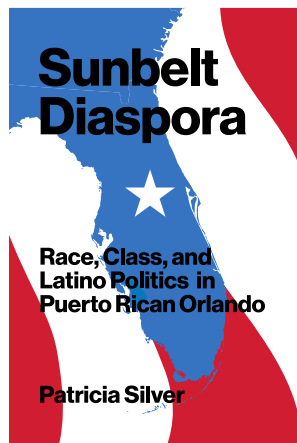


## READER'S GUIDE FOR:



### ***SUNBELT DIASPORA:***

### ***Race, Class, and Latino Politics in Puerto Rican Orlando***

This reader's guide is intended to help readers according to their interests. In the preface "For Orlando Readers," I describe some of what this book does not -- indeed cannot -- do. In what follows, my aim is to guide both general and academic readers to appreciate what it does.

In brief, the book is divided into three parts and an epilogue:

- The introductory chapter and the two chapters of Part I are intended to set a framework for the ethnographic detail of the following chapters. Parts of these chapters may be slow going for some. To those readers, I suggest moving on to Part II and using the book's index if some later historical, geographic, or theoretical reference is unclear. But the reader who takes in these first chapters may find deeper insights in this book.
- Part II traces a development of Puerto Rican place-making in the Orlando area from about the 1940s through the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Many Orlando Puerto Ricans have given their time and their stories to various publicly available oral history collections, which are detailed in the book's Appendix. The chapters of Part II draw from these voices and from my decade of ethnographic research to talk about the challenges to and progress of Puerto Rican and Latino/a/x community formation in Central Florida.
- The two chapters of Part III offer a case study that picks up the threads developed in previous chapters and looks through them at one situation in which race, class, and place were at the center of Orlando's Latino politics. This was the 2011 case of local redistricting in Orange County, Florida, where Orlando is located. It offers a deep ethnographic look at the question of race and representation that is so embedded in the process of redrawing voting districts at every level of government in the United States every ten years. A brief conclusion to the book uses a final ethnographic moment to illustrate the issues raised through the book.

- While I was writing this book, Orlando experienced the Pulse shootings and the aftermath of Hurricanes Maria and Irma. A final epilogue acknowledges but does not do justice to the impact of these and other events on Puerto Rican place-making in Orlando.

For each of the chapters, I have drawn up a few questions and comments intended to direct reader attention to information and concepts that will be useful to have as you move through the book.

**NOTE TO ALL READERS:** For information on parenthetical references to PRCF, CFPRO, PRPPCE, and 100PR\_OHP, see the Appendix. These refer to the oral history collections that bring individual voices to this book. The Appendix gives further information on the collections and lists participant names.

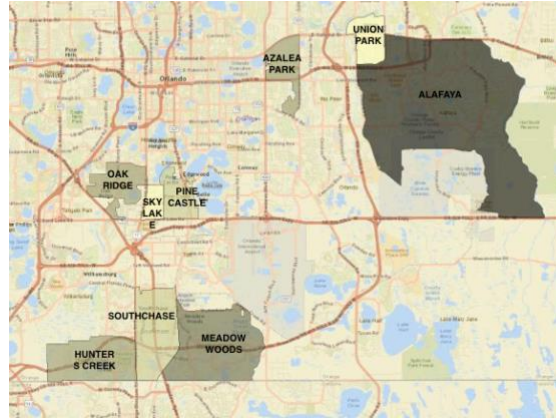
## INTRODUCTION:

### Race, Class, Place, and Politics in a New Puerto Rican Diaspora

- What do you learn about Orlando and its Latino community in the first two sections of the introduction? Did you learn anything you didn't know about Puerto Rico and people of Puerto Rican birth or heritage?
- The next three sections introduce the reader to questions and concepts in an ascending order of complexity.
  - *Translocal Ties and Local Meanings* introduces race, class, and place as the focal points of Latino heterogeneity that this book will consider. Find at least one thing about each of these that you think might affect collective identification as Puerto Rican or Latino in Orlando.
  - *Latino Heterogeneity and Political Community* asks us to think about the relations between race and ethnicity, and sets these into a discussion of birthplace, heterogeneity, and mutuality. Consider the quotation from Juan Flores about standing in the river on page 13. What is his point about "Latino" as an identity category?
  - *Beyond Billiard Balls* introduces fluid and processual thinking about commonly used words like **political, politics, identity, and community**. And it introduces concepts for this book's thinking about social interaction, such as **vectors of sameness and difference in a social field** and **individual and collective meaning making**.
- The section "Ethnographic Research and Getting to the Hard Questions" describes the research that led to the writing of this book. It aims to let the reader understand how I learned what I claim to know and how my relationships in Orlando both helped and hindered that knowledge. For the reader new to anthropology, this section gives an example of ethnographic research and researcher subjectivity.
- The final section of the introduction gives a brief outline of the book's contents, expanding some on what I have noted above.

## PART I: PUERTO RICAN ORLANDO

### Ch.1. BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE: Geography, Demography, and Political Place



- What is meant by “materialities of place”?
- Look at the maps on pages 35 and 39. Here are some place names to keep in mind for later chapters:
  - the East Side
  - Azalea Park
  - Union Park
  - Chickasaw
  - Semoran Blvd
  - Dean Road
- Describe Orlando’s racial-ethnic and class geographies.
- What does the map series on page 38 tell you?
- What is a CDP?
- Use the map on page 39 to locate the CDPs from the chart on page 41 that have:
  - the highest Latino concentrations
  - the highest Puerto Rican concentrations among Latinos
- What are some examples about how race, class, and place of origin may work to divide Orlando Latinos generally and Puerto Ricans in particular?
- Find an example of a tension between race/ethnicity and political party for Orlando Latinos.

### Ch. 2. HIDDEN HISTORIES IN THE NEW ORLANDO: Colonial Migrations, Color-Blind Multiculturalism, and Natural Neoliberalism

This chapter weaves together three apparently disconnected histories to show how they have overlapped chronologically and how they underwrite social interaction in the Orlando area: Puerto Rican migration, race and immigration in southern politics, and Latinos in relation to the post–civil rights era transition of Florida’s political parties.

- In addition to the histories themselves, two ideas introduced in this chapter will re-emerge along the way and especially in Part III's discussion of redistricting:
  - the tension between universalist and particularist perspectives
  - color-blind multiculturalism
- *Colonial Migrations and Puerto Rican Diaspora*, points to keep in mind:
  - “foreign in the domestic sense”
  - colonial migrant
  - “culture of poverty”
  - Nuyorican
  - broken memory
- *From Southern Strategy to Multicultural Neoliberalism*
  - What is neoliberalism and why does this book refer to Orlando's “natural neoliberalism”?
  - What was the southern strategy and how does that relate to multicultural neoliberalism?
  - How has the growth of the Latino population in the U.S. combined with the history described here?
- *Race, Place, and Political Power in Central Florida*
  - What happened to the racial composition of Florida political parties after the Voting Rights Act?
  - What was the place of Central Florida Latinos and Puerto Ricans during the redistricting processes described in this section?

## PART II: DIFFERENCE AND THE INCOMPLETENESS OF POLITICAL COMMUNITY FORMATION

### Ch. 3. “YOU DON’T LOOK PUERTO RICAN”: Race, Class, and Memories of Place in Orlando

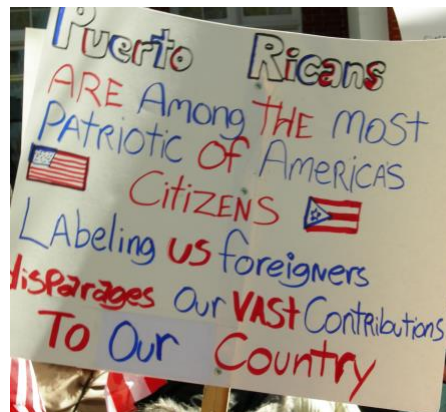


This chapter tells a story of Puerto Rican history in the Orlando area through about the 1980s. It is useful to think of this history with the backdrop of the histories told in Chapter 2. It is the story of a movement from Puerto Rican and Latino invisibility to hypervisibility in the Orlando social and physical landscape.

- What are some of the things that contributed to how non-Latino Orlandoans apparently remained unaware of the growing Puerto Rican and Latino population?
- What are some examples of that invisibility?
- How did the Orlando media report the 1980 Census numbers for Latinos?
- Name some of the ways that Puerto Ricans and Latinos in Orlando became more visible in the late 1970s and early 1980s.
- Find some examples of discrimination that Orlando Puerto Ricans experienced.
- *Navigating Race, Class, and Place*
  - How have race, class, and place of origin impacted how Orlando Latinos see themselves and how they are seen by other Orlandoans?
  - The Hoffman ethnography (p. 100+) is about identity and identification as a basis to claims for territory, place, and belonging. How does this apply to Latinos in Orlando?
  - How does the “professional migration” narrative work as both opportunity and danger for Orlando Latinos?
- How does the bi-racial issue sum up some of the points of this chapter?
- What are some of the experiences common to Latinos in Orlando? What makes for differences?

#### Ch. 4. ENOUGH IS ENOUGH:

##### Memory, Political Formations, and Participatory Citizenship



This chapter traces the emergence of a collective Puerto Rican and Latino identification in Orlando during the 1990s. During this decade, a demand emerged to move beyond invisibility and hypervisibility to a visibility on their own terms. The chapter emphasizes memory as part of collective identification.

- Two important concepts in the chapter are exclusionary inclusion and citizenship as both formal and substantive.
- On page 111, I argue that “Orlando Puerto Ricans use their birthright citizenship to back claims to belonging and to extend them to Latinos more widely.” What are some examples in this chapter of those two uses of Puerto Rican citizenship?
- How do Puerto Rican memories from different places align and diverge?

- What are a couple examples of individual memories from Puerto Rico’s migration history?
- What two events in 1996 mark a turning point in Puerto Rican and Latino political organizing in the Orlando area?
- What is a *caravana*?
- How is the Puerto Rican parade both local and translocal?
- What are some of the other ways that Orlando Puerto Ricans and Latinos were making visibility on their own terms in the 1990s?
- What does “dust and diplomacy” refer to?
- Find examples of the different expressions of participatory citizenship described in the chapter.

**Ch. 5. “THIS BUILDING IS OUR ISLAND”:  
Seen and Unseen in Orlando**



The photo here is of the *Asociación Borinqueña* building in Orlando. This is a transitional chapter between the 20<sup>th</sup>-century narratives of the two previous chapters and the examination of the 2011 redistricting to follow in Part III. The chapter returns to the idea of the “materialities of place” as it looks especially at the political and physical aspects of Puerto Rican and Latino place-making in Orlando. Returning to the maps on pages 35 and 39 in Chapter 1 and referencing this chapter’s map of the East Side on page 147 will be helpful.

- How does the *Asociación Borinqueña* building symbolize both the public and the private in the Puerto Rican struggle for belonging in Orlando?
- Find some examples of how inside spaces contribute to a Puerto Rican and Latino sense of belonging in Orlando.
- On the map on page 147, locate some of the places described in the text as making connections.
- What is a “politics in rice and beans”?
- Find Analys’ two homes on the map on page 147. Try to approximate where they would lie on the map on page 39.
- How did Analys’ political views change over time in Orlando? Why?

- In the section “East Side Stories,” find some examples of the challenges to political ground that are enumerated in the preceding section.

### PART III: THE CASE OF REDISTRICTING IN ORANGE COUNTY, FLORIDA

#### Ch. 6. DIVIDED BY BEANS:

##### Tensions of Collective Identification

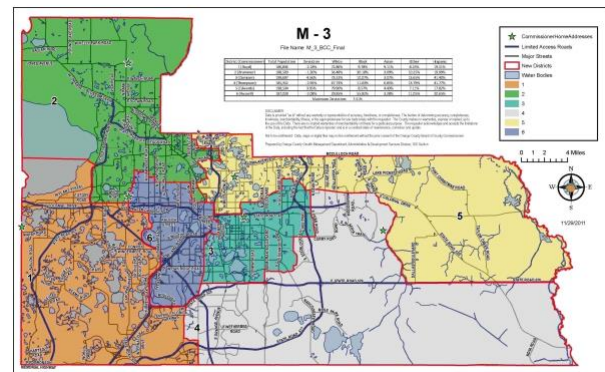
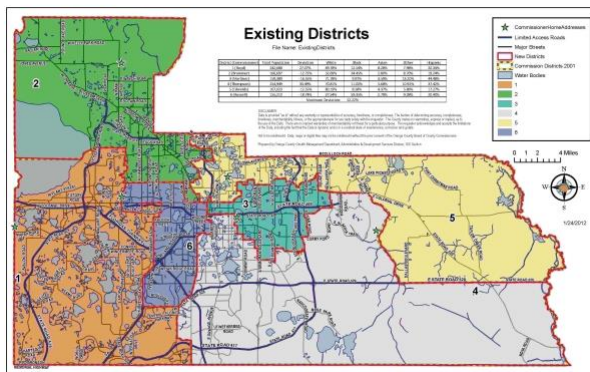


This chapter revisits concepts introduced earlier, and it uses them to look at how efforts toward collective identification in the struggle for equal representation in Orange County government were acted out through the vectors of difference that this book has explored: race, class, and place. Keep in mind what you’ve seen about the **merry-go-round of identity, identity vs identification, colonial citizenship, and tensions between the universal and the particular.**

- What did many Orange County Puerto Ricans and Latinos want to see come out of the 2011-2012 redrawing of the county’s voting districts?
- What was the complaint about the RAC membership voiced by Rico, Zoraida, and others at the March 29 BCC and the April 7 RAC meetings? What claims to equal citizenship did the protesters use?
- Find some examples of the kind of infighting referenced by the *balde de jueyes*.
- The chapter gives special attention to Cuban–Puerto Rican tensions. Find some examples and counter-examples of this.
- How does what happened at East River High School offer a different view of the *balde de jueyes*?
- Find some of the interactions at the April 7 RAC meeting that point to differences and alliances among members of the BCC, the RAC, and protesting public.
- Find examples of language used for exclusionary inclusion during the meetings.
- How do you understand the meaning of the last section’s title, “The Art of Stepping Sideways to Move Forward”?



## Ch. 7: FOUR DISTRICTS FOR AMERICANS: Mapping Community in Orange County



This chapter is an in-depth look at the 2011 redistricting process in Orange County. It takes up again from Chapter 5 the social map of the East Side, which was carved up in the map that the BCC approved in 2011. The four maps on pages 202 and 203 highlight some of the place names from this and previous chapters and show you where they are in each. Notice the space between Azalea Park and Union Park.

- The analytical concepts in the chapters of Part II that helped us look below the surface of Puerto Rican and Latino experiences and interactions in the Orlando area come together in this chapter:
  - the invisibility of Latinos in the historical black-white US racial frame
  - racial-ethnic identification and national belonging
  - citizenship and exclusionary inclusion
  - social identification and claims to territory
  - race, class, and place-of-origin divisions among Orlando Latinos
- Along with revisiting different uses of the universal and the particular and color-blind multiculturalism, the chapter's first section introduces ideas to keep in mind:
  - invisibility and normalization of whiteness
  - the contradictory relationship between race and what are called "communities of interest" in redistricting
  - race-neutral language and the reproduction of racial hierarchy
- *Equal Protection, Race, and Redistricting*
  - What were the six items on the checklist to insure legally defensible districts?
  - How did the role of race in redistricting shift after the 1990–1992 redistricting national redistricting?
  - Why did the Census numbers used for demographic percentages total more than 100%?
  - How did available language and other technologies of redistricting impact how the RAC members were to understand and apply "communities of interest"?



- *Making Maps in 2011*
  - What was the primary difference between maps drawn by the public and most of those drawn by the RAC members?
  - Take the time to look at maps 7.1–7.4 and familiarize yourself with the six districts. Where are the Conway Chain of Lakes and Union Park in each map?
  - Do you remember from Chapter 5 why Commissioner D3 had been appointed?
  - Who drew Map E? What did it do?
  - How did the various maps compare using the checklist?
- *Language and Forms of Power*
  - How did class and race differences among Latinos surface in arguments for and against different maps?
  - What is meant by “cosmetic diversity”?
  - Find examples of how race-neutral language was used to oppose a Latino district.
  - What were some of the themes used to argue against transformative maps?
  - Find examples of how Latinos and their allies co-opted the language of the opposition and talked back to argue for a Latino district.
  - How did the attorney’s definition of a district’s core and discussion of displacement and compactness work to support the status quo?
  - What were the mayor’s arguments in favor of Map M-3?
- What were the outcomes of the 2012 elections and the 2014 trial that followed the 2011 redistricting process in Orange County?

### **CONCLUSION:**

#### **Navigating Ambiguity in the Interests of Community**

- The conclusion considers the stories of two Orlando ballfields. Where are they and how do their stories relate?
- Describe the different visions of community discussed in the conclusion.
- What are some of the threads from the book that you find coming together in the conclusion?
- What question about identity, difference, and community does the conclusion pose as always important to consider in political formations?

### **EPILOGUE:**

#### **“Things Will Be Different Now”**

- Name some of outcomes for Puerto Ricans in Orlando after Hurricane Maria.
- What do you think will be the outcome of the 2020 elections and the 2021 redistricting processes?