Latinos at UWM: A History of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute and the Roberto Hernandez Center

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On August 27, 1970 at UW-Milwaukee, about 200 Latinos (mostly Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans) staged a sit-in in of Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche's office in Chapman Hall. This sit-in was followed by negotiations that led to the creation of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute (SSOI) on the UWM campus charged with the recruitment and retention of Latino students and with facilitating the Latino community's access to university courses and other programs. The SSOI offered classes in Latino studies (history and literature) in the South Side and the near North Side where large numbers of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans resided.

The UWM sit-in was followed one year later with a nine-day march from Milwaukee to Madison which concluded with a sit-in at Wisconsin governor Patrick Lucey's office on August 24, 1971. The marchers who met with Lucey included several who were also involved in the UWM protest. In Madison they demanded Latino representation on state migrant labor commissions and boards and improved services for migrant workers.

The Latino community's protest at UWM was one of the earliest protests by Latinos on any campus in the Midwest. For example, it wasn't until 1972-3 that Latino students in Illinois demanded similar programs (Padilla, 1987). A march and demonstration by Mexican American students on the UW-Madison campus resulted in the creation of that university's Chicano Studies program in 1974. Thus, the results of the UWM sit-in were far-ranging. Latino students and community members throughout the Milwaukee area became more assertive and state colleges launched new programs. The recruitment of Latino students by public and private universities in Wisconsin picked up markedly after the sit-in.

El Movimiento in the Midwest

This article focuses on Latino activism in Milwaukee during the mid to late 1960s, and early 1970s. Numerous scholars have turned their attention to the Chicano and Puerto Rican
movements, but there are few discussions of the Midwestern manifestations of Latino activism. The Chicano movement is mostly associated with urban protests over high school curriculum, the Vietnam War, social services in the barrio, treatment of farm workers in Texas and California. In New Mexico the Chicano movement is associated with the return of land taken after 1848 as demanded by Reies López Tijerina. The cultural aspect of the movement, Chicanismo, produced references to Aztlán, Aztec images, bilingual poetry like Gutierrez’s “Yo Soy Joaquin.” In paintings, Chicanos and Chicana artists depicted a traditional Mexican community as close knit and rural in the face of the onslaught of urbanization (Busto; J. Chávez; E. Chávez; Gutiérrez; Muñoz;)

What was different about the Midwest manifestation of the Chicano movement? First, it cannot accurately be called the Chicano movement since Puerto Ricans were a large and influential source of leadership and ideas. The Midwest was the not solely Mexican American. The movement was led by Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, but included Dominicans and other Latin Americans. This led to negotiations and a willingness to form coalitions across national lines. This openness to other Latino participation produced different questions and emphasis in the political rhetoric. For example, the participation of large numbers of Puerto Ricans, many directly from the island, and members of the street gang the Young Lords, ensured that a significant emphasis in the Midwest would be on bilingual education. Puerto Ricans had struggled to maintain an identity as an independent nation with a distinctive culture in face of the growing Americanization of the island. The concern with language and the maintenance of Spanish language ability was close to the hearts of many Puerto Ricans in the Midwest.

Similarly, the presence of Afro-Puerto Ricans in the Midwest ensured close alliances with black social movement leaders. In the Midwest, Mexicans and Puerto Rican activists
worked in close proximity with African Americans seeking social change. However, this alliance was not universal. On some issues, Latinos and blacks worked closely together such as demanding jobs at Allen Bradley. On the issue of school reform, African Americans rejected alliance with Latinos feeling that the two groups had different concerns. African Americans dealing with segregation and discrimination, Latinos focused on bilingual education (Doughtery). Finally, the Midwest farm labor movement was a significant influence on the urban movement but in a Midwest context. Farm labor organizers strove to not only assist farm workers create a strong labor movement but also helped them transition to factory jobs in industrial cities like Waukesha and Milwaukee.

This article seeks to describe the similarities and differences in the Midwest *movimiento* of the mid-1960s to early 1970s in one city. It first describes the history of Mexican and Puerto Ricans in Milwaukee. It then focuses on the events at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in the late-1960s to the present.

The history, economy, and physical form of Midwestern cities ensured a different emphasis in the Latino social movement. In California and Texas with large sprawling suburbs, factory work was pushed further away from migrant farm communities and flows. In the Midwest, smaller industrial communities were spread out throughout the state. Waukesha, located just outside Milwaukee, had been home to large manufacturers since the 1920s. Located in the midst of farmland, this factory town became a magnet for Mexican seeking to leave seasonal farm labor for year round industrial work. As a result of this, Waukesha was the first home of UMOS, the United Migrant Opportunity Services, a social service agency that not only assisted farm worker unionization, but also encouraged migrants to leave the fields and find factory work. The fact that employers in the Midwest in the 1950s and 1960s hired Latinos, gives
the Midwest story a different taste than in California and Texas where factory labor was much more difficult to secure for migrants.

Identities:

In 1970 Milwaukee activist Juanita Renteria noted that Milwaukee's "Spanish-speaking community" was different. "In most areas, the communities are dominated by one group, i.e. New York City by Puerto-Ricans and the southwest and California by Mexican Americans." But in Milwaukee, she argued, the "Latin community of 1970 includes an almost equal number of Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans." (Renteria, p. 15) Whether this statement was accurate or not is less important than the idea that activists understood the two populations to be equal in numbers in Milwaukee and that they found it a significant differentiating characteristic of the city.

This understanding and expression of the relative balance of Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans had important ramifications for the mobilization of Latino community political power in Milwaukee. It required that activists acknowledge the need to encourage Puerto Rican and Mexican American representation, and that their cultures and histories be emphasized in courses and programs. This did not mean the conflation of the history and culture of the groups. Rather Puerto Ricans and Mexicans maintained separate cultural and historical identities and those identities fueled the social movement in Milwaukee. In other words, Milwaukee Mexican Americans embraced the Chicano movement and its images. Local artists like Juan Alvarez produced Aztec images and identified with the Chicanismo produced by Chicano activists in the Southwest (García).

It also shaped tactics. Milwaukee Latino activists in the 1960s and 1970s borrowed tactics that predominated in other communities utilizing boycotts, marches, hunger strikes and
sit-ins. For example, Puerto Ricans adopted tactics learned from the Chicano movement and joined the local chapter of the “Brown Berets.” Chicanos learned of the issue of colonization of Puerto Rico and supported the Young Lords who were active in Milwaukee and Chicago.

Moreover, this understanding suggested both a broad and limited understanding of the Latino community. Renteria did not refer to other Latin American groups (Cubans or Colombians for example). In writing about Milwaukee's Latino community, Renteria used the term "Latin" or "Spanish-speaking" as did many others, adopting a pan-Latino identity to speak to a broad public.

Thus, several distinctive characteristics shaped the understanding of Latino identities in Milwaukee. First, the activists emphasized a broad identity that included both Mexican American and Puerto Rican residents. This was in fact very different than political movements among Latinos in California and Texas where Chicano was the term used much more readily to reflect the Mexican American dominant population or Nuyorican used to describe the Puerto Rican community in New York City or Puerto Rican in Chicago.

Renteria also noted that "Many Anglos are unaware of the different in the three distinct cultures of our Spanish-speaking population." (Renteria, p. 15) This brought up the issue: how did non-Latinos view Latinos in Milwaukee? Most Anglos also used the term Latin but they had a greatly expansive view of the term, or they asserted that besides the two dominant groups present in the city, others had similar cultural backgrounds including: Cubans, Central and South Americans, and those of Spanish descent. This understanding reflected the realities in the university where Latin was used to describe professors and staff from a wide variety of national origins. One of the first scholarly publications by an Anglo about the Latino community was local historian John Gurda's The Latin Community of the South Side published in 1977 (Gurda).
Historical Background of Latinos in Milwaukee

Mexicans have lived in the South Side of Milwaukee since the 1920s when they first arrived to work in the railroads and tanneries in the area. In 1924 the Pfister and Vogel Tannery brought 200 Mexican men to Milwaukee. They lived in the Atlas warehouse on Virginia Street, across from the tannery. (La Guardia, Feb. 1971) Milwaukee had become a major center of the tanning industry. Tanning was dirty work and Anglos left the jobs as soon as others opened. Labor recruiters enticed farm workers into the tanning jobs. Some tanneries recruited Mexicans as strike breakers. Others arrived in Milwaukee after having left the migrant agriculture stream.

The Spanish-speaking community on the South Side grew slowly until the 1930s and was composed of both Mexican immigrants and migrants from South Texas. During the Depression the high unemployment led half the Mexicans to return either to Texas or Mexico. But during World War II the population began to grow once again as many returned to work in the tanning companies and foundries stimulated by war production.

By 1950 there were about 12,500 Latinos in Milwaukee, with about 10,000 Mexicans and 2,500 Puerto Ricans. The Puerto Rican population increased during the 1950s. They came initially as agricultural and factory workers. They arrived directly from the island and then in the 1960s they also came from east coast cities and Chicago. Puerto Ricans settled in the South Side but also in the Yankee Hill area near downtown before being displaced by a proposed freeway project. They relocated to the Riverwest area where many still reside (Tolan, 2003).

Crowding and rising unemployment led to social problems in the 1950s and 1960s in the South Side. Puerto Ricans and Mexicans worked in low-skilled positions in factories and foundries. The work was dirty and uncomfortable in the winter and summer months. Employers
recruited Latino workers to Milwaukee then laid them off during slack times, offered few benefits, or opportunities for promotion. As a result, Milwaukee Latinos often worked several jobs to support their families (Valdez, 1979).

Crowding became a major problem in the 1960s as South Side housing units declined, forcing newer residents into the remaining dilapidated structures. White flight and freeway construction and urban renewal eliminated some housing. To capture the suburban shopper and accommodate workers who commuted from the suburbs, department stores and factories on the South Side expanded parking lots by razing housing.

In both the South Side and in Riverwest neighborhoods competition for housing created tensions between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans and between Latinos and Anglos. In the South Side, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans resided in predominantly Polish neighborhoods where some Polish residents did not accept the newcomers and discriminated against them.

As a result of rising social tensions, youth gangs appeared in the 1950s, notably the Latin Kings and the National Avenue Rebels (Hagedorn, 1979; McNulty interview; La Guardia, Nov. 1974). Some Latino youth joined gangs after dropping out of school after struggling with teachers unable to deal with students with limited English language ability. As petty crime and drug use increased, police and Anglo residents stigmatized Latinos as criminals and Latino youth faced police harassment (Hagedorn, 1979). Police also harassed social service organizations in the South Side, trying to intimidate community leaders.

Yet, the population continued to increase until Milwaukee's Latino population surpassed 30,000 by 1970 (Valdez, 1979). Several factors explain the increase. Immigration from Mexico and migration from south Texas. Mechanization of agriculture propelled rural migrants into the cities. Labor contractors working for factory owners enticed workers to the city. Puerto Rican
authorities on the island, and their representatives in Chicago worked with employers to secure workers for factories. Some came to attend one of the colleges in the area (Valdez, 1979; Berry-Caban, 1981).

But the South Side also attracted Latinos because of its growing array of ethnic cultural activities. The Royal Theater on 6th Street near National Avenue showed Spanish-language movies. Dances were held at the Eagles Club on Wisconsin and in restaurants like the National Avenue Bar (now Acapulco Club). South Side Catholic churches became the centers of socializing. Bars and restaurants proliferated catering to distinct social groups (Mexican immigrants, Tejanos, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans). (Alvarez interview).

Yet much of this vibrancy seemed under threat by the 1960s. The construction of the north-south freeway in the early 1960s displaced stores and residents. Absentee landlords did not maintain properties. So as new residents migrated to the area, conditions worsened. One writer feared that these trends would "seriously reduce Latino cohesiveness and visibility to the level of other ethnic nationalities in Milwaukee" who had dispersed to the suburbs as their ethnic cultural neighborhoods declined (La Guardia, Aug-Sept 1975).

As social problems increased, an array of social workers responded. The South Side had been home for Polish immigrants at the turn of the century and settlement house workers instructed the newcomers in sewing, English language, and citizenship classes (Davila interview). Some of the church organizations still existed and shifted to working with the Mexican and Puerto Rican newcomers. These included evangelical Protestant ministers and Catholic clergy.

Worsening conditions led social workers to create programs, especially for the youth. The Milwaukee Archdiocese got involved in organizing the poor in the early 1960s. These clergy
were part of the new activist clergy inspire by the Vatican II reforms to reach out to the poor in urban neighborhoods.

Fr. James Groppi is well known for his work with the African American community on the North Side. Less well known was the work by Rev. John Maurice. The majority of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans were Catholic so Catholic priests got involved in Latino communities. Two who did so were Maurice and Fr. Patrick Flood, pastoral assistant at St. Thomas Aquinas. They helped establish the Migrant Worker Program in 1960 that served Mexican Migrants. (Braun, 215--see Avella, ed. *Milwaukee Catholicism*)

In 1963 Maurice organized the Milwaukee Archdiocesan Council for the Spanish Speaking. This organization helped establish the Spanish Center (El Centro Hispano) on National Avenue providing legal aid services, health care, education, employment and housing services. In 1966 Maurice and nine Mexicans opened El Centro Credit Union which offered migrants financial services and consumer counseling. Its board included Ernesto Chacon, who was also a member of the Brown Berets, a Mexican youth organization, and co-founder of the Latin American Union for Civil Rights (LAUCR) in 1969.

Not just Catholics but Protestant denominations were also active. Rev. Jaime Davila came to Milwaukee in 1969 from Puerto Rico and became pastor of the Evangelical Baptist Church where Rev. Orlando Costas was also active. Together several these South Side religious leaders created the "Cooperative Ministry of the Spanish Speaking people of Milwaukee" which raised funds to provide social services to the Latino community (Davila interview).

El Movimiento/La Causa
In the early-1960s a young generation of Mexican American and Puerto Rican activists began organizing Milwaukee's Latino residents. The previous generation was not generally politically active. They formed social clubs and a mutual aid society and were members of unions. However, the time was not right until the 1960s for Latino community activists to confront white politicians and administrators. By the 1960s there existed a larger Latino population and a younger generation of experienced union and neighborhood organizers. Also, urban social problems were mounting in the South Side. While services existed for the migrant workers, someone needed to step up to serve the growing urban population. In the early 1960s, Dante Navarro and Juanita Renteria formed the Mexican American Political Education Committee which was concerned with problems facing the Mexican American community (Alvarez interview).

In the summer of 1968 the first major protest that included Latinos occurred in the South Side. Latinos joined the NAACP's Youth Council led by Fr. James Groppi in a demonstration outside Allen-Bradley, a company which employed few Latino or black workers. The Latino protestors included Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, Vietnam veterans, college students, recent Chicano arrivals from Texas and Puerto Rican ex-gang leaders, according to Avelardo Valdez (La Guardia, Nov. 1974).

This protest led a group of Mexican Americans including Ernesto Chacon and Juan Alvarez, a Vietnam veteran, and Roberto Hernandez to form the Latin American Union for Civil Rights. Alvarez returned from one year in Vietnam in March of 1968. The LAUCR would eventually have several components including a newspaper, La Guardia, begun in 1969 by Alvarez and Roberto Hernandez, a youth organization (the Brown Berets), and CELA (Latin
American Education Committee). LAUCR would help coordinate the UWF grape boycott in Milwaukee and would protest job and housing discrimination. (Alvarez interview)

A growing concern among South Siders was that social programs in Milwaukee too often served only the growing black neighborhoods of the city's North Side. There, black and white activists pushed for improved social services which led to the formation of the Social Development Commission (SDC) a city agency that ran Milwaukee's poverty programs. The SDC ran the Concentrated Employment Program that offered the poor job training and employment services. In 1969 South Side activists took over the CEP, arguing that the program needed improve access for South Side residents who needed access to job announcements (La Guardia, August 1969; Alvarez interview).

A major stumbling block for reform on the South Side was Alderman Robert Sulkowski who was elected to the city council representing the 12th ward in 1952. He refused to apply for low income housing grants out of fear that the programs would attract blacks to the South Side (McNulty interview). However community pressure on Sulkowski increased. One source of criticism was from poor whites who protested housing conditions. Poor whites were represented by the Inner City Development Program (ICDP) which included a "Tenant's Union" that advocated for housing improvements, protested high rents and absentee landlords. As pressure mounted, Sulkowski struck a deal with city leaders that resulted in the construction of low-cost housing in the South Side but only for the elderly. (Alvarez interview).

Social tensions mounted as Blacks and Latinos united on protests concerning welfare rights, farm workers, and fair employment. Milwaukee's police department, led by Harold Brier feared this developing minority coalition and used his men to repress those who facilitated racial cooperation, and doing biding of white South Side residents.
The new generation of activists had benefited from the reforms that followed the civil rights movements of the 1960s. They had experience in various social agencies including the migrant worker movement, the Spanish Center, and UMOS all of which served Latino migrant workers beginning in the mid-1960s. Their experience organizing farm workers led them into the cities where they joined urban social movements. In the city they organized the grape boycott and marches to protest farm worker conditions. Some had been active in Crystal City, Texas Chicano movement for political and social equality (Rodriguez, M, 2003).

Exposure to college spurred social activism. Some Latino activists had attended college outside Wisconsin and completed their degrees here. They attended UWM or another UW system school or they worked for UW Extension. Moreover, on campus they encountered some younger, progressive, activist faculty members such as Richard H. Davis, Dean of the School of Education at UWM. Davis was a Sociology professor at the University of Chicago and reportedly a spokesman for the Black P-Stone Nation before taking the job at UWM (Fernandez interview; Cummings interview). Davis promoted university-community ties. He launched programs that sent School of Education students into the Black and Latino communities where they offered educational services. He brought ghetto and barrio residents to campus for classes and training.

The new generation then created new organizations to serve the poor in the city. The learned how to organize in the farm worker movement. By the late 1960s Latinos were moving from a focus on farm workers to confronting urban problems. Some of the Puerto Ricans activists were active in Puerto Rico independence and anti-war movement or once in the US were active in the Young Lords movement.
The main thrust of these movements was to organize and educate the community for self-empowerment. Following the Great Society program of President Lyndon Baines Johnson, minority groups took control of poverty programs. Besides UMOS, Latinos also took over the youth center called "The Spot" from the Milwaukee Christian Center by protesting and marching to the board meeting in winter of 1970 (McNulty interview; Davila interview).

Self-help ideology led to new initiatives including job training, health care, housing and welfare advocacy, and ESL and adult education classes, and cultural education. The community created El Centro Cultural Educativo Chicano-Boricua which was an alternative school offering classes covering the history and literature of Puerto Ricans and Chicanos. Similarly El Programa Bilingüe-Bicultural offered Mexican and Puerto Rican history, culture, art classes taught by Juan Alvarez. El Programa was formed by LAUCR leaders Roberto Hernandez, Avelardo Valdez, Rose Guajardo, and financed by Community Services Extension of UWM. Another South Side organization, Union Benefica Hispana assisted Spanish-speaking welfare recipients.

Latino activists joined African Americans in seeking to reform Milwaukee Public Schools. Activists and parents joined with students to demand bilingual education programs. Activists on the South Side were demanding that the Milwaukee Christian Center (MCC) relinquish control of the "Spot" which later became the United Community Center. Finally, all activism reflected the anti-war movement which led many to question traditional leadership of business, government, and education officials.

This new Milwaukee Latino generation was conscious of its youthful exuberance and embraced and accepted rebels. Photographs show lots of long hair, beards and mustaches. This created some conflict with the older generation who sometimes criticized the rebellious attitudes. One activist, however, described the founders of La Guardia as a mixture of "batos
locos...womanizers, borrachos, y marijuanos" and "responsible Mexicanos and Puerto Ricans who dominated the various community agencies, boards, etc at that time." (La Guardia, August-Sept 1975)

It was out of the milieu of social activism that by 1970, Mexican and Puerto Rican activists next turned to reforming the university which led to the creation of the SSOI.

UWM History

The initial colleges in North America were the Colonial colleges on the east coast which served to educate the Protestant elite in morals and religion. These included Queen's college in New Jersey and Columbia in NY. The next phase of college development came in the mid 19th century with the Morrill Act (1862) provided federal land be given to states to create land grant colleges. With the spread of frontier settlement and industrialization these colleges were to provide practical education in agriculture and engineering. Generally located in rural areas they became the large state universities like UW-Madison. They emphasize practical studies to solve state problems, encourage research in economic development. Madison pioneered the "Wisconsin Idea" which meant its research would benefit the whole state.

By World War II huge move to cities from rural areas. Including large numbers of minorities, blacks and Latinos. After the war a huge baby boom and rise of demand for better trained graduates to work in technical fields. Returning GIs received GI loans to go to college. Crowded land grant colleges opened branch programs in cities.

This new demand led to creation of "urban universities" which had a different orientation--would serve the city and try to meet the needs of the city's residents; would be open to all, either very inexpensive or free (open enrollment). Part of booming economy of the 1950s
and anti-communism (US would train skilled graduates in fields like business, engineering, etc to take on USSR challenge).

UWM was founded in 1956 created out of the merger of the state teachers college (WSTC) and UW Extension. Madison professors had offered some courses in downtown Milwaukee before the merger. But anyone wanting a 4-year degree had to go to Madison. The merger was controversial. Officials at UW-Madison argued for a limited program (2 year community college; limited number of degree possibilities). Once the merger took place, UW-Madison lobbied against the school's receiving graduate programs. A major fight took place over the School of Nursing and the School of Social Welfare MA degrees. In general, UW-Madison administrators saw (and continue to see) UWM's rise as a threat in terms of funding, status, and student enrollments, and continued to try to limit the school's programs.

Ambitious UWM administrators sought to enhance the school's reputation by emphasizing its connections to Milwaukee. They adopted an "urban mission" and made research on and service to the city of Milwaukee a top priority. In 1959 UWM received a $1 million Ford Foundation grant that led to the creation of the Department of Urban Affairs, now the Urban Studies Programs (Klotsche). UWM's urban mission created research initiatives into the city's social problems which included expanding poverty areas, segregated schools, the exodus of the white middle class, the loss of jobs, and a crumbling infrastructure. City officials responded with urban renewal plans and built new freeways, office buildings, and a downtown mall (Gurda, 2001).

Despite its urban mission, in the 1960s UWM was not a racially diverse campus. There were few minority students, faculty, or staff. In fall of 1968 there were 206 blacks out of a total enrollment of over 16,700 students. There was one black professor out of 786 (Klotsche, p. 286)
The urban mission raised the issue of racial diversity. How could an urban university not reflect that community's diversity in its faculty, staff, and student body? By the mid-1960s national debate on the issue of campus diversity increased. Continued minority migration to the city and the white exodus to the suburbs expanded ghettos and barrios. By the late-1960s, protesters on campuses demanded a multicultural curriculum, instructors, and a more diverse study body. In Milwaukee, African American, Native American, and Latino community activists criticized UWM's lack of diversify.

African American students organized the United Black Student Front at UWM in 1968. Led by student Milton Coleman, blacks pressured Klotsche and the faculty into creating an Afro-American Studies program. Black students wanted a department and a major and 250 protested on February 25, 1969 and five were arrested. This pressure eventually led to the formation of the Department of Afro-American Studies (Klotsche, p. 287).

Student and community activists put pressure on the university to hire minority faculty and recruit minority students. Programs serving minority students included the Experimental Program in Higher Education (EPHE) that admitted minority and disadvantaged students who would not otherwise have gained entry. Another program was the HEP (High School Equivalency Program) begun in fall of 1969 to get migrants and others who dropped out of school their high school equivalency and get them admitted to college. Recruitment of minority faculty was less successful. Few professors were willing to come to a university with so few minority students.

The Creation of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute:

In 1968 Milwaukee priest John Maurice, one of the founders of the Spanish Center on the South Side, wrote a letter to UW Extension Chancellor Henry Ahlgren, criticizing the UW
System's lack of effort to serve the Latino community (Freskos and Hernandez). This letter led to a series of community meetings between UW Extension, social service agency officials, and South Side Latino community activists. These discussions made clear that the programs needed included GED and ESL classes, and increased attention to Latino student recruitment (Freskos and Hernandez).

In 1969 the Council for the Education of Latin Americans (CELA) was formed. It grew out of the Latin American Union for Civil Rights. CELA went to the Dean of the School of Education, Richard Davis, and in 1969 they agreed to work on improving Latino access to UWM and to develop community education programs. Davis came to UWM in 1968 from the University of Chicago where he was a Sociology professor and a spokesperson for the street gang the Black P-Stone Nation. After arriving at UWM he immediately began trying to move the School of Education into the black community with little success. So he began hiring blacks as academic staff. So he was very interested in opening up the university to the community (Cummings interview)

The main thrust of the Latino community's demand was for community control of the services to Latino students and a strong presence in the community. The following is a summary of the community's view of the centrality of community involvement:

The university, as well as other social institutions, must set its priorities in conjunction with the Latin community. If they are to be relevant, approaches to solving problems cannot be determined in an isolated fashion as they have sometimes been in the past...the university, with its resources in the wider community, can do much to assist in combating the problems of housing, employment, and education that presently plague the Latin community (Freskos and Hernandez, 19).

Davis endorsed collaboration with CELA and specifically endorsed the community having the central role in the formation and management of programs designed to improve Latino standing
At UWM. Primarily as a result of his support, CELA proposed the SSOI be housed in the School of Education. (Rodriguez-Donato, 20).

Davis evidently made promises to CELA that the SSOI would be supported and housed in the School of Education. But when CELA approached the Chancellor of UWM, A. Martin Klotsche, they encountered resistance from administration officials. This led to a protest outside Chapman on August 26, 1970.

The next day they were scheduled to meet with Klotsche in his office but Klotsche, failed to attend the meeting. CELA and about 150 other Latino activists staged a sit-in in the Chancellor's. Jesus Salas led the protest. Five were arrested (Hunter). Klotsche was on vacation but was called and he spoke to Jesus Salas, who became the leader of the protestors. (Rodriguez-Donato, 21) Five protestors were arrested: Marla O. Anderson, Dante Navarro, Gregorio J. (Goyo) Rivera, Salas, and Jose Luis Huerta-Sanchez. Others active in the movement included Ernesto Chacon, Roberto Hernandez, Clementina Castro, Enriqueta Gonzalez, Maria Ortega, and Juanita Renteria, Rev. Jaime Davila, Luis Lopez, Dagoberto Ibarra, and Delfina Guzman.

William Quiles, a participant in the sit-in, recalled the protest:

People were marching outside (Klotsche's office), carrying the Mexican and Puerto Rican flags, symbols of nationalist fervor and our ethnicity. There were kids, grandmothers, mothers, revolutionaries, agency people and Anglo friends, who were interested in our cause. Soon a combination plate lunch with tortillas would be brought to the marchers by people who were operating the Summer Youth Programs. Some people camped outside, others went home and returned the next day. Policemen were all over. Maybe some FBI too. Everybody was taking pictures. Inside, some of us were waiting nervously, planning what to do if we were arrested, or what to say to the press if we were dragged out. Others were just having fun. Just the bare fact of being inside that huge office, bigger than most of our homes, full of fine furniture, was in itself a unique experience; not to mention that to most this was the first time they were inside a university building; and to think that to get inside we had to force our way in. We had to take over the Chancellor's office (Quiles).
The demonstrations continued after the protestors were arrested. Some returned to UWM after being released and slept on the grass in front of the Chancellor's office for several nights in October. There ensued a series of protests including sit-in and a hunger strike on campus. In October of 1970, about 150 protestors including students and community members marched up Lake Drive and picketed outside the Chancellor's house. They also led a hunger strike and sit-in that lasted for nine days (Braun, 222).

The protests made the city newspapers and Klotsche featured the struggle in his autobiography. Klotsche suggests that the protest was the logical result of Latinos not being served well by the university. He prided himself on understanding the role of the urban university and wrote three books on the topic. He insisted that there was a basic difference between the black and Latino campus protests. Whereas black protests were led by students with the community in the background, the Latino sit-in was mostly led by community that included "older men and women, young mothers and their pre-school children, plant workers waiting for their shift to begin, some students from South Division High School, and others" (Klotsche, 297).

CELA's demands included an institute be established in the South Side, a director hired as an Assistant to the Chancellor, a GED program and an ESL program on campus. They also demanded increased Latino enrollment on campus and the university waive tuition and book fees (Hunter).

Roberto Hernandez was a member of the CELA negotiating committee. He wrote a letter to the Board of Regents critical of Klotsche and the UWM administration. While the activists demanded an institute the administration proposed expanding already existing programs, while sending four student recruiters into the Latino community. Klotsche proposed guaranteeing slots
for Latinos in programs like EPHE and HEP. However, the activists questioned this strategy. The proposed initiative would not involve the community and it would be short-term, not a permanent institute located on campus and in the community (Rodriguez-Donato).

CELA in September of 1970 consulted with lawyers about possibly filing a lawsuit against the university and requesting a review by HEW for the misappropriation of funds designated for minority programming. As negotiations dragged on, CELA clarified what it wanted: a permanent institute for Latinos located within the university under the Chancellor’s Office so that it might serve all majors (Rodriguez-Donato).

CELA members made a trip to Madison to attend a Regents Board meeting after Klotsche said he could not meet. Though not on the agenda, the Chair of the Board of Regents allowed CELA representatives to speak, and they did so before the Regents and Klotsche. Roberto Hernandez chaired CELA’s negotiating team and read a statement that called on the BOR to force Klotsche to "bargain with us in good faith, and to honor previous commitments by University officials..." (Rodriguez-Donato).

The negotiations surrounded the demands by CELA which evolved gradually. Initially, CELA called for the SSOI to be in the School of Education but then changed the location to the Chancellor’s office. CELA also set a goal of 85 new Latino admits, 10 graduate students, 50 undergraduates, and 25 recent high school graduates and special students. CELA demanded that students receive college credit for work in the community and that UWM create scholarships and grants for such work.

The demands were innovative, particularly the issue of special students. CELA got UWM to agree to admit Latinos before graduating from high school. This may have been one of the
first such programs in the country (Goodson interview). CELA also demanded a GED program be established in the community that would include credit for community work.

Klotsche then had university officials and CELA work out the details of the SSOI. CELA proposed that Dr. Ricardo Fernandez, a professor at Marquette University be hired as director. But negotiations broke down again and Fernandez withdrew his application for the directorship. Activists then staged a hunger strike outside Chapman Hall on October 12, 1970, and wrote a letter to the Regents. Finally, this pressure led the administration to make good on its promises.

Finally, on October 23, 1970 Klotsche and CELA announced an agreement to form an institute. UWM would hire a director, assistant director, teacher, secretary and a counselor. The institute was in operation by November 1, 1970 with an office on campus and a site at 805 S. 5th Street in a building that also housed La Guardia, a Latino community newspaper, and the Latin American Union for Civil Rights (LAUCR) led by Ernesto Chacon (Baez interview).

The drawn out negotiations stemmed from a real difference of perspective. Even after the establishment of the Afro-American Studies program, Klotsche continued to resist the creation of "programs, institutes, and centers" for "special groups" of students. Klotsche and other liberals believed that these programs segregated minority students. Klotsche claimed that black leaders even called for separate sections for black and white students in some Afro-American studies classes, an idea he rejected. "Each group wanted to 'do its own thing' and maintain its separate identity," complained Klotsche (Klotsche, p. 302). Separate centers or institutes, he and other administrators believed, isolated minority students and left programs unaccountable to general university standards and principals.

Some issues that administrators cited as problematic: would tenure decisions be made based on community service or scholarly reputation based on publication? Would students get
credit in some majors for community service but not others? What kind of oversight or control would administrators have over these programs that featured community involvement?

Indeed, Latino activists envisioned the SSOI as "a university within a university." The community was critical of "business as usual" at UWM and wanted a university oriented toward empowering the poor and the growing numbers of minority residents to serve their urban communities. Administrators were unwilling to agree to the reform of the whole university structure, though no one was promoting that idea.

But another factor that led to administration and faculty opposition was disdain for protestors in general. In the context of the anti-war protests, some faculty resented any protestors. Finally, some continued to view Latinos with little regard, and ignored issues of racism, poor public schools as factors limiting college access.

In some ways, UWM was both the best and worst candidate for such reforms. It was a young institution where some administrators and faculty wanted to compete with UW-Madison to become a prestigious research university which meant conforming to UW-Madison's very traditional academic culture. On the other hand, UWM's location in a big city with increasing numbers of blacks and Latinos created pressures on administrators to demonstrate that the university was open to minority and poor students. These pressures created internal battles. Some faculty supported outreach, others saw it as a threat to the reputation and governance of their own departments and the university as a whole.

These conflicting views about the legitimacy of ethnic studies were never resolved and the conflicts continued to weaken the SSOI over time. Even so, the creation of the SSOI was a victory for the community and CELA. The Latino community understood that the SSOI was an institute founded by the political pressure that came primarily from the community even more so
than from the campus, and therefore the "university has an obligation to consult and involve the community" in major decisions about the SSOI. (Rodriguez-Donato, p. 11)

Latinos for many years had suffered from economic and racial discrimination that made attaining educational goals difficult. The community envisioned the SSOI as a way to change these conditions. Its establishment was a victory for the community and the community moved to help the students by creating Mexican Fiesta. The fiesta was designed not just as a socializing event but to bring money for scholarships for students at UWM.

Why the demand for community involvement? First, with few Latino students, faculty, or staff, and no Latino administrators, Latino community activists realized that only they could advise the university as to ways to improve Latino community-university relations. Also, the thrust of the Great Society programs of the 1960s was to involve the community in decision-making processes. UWM's stated mission was that it was an urban university whose task was to offer expertise to the community. UWM administrators consistently touted the university's urban mission.

But the urban mission suggested that university faculty could solve urban problems. Latino activists believed UWM administrators saw Latino culture as an urban problem. They read reports written by administrators who used the term "culturally disadvantaged" to describe minority populations. One prevalent theory was that minority cultures were at the basis of urban problems. Accordingly, administrators assumed that minorities did not value education and that acculturation was necessary. This came in the form of remedial instruction not just in academic subjects but included acculturation to college level learning.

Latino and black activists criticized the term "culturally disadvantaged." For example, one SSOI employee stated that the SSOI would affirm Latino culture, not seek to "assimilate" the
students. They believed that Anglo educators were "incapable" of educating our Latin children" ("History and Growth of SSOI"). The community needed educators at UWM who understood Latino culture and who could educate Latino students to work in the Latino community. "There is a great need for bilingual programs that make education relevant to Spanish-speaking children, and encourage them to develop their role in their community" ("History and Growth of SSOI").

The 1960s also saw urban universities across the country launch efforts to provide services for the poor and offer classes in minority studies (particularly in History, Sociology, Literature, Social Welfare). Community activists daily served the Latino population in health clinics and welfare counseling. These activists realized that the university had resources and talent that could help improve the lives of the city's Latinos.

Their suspicion of the university, however, reflected the fact that the UWM administration and faculty was almost exclusively white men, most of whom lived on the East Side near campus and who had little or no contact with members of the Latino community. Few served on South Side boards or community organizations. None had taught a course in Latino studies. The physical separation between the campus and community impeded understanding and trust.

Why Spanish-Speaking?

Why the term "Spanish Speaking"? In 1970, Milwaukee activist Juanita Renteria noted that the city's "Spanish-speaking" population differed from that of other cities. "In most areas, the communities are dominated by one group, i.e. New York City by Puerto-Ricans and the southwest and California by Mexican Americans," she wrote. But in Milwaukee the "Latin community... includes an almost equal number of Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans"
(Renteria, p. 15). In fact, the Latino community in 1970 was about 9,201 Mexican American and 6,134 Puerto Rican, though undoubtedly an undercount of both (Valdez).

However, whether Renteria's statement was accurate or not was less important than the fact that Milwaukee's Latino/a activists understood the two populations to be roughly equal in number. Moreover, as she indicated, they believed that fact distinguished Milwaukee from other cities. As a result, activists insisted that Chicanos and Puerto Ricans have representation on all boards and committees dealing with the Latino population of the city.

This belief in the nearly equal size of the Mexican American and Puerto Rican populations had important ramifications for the mobilization of Latino political power in Milwaukee. It shaped rhetoric and tactics. Mexican Americans in CELA and LAUCR were also active in organizing migrant workers and the creation of UMOS, and the marches on Madison. Puerto Ricans criticized the colonial status of Puerto Rico and members of the Young Lords participated in LAUCR, CELA and had their own Puerto Rican-focused organizations.

Milwaukee Puerto Rican and Mexican activists borrowed tactics associated with a variety of ethnic communities including boycotts, marches, hunger strikes, the physical takeover of buildings, and sit-ins. The Black Power movement, the Young Lords, the Native American movement, and the United Farm Workers all influenced Latino activists in Milwaukee.

In terms of style, activists wore their hair long emulating the anti-war protestors, and Black Power advocates, but also, possibly to criticize the machismo stereotype (Kurtz). The prominence of facial hair reflected their admiration for Mexican Revolutionary heroes like Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa. The brown beret linked the activists to Ché Guevara the Cuban revolutionary and the Brown Berets in California.
But there were differences. In the Southwest, Chicano activists emphasized Aztlan, the homeland of the Aztecs. In Milwaukee activists invoked Aztlan less frequently. Rather than emphasizing a "return to Aztlan" or that Wisconsin was "Aztlan" the Milwaukee movement emphasized serving farm workers in the state and gaining access to education in public schools and the universities, employment and housing rights.

Though Milwaukee Latino/a activists defined the Latino identity more broadly than in some other regions, yet conflicts still erupted over representation on boards and community organizations. In the early 1970s, LAUCR created a youth organization initially called the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) following the Texas model (Gutierrez). However, Puerto Rican youth complained, and the name was changed to LAYO (Latin American Youth Organization). But after they visited Chicago and met with the Young Lords, Milwaukee Puerto Ricans created PRYO (Puerto Rican Youth Organization). This led the leaders of LAUCR to create a chapter of the Brown Berets in Milwaukee, modeled after the Brown Berets in California. Juan Alvarez recalled going to Dunge's Clothing store in Milwaukee and buying 30-40 brown berets Later, the forceful image of the Brown Berets led some Puerto Ricans to seek membership and they were accepted (Alvarez interview).

Despite these conflicts, activists stressed that Milwaukee was a distinctive place for Latino politics because of the "mix of Hispanic backgrounds" of the activists including "Costa Ricans and Panamanians" yet Cubans "weren't connected to what was going on in the community." (Fernandez interview) Latino activists struggled internally with national differences, and struggled to achieve equal organizational representation of Puerto Ricans and Chicanos. However, in public, activists were careful to put on a united front, downplaying as much as possible internal divisions (Alvarez interview).
The public vs. private stances by activists concerning representation helps explain some of the conflict with university officials. While publicly supporting a "pan-Latino" identity, activists also clearly believed that Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans should hold leadership positions in Latino-centered organizations. Latino activists realized that they had to educate Anglos about the racial diversity of Latinos. Renteria argued that "Many Anglos are unaware of the differences in the three distinct cultures of our Spanish-speaking population." Here she refers to Spanish, Indian, and African cultural origins of Latinos (Renteria, p. 15).

University administrators adopted a broad definition of who was part of the "Latin" population. They included Central and South Americans and those of Spanish descent as "Latinos," largely because they spoke Spanish and had Spanish surnames. Non-Latino administrators equated "Latin" with "Spanish-speaking" a view that reflected the university's organization that included the "Department of Spanish." Administrators frequently chose Department of Spanish faculty who spoke Spanish and had Hispanic surnames, as liaisons with the Milwaukee Latino community. The shortage of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans on the staff and faculty also led administrators to appoint South and Central Americans. But another reason may have been to undermine the SSOI by appointing critics of the SSOI to its advisory board.

Thus, activists publicly accepted as part of the Latino population all who willingly worked to better the "community" (including Anglos). Yet, activists also demanded that organizations be led by Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. Administrators tended to view anyone with a Latino last name as "Latin" and did not understand or ignored demands from activists that Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans have control. This led to conflicts over representation and inclusion between administrators and community activists.
This discussion of variety of views of Latino/a identities in Milwaukee in the late 1960s-early 1970s is pertinent for the history of the Spanish-Speaking Outreach Institute (SSOI). That term "Spanish-speaking" held significance. Activists chose it so as not to exclude either Mexican Americans or Puerto Ricans. However, the term also encouraged UWM administrators to believe they could put any "Latin" in charge of SSOI, even those who lacked involvement with the community or who were not Chicanos or Puerto Ricans. Finally, some administrators may have purposely sought to weaken the SSOI by appointing board members who were openly hostile to it. Some of these board members were "Latin" but not Puerto Rican or Chicano of whom few existed on campus as faculty.

Why Outreach Institute?

The other part of this issue was with the term "Outreach Institute." The attachment of that term to the title was not an accident. It reflected the understanding of Latino leaders and the community that UWM needed to respond to the needs of Milwaukee's Latino population. Latino parents had come to Wisconsin and Milwaukee partly for access to higher education for their children. A college degree offered the potential key to moving out of the working class. The areas many public and private colleges attracted many to the region, some coming from the fields others from bigger cities and Puerto Rico and Mexico or Texas were there was a much smaller chance of attending college.

However, outreach was a term used by the university administrators for many years and they had a very different concept of what constituted "outreach." They understood it to mean research undertaken in the university by professors to solve problems in the urban community. In other words, the university and its faculty set the agenda. Faculty used social science to solve urban problems as determined by the professors in the various departments.
The community understood outreach much differently. Outreach meant the university would literally "reach out" to the community offering primarily its resources and training and the community would determine how those resources, particularly money, would be applied to community problems. Community members would make the decisions about programs and strategies and determine who the university would employ to lead the programs. One Latino activist stated that the community envisioned SSOI as "a university within the university. An instrument that would help instruct people from the community to function in capacities that were of particular need to the development of the community as to raise it from poverty, underdevelopment and racism." (Quiles)

The Latino community believed that the outreach component was central to the SSOI's mission. A South Side office of the SSOI offered classes in ESL, and a GED program as well as courses in social work, academic and financial aid advising, day care training, and community organizing. Eventually the South Side office would also offer classes in comparative education, sociology, Spanish, history, and Mexican literature on the main campus. SSOI also visited high schools and offered tutoring and counseling services to UWM Latino students. The outreach component was also designed to encourage research on issues in the Latino community. The South Side office of the SSOI lasted for seven years before budget cuts forced its closure.

There was another push to open an office in the north side. For a while Tony Baez and other Puerto Rican activists offered alternative high school classes at a facility on Center Street in the early 1970s. Puerto Ricans had settled in the Riverwest area after being displaced from the Yankee Hill area by the proposed freeway extension that was never built because of public protest.

**Administering the SSOI**
SSOI had several functions including advising Latino students, advocacy for Latino students, recruitment and retention of students and staff, and outreach into the Milwaukee Latino community. The staff initially included a director, Dr. Ricardo Fernandez, a secretary, two full-time and a part-time advisor, and student workers (Rodriguez-Donato). The SSOI began offering classes on the South Side.

Fernandez became the first director, Nov. 1, 1970 with the title Special Assistant to the Chancellor and Director of the SSOI. Fernandez was well known and respected in the community and was a member of CELA. He finished and defended his dissertation in Modern Languages at Marquette in fall of 1969. He was not given a faculty position in Spanish and Portuguese and was a lecturer in the School of Education. By 1971, SSOI had helped increase the number of Latinos at UWM to about 150 and offered cultural programming, classes, and advising services. Fernandez noted another impact of SSOI:

"It was clear that an essential part of the SSOI's agenda was the development of an academic dimension, to include research on Hispanics in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the Midwest, and indeed the nation." Recruitment of Latino faculty was another charge that Fernandez noted in his report (Fernandez, Thoughts on Beginnings)

The SSOI was initially housed in Division of Student Services under the leadership of Assistant Chancellor Ernest Spaights. Fernandez resigned in July of 1971 planning on returning to Puerto Rico to attend law school. His resignation set off a major crisis. Fernandez had hired a Costa Rican, Armando Orellana as assistant director. Orellana was well-known and respected in the community, having worked in CELA and for UMOS. However, some criticized his hiring, believing that with a Puerto Rican director, a Mexican American should have been the assistant director.
Nevertheless when Fernandez announced he would not continue. Orellana became Interim Director. Spaights then hand picked the successor. However the community criticized Spaights and the Advisory Committee, demanding input in the hiring of a successor. This pattern would repeat: finding a director pitted the university's goals of finding a faculty member to serve against the community which was looking for someone knowledgeable and active in community movements. Ultimately, Rafael Gutierrez was named director and he served until 1974.

In 1972 CELA wrote an evaluation report on the SSOI (along with the Advisory committee). The report noted that in the fall of 1971, 210 students had utilized SSOI services. 140 did not meet regular admission requirements and would not have been admitted without some special consideration. 74 were married, separated or divorced. 57 were in the School of Education and 47 were in Letters and Science ("Evaluation Report for SSOI").

July 1, 1973 the SSOI was transferred to the College of Letters and Sciences in order to allow it to develop course offerings. (Fernandez). William Halloran was Associate Dean of Letters and Sciences and became the supervisor of the SSOI. Major issues immediately developed. Even before the transfer happened, some L&S faculty criticized the SSOI. Particularly vocal were non-Latino faculty in Spanish and Portuguese. Also, Latin American Studies attempted to takeover the tasks of SSOI by suggesting in a letter that they could recruit and advise students, offer classes. These complaints seem to stem from "turf" battles. Anytime the SSOI attempted to offer a course, departments complained if they felt only they should offer such courses.

In 1976, Felipe Rodriguez completed his undergraduate degree at the University of Illinois and came to UWM where he was hired as an advisor in the SSOI. He joined Gregorio Montoto and Marco Reina who were also advisors. Arnoldo Vento reoriented the SSOI by
concentrating on the arts, particularly literature. However, Latino students were still heavily in
the School of Education. Vento had SSOI sponsor a poetry contest, Canto al Pueblo, that
solicited poems from high school students.

But by the mid-1970s there were over 400 Latinos at UWM. Student groups on campus
included La Colectiva and MECHA (Felipe Rodriguez interview; Goodson interview). These
groups became important for supporting the SSOI. When administrators threatened budget cuts,
the SSOI director could call on students from these groups to lobby administration. Also,
directors called on community leaders like Chacon, and faculty supporters to pen letters
supporting the maintenance of funding for SSOI.

After Vento, Rodolfo Cortina became director. Cortina was another professor from the
Department of Spanish and Portuguese. A Cuban, Cortina focused on publishing and brought
Arte Publico Press representatives to campus to help advice on publication strategies for working
papers, booklets, and community publications. Cortina was appointed after a national search
failed to turn up a suitable candidate.

Finally, Santiago Daydi-Tolson, also professor in the Department of Spanish and
Portuguese took over as director in 1983. By this time Felipe Rodriguez began to see a pattern as
each successive director took the SSOI in a new direction emphasizing only one aspect of its
mission and largely excluding others. (F. Rodriguez interview)

During the 1970s and 1980s, the SSOI, besides the above functions also published
information on Milwaukee Latinos and Latinos at UWM. These publications included a
compilation of a historic newspaper produced by the Latino community in the 1940s, and
research on Latino students at UWM. The SSOI also invited prominent Latino/a speakers to
campus and held receptions for Latino student graduates and other social events. The SSOI also
frequently received calls from the campus and off campus with requests for various information relating to Latinos including translation services, employer requests for bilingual workers, student employment advising, etc.

In the mid-1980s questions arose among Latinos on campus and in the community about the UWM administration's commitment to the SSOI. The dean of the College of Letters and Sciences, William A. Halloran, in 1985 released a proposal to strip the SSOI of its advising component. In 1987, the Dean formed an advisory committee to study changes to SSOI's structure. The community questioned the composition of the committee. CELA argued that the committee did not have enough community members (Rodriguez-Donato). On March 9, 1988 a public forum was held at the United Community Center where the committee released its findings. Activists criticized the report for leaving out community input, for ignoring outreach, and for maintaining the SSOI in L&S (Rodriguez-Donato).

The community felt the university had once again ignored their concerns. Many Latinos concluded that Dean Halloran was unfriendly toward SSOI and the Latino community in general. The report advised that the SSOI remain in Letters and Science, but in a highly diminished capacity. Latino leaders also criticized the committee's lack of attention to increasing community input. Finally, they criticized the committee's finding that the director should be an Academic Staff rather than a faculty member.

Dean Halloran in 1988 implemented the changes that, in the view of the director, and other Latinos on campus, weakened the SSOI. The most significant change was the splitting off of the academic advising responsibilities and the folding in of Latino student advisors with the core of Letters and Sciences advisors. A new advising group, the Hispanic Students Academic Services (HSAS) was formed in 1987. L&S hired two new advisors for Latino students and the
advising role was taken out of SSOI leaving only recruitment and retention responsibilities. Also, without a faculty director, the SSOI's research role and university standing declined. Also, the SSOI's budget was cut with the elimination of its research role. The SSOI, became responsible primarily for student recruitment and was shifted out of L&S to Student Affairs. Felipe Rodriguez became the interim director until 1997.

Felipe Rodriguez concluded that the changes represented a "shift away from outreach and community involvement activity to a focus on student retention through increased advising and accessing of support services from other UWM support units." Rodriguez suggests that Latinos on and off campus criticized the changes and viewed the fragmentation of services to Latino students and the Milwaukee Latino community as detrimental to students and to the community (Rodriguez-Donato).

The Latino Student Union

By the late 1980s the SSOI was but a shell of its former self. There was little Latino activism on campus or in the community. However, in the early 1990s, students and the community became more politically involved. In 1992, Robert Miranda arrived on the UWM campus. Miranda was a Puerto Rican and ex-Marine and prison warden in Pittsburg and he came to Milwaukee after his wife settled here to work as a U.S. Marshall. He entered UWM to finish his Criminal Justice undergraduate degree. On campus he met another undergraduate, Bernardino "Nino" Alvarez and they became friends. Like Miranda, Alvarez was an Army veteran. One day, while working on a computer in the Golda Meir library, a staff member told Alvarez to leave and called him a "vagabond."

Alvarez told Miranda of the incident and they went to the Hispanic Student Association to seek support. But the HSA was primarily a social group and was not interested in taking up
the issue. Because of the incident, Alvarez and Miranda formed the Latino Students Union (LSU) in November of 1992 and the LSU became an official student group in January 1993. Some of the core members of LSU were Elba Torres, Miguel Soto, Bobbi Lipeles, and Marshall Vega. Miranda and Alvarez envisioned LSU as a political group defending Latino students and reforming the university.

After forming LSU, campus and community leaders sought out Alvarez and Miranda and encouraged these student leaders to take up the plight of the SSOI. Those who sought out the LSU’s help with SSOI included Tony Baez, Felipe Rodriguez, and Jesus Salas. Miranda and Alvarez then began researching the history of SSOI in the university archives and began to understand how far SSOI had fallen since the split of advising and recruiting in 1988. Miranda’s research led him to conclude that the University had mismanaged money designated by UW System for minority programming. Originally earmarked for the recruitment of students of color, Miranda concluded that the administration in Letters and Science had diverted funds for other purposes such as the hiring of faculty in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese (Miranda interview).

The LSU put pressure on the university to reinvigorate the SSOI. The LSU sponsored demonstrations on campus and called for reform of SSOI. This pressure dovetailed with a reinvigorated community movement. Latino leaders like Tony Baez, who had returned to Milwaukee after working for several years at Lehman College in New York City, participated in a community discussion concerning programs in South Division High School's bilingual program. The issue of SSOI’s situation at UWM once again became a focal point for Latino community and campus activists. But there were other issues confronted by student activists. LSU student leader Marshall Vega become active in the South Side community and successfully
lobbied, with the backing of LSU and the Latino community, to have 16th Street renamed Cesar Chavez Dr (Miranda interview).

The Creation of the Roberto Hernández Center

Miranda was aware that the SSOI was stagnating. In 1992-1993, a new dean in Letters and Sciences, Marshall Goodman, brought SSOI and Felipe Rodriguez, back into the UWM College of Letters and Science. The Latino Student Union pushed for the creation of the Latino Certificate Program (LSCP) in 1994 and William Velez, Professor of Sociology, coordinated the program until 2001. In 1995-1996 Latino students, faculty, staff and community members met and proposed the creation of a new center that would include the SSOI, the new LSCP, and the LSAS (advising services). The new center would be called the Roberto Hernandez Center (RHC).

Dean Goodman received approval for the creation of the RHC in 1996. Felipe Rodriguez continued as the main recruiter and two new advisors were hired. In 1999 Manuel Martin-Rodriguez was hired after a national search as director of the RHC. He resigned in 2000 and William Velez became interim director. The RHC and its advisers were still located within the College of Letters and Sciences. Latinos on and off campus were concerned about the history of the lack of support for the SSOI from the Dean of the College. They were also believed that the RHC would better serve all of UWM's Latino students were it located outside the College of Letters and Science. However, though more Latino students were going into education, engineering, nursing, social welfare, and business fields, the majority still were in Letters and Science. Thus, the location of the RHC became the leading question. In 2000 the Chancellor's Latino/Hispanic Advisory Committee recommended that the most desirable outcome was the reconsolidation of the recruitment and advising functions and a reinvigorated research and
outreach component, and that the RHC should be housed in the Provost’s Office as a way of gaining a modicum of independence and allowing all UWM students to utilize the advising services. In 2001 the RHC moved out of L & S and into the Provost’s office and Enrique Figueroa was selected as director after a national search. The certificate program remained in L & S however. The RHC’s move out of Letters and Science came at a cost. RHC’s advisors lost their “signature authority” which meant they could not sign off on students seeking to add and drop courses. In 2001 the RHC opened new offices on the second floor of Bolton Hall. Moreover, Figueroa was not a tenured faculty member as the Chancellor’s Advisory Committee had recommended. This greatly weakened the RHC because he could not serve on faculty governance committees and thus encourage administrative changes that would benefit Latino students and faculty.

Conclusion

This history reveals several important realities that have shaped the SSOI over the years:

1. The initial protest was a community affair. Klotsche commented on this by noting that black students at UWM pushed for the creation of the Afro-American Studies program but that the whole Latino community participated in the protest and sit-in that led to the creation of the SSOI. The Latino community’s interest and involvement in the SSOI was also reflected in the creation of the classes and offices on the South Side that lasted until 1977.

   Yet, community involvement in SSOI has also been problematic. Administrators have never agreed with the community about the extent that the community would be involved with SSOI’s hiring or programming. Nearly every time a new director was selected, the community felt that it was not given enough input. Several of the early directors whom UWM administrators appointed were not active in the community. UWM administrators’ inability or refusal to include
the community in decision-making created friction between the Latino community and UWM and resulted in periods when the community organized and pushed for more involvement. But the administration has never really accepted community involvement.

2. This failing is curious. UWM administrators have historically defined UWM as an "urban university" and expressed a desire to forge close relations with the Milwaukee community. Latino activists and SSOI/RHC directors, in fact, understood that the phrase "urban university" should mean closer ties between UWM and Milwaukee's Latino community. The belief that UWM had not lived up to the "urban university" motto motivated the Latino protest that occurred in the 1970s. Some of SSOI's early directors continually referred to UWM as an "urban university" when lobbying administrators for more outreach, more resources, and more community involvement. However, administrators tended to see the term "urban university" as mandating research on the community, not participation of the community in the governance of the SSOI.

3. From the selection of the name "Spanish-Speaking" activists conceived of the SSOI as embracing all Latino nationalities. However, they understood the Latino community of the city as having roughly equal numbers of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans and that the two nationalities should be represented on boards and in the courses offered under the aegis of the SSOI. There was some sniping, for example, when Fernandez did not hire a Mexican American as assistant director in 1970 and instead hired a Costa Rican. In the minds of community members, the SSOI should reflect in its hiring the predominant nationalities of the community, namely Mexican and Puerto Rican. However, this was an unspoken mandate. In fact, the idea of the community was rather flexible. The community's most important characteristic was that the employees be known
and have a presence in the Milwaukee Latino community (ie serve on boards, come to community events, perhaps live in the community).

Thus, the community possessed a flexible definition the "Spanish-Speaking" population. However, the community balked when administrators appointed as directors or advisory board members professors who lacked knowledge of the Milwaukee Latino community, and who were infrequent participants in community activities. Even though these individuals had Hispanic last names, their lack of knowledge of the community raised real issues of trust and weakened community support for the university and the SSOI.

4. Where to go from here? From the beginning of SSOI there was an understanding that additional resources and programs would be developed by the university and the Director. Additional programs that activists cited as desirable included a major and even a Department of Latino studies. Currently there are efforts to develop a major in Latino/Latin American Studies.

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