time per week.
Ministry: 1 monolingual Anglo minister
Congregation: Anglo

b. New Testament Church, 1234 Valencia. 647-9177.
(not listed in 1986)
c. Iglesia Pentecostal, Liro de los Valles, 2902 - 23rd.

21. Presbyterian, United
(1974 & 1986)
a. El Buen Pastor Presbiteriana, 439 Guerrero. 621-7521.
Founded: as result of a merger with Mission United Presbyterian in 1985
Active Members: 138
Services: 1 Sunday bilingual service. Other groups include women's, youth, chior, Lenten series studies; bilingual.
Ministry: Cuban interim pastor, half-time bilingual Anglo youth

director
Congregation: 80% Latino (primarily Central American), 20% Anglo
b. Iglesia Presbiteriana de la Mision, (offc) 439 Guerrero. 647-5156.
(new since 1974)

c. Korean United Presbyterian Church, 722 S. Van Ness. 282-1617. (not listed in 1986)
d. Metropolitan Community Church (formerly Korean Presb. Ch.), 1074 Guerrero.
e. Mission United Presbyterian Church, 3261 - 23rd. (see 21a)

22. Salvation Army
(1974 & 1986)
a. Mission Corps, 1156 Valencia. 648-0260.
Founded:
Active Members: 150; large number for the Mission, plus other city & Daly City
Services: 1 Sunday plus Sunday school and prayer & praise meeting, parallel Spanish Sunday service and Sunday school, bilingual prayer & praise meeting. Two Spanish speaking women's groups (of 4 women's groups). Spanish programs since 1984. Also site of community after school recreation program (average 34 participants) and senior nutrition program (40-50 participants).
Ministry: 2 Mexican ministers
Congregation: Over half Latino, mostly Nicaraguan and Guatemalan, some Mexican

23. Seventh Day Adventist
(1974 & 1986)
a. Seventh Day Adventist Church - Latin American, 3024 - 24th. 282-9680.
b. Seventh Day Adventist Tabernacle, 673 Capp. 647-9090.

24. Spiritualist Church
(1974 & 1986)
a. The First Spiritualist Temple, 3324 - 17th St. 621-0491

25. Synagogue - Jewish Orthodox
(not listed in 1986)
a. Congregation B'Nai David, 3535 - 19th.

Source: Bourne & Montes 1974, 1986 telephone survey by author.

* 1986 list was compiled from all entries under "churches" in the yellow pages with addresses in the inner Mission area. Churches listed in 1974 that were not in the yellow pages were also checked in the white pages. One additional church was identified in that way. Information on each church was obtained by phone from representatives from each church at the numbers listed.

GLOSSARY

barrio - neighborhood or district, in the U.S. referring to a poor part of town where Latinos predominate.

campesino - peasant, a farm laborer or small farmer.

carnaval - a well known public celebration in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, that takes place before Lent. It is characterized by street carnivals, parades, and public parties. In San Francisco, a local group began a parade it calls "Carnaval" after the Brazilian festivities, though it does not occur at the same time and includes people from other Latin American countries.

cinco de mayo - fifth of May, a Mexican celebration of a battle against an invading French army in 1862 that the outnumbered Mexican army won. This has become an important nationalistic holiday.

companero(a) - in Nicaragua before the 1979 revolution the term indicated a nonmarried partner, similar to a common law spouse in the United States. After the revolution the term has also come to mean comrade.

cholo - a unique style among Mexican immigrant youth and Chicano youth that is common in Latino barrios.

Guadelupe - "Our Lady of Guadelupe" became the patron saint of Mexico after the Virgin Mary appeared to an Indian and her image remained on his blanket.

indita - literally, little Indian, referring to dancers at the celebration of Saint San Sebastian who play the Indians the Spaniards encountered during the conquest of Nicaragua.

macho raton - masculine mouse played by a dancer in a black mouse mask at the celebration of Saint San Sebastian in Diriamba, Nicaragua.

Purisima - the Immaculate Conception, one of the most important religious holidays in Nicaragua.

quinceanera - the celebration of the 15th birthday of a girl, commonly involving a large party to commemorate the coming to adulthood.

la Raza - literally, the race, a term used by some Mexicans and Mexican Americans to indicate their Mexican heritage and acknowledge the Indian blood present in the Mexican population.

toro huaca - dancers at the celebration of Saint San Sebastian who represent the Spanish soldiers who conquered and colonized Nicaragua.

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