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THE INTEGRATION OF PUERTO RICANS

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Published in THOUGHT
Autumn 1955

The movement of peoples from one land to another has become a commonplace of our time. Displacement, migration, expulsion, flight, the voluntary pursuit of a better life, are creating a situation where "uprooting" is a widespread human experience, and where the meeting of people of different cultures, and the possible conflicts that may be provoked by cultural differences, have become the concern of the statesman, the social worker, the businessman as well as the social scientist. Systematic knowledge of what happens when peoples meet has consequently become most important, and the theory of preventing conflict, or of reducing it when it occurs, has become a practical necessity as well as a matter of scientific interest.

There are few places where theory of this kind has had a better opportunity to develop than the United States, a nation made up of immigrants from a wide variety of cultures, which has witnessed the gradual transition of all these peoples into a remarkably united nation, and which still witnesses a migration from Canada, Mexico and Puerto Rico which will have important influences on the nation's life.

This paper is concerned with only one aspect of this theory, an aspect which has been changing within recent years, that is, the role of the immigrant community in hindering or helping the assimilation of foreign peoples into American life. It had been thought that the close association of foreign groups in their own neighborhoods or their national parishes, the tenacious clinging to their language and customs, was an unfortunate thing which interfered with their acceptance of American ways. Now it begins to appear that the immigrant community, far from hindering the assimilation of immigrants to American life, may have been an important factor in advancing it by making it more gradual and orderly, and by providing for the immigrant the security of a well-organized social life during the difficult period of transition to a new culture.

It is of some value to examine this modification of theory about the role of the immigrant community. It can have important practical implications in directing the policy which should be followed as people move into new culture areas. Finally, it is possible to test this new theory by examining it in the light of the experience of the Puerto Ricans who are migrating to the United States mainland, and particularly to New York City.

Certain conditions are affecting the movement of the Puerto Ricans to the mainland which may prevent them from developing the type of ethnic community that was so characteristic of earlier immigrant groups. If adequate information can be gathered about the Puerto Rican migration, it should be able to reveal many things: (a) whether, in the face of situations which seem to make it impossible, a migrating group can still succeed in forming a community of its own; (b) if they do not succeed in forming a community of their own, will this lead to disorganization of their social life; (c) or will the recent development of a more favorable attitude toward different cultures dispose the older residents to accept the Puerto Ricans more willingly, and thus make the existance of a community of migrants unnecessary.

The answers to these questions are not yet available. Perhaps they will become available in another generation. The present paper is an effort to outline the shift in theory concerning the role of the immigrant community, and to review the reasons that led to it, to examine briefly some of the situations confronting the Puerto Ricans which make their migration unique, and which will make their experience so significant in demonstrating what can or cannot be done by people from different cultures when they face a situation similar to that of New York.

Probably the most important factor in the more favorable attitude toward people of other cultures was the development of the theory of cultural pluralism, which is closely associated with the development of the concept of culture in anthropology and sociology.

The United States had gone through a rather long history of writings which had glorified the Anglo-Saxon and tended to consider other races and ethnic groups as quite inferior. It attributed the achievement of democracy in the United States to the genius of the Anglo-Saxon, and explained the phenomenal development of trade and industry as a result of the initiative, vigor and discipline of the Anglo-Saxon character. This created a very unfavorable attitude toward the immigrant as one who would threaten the great achievements of the Anglo-Saxon, and therefore as one who would threaten the great achievements of the Anglo-Saxon, and therefore as one who should either be kept out of the United States, or compelled when he came here to adopt as soon as possible the ways of the traditional Americans, the Anglo-Saxons.[1]

During and after the first World War, this theory took a different direction. There appeared a willingness to accept the immigrant, but this was accompanied by a determined effort to divest him of his traditional culture and get him to accept American customs and ideas as quickly as possible. This has become known in sociology as the "Americanization" movement, one that is widely recognized as having been a mistake.[2]

While these ideas were current, the concept of culture was being developed by the anthropologists and sociologists. It began to appear very noticeably in the immigrant literature in the study by Robert Park and Herbert Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted (New York, 1921), and in the highly esteemed work of W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (Boston, 1918-20).

Culture

The scholars began to realize that the customs and attitudes that distinguished the Irishman from the German were not trivial matters, nor were they something that could be adopted or discarded like a winter coat. They were rooted often in the deepest values of a person's life, they gave meaning to everything he did, they were his answer to the question, Why was he alive? and, Where was he going? Thus the burning of paper by the Chinese before the shrine of his ancestors, the careful chaperoning of the girls by the Italians, the apparent lack of thrift of the Irishman in spending for his family, the refusal of most immigrants to compete strongly against their fellow immigrants, the unconcern of so many immigran s with the making of money -- these and numerous other traits were not just the result of laziness or irresponsibility. Rather, when seen in their proper perspective, these traits were often the manifestations of a great sense of responsibility, but one that expressed itself differently than that of the Anglo-Saxon. They often came from a deep sense of obligation to give to one's relatives rather than save for oneself; from a love for children as a value in themselves above abundant earthly possessions; from a deep sense of loyalty to "one's own kind" rather than a desire for self-advancement.

These cultural traits influenced behavior not only on its deepest levels, but also in many of its more superficial aspects, such as the kind of smile and when it was given; behavior at a wake or a wedding; the love of roughness at a celebration, and a respect for physical strength; the way a friend was greeted, a meal served, or a type of clothing worn. These were all interwoven in an outlook on life that gave meaning to the work of a man's hands and the love of a man's heart; they gave life "the sense it made"; they were the source of a man's motivations and the support of his satisfaction. This was his culture.

Therefore, it was one thing to ask a man to become an American, and millions of immigrants boasted that they were and wanted to be Americans. It was quite another thing to tell him that, in order to become American, he had to discard the deepest values of his life, set aside as foolish all the traits that gave lift its meaning, and adopt a pattern of ideas and attitudes and customs which seemed to have no relationship to the things that had made his life and the lives of his fathers and grandfathers worthwhile. In many cases they had become Americans precisely because they had conceived of America as the land where they would be free to live according to these values which they cherished.

In view of this the concept of cultural pluralism became widely accepted. This helped scholars to recognize the importance of the culture of the immigrant, and to recognize that his loyalties and values and customs should be able to exist in America together with the other culture that we have come to call American.

Practically all the current literature on immigration or migrant groups takes the concept of cultural pluralism for granted.[3] This is not a naive belief that the immigrant culture is going to continue full-blown in an American environment. It is clearly recognized that, eventually, the immigrant culture will give way to a form of life which is predominantly American. But it is also recognized that this occurs most regularly and most harmoniously when the culture of the immigrant is respected, when it is not despised, when it is given every opportunity to survive to the satisfaction of its members in the midst of American society.[4]

II

This recognition of the importance of culture led naturally to a new insight into the nature and function of the immigrant community. When the Irish began to cluster into their predominantly Irish neighborhoods, and the Little Germanys, and Little Italys, or the Jewish neighborhoods became so conspicuous during the last century and the early part of this century, they aroused a great deal of concern among the older Americans. In many cases, they transplanted to the streets of New York almost the exact pattern of social relationships which had characterized the Italian village, the Irish countryside, the Jewish Ghetto. The visitor, moving in the midst of one of these sections, could easily imagine that he was in a strange land.

The phenomenon was criticized because many people were convinced that these immigrant communities would prevent the members from becoming American. The immigrants continued to speak their native tongue; they read newspapers in their native language; went to churches where customs and religious practice reproduced the customs of the old country; neighborhood life followed traditional patterns; they courted, married, raised their children and died in an island of a culture different from that of the United States. As long as this continued, it was feared that the immigrants would not be exposed to American customs and ideas, would never adopt those cultural traits which the Anglo-Saxon prized so highly, and to which he attributed the greatness of the United States. The immigrant community represented a threat to the great traditions of America. It was more than the foot in the door; it was an actually existing island of a way of life which, they were convinced, would infect and weaken the great qualities of the American way of life.

Of course, it became obvious as time went on that this was an unreasonable fear. Consistently the second generation came, and the third, and it became clear that the inevitable social process worked itself out: the third generation child was no longer a child of a foreign culture; he was predominantly American.

Nevertheless, there seemed to be a note of regret that this should take so long to accomplish. There was a widespread conviction that, if the immigrants could be made to mingle more closely with Americans, if they could be taught the language sooner, and introduced into the midst of American life, the process of adopting American cultural ways would be advanced more quickly. In some cases, of course, this

was simply the rationalization of people who did not want the immigrant in the first place; but they agreed politely that they would accept them "if they would only do things our way." In other cases, it was the desire of sincere people to hasten the process by which the immigrant would become "American." Obviously, they all recognized that the factor which seemed to block the way to more rapid adoption of American ways was the immigrant community. Consequently, it was argued that, if the bonds of the immigrant community could be weakened, if immigrants could be more directly exposed to American influence, they would become part of the American way of life much more quickly.

It is this last proposition that has been strongly challenged in more recent years, mainly because of the growing appreciation of the role of culture, not only in the lives of immigrants, but in the lives of everyone.

In the first place, it has become clear that culture is the stabilizing factor in men's social life; it is the thing that gives it order and harmony. Therefore, any disintegration of a culture is always attended by instability, insecurity, unrest and even hostility. The common values which governed people's actions; the common meanings that bound people together into a satisfying social unity; the patterns of behavior that everyone could take for granted -- when these were shaken or even shattered, man's social life became disorganized, perhaps chaotic. This was doubly a problem in the case of people who were moving from a "folk" culture, or from a traditional form of social life which was not self-consciously represented in their minds, but simply accepted from childhood as the "way things are done." In this case, the "uprooting," the challenge to their way of doing things, the breaking down of the customs of their people would be particularly distressing.[5]

The effect of this breaking down of cultures has been abundantly documented in America in studies of the second generation problem. The second generation are the people who are caught between two cultures. Born in the United States of foreign parents and schooled at home in foreign ways, yet continually instructed outside of the home in a different culture, the members of the second generation can easily slip into a cultural no-man's land, where they are neither one nor the other.[6]

If this distress is so marked among the second generation, one can only imagine how much greater it would be among the first generation if they were deprived of all the cultural surroundings of their traditional home, and all the security that comes from the satisfaction of living among one's own.

As a result, it has become more clearly recognized that the immigrant community fulfilled a very important role in creating a stable and orderly situation in which the transition from one culture to another could take place. Instead of the immigrants falling into a completely disorganized life, which would have created serious problems for the immigrants as well as the Americans, the immigrant community was the great factor which gave the immigrant security as he faced a bewildering new world, gave him protection and support in the face of a challenge to his traditional values, exercised a strong social control over his life that gave order and stability to his social relations. As a result the immigrant moved gradually from a well-organized type of life toward a gradual acceptance of the ways of a new culture. Granted that this caused the immigrant considerable distress as it was, and caused the second generation perhaps more distress, it was the immigrant community that enabled the transition to be made as calmly and harmoniously as it has been. Marice Davie summarizes the process in this way:

> The essential functions of the immigrant community are to bridge the gap between the old country and the new, to prevent personal and social disorganization such as would result from too rapid change, and to interpret the American culture to the immigrant and prepare him to participate in it... The newly arrived immigrant finds there a cultural haven without which he would be demoralized during the trying period of readjustment, and also assistance from the earlier arrivals in accommodating himself to the American scene.

Some other interesting insights are given into this in an article by Mary B. Treudley concerning the experience of the Greeks in Boston.[8] She indicates how important the immigrant community is for the period of transition. It cushions the shock of change, maintains a stable social life among the members of the Greek community, makes its members consciously aware of the nature of their social life as they see it is contrast to that of the American, gives them assistance in settling the problems of transition and enables them to practice American ways within the setting of interested friends and relatives. Treudley points out another interesting factor. The American way to which the immigrant must adjust is not a perfectly consistent thing. This, of course, is widely recognized. The immigrant must make choices among the many possibilities and permits him time gradually to move into the ones which he wishes to choose.[9]

The result of these insights and discussions, consequently, has been a great respect for the function of the immigrant community as a form of transitional society which has enabled millions of immigrants to move gradually into the acceptance of predominantly American attitudes and patterns of behavior.

Emphasis must always be placed on the transitional nature of this community. Any attempts to perpetuate it permanently in the context of American life would probably be a misfortune, because it would prevent the acceptance of those values which are characteristic of American life: individual development, self-reliance, aggressiveness, desire to advance socially and economically. Obviously the question will arise in the mind of the discreet reader whether it is good to have immigrants or the children of immigrants accept these American values in the place of some of the much deeper human values which were characteristic of their native cultures. A thorough discussion of this would take us far afield. From many points of view the immigrant loses some wonderful human traits as he becomes American, those deep family loyalties, the psychological satisfactions of being a member of a closely knit social group, the awareness of being known and respected for what one is and does. The fact that these things are lost in American society has created the question among sociologists whether this society can survive.

Nevertheless, with all its difficulties, the United States has created an extraordinary culture where respect for the individual is probably more widely evident than in any other culture. In fact, the problem of lack of community has come from an excessive insistence on the possibilities for individual development. Therefore, if the immigrant is to share the achievements of American life, and that is presumably why he has come here, he must face the distress of learning how to live in a culture where he is much more "on his own", and where he must learn to live according to value which he individually and consciously accepts, rather than according to values which are supported and enforced by a traditional form of social organization.[10] Consequently, the function of the immigrant community as a transitional social group will be carried out effectively if it permits the gradual acceptance of American values rather than prevents its members from escaping from the immigrant community at all.

III

In summary, therefore, the present state of theory concerning the adjustment of people to a new culture would seem to suggest the following: No strong effort should be made to disorganize the community which immigrants or migrants may form as they move into the area of a new culture; they should be permitted to form into communities of their own where they will have security, stability, and order as they graduall learn American ways; efforts should be made to help the immigrant preserve a genuine respect for his own culture as well as acquire a knowledge of the new one; similar efforts should be made to cultivate in the older residents a respect for the culture of the newcomers; opportunities for association with older residents must not be blocked for the newcomers, the job and the school being the two which will be first in order of time, the neighborhood second as the immigrant as the immigrant community begins to weaken and its members disperse. In this situation, the immigrant community will not shut its members off from a gradual integration with their new culture; neither will it be blocked off in a ghetto-like segregation by the resistance of the older residents.

This, of course, is an ideal pattern which will never be wholly carried out in practice. But it is the policy which seems to be suggested by current theories.

In view of this, it is important to examine some of the experiences of the latest group to move into the Eastern part of the United States in large numbers. These are the Puerto Ricans. They are citizens of the United States and, in that sense, do not come from a foreign country. But they do come from a culture quite different from that which prevails on the mainland, and their adjustment to life on the mainland involves difficulties very similar to those of the immigrants of previous years.

It is unfortunate that so little empirical data is available on the experience of the Puerto Ricans.[11] Nevertheless a brief review of their experience will be helpful in enabling an evaluation of their adjustment against the background of theory which has just been reviewed.

Dispersal in New York

One of the most striking things about the coming of the Puerto Ricans is their dispersal into almost every corner of New York. There are noticeably large concentrations of them in East Harlem, in the South Bronx, on the Lower East Side and in downtown Brooklyn. But in considerable numbers they are scattering into almost every section of the city. This is reflected in the large number of public schools that have Puerto Ricans in attendance in large numbers, and in the parishes, so many of which require the assistance of a Spanish-speaking priest.[12]

This scattering is due to a number of factors. In the first place, the city is terribly crowded and built up, and Puerto Ricans must seek any kind of housing anywhere they can find it. They find it in the areas where the old tenements, built for an earlier generation of immigrants, are beginning to decay. These were privately built tenements, rented to large groups of Jews or Italians or Irish who wished to stay together in a neighborhood where they knew others and were known themselves.

Now, as the second and third generation of the older immigrant groups move to the suburbs, the Puerto Ricans move in any place in the city where they can find space. Therefore the possibility of concentration is diminished.

When the city attempts to provide new housing, the situation becomes more complicated. The only new housing which is within the reach of poor people today is low-rent public housing. When this is provided, two interesting phenemena appear which had never affected the older immigrants. When slums are cleared and many square blocks of houses demolished to make way for new public housing, thousands of families are forcibly dispersed into any section of the city where they can find rooms, or where the city can find rooms for them. Therefore, if any concentration of Puerto Ricans had begun to form in this area, it is forcibly dispersed and the members of this growing community of migrants are scattered in many directions.

What is more, when the low-cost public housing is ready, families are not admitted on the basis that they are Irish or Jewish or Negro or Puerto Rican, and they would like to be with a group of families of their own kind. A very strict renting list is followed, giving priority to those who applied first, or who are veterans, or who are most in need, etc. Consequently, the low-cost public housing is, by policy and practice, integrated housing with no discrimination permitted on the basis of race, creed, color, or ethnic background.

The reasons for this firm policy of non-segregated housing are many and convincing, and they are rooted in some unfortunate historical situations. In general, segregated housing in the United States has not been segregated because the occupants wanted to be by themselves and away from others. Rather it was generally the result of racial discrimination which forbade Negro groups particularly, and occasionally

other ethnic or religious groups simply because they were Negro or Jewish, etc., from moving out of their area into a new one when they tried to do so. In order to correct the injustices involved in this kind of discrimination, a strict policy of nondiscrimination is followed in public housing.

This obviously means that the concentrations of immigrants in neighborhoods which often reproduced the flavor of the old country will no longer be possible for the migrants from Puerto Rico who move into the housing projects.

The case histories of some of these families is a vivid indication of the way they are literally "pushed around" by slum clearance, housing development, new city projects or redevelopments. The insecurity, the rapid mobility ot which these people are subjected can just about be imagined. This is further complicated by the fact that public officials, in a desperate effort to locate unused land where they can build without first demolishing existing structures, have located some of the low-rend public houses in the midst of old, established middle class neighborhoods where bitter resentment is frequently visited on the families in the projects, who are accused of ruining the neighborhood. A consideration of the merits of this policy is beyond the scope of the present paper. Nor is any criticism of this policy implied here. It may prove in the next twenty years to have been the wisest of policies. It is simply mentioned here as part of the situation which the new migrant to New York must face.

In this situation, it is doubtful whether the Puerto Ricans will be able to form the type of community which earlier immigrants formed. If they do, they will have done it in circumstances much more difficult than those faced by earlier immigrant groups. If this more rapid intermingling with other Americans prevents the formation of strong Puerto Rican communities, will that hasten their integration into American culture; or will the loss of that stability which the immigrant derived from his immigrant community show itself in a noticeable disintegration of their social life, psychological unrest, even forms of antisocial behavior? No one knows the answer to this yet. But the experience in process should be able to provide the answer within the next generation.

The Integrated Parish

Another important aspect of the Puerto Rican experience has been the apparent policy to integrate them as parishioners in existing territorial parishes rather than form national parishes for them as a particular group.[13] A number of rather convincing reasons have prompted this policy. It is a reflection to some extent of the scattered location of the Puerto Ricans in this city. If national parishes were created, at least one third of the parishioners in a great number of existing territorial parishes would be lost to these parishes, and this would involve a multiplication of churches and services which would apparently be unwise. Secondly, almost all of the dioceses in the country which have had the tradition of national parishes for the immigrant groups are now faced with the difficulty of what to do with these parishes as young people of the third generation move away, or no longer speak the language if they stay. Finally. there is a widespread conviction that a much more positive effort toward integration within the territorial parish will hasten the adjustment of the Puerto Rican to the customs of the mainland parish.

Where this practice of the integrated parish is adopted, it is clearly acknowledged that an intermediate process must take place, that special services must be provided in Spanish, and opportunity given for the practice of traditional customs and devotions by the new parishioners. Otherwise, the adjustment to an entirely American parish would be too great a shock for most of them to take.

Nevertheless, the process may inhibit formation of those closely knit communities, centered around the practice of the faith, which were characteristic of earlier immigrant groups, and it is one more factor impeding the development of a community of migrants.

Social Services

One final factor preventing the formation of a strong community of Puerto Ricans in the sense of the immigrant communities of earlier days is the fact that, within the past thirty years, the development of public social services has taken over so many of the functions of mutual assistance which the immigrant communities often provided for themselves.

This does not imply that there is not an extraordinary amount of loyalty to friend and family, of great charity and assistance for one another in their neighborhoods. Their informal adoption of children, their willingness always to take someone else in a home that is already overcrowded, their willingness to share their meager possessions -- these are all impressive indications of the kind of mutual assistance which often fades out as people become more American.

Nevertheless, there are public benefits available today which relieve the new community of much of the burden which once was the basis for much of its solidarity. Public welfare exists for those who are in financial need; employment services, both of the State, of the Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, of the Archdioceses of New York and Brooklyn, are all available to help men and women to find work; social security, minimum wage laws and maximum hour laws, low-cost public housing for those who need homes. On the side of private agencies, Catholic Charities is a highly developed organization applying a great many of its resources to the assistance of Puerto Ricans; and labor unions can exert their power to protect the newly arrived worker.

All of the services just mentioned can be quite inadequate, can suffer from improper administration and inefficiency, can harass the needy person with red tape. Nevertheless, at the critical moment, they are often on hand to assist. And the immigrant community which years ago had to bear the burden of its own poor and needy now no longer plays as important a role as the generous supporter of the immigrants or migrants.

The accumulation of these services again weakens the bonds that used to hold together the members of a migrant community. Quite apart from the Puerto Ricans, it has been noted by some of the political writers that the old form of "boss politics" has declined since the time when the machine took care of the needs of its people.[14] One of the important factors in the decline of the "political machine" has been the shift to public welfare of many of the services once fulfilled by the political boss, often the patron of the immigrant community. And the solidarity of the machine was often only one aspect of the solidarity of the immigrant neighborhood.

In summary, therefore, all these factors seem to be working against the formation of a strong migrant community among the Puerto Ricans. With no such strong community to act as a society in transition for them, will they suffer from great disorganization which might otherwise have been avoided, or will their adjustment to American life be more rapid than that of the others? There are two favorable factors in the situation which must be mentioned -- the familiarity of the Puerto Rican with American culture before he comes here, and the more favorable attitude toward people of other cultures that has been cultivated by increasing emphasis on the possibility of cultural pluralism.

American Influence

To some extent, the Puerto Ricans have a head start toward adjustment before they come to the mainland. The Island has been a United States possession for more than half a century, and Puerto Ricans have enjoyed citizenship for almost forty years. American methods of education were introduced into the Island shortly after it became an American possession. This was carried to a point where English became the standard language of instruction until after many years this was changed to Spanish in the mid-thirties. Since that time, English is a compulsory study at all levels of instruction.

It is doubtful whether classroom instruction alone can communicate an understanding of a different culture to children who all day long are immersed in their own culture. Nevertheless, the Puerto Rican has been given at least this much formal introduction to life on the mainland which earlier immigrants had not enjoyed.

Within more recent years, a much more noticeable impact has been made upon the Puerto Ricans by advertising, radio, magazines, movies, business houses from the mainland, American tourists, and the return of large numbers of students who have come to mainland schools. Missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, have all made the culture of the mainland a very real thing to the people on the Island. Most significant of all, however, in more recent years, has been the return to Puerto Rico of the migrant himself. Actually, the movement of Puerto Ricans to the mainland could be better described as a form of commuting rather than a migration, so many move back and forth every year.[15] There is no one better able to communicate an understanding of "the way it is done" on the mainland than the brother or cousin or father who has been here and is now returning. This is not the first time that this has happened. Italian immigrants moved back to Italy in large numbers. But it is doubtful whether the movement was ever proportionately so extensive as it is among the Puerto Ricans.[16] All these things taken together represent an impact of the mainland culture on the Puerto Rican much greater than had been made on earlier immigrant groups before they came.

It is possible that such an introduction into the culture of the mainland may make the transition easier; that the Puerto Rican may not find it necessary to rely so much upon the support of his fellow migrants.

Emphasis on Cultural Pluralism

It is a strange irony that, at a time when much more respect is being shown for the role of the immigrant community, a set of circumstances exists which may hinder its development.

Nevertheless, whether the immigrant community develops or not, there is much more widespread understanding of the nature of cultural transition today than there was half a century ago. This is accompanied by a greater respect for the culture of the migrant group and an effort to spare them the distress of the uprooting as far as that is possible. This has resulted in New York in admirable efforts to make the transition for the Puerto Ricans as smooth as possible.

This is certainly true on the level of official policy, on the level of community leaders, people of some influence and education. Strong public statement against the Puerto Ricans would not be tolerated, or at least would be severely criticized.

Nevertheless, there is still a great deal of resentment against them among people of influence and education as well as among older city residents in the neighborhoods, the taverns, the workshops, the super-markets, even in the church.

Which of these two influences will predominate is difficult to say. In widespread programs of education, the effort is being made, probably greater than ever before, to dispose the older New Yorker to accept the Puerto Rican. If this can neutralize the hostility or resentment that manifests itself also very widely, the influence of the emphasis on cultural pluralism may be able to smooth the transition in the areas where Puerto Rican is intermingled with Negro or Irish or Jew or Italian or any other of the many ethnic groups in New York City.

These are factors in the situation which make the migration of the Puerto Ricans somewhat different than that of the immigrants before them. The experience of the next generation will answer a number of questions and throw a great deal of light on the importance of the community that immigrants or migrants tend to form as soon as they move into a new culture.

It is possible that the Puerto Ricans will succeed in establishing a strong community in spite of the obstacles. If they do not, it may appear that their experience was a smoother one than that of the immigrant groups before them. In this case, it will be necessary to determine whether this was due to the fact that they were forced to intermingle with the older residents much more rapidly; or because they were somewhat familiar with American culture before they came; or because the emphasis on cultural pluralism created an atmosphere of acceptance which earlier immigrants did not enjoy.

Out of the experience, it should be possible for scholars to learn whether the immigrant community is so important that people will develop it against great obstacles, whether its absence retards the process of integration, or whether the understanding of culture and the emphasis on cultural pluralism can supply for its absence.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Cf. E. N. Saveth, American Historians and European Immigrants (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), for numerous examples of this theory. Numerous examples can be found in Edith Abbott, Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926). Some of this was related to more theoretical principles of racial superiority such as those of Arthur De Gobineau, Essay on the Inequality of Human Races (New York: Putnam, 1932), and Houston Chamberlain, Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, tr. J. Lees (New York, 1912). But a certain amount of it was the result of a great enthusiasm about the obvious achievements of the United States and a pride in the people who seemed to be responsible for it.

The racial theories in their worst form cropped up again to influence United States immigration legislation. Madison Grant, The Alien in Our Midst (New York, 1930); The Passing of the Great Race (New York, 1916); Madison Grant and Charles S. Davison, The Founders of the Republic on Immigration, Naturalization and Aliens (New York, 1928). Even the sociologist E. A. Ross campaigned strongly against the admission of "inferior" races, attributing to this the decline of America; The Old World and the New (New York, 1914). The racial theories were raised again at the time of the revision of the U.S. Immigration Law in 1952.

[2] Cf. Read Lewis, "Americanization," in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences; Isaac B. Berkson, Theories of Americanization (New York, 1920). Henry Pratt Fairchild, The Melting Pot Mistake (Boston, 1929), takes a somewhat modified position of "Americanization" which he modified still more in later works.

[3] Cf. Brewton Berry, Race Relations (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951); Ruth Tuck, Not With the Fist (New York, 1946), about the Mexicans of the Southwest; Pauline Kibbe, Latin Americans in Texas (Albuquerque, 1946); C. W. Mills and Clarence Senior, Puerto Rican Journey (New York, 1950); and the well-known college text F. J. Brown and J. Roucek, One America (New York, 1952), and many others.

[4] Not all that has been said in the name of cultural pluralism has been said wisely. Social scientists have not acknowledged sufficiently that sometimes a value or practice of a different culture must be openly criticized or condemned. One could list many situations in which Americans, according to our own values, would be obliged to forbid certain culture traits in this country. For instance, the practice of polygamy would not be tolerated, regardless of how deeply rooted it might be in the culture of a people who came here. Neither could we tolerate the selection of a marriage partner that gave no choice to either of the two parties to be married. Note our very strong opposition to "consensual unions" among Puerto Ricans, even though this has been a fairly widespread practice in their culture despite the constant teaching of their Catholic Faith to the contrary.

Not infrequently sociologists will accept as a tolerable culture trait something that Catholics as well as most other Christians would condemn as immoral and inhuman. Cf. the difference between Ruth Benedict's consideration of culture traits in Patterns of Culture in contrast to that of Father Andre Dupeyrat in Savage Papua (New York: Dutton, 1954).

[5] Cf. Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted (Boston, 1951), an excellent description of the many aspects of the uprooting which points up the sadness mingled with the hope of the movement of people to a new culture.

[6] Cf. Irving Child, Italian or American (New Haven, 1943), for an examination of the problem among second generation Italians. W. F. Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago, 1943); Hannibal G. Duncan, Immigration and Assimilation (Boston, 1933), for an excellent treatment of first and second generation immigrants; Lawrence G. Brown, Immigration: Culture Conflicts and Social Adjustments (New York, 1933).

[7] F. J. Brown and J. Roucek, One America, 3rd Edit. (New York, 1952), p. 547.

[8] "Formal Organization and the Americanization Process, with special reference to the Greeks in Boston," Amer. Soc. Rev., XIV: 44-53.

[9] "An Ethnic Group's Views of the American Middle Class," ASR, XI: 715-724.

[10] Cf. the closing chapters of Handlin, op. cit., for an excellent discussion of this.

[11] The latest survey published on the migration (and it is a survey rather than an intensive inquiry into specific questions) was the one prepared by C. W. Mills and Clarence Senior Puerto Rican Journey. The data for this was gathered in 1947 and is already quite out of date. Much more limited surveys have been done by Oberlin College on Puerto Ricans in Lorain, Ohio, and of the Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia by the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations. These surveys are excellent as far as they go. But they do not go into detail on the problem of the "community life" of the Puerto Rican people.

[12] In the area of Manhattan and the Bronx alone, there are at least seventy-five Catholic churches with special provisions for Spanish-speaking parishioners. Whatever else this may mean, it certainly indicates an extraordinary spread of Puerto Ricans.

[13] I refer here primarily to the practice in the New York Archdiocese, where the largest number of migrants have settled.

[14] Cf. Penniman, Sait's American Parties and Elections, chap. xvi-xvii.

[15] Within the past few years, generally about half a million passengers per year traveled between San Juan and the mainland. Balancing the outgoing passengers against the incoming, the net out-migration of people in 1954 was only 21,000; in 1953 it was 73,000. Many of the other passengers are obviously tourists, students, business and government officials. But large numbers of them also are migrants going back to the Island after they have been here.

[16] During the years of heaviest Italian immigration, from 1905 to 1914, often half as many Italians would go back to Italy as came here. Cf. Foerster, Italian Emigration in Our Time (Cambridge, Mass., 1922).