REPORT ON HONORS RESEARCH:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF PUERTO RICANS IN LORAIN, OHIO

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I. Description of Research

The Puerto Rican community in Lorain, Ohio dates from 1946, when the first 100 workers were imported by the steel company. Since that time the Latin community has grown to 10,000, comprising a proportionately large segment of the city's total population of approximately 75,000. Most studies of the adaptation of Puerto Rican migrants to life in the United States are based on New York City; to my knowledge the Lorain population has never been the subject of a systematic sociological investigation. Although "El Barrio" in New York is still the largest continental settlement of Puerto Ricans and remains a reference point for many migrants in other cities, the great dispersal of the migration into all areas of the country makes studies of smaller, more typical cities important for understanding the experience of the Puerto Ricans.

The question that originally interested me was whether or not the Puerto Ricans were becoming integrated into the structure of American society, as opposed to forming an exploited underclass in the urban slum culture. In Lorain, the younger generation of children born in this country or brought over very young is beginning to come to maturity. However, the second generation is still too young to compare with the first generation because they have not yet achieved the occupational and educational level they will have at the peak of their careers. There are some families who have made considerable progress already in achieving upward mobility. The question behind my study became to discover the characteristics of these high potential families in comparison with families who have remained at the same low level since migration.

In order to answer this question I obtained a purposive sample of "middle class" and "lower class" families from a Puerto Rican social worker at a settlement house within the Latin community. My sample is not necessarily
representative of the Latin community as a whole because it is nonrandom and does not reflect the actual distribution of middle and lower class families. Probably the average Puerto Rican family in Lorain is closer to the lower class type than to the middle class type. The definition of lower and middle class was left elastic to fit relative standards within the community. The social worker who furnished the names seemed to regard the terms as roughly equivalent to "old-fashioned" and "modern".

A questionnaire was designed to tap information which might be useful in comparing the background and experiences of the two groups. The questionnaire was administered to 25 of the 30 families on the original list, the last five being omitted due to lack of time. The interview was printed both in English and Spanish, and was given in the language preferred by the respondent. (Only ten of the 25 were given in English). For the most part the interview was given to the lady of the house, although in some cases the husband was also present and answered some of the questions. There were no refusals, and the cooperation and hospitality of all respondents was impressive.

II. Findings

In order to determine the extent to which the data corresponded to the original two-group classification, I summarized ten variables which I believed were related to degree of potential for mobility and tried to divide the families on the basis of these variables without regard to their previous classification. The major criterion was education, coupled with occupation in Puerto Rico, number of children, and language of interview. The cutoff point in the center was somewhat arbitrary, for there were several families whose backgrounds did not correspond to their current status. Five families fell in different groups after the reclassification, but they could be classified either way, depending on the weight assigned to past versus present characteristics. The dual classification was retained for the purpose of summarizing data on the two types, despite the continuous nature of the data.
The variables which I summarized were: language of interview, rural-urban origin, age at migration, age, occupation in Puerto Rico, education, number of children, current occupation of husband, past or present occupation of wife, and preference for Hispanic spouses for children. These variables are not of equal importance in distinguishing between the groups, nor are they independent of one another. However, a summary of these characteristics for each group provides a useful basis for generalization.

In the lower class group, eleven out of twelve interviews were given in Spanish. None of these women speak English, although many understand a few words. They are older than the middle class group and were older at the time of migration. The median age at migration is 27 for the men and 29 for the women. For the most part they were not exposed to the educational system here, through which many of the younger migrants learned English. Their median age now is 47 for the men and 45 for the women. They are characterized by very low levels of education. Seven out of twelve men had a fourth grade education or less, four had between sixth and tenth, and only one graduated from high school. For the women, seven out of twelve had fourth grade or less, and the remaining five had between sixth and tenth grade. Fourth grade is the typical level of achievement. The low educational achievement is related both to age and predominately rural origin of the people. Six out of twelve men were employed in agricultural occupations in Puerto Rico, usually cutting sugar cane. Two were still in school, two had unskilled jobs, and two were employed in skilled labor. It is difficult to distinguish small town origin from rural origin due to the Spanish custom of naming the municipio of origin, regardless of whether they lived in the town or in the surrounding countryside. Judging from the husbands' occupations, though, at least half were of rural origin. Only one family came from a large urban area. The lower class families are also

*I didn't realize this until halfway through the interviews.
characterized by large numbers of children. The median number of children is eight, ranging from a low of two to a high of nineteen. This is probably related both to rural origin and to low educational level. All of the men are currently employed in blue-collar jobs, generally semi-skilled factory jobs. Only one of the women has ever held a job in this country (the one who speaks English). Five out of twelve say they would prefer that their children marry someone of Latin origin, while seven say that it doesn't matter.

In contrast, the middle class group is relatively young and well-educated. Typically both husband and wife have graduated from high school (eight out of twelve in both cases), and three of these men and four of the women have had some college. The rest have had between 8th and 11th grade, except one family which has been quite successful despite a 4th grade education. The good education is related to the youth of most of these people. The median age at migration was 20 for the men and 18 for the women. Many of them had some of their schooling in this country and thus speak English well. Ten out of thirteen interviews were given in English, and two of the three who spoke in Spanish spoke English also. Three families came from large urban areas, but most are from small towns. Five of the men were still in school in Puerto Rico, but two had professional occupations, two were in clerical or small business occupations, one was in the army, one was in agriculture, and one had an unskilled job. Current occupations of the men include three white collar jobs and ten blue collar jobs, although the latter tend to be more skilled factory positions than the lower class men. Of the women, twelve out of thirteen have held jobs in this country. They include three secretaries, three seamstresses, (a very typical job for Puerto Rican women), two beauticians, two nurses aides, one sales clerk, and one social worker. This group is characterized by relatively small families, and the median number of children is three. Only three out of thirteen would prefer that their children marry other Latins, while ten have no preference.
III. Case Studies

The above summaries only deal with a small part of the data gathered on each family. In order to give a more vivid picture of what some of these families are like, I have chosen one family from each group for a more detailed case study. The choice was dictated by the quality of the information gathered in the interview as well as the representativeness of the family.

A. A Lower Class Family

The Ortiz family lives in a fairly poor section of the Puerto Rican neighborhood near the factories which border the area. The large living room was almost completely bare; there was no rug on the floor and only one sofa and one chair. It appeared that they were doing some remodeling or repair, because there were several bags of plaster in the living room. The three small children running through the living room and wanting attention from their mother did provide some distraction, but despite that, Mrs. Ortiz was very pleasant and her Spanish was fairly easy to understand.

The Ortiz family came from San Lorenzo, a small town in Puerto Rico from which many people in Lorain have come. Both Mr. and Mrs. Ortiz had just one year of school in Puerto Rico. In 1951 Mr. Ortiz came to Lorain to look for a job. Like many others, they were seeking higher wages, more job opportunities, and a better standard of living. At that time there were no factories in Puerto Rico, Mrs. Ortiz said. She came in 1952 with her four oldest children. (In an interview with her oldest daughter, who was also in my sample in the middle class group, I learned that the family only stayed three months that time, went back to Puerto Rico, and returned permanently to Lorain in 1955.) At the time of the first migration, Mr. Ortiz was thirty and Mrs. Ortiz was twenty-eight. They are now 48 and 47, respectively.

Mrs. Ortiz has only been back to Puerto Rico once since 1955 to visit her father. She thinks she would like to return to Puerto Rico permanently.

*pseudonym
because of her relatives there, and because her husband is getting old and
would have sure work there. She is not sure whether or not she would have
been happier if they had never come here. There have been so many layoffs
and strikes here that it might have been better not to come, but one never
knows, she said. She found it very difficult to get used to Lorain when she
first got here because she had no friends and because she wasn't used to the
cold weather. She feels she is accustomed to life here now, though. What
she likes about the U.S. "the American customs—even though I don't know
English". There is nothing in particular which she dislikes about life here.
The things she likes about life in Puerto Rico are "the climate, the language,
the freedom, and my relatives there." She doesn't like the excessive pride that
many Puerto Ricans there have.

There are thirteen children in the family, eleven of whom still live at
home. The oldest daughter graduated from high school, took two courses at
Community College, and worked for a year as a secretary before she got married.
After that she worked three years as a receptionist at the settlement house
until she had her first child.* Her husband is an office clerk at Ford. The
second daughter dropped out of high school after 9th or 10th grade and got
married. The rest of the children are doing poorly in school. The oldest
son, age 17, used to get good grades, but none of them have good grades now.
Most get C's and D's, with occasional F's. If she could choose, Mrs. Ortiz
would like her children to study for careers, whatever they like. A doctor
or a priest would be good occupations for her sons, and secretary or teacher
for her daughters. The oldest son will be going into the army next year, however,
and she hopes he will learn something there. She thinks he might study statistics
at some point. None of the other children have any idea of what they want to be.
She thinks they may end up in factory jobs. She wants her daughters to "enjoy
their youth" by learning a vocation and working before they get married.

*From interview with daughter
Mrs. Ortiz would prefer that her children marry someone of the same nationality, because it helps people to understand each other better if they have the same background. Americans might not like Puerto Rico if they ever went back. Her children don't have many friends, because they don't go out of the house much, but the friends they have are Puerto Ricans. She is not sure what she thinks of American dating customs, except that it was different in Puerto Rico, where children had respect for their parents. "If my father said I couldn't go out, I didn't go out", she said. She doesn't think that the way children are raised here is better or worse than in Puerto Rico. "For poor people, wherever you are is the same."

Mrs. Ortiz has close relatives in Puerto Rico—her parents, uncles and aunts, and brothers and sisters—but none in Lorain. She doesn't write to them because she doesn't know how to write. Her husband writes occasionally, though. She has close friends in the neighborhood but doesn't visit anyone. She belongs to the Altar Society at the Spanish-speaking Catholic Church. Her husband belongs to the Veterans Club. She generally votes, and votes Democratic. The last election she voted in was the 1968 presidential election.

The Ortiz family has lived in their present house for eight years. She is not entirely happy with it, and would like to move to a more comfortable place. This one is not large enough for the family. They own this home, but previously rented one floor of a large building in a worse part of the area. It was very crowded with nine children.

Mr. Ortiz works at Fruehauf, making tanks for the trailers. He has had this job for 19 years, although he has worked at National Tube and on a farm picking apples when he was laid off for long stretches. Once he was without work for thirteen months. He earns $130 per week. Mrs. Ortiz has never had a job, but she thinks that it is all right for a woman without children to work. "In this house there is work for two women," she pointed out.
Mrs. Ortiz speaks no English, and understands only a few words. Her children, however, do not speak much Spanish. Some of the older ones speak it but not very well. They all know English better. She would like for them to be able to speak both languages. Her opinion on whether Puerto Ricans here should try to preserve their language and culture or become Americanized was that both were necessary. "I like American customs and I like Puerto Rican customs."

B. A Middle Class Family

The Morales* family also lives in the Puerto Rican district, but on a street farther removed from the smoke of the factories. The two-story frame houses, typical of the whole area, are well kept up on this block. The living room was carpeted and contained a large semi-circular sofa with a protective plastic covering. The stereo set was playing Mexican music when I came. Although Mrs. Morales speaks English, she said she preferred to speak in Spanish when I gave her the choice.

Mr. and Mrs. Morales are both from Utuado, a small town in Puerto Rico. He completed one year of college there and was an elementary school teacher. She completed two years of high school. In 1949 Mr. Morales came to the U.S. He went first to New York, but didn't like it because it was so dirty. When he found a factory job in Lorain, he sent for his wife and child. Mr. Morales was 21 when he came and Mrs. Morales was 16. They are now age 42 and 36, respectively. When I asked why they had decided to come here she said, "Out of ignorance. The immigrants painted a bright picture of the U.S. and we wanted to try also."

Mrs. Morales has returned to Puerto Rico twice, for vacations and to visit relatives. She would like to go back permanently because of the climate and because "the atmosphere in general has progressed ninety per cent. It is very advanced now and there is good education for the children. We can find

*pseudonym
everything there now." She has taken her children to visit Puerto Rico "so they can see the difference and see the place where their parents grew up". She isn't sure whether or not she would have been happier to have stayed in Puerto Rico, but says "I have learned a lot here". The only difficulty she had adjusting to this country was the language. There is nothing in particular that she likes about the way of life here, but what she dislikes is the excessive liberty that women have. "Many think they are more important then men, and that can't be, because the man should come first. Women can go to bars and get drunk—a ridiculous thing, especially for a married woman. A married woman's duty is to her husband and children, nothing else." She liked the respect that children in Puerto Rico used to have for their parents, but says that now there is no difference between the U.S. and Puerto Rico. She dislikes the excessive liberty that people have there now, and says that until they are 21 her children will have to do what their parents say. Although Mrs. Morales feels quite strongly about the issue of respect, she is not as strict as her comments might imply. I talked with one of her daughters, who said how happy she was to have such good parents who gave her freedom and trusted her yet set definite limits for what she could and couldn't do. Mrs. Morales also commented at a later point that the family is like equals—they are all adults.

There are four children in the family, age 15 to 20. The oldest daughter graduated from high school, and had one year of training to be a kindergarten aid, which she is now. She will be going to nursing school in the fall. The son attends Community College and both daughters in high school are on the honor roll. Mrs. Morales would like all her children to have four years of college. "I'm willing—it's up to them", she said. If she could choose, she would like her son to be a doctor or lawyer, although he wants to be an engineer or accountant. She thinks he will probably be an accountant. She thinks her daughters ought to work, and would like them to be teachers or work for the
community in some other way. The oldest wants to be a nurse, and the younger two want to be mathematics and Spanish teachers, respectively. Mrs. Morales thinks they will be teachers unless they get married.

When her children get married it is absolutely up to them whether they marry a Spanish person or someone else. Her children's friends include both Puerto Ricans and "Americans". She does not go along with the old-fashioned Puerto Rican dating customs and thinks it is a good idea for girls to have more than one boyfriend. "I have lived longer here and I am more adapted to the ways here." Her comment on the relative merits of bringing up children in Puerto Rico and the U.S. was "Here there is more opportunity to give them more—but that spoils them sometimes. They are never satisfied no matter how much you give them."

Mrs. Morales has close relatives in Puerto Rico, to whom she writes weekly. Her relatives in Lorain visit her frequently, some every week, others every three months or so. She has close friends in the neighborhood, but since she seldom has time to visit them, they visit her. She used to belong to the Utuado Club (one of several hometown clubs in Lorain) and to Neighborhood House (the settlement house). Her husband belongs to the Latin American Council, the Utuado Club, and the Latin Cooperative, a credit union. They belong to the Catholic church but not to any church-related organizations. Mrs. Morales always votes in elections. "I'm registered as a Democrat but I don't vote for all the Democrats". The last election she voted in was November 1969.

The Morales family has lived in this house for six years, but Mrs. Morales would like to move in order to be nearer the high school and to her work. They have lived in five different houses since coming to Lorain, but this is the first they have owned.

Mr. Morales is an interviewer at the State Employment Office, and has had this job for 17 years. He works nights as a clerk in a grocery store.
When they first came here he worked in various factory jobs for four years before he found an office job. Mrs. Morales works as a sales clerk at a department store. Before that she worked at Neighborhood House as a group leader for five years. She believes that a woman should work if she has the chance. The son works as a stockboy in a store and contributes his earnings to the family. The total family income is about $18,000 per year.

Mrs. Morales knew very little English before she came here, but speaks it pretty well now. Her children speak Spanish fairly well. They talk to each other in both languages "because I have to practice English and they have to learn Spanish". She believes her children ought to know Spanish in case they ever return to Puerto Rico, but also because "the more languages one knows the more intelligent one is". Regarding the preservation of Puerto Rican customs she points out that there are many different Puerto Rican customs, depending on where the people came from. "There are Puerto Ricans from the country who are very old-fashioned." In general, she thinks people ought to change if it is to better themselves, but they should try to preserve the language.

IV. Conclusion and Suggestions for Further Research

Perhaps the main conclusion I have drawn from these interviews is that background characteristics, especially education, explain a large part of the variation in upward mobility. This "conclusion" should be viewed as an hypothesis that could be tested by using a random sample and a more focused questionnaire. The most interesting idea I can think of for future research in Lorain would be a study of the development of ethnic pride and its manifestations. The differences between the assimilationist older generation and the cultural pluralist younger generation could be investigated, as well as the cultural versus the political viewpoint of the Puerto Rican minority status.
SECTION I

"First, I'd like to ask you some questions about the time when you came to this country from Puerto Rico."

1. What year did you come to this country? __________

2. Where in Puerto Rico did you come from? __________________________
   Is that in the country? a big city? small city?
   _____ rural
   _____ metropolitan area: San Juan, Mayaguez, Ponce
   _____ other urban

3. Where did your husband come from? __________________________
   _____ rural
   _____ metropolitan area
   _____ other urban

4. How old were you when you came? __________

5. How old was your husband when he came? __________

6. Who did you come with?
   6 ______ parents _____ husband _____ children _____ other relatives _____ alone

7. (if didn't come with husband) What year did your husband come? __________

8. Did your husband have a job in Puerto Rico? __________
   What was it? __________________________

9. Did you have a job in Puerto Rico? __________
   What was it? __________________________

10. How far did you go in school in Puerto Rico? __________________________
    Did you go to school after coming here? __________
    How far? __________________________

11. How far did your husband go in school in Puerto Rico? __________________________
    Did he go to school after coming here? __________
    How far? __________________________

12. Why did you decide to come to this country?
13. Did you come directly to Lorain from Puerto Rico or did you live somewhere else first? ____________________ Where?________________________
    How long did you live there?____________

14. Why did you decide to come to Lorain? (instead of another city)

15. Have you ever gone back to Puerto Rico?________________________
    How many times?__________
    Why did you go back?(for each time)

16. Would you like to go back to Puerto Rico? to visit?_____ to live?____
    Why?

17. Have you ever sent any of your children to Puerto Rico?____
    Why?

18. On the whole, do you think you are happier here than you would have been if you had stayed in Puerto Rico or the other way around?
    Why?

19. Are there some things about life here in Lorain that you found difficult to get used to when you first came?
    What are they?
20. Are there some things about life in America that you particularly like?  
   What are they?

21. ...that you particularly dislike?  What are they?

22. Are there some things about life in Puerto Rico that you particularly like?

23. ...that you particularly dislike?

Section II: "Next, I'd like to ask some questions about your children and their education"

1. Could you tell me the names and ages of your children?

2. Are any out of school now?  
   What are they doing?  
   How far did they go in school?  
   (If dropped out) Why did they leave school?

3. Of those who are in school now, how would you say they are doing?  
   Do they like school?(for each child)  
   (if yes) What about it do they like?
(if no) Why not?

Do they get good grades? What grades do they get? (for each child)

4. If it were completely up to you, how much education would you like your sons to have?

your daughters?

5. If a family could only afford to send one child to college, who should go, a son or a daughter?

Why?

6. What kinds of jobs would you like your sons to go into?

What do they want to do?

What do you think they actually will do?

7. What would you like your daughters to do, get married, work, or both?

What do they want to do?

What do you think they actually will do?

8. When your children get married, would you prefer that they marry someone with a Spanish background or someone with an American background?

Why?
9. Are most of your children's friends Spanish, American, or some of both?

10. What do you think of American dating customs—going out with different boys?

11. Do you think that the way children are raised here is better than the way they are raised in Puerto Rico or the other way around? Why?

SECTION III

"In this section I'd like to ask some questions about your friends and relatives, and about the clubs and organizations you belong to."

1. Do you have any close relatives in Puerto Rico?__________________________

   Do you write letters to them?____________________

   How often?____________________

2. Do you have any close relatives here in Lorain?__________________________

   Do they live nearby?__________________________

   How often do you visit them?____________________

3. Do you have any close friends in this neighborhood?______________________

   Elsewhere in Lorain?__________________________

   How often do you visit them?____________________
4. Do you have any *compadres* in Lorain? ________________
   Are they close friends? __________________________

5. Do you belong to any clubs or organizations? ________
   What are they? (list) What do they do? How often do you go to meetings?

6. Does your husband belong to any clubs or organizations? ______
   What are they? (list) What do they do? How often does he go to meetings?

7. What is your religion? ___________________________

8. Do you and your husband belong to a church in Lorain? ________
   What church? (name) ___________________________
   What denomination is that? (if not obvious)

9. What religion were you raised in? ________________

10. (If different) When did you change your religion? __________
    Why?

11. Do you belong to any church-related organizations? ____________

12. ("Now, about voting") Do you usually get a chance to vote? ______

13. What was the last election you voted in? ________________

14. What party do you usually vote for? ________________

SECTION IV

"Next I have some questions about the places you have lived and the jobs you and your husband have had since coming to Lorain."

1. How long have you lived in this house? __________________
2. Are you satisfied with this house or would you like to move?_________
   Why?____________________________________

3. Do you rent, own, or are you buying this house? ______________________

4. Where did you live before you moved here?___________________________
   Why did you move here?__________________________________________

5. Where was the first place you lived when you came to Lorain?_________
   What was it like?

6. Where else have you lived since coming to Lorain?___________________

7. What is your husband's occupation?________________________________

8. How long has he had this job?____________________________

9. What other jobs has he had since coming here? (in order)
   _____________________________________________________________

10. Has he ever been laid off or unemployed?___________________________
    When?__________ How long?_________________

11. Was your husband ever in military service? __________ When?________
    How long? ______________

12. Do you have a job also?________ (if no) Did you ever have a job?____
    What is (was) your job?________________________________________

13. How long have you had this job?____________________________

14. What other jobs have you had?__________________________________
    How long? __________________________________________________

15. Do you think women should work or is it better for them to stay at home?
    Why?
16. Do any of your children have jobs? __________ What are they? __________

Do they contribute to the family income? __________

17. Could you tell me about how much your total family income per year is?
   (or per month)________________________________________________________

18. Do you send money to relatives in Puerto Rico?________________________

SECTION V
"Last, I have a few questions about language".

1. Did you speak English before coming to this country? ________________

2. How did you learn English?
   Did you ever go to English classes? ______________

3. Do your children speak Spanish? ______________ How well? ______________

4. Do you usually talk to them in English or in Spanish? _______________

5. Do you think your children should know Spanish? ____
   Why?

6. Do you think Puerto Ricans here should try to preserve their language
   and culture, or should they try to be as American as possible?
PUERTO RICANS IN THE U.S. : TOWARD ASSIMILATION OR MARGINALITY?

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III. Puerto Ricans in Lorain

The most significant question regarding the future of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. is whether they will follow the pattern of earlier immigrant groups, achieving substantial acculturation and upward mobility within two or three generations, or whether they will become in large measure a permanent part of the urban poor, ensnared in the self-perpetuating cycle of slum life. Often, optimistic predictions are made, by pointing out some of the advantages Puerto Ricans have over previous immigrant groups: Puerto Ricans are already citizens when they come here; the migration process is much easier; their government takes an active interest in their adjustment, with its orientation programs in Puerto Rico and offices of the Migration Division in eleven U.S. cities; the idea of cultural pluralism is much more prevalent now, resulting in relatively less hostility toward newcomers and less pressure for immediate acculturation; they have already attained a degree of geographical dispersion much greater than earlier groups at a comparable time. The list could go on. But it must be pointed out that the society to which Puerto Ricans come is vastly different from the age of rapidly expanding industrialization which drew most of the earlier groups. Then, there was a huge demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor to fill the new factories. Today, job opportunities are steadily shrinking for those with few skills and little education. The Puerto Rican migration must also be viewed as part of the phenomenon of increased internal migration that followed World War II. Southern blacks, Appalachian whites, and Puerto Ricans—groups with relatively low educational and skill levels—are the new urban proletariat, drawn to the cities of the Northeast by postwar labor shortages only to find themselves in a precarious and marginal position relative to the
economic system.

The Puerto Ricans may be at a special disadvantage— not only are they low-skilled migrants, they are also immigrants, in the sense that they have a new language and culture to adjust to as well. However, the experience of previous groups suggests that acculturation will be virtually complete by the second generation. The question then becomes, "acculturation to what?— the American slum culture or the dominant middle class culture?"

Assuming that the entry point to American society for most Puerto Ricans is the urban slum, which seems to be the case, the crucial variable which will determine the future of the group is the ability to become a part of the mainstream of American society in one way or another. Becoming a part of the mainstream I would define as the adoption of the norms, goals, and behavior patterns of the dominant society (acculturation) and the achievement of educational, occupational, and income levels that define one as being above the poverty line. This process may be completed by some in one generation— for others it may take two. If the majority of Puerto Ricans have not achieved this level by the third generation, it would seem likely that they will have become trapped in the slums. All the evidence that I have seen suggests that this will not be the case. The little data that exists on the second generation shows upward mobility in occupations and an intermarriage rate comparable to earlier immigrant groups. The fact is that most Puerto Ricans are still first generation, and excessively pessimistic predictions may perhaps be accounted for by the failure to look at the second generation separately.

INCORPORATION INTO THE MAINSTREAM

In order to examine the variables involved in the process of incorporation into the mainstream, I propose the following framework: the degree
to which a group becomes incorporated into the mainstream depends on the interaction between the characteristics of the group and the opportunity structure of the receiving community. I have specified "community" rather than "society" because I believe there are crucial differences among cities, above and beyond some basic similarities in opportunity structures, that affect the assimilation process. The above theoretical statement is appropriate for analyzing and predicting the future of any group; in my analysis of key variables I shall point out both those which are critical for any group and those which are especially important in understanding the Puerto Rican experience.

POINT OF ENTRY

First of all, there are variables concerning the point of entry into American society. In terms of entry into the economic sphere, I have already suggested that Puerto Ricans in general have a relatively low level of education and skills, which narrowly limits the kinds of jobs which are open to them. Entry into the economic sphere is still a variable, though, because some jobs may lead to promotions and increased skills, whereas others may not. In terms of initial incorporation into the mainstream, the Puerto Rican steelworker, a member of powerful union, is considerably better off than his compatriot who is a seasonal farm worker.

More important within this category are the characteristics of the city and the neighborhood within the city which the migrant enters. The size of the city is an important variable. Adjustment to Lorain would be different than adjustment to New York even if size were the only difference. Equally important is the size of the migrant group relative to the size of the city. Lorain, for example, has a relatively high proportion of Puerto Ricans for a city of its size. The pre-existence of an ethnic community is another variable. In 1947, Puerto Ricans coming to
New York were not the first ones there—they were the first ones, however, if they came to Lorain in that year. Housing for migrants and immigrants is usually substandard, overcrowded, and overpriced. But the existence of a self-perpetuating slum subculture is a variable. Poor housing alone does not make a slum. If there is an established slum culture, and if it includes large numbers of people, it will be much harder for a migrant family to become upwardly mobile.

The degree of residential segregation has important consequences, both positive and negative, for the assimilation process. The dispersion of Puerto Ricans among many different areas of New York may lead to a more rapid assimilation than previous groups concentrated in a single ghetto. It may also have had a detrimental effect in the formation of those ethnic organizations which often serve as a bridge for the newcomers into the larger society and a basis for security and pride while immigrants are facing the difficulties of adjusting to a strange country. However, a high degree of segregation may make it very difficult for the newcomers to have equal-status contact with members of the larger society, for even the schools will end up segregated. The acculturation process is thus slowed down.

Whether a community has had previous experience with the successful assimilation of immigrant groups might also be important. Articles from the Lorain Journal in the 1950's indicate that Puerto Ricans were compared to the Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, and Mexicans who had achieved various degrees of successful assimilation by that time.

ACCULTURATION

The acculturation process is crucial, for if it is successful, it produces changes in orientation, goals, and family patterns, in the presence of adequate opportunity structures, can lead to the upward
mobility necessary to become a part of the mainstreams. Eisenstadt pointed out that the motivation to migrate produces a predisposition to change in that sphere. Most immigrants to America have been motivated by economic reasons, and thus have a predisposition to change their behavior to perform the universalistic roles required of the economic system. However, no such predisposition to change in the social and cultural spheres can be assumed to exist. Among most immigrants in the past there has been considerable resistance to the adoption of American social and cultural patterns. The Puerto Ricans are not an exception. New migrants to New York, Padilla reports, are shocked by American dating customs, child-rearing practices, and the freedom allowed to women.

It is very important in the case of Puerto Ricans to determine whether their orientation is toward Puerto Rico or toward the United States, as well as the factors which influence a change in orientation. Puerto Ricans differ from earlier immigrants in the ease with which they can go back and forth to Puerto Rico. This slows the acculturation process, for it means that coming to the United States is not an irrevocable decision and does not reflect a wish to become an American. Lack of commitment to the new society is reflected in low voter registration, at least in New York. The desire to be American has been almost universal among all second-generation immigrants, largely due to the impact of the educational system. However, sometimes first-generation Puerto Ricans decide to adopt American patterns, and one would expect that their children would escape the typical second-generation conflict of being caught between two cultures and would probably exhibit a greater degree of upward mobility.

Becoming Americanized means, among other things, changes in the woman's role. The traditional Puerto Rican woman devotes her whole life to her children, never leaves them with babysitters, rarely participates
in any organization unless she can bring her children along. If a woman works, the additional income may permit the family to be upwardly mobile; it may also threaten the man's dominance and lead to increased strain in the family. The ability to speak English is an obvious index of acculturation and orientation toward American society.

The degree to which acculturation proceeds among the first generation may be partially accounted for by such characteristics as rural-urban origin, education, age at migration, and others. It is also affected by the kind of neighborhood and city in which the migrants live.

MOBILITY

Once a family has become acculturated, to the extent that they want to be American, the goal of mobility—either residential, occupational, income, or a combination, probably becomes salient. Occupational mobility is limited by the education and skill of the migrant. He may seek an opportunity to be in a training program to improve his skills or seek further education through night school. Even if the parents' occupational mobility is limited, they may develop higher aspirations for their children. Mobility in income is possible even where occupational mobility is limited. Some families may put all able members to work—husband, wife, and grown children. The husband also might try to maintain more than one job at once. Through these means a family may be able to move to a better neighborhood or improve the home they live in.

ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS

Ethnic organizations have played an important role in the assimilation process of past groups. I have already mentioned the weakening effect of dispersion on the formation of Puerto Rican organizations. Among the groups that have formed, some are just recreational, offering feeling of
community and security, and others are self-help organizations. The model
chosen by these self-help organizations will be significant in the assimil-
ation process. If they choose to follow the model of earlier ethnic groups,
they will probably emphasize adopting middle class values and becoming
Americanized—an assimilationist viewpoint. If they follow the model of
"Black Power" groups, they may demand pluralistic structures so that Puerto
Ricans can maintain their culture and not have to become Americanized in
order to become upwardly mobile—a cultural pluralistic viewpoint. Previous
immigrant groups have not been successful at developing cultural pluralism
by establishing parallel educational systems, largely due to the fact that
the younger generation was strongly attracted to the dominant group. But
the social climate now is such that it is usually the young activists who
advocate building an ethnic power base and parallel institutions.

In summary, incorporation of Puerto Ricans into the mainstream means
the acculturation and economic integration, which depend on the development
of an orientation toward American society, the ability of the migrants to
be upwardly mobile, and the structure of the community, which
affects
of acculturation and opportunities for mobility.