

THE PUERTO RICAN IN NEW JERSEY

HIS PRESENT STATUS

JULY 1955

By

ISHAM B. JONES
Field Representative

NEW JERSEY
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
DIVISION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION
1060 BROAD STREET, NEWARK

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FOREWORD

This study of THE PUERTO RICAN IN NEW JERSEY: HIS PRESENT STATUS is one of a continuing series of studies conducted by the Division Against Discrimination. The Anti-Discrimination Law creates in the State Department of Education this Division which, with the approval of the State Commission on Civil Rights, is authorized to: "Issue such publications and such results of investigations and research tending to promote good will and to minimize or eliminate discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, . . ."

From time to time, questions concerning the status of Puerto Ricans in New Jersey, the number of Puerto Ricans residing here, and other related questions have been brought to this Division, presumably because this Division represents in the minds of the people, the State agency primarily interested in minority group problems. Initial plans for the study were worked out in the summer of 1954 and the study got under way early in the fall. The nature of the work was such that for the most part it had to be carried on by one field representative. The project was assigned to Mr. Isham B. Jones. Mr. Jones has done a thorough and an excellent piece of work. He did have the help of some others of us in the Division, but for the most part the work is his. It is, in the opinion of the writer, the most thoroughgoing and revealing study of the Puerto Rican in New Jersey which has been made.

Appreciation is expressed to the following:

Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Department of Labor, Migration Division, Daniel Donchian, Director of Information; Carlos M. Gomez, Migration Specialist; E. Torres, Chief Migration Division.

William G. LaTourette, Manager, Garden State Service Association.

Walter Edling, Placement Officer, New Jersey Employment Service.

John G. Sholl, Supervisor, New Jersey Bureau of Migrant Labor.

J. Garofalo, Camp Manager, Glassboro Migrant Camp, Glassboro, N. J.
Fred Golub, Extension Associate, Rutgers University, New Brunswick,
N. J.

and dozens of other persons, who have assisted, but space does not permit mentioning.

It is the hope of us in the Division that this report will be studied by those agencies which have an interest in the welfare of our fellow citizens, the Puerto Ricans, and that solutions may be found to the problems indicated.

JOHN P. MILLIGAN,
Assistant Commissioner of Education.

INTRODUCTION

The person frequently talked about, the person little understood, and the person having many contradictory statements circulating about him in New Jersey, is the Puerto Rican. The Division Against Discrimination has made inquiries designed to shed light upon the conditions under which the Puerto Rican lives and works. No public or private agency, employer, individual, nor the Division of Migration, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, located in New York City, possessed any detailed information or statistics about Puerto Ricans in New Jersey. What information is available is limited and restricted to contacts concerning the functions of a particular agency.

The Division Against Discrimination, therefore, undertook this study because of the lack of information about Puerto Ricans, and because the Division was receiving inquiries about these people. The Division believed that the Puerto Rican suffers from differences in language, nationality, culture, and color. It was believed, also, that the Puerto Rican is unaware of his rights and benefits as a citizen of the United States.

It is hoped that this study will serve as a guide to the understanding of the Puerto Rican in New Jersey and dispel some of the uncertainties about him.

METHOD AND SCOPE OF STUDY

To obtain the information for this study, the Division selected 12 cities. Five of these cities have a population of over 110,000 inhabitants. Four cities have a population of 10,000 to 60,000 residents, and three cities have a population from 2,400 to 8,200 persons. A thirteenth city was actually visited, but so little information was secured that these data are of little significance. For the purpose of this study, henceforth, 12 cities will be the figure mentioned.

Six of these cities are located in Southern New Jersey, one in Central New Jersey, and five in Northern New Jersey. The 12 cities were selected because they were presumed to have a considerable concentration of Puerto Ricans, or because they had expressed concern about Puerto Ricans living in their communities.

Staff limitations prevented an extended interviewing of Puerto Rican citizens throughout the State. Our contacts were chiefly with agencies. A list of all agencies, institutions, and individuals who were interviewed in this study is listed below:

- 2 Newspaper editors
- 10 Employers
- 11 Police Departments
- 5 Banks or credit agencies
- 1 Domestic Relations judge
- 6 Probation officers
- 1 County Sheriff
- 1 Warden (county jail)
- 5 Union officials
- 8 Puerto Ricans and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico,
Department of Labor, Division of Migration, New York, New York
- 5 Negroes
- 4 County Agricultural agents
- 4 Protestant ministers
- 4 Catholic priests
- 8 Hospital officials
- 7 Departments of Welfare
- 4 Catholic social agencies
- 5 Social agencies
- 8 Health Departments
- 6 School superintendents
- 6 Housing authorities
- 8 State Government agencies
- 2 Private farm associations
- 1 Citizen active with Puerto Rican affairs

124 Total Interviews

Additional data were secured from newspapers, printed pamphlets, two employment surveys made by the Division Against Discrimination, and a study being completed about Puerto Ricans in the Perth Amboy Labor Market by Fred Golub, an instructor at Rutgers University. Little statistical data have been kept by the persons or agencies interviewed. Information secured in this survey is, therefore, limited largely to the nature and extent of contacts with

Puerto Ricans, expressions of problems and needs of Puerto Ricans, and attitudes exhibited toward Puerto Ricans. This survey brings together some of the certainties about Puerto Ricans in New Jersey.

POPULATION

The Puerto Rican is considered a recent neighbor in all of the 12 cities included in this study. Twenty-five of the 124 interviewees gave estimates of the length of time Puerto Ricans have lived in their communities. These estimates varied from three years to 40 years. The 40-year figure is correct as the person who gave it is a Puerto Rican, who has lived in his community since 1914. By 1917, he revealed that there were ten Puerto Rican families living in Newark. "Puerto Ricans were found living in all but nine states by 1910."¹ Therefore, it is highly probable that a small number may have been living in New Jersey before 1910.

According to the 1950 Census (See Table I) there were 1,513 Puerto Ricans in continental United States in 1910. The number living in New Jersey is not given. The 1930 Census reported Puerto Rican born persons in all forty-eight states. In 1940, the Census reported 780 Puerto Ricans in New Jersey. By 1950, the Census listed 4,055 Puerto Ricans in New Jersey, a 519% increase over 1940. In 1953, Clarence Senior estimated the number of Puerto Ricans in Camden, Trenton, Passaic, Newark, Jersey City, and other New Jersey centers to be 20,000.²

¹ Clarence Senior, Chief, Migration Division, Department of Labor of Puerto Rico, Dispersion of the Puerto Rican Migration, Speech delivered at Annual Conference, Welfare and Health Council of New York City, May 7, 1953.

² Bureau of Applied Research, Columbia University, January 1954, *Puerto Rican Population of New York City*, p. 4.

TABLE I.

PUERTO RICAN POPULATION IN CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES, 1910 TO 1950
AND ESTIMATED POPULATION, 1953.

Date	Total	Puerto Rican Birth
December 1953	569,000	443,000
April 1950	301,375	226,110
April 1940	*	69,967
April 1930	*	52,774
January 1920	*	11,811
April 1910	*	1,513

* Data not available.

The writer was amazed to hear various individuals state that Puerto Ricans live only in New York City and their community. A few other individuals would ask: "Do Puerto Ricans live in Newark?", or "Do they live in Trenton?" Table II shows the estimated size of Puerto Rican communities in various American cities.

TABLE II.

ESTIMATED SIZE OF PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY IN VARIOUS AMERICAN CITIES, 1950-1953.³

<i>City</i>	<i>Puerto Rican Population</i>
New York City	455,000
Chicago	20,000
Philadelphia	7,300
Bridgeport, Conn.	4,000
Buffalo and other upstate New York cities	2,500
Camden, Trenton, Passaic, Newark, Jersey City and other New Jersey cities	20,000
Washington, D. C.	600
Lorain, Ohio	3,000
Youngstown, Ohio	2,100
Cleveland, Ohio	1,000
Gary, Indiana	1,500
Milwaukee, Wisconsin	2,300
Miami, Florida	1,000
Tampa, Florida	500
San Francisco	1,000

Colonies are also reported for Pittsburgh and Allentown, Pa.; Aurora and Joliet, Ill.; Savannah, Ga.; and Los Angeles, Cal.

The population estimates of Puerto Ricans obtained in this survey are largely those given by local officials and citizens. Table III shows the estimated minimum and maximum figures given by local officials as well as the adjusted figures used by the writer for the purposes of this survey. Local officials warned that these figures were only estimates based on conversations with Puerto Rican leaders, church officials, other city officials, and/or the figures which currently reflected the thinking of the community.

³ Sources: City of Philadelphia, Commission on Human Relations, April 1954, p. 5; Senior, Clarence, *Strangers and Neighbors*, New York: Freedom Pamphlets, 1952, p. 13; Senior, Clarence, "The Puerto Rican in a New Community," *Community*, October 1953, p. 29; Senior, Clarence, "Migration and Puerto Rico's Population Problem," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1953, p. 132; and N. Y. Times, February 25, 1953 and February 7, 1954.

TABLE III.

ESTIMATED SIZE OF PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY IN VARIOUS NEW JERSEY CITIES, 1955.

<i>City</i>	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Adjusted Figures</i>
Swedesboro	40	40	40
Vineland	400	400	400
Jersey City	2,000	5,000	2,500
Camden	2,500	12,000	5,000
Newark	3,200	9,000	3,200
Paterson	2,000	3,000	2,000
Perth Amboy	2,000	5,000	4,000
Trenton	1,000	3,000	1,000
Total	13,140	37,440	18,140

Other Cities

Elizabeth, Passaic, Hoboken and Dover	4,000
Colonies are also reported for Union City, Bayonne, Matawan, Lakewood, Egg Harbor and New Jersey shore communities	4,000
Estimated Grand Total—Yearly Basis	26,140
Puerto Rican Contract Workers	4,630*
Puerto Rican "Walk-n" workers	3,668**
Probable Total Puerto Ricans living in New Jersey during the farming season	34,438

The adjusted figures in Table III are based on additional data that would either increase the minimum figure or decrease the maximum figure as a result of information contained in employment surveys, official local birth rates, and local school enrollment data. For example, the Department of Health of Perth Amboy reports 113 livebirths of Puerto Rican women for 1954. Using the index of 49.1 births for Puerto Rican born mothers in New York City as a guide, this could mean that approximately 113 births in Perth Amboy represent about 2,200 Puerto Rican women. Multiply this figure by two to include the husbands and this gives a total of 4,400 Puerto Ricans in the community. To this number must be added the number of established Puerto Rican families in Perth Amboy. Some Puerto Rican families have been living in the community for 14 years. However, the conservative figure of 4,000 Puerto Ricans in Perth Amboy is more acceptable as it is to be remembered that the Puerto Rican population in the United States is a much younger age group than native whites and non-whites. Therefore, the rate of births per thousand as in the New York City study could be 130 per 1,000 for females between 15-19 age group, or 252.1 per 1,000 for females between the age group 20-24.

Another illustration is Camden. A survey of 142 plants in Camden County made by the Division Against Discrimination in 1953 reported 192 Puerto Rican employees.⁴ Since that time, one of the 142 plants advised the writer it is employing 150 Puerto Ricans, making a grand total of 342 Puerto Ricans being employed in the Camden area in industrial plants. Additional data collected in this survey would reveal that at least twice the same number are employed in small establishments employing less than 20 workers; that a number of Puerto Ricans are employed in personal service occupations, others as farm laborers and construction laborers, and still others are small entrepreneurs. In other words, it is conservative to estimate that there are 1,026 Puerto Ricans in the labor market in Camden County.

* Annual Agricultural and Food Processing Report Covering Activities of New Jersey State Employment Service, December 1954.

**A "walk-in" is a Puerto Rican farm worker who obtains his own job without a written contract between himself and his employers.

⁴ "The Minority Group Worker in Camden County," November 1954.

The Philadelphia study of Puerto Ricans reveals the average family size is 4.68⁵. It was reported in 1948 that the average family size of Puerto Ricans in New York City was 4.4⁶. Multiplying 1,026 by 4.4 a population of 4,544 Puerto Ricans is estimated to be living in Camden County.

In all of the places visited individuals thought that the Puerto Rican population is increasing. The fastest rate of increase was said to be during 1952 and 1953. The number of Puerto Ricans moving into the 12 cities seemed to be less during 1954, but the total number is still increasing. Knowledgeable persons, such as priests, ministers, social workers, and Puerto Ricans pointed out that the rate of increase of Puerto Ricans depends upon the general economic conditions and the weather. If employment decreases, and the weather is cold, there will be a greater exodus from the community than immigration into the community. However, with an increase in employment and good weather Puerto Ricans return to the community.

CITIZENS OR ALIENS

A number of private and public employers, social group workers, and average citizens asked: "Why do Puerto Ricans want to come here?" "Isn't there some way we can screen them?" The answer to all of these questions is that Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States. They are free to enter and leave the United States, or change their residence as any citizen may do without any restriction.

"This citizenship descended upon Puerto Ricans by force of American arms. The small sub-tropical island had been a Spanish possession from the time of its discovery by Columbus in 1493 until its conquest by the United States army in 1898. Both Spain and the United States had recognized the Island's strategic importance as the guardian of shipping, an importance augmented by construction of the Panama Canal. Puerto Rico's early administration by the War Department was far less democratic than the charter of Autonomy granted by Spain in 1897, but this was partially rectified by the Jones Act of 1917 under which the U. S. Congress awarded American citizenship to Puerto Ricans. A gradual extension of self-government then followed which was climaxed by the new democratic constitution adopted in March 1952, creating the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico . . . within our union with the United States."⁷

⁵ Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia, City of Philadelphia, Commission on Human Relations, April 1954, p. 29.

⁶ Ibid. p. 30.

⁷ Institute for Research in Human Relations Philadelphia, "Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia," April 1954, p. 1.

During World War II over 70,000 Puerto Ricans were inducted into the United States Army, and many of them saw service on fighting fronts all over the world.

THE ECONOMY OF PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rico is a hilly island, 100 miles long and 35 miles wide. Three-fourths of the land area is mountainous. It lies 1,400 miles south of New York, 1,000 miles southeast of Miami, and 500 miles north of Caracas, Venezuela. It has a population of 2,225,000 of which number one-fourth is listed as Negro. Puerto Rico is one of the most densely populated countries in the world. It has a population density of 650 persons per square mile.

Its labor force is estimated at 700,000 to which number 25,000 persons are added to each year. Approximately 70,000 persons are chronically unemployed.

Its economy is chiefly agricultural deriving its income mainly from sugar, coffee, tobacco, and citrus fruits. Recognizing that its standards of living are low, that unemployment, poverty, malnutrition, and ill-health are widespread, the Puerto Rican government started "Operation Bootstrap." With a well-developed program for diversified industry and agriculture, the government has been able to increase the per capita net income since 1940 from \$122.00 to \$399.00 in 1952. "Although still far below the Puerto Rican Planning Board's estimate of a mainland (income of) \$1,819, it already is above that of most of Latin America. Even so, a minimum diet alone costs nearly \$200.00."⁸

"One of the significant aspects of the employment of Puerto Rican farm workers on the continent is the fact that the peak agricultural employment season in Puerto Rico and the mainland complement each other. January through July is the sugar-cane cutting season in Puerto Rico. At the peak, in June, some 158,000 workers are employed in this activity. . . . Beginning about May, the Puerto Rican agricultural economy can release workers without loss of crops. From July through December, unemployment is prevalent among agricultural and food processing workers in Puerto Rico, and it is during that period that opportunities for seasonal farm jobs in New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania beckon."⁹

HISTORY OF PUERTO RICAN MIGRATION TO UNITED STATES

Small Puerto Rican colonies were living in the United States before this nation took over the island in 1898. Table I, page 8, shows the number of Puerto Ricans in the United States from 1910 to 1953.

⁸ Peter Kihss, "The New York Times," February 24, 1953.

⁹ Puerto Rican Farm Workers in the Middle Atlantic States, U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, Division of Reports and Analysis, November 1954, p. 4.

An average of 4,000 Puerto Ricans a year came to the United States between 1908 and 1945. Table IV below shows the annual migration to the United States.

TABLE IV
ANNUAL MIGRATION TO UNITED STATES.¹⁰

Year	Number	Year	Number
1945	13,573	1950	34,703
1946	39,911	1951	52,900
1947	24,551	1952	59,132
1948	32,775	1953	69,124
1949	25,701	1954	21,531

The depression of 1939 and the difficulties of transportation imposed by World War II slowed down the process of migration. However, during World War II, United States industry and farmers needed labor. For example, one large food processing plant in New Jersey arranged for 1000 Puerto Rican workers to fulfill its labor needs. Today, this plant employs 150 Puerto Ricans on a yearly basis, and engages additional Puerto Ricans during its busy season. Farmers were also finding it difficult to hire farm laborers. To meet the need of farmers in Southern New Jersey, 200 Puerto Rican farm workers were brought to South Jersey in 1946. In 1954, 8,298 Puerto Rican workers were employed in New Jersey. Of the 8,298 workers, 4,630 were brought in as contract workers, and 3,668 were "walk-ins."¹¹

Clarence Senior has outlined the forces responsible for the increased rate of migration:

1. The disposition to migrate was founded in the heavy unemployment on the island, with all it implies in terms of low wages, lack of opportunities for advancement, and so forth. This provided the "push" which is found in all migrations.

2. The "pull" was provided largely by plentiful job opportunities on the continent at a time when unskilled and semi-skilled labor was in demand. The favorable labor market attracted those whose aspiration levels had been raised by schools, radio, newspapers and magazines, and the example of relatives, friends, and neighbors who had previously migrated and had advanced themselves economically.

3. The cost to the migrant influences the strength of the "pull". Boats, which took 4½ to 5 days and which cost around \$150.00 were largely replaced after the war by planes which made the trip in 8 to 10 hours. This resulted in the "first airborne migration in history". . . Now two regularly scheduled companies furnish passage for \$64 in 6½ to 8 hour flights.¹²

¹⁰ *New York Times*, January 17, 1955, p. 25.

¹¹ A walk-in is a Puerto Rican farm worker who obtains his own job without a written contract between himself and his employer.

¹² Clarence Senior, "Migration and Puerto Rico's Population Problem," *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1953, p. 131.

THE PUERTO RICAN FARM WORKER IN NEW JERSEY

The site of the Glassboro Service Association camp is the former W. P. A. camp in Glassboro. In 1946, the first Puerto Rican farm workers passed through this camp. In 1947, the Puerto Rican Department of Labor sponsored a Migration Plan in cooperation with the Federal, State, and local employment service offices. This plan permits an employer, or his agents, to do his selecting of Puerto Rican workers, and/or it allows the Puerto Rican Employment Service to choose workers the employer requires. The Puerto Rican Employment Service has eight offices in Puerto Rico, and is an affiliate of the United States Employment Service. Through this arrangement it knows every year how many workers are needed and where they are needed.

In 1950, the New Jersey Farm Bureau, composed of farm owners, formed the Garden State Service Association. The Garden State Service Association is the contracting agency that recruits Puerto Rican farm laborers in Puerto Rico for the Glassboro Service Association as well as for farmers in New York and Pennsylvania. Following a meeting of the farmers belonging to the Glassboro Service when the number of farm workers needed for the coming season is agreed upon together with their rate of pay and work conditions, the Garden State Service Association sends one of its officers to Puerto Rico to select the required workers.

The Puerto Rican worker is protected by a signed agreement that states the minimum hourly rate or piece rate he is to receive. He is guaranteed 160 hours of work a month. His employer is to furnish him adequate housing free of charge and to provide workmen's compensation insurance. The employee must repay his employer the cost of his transportation and the cost of group medical and surgical insurance through payroll deductions.

Last year, the minimum hourly rate was 65 cents per hour and the cost of transportation \$60.00. The contract states that "the Employer may deduct \$5.00 from the first \$25.00 earned by the worker each week, and two (2) additional dollars from each additional five dollars of weekly earnings." Clarence Senior points out that the work agreement "also requires the posting of a performance bond and the opening of the employer's books to the agents of the insular Department of Labor. The Migration Division of the Department, with offices in New York and Chicago, has a staff to investigate complaints, secure employment, and help both employer and worker to solve their problems."¹⁸

These advantages protect the Puerto Rican worker in a manner that is not offered in any fashion to the Southern Negro migrant.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 132.

Before a Puerto Rican worker is selected, he must pass a health examination, must have a certificate of good conduct from the police authorities in Puerto Rico, and have experience as a farm worker. Besides passing these requirements, the Garden State Service Cooperative Association screens the applicant. He is interviewed to ascertain if he previously worked on the mainland as a migrant farm worker, and if he has, his record is checked to see if his work record is satisfactory, good, or fair. He must also be registered with the Puerto Rican Employment Service, have his social security number, and contract number of his previous employer on the mainland. If the worker has a satisfactory or good record, he is rehired for the coming season. If the worker's record is only fair, or if his record is satisfactory or good, but he left owing money to his previous employer, he is not employed again as a migrant worker.

Garden State Service Cooperative Association adheres to the classification of farm workers indicated above for self-protection. In 1951, on a total of 10,000 workers transported to New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, it lost \$35,000 on workers who left owing their plane fare. Some of these workers disappeared a day or two after getting to the mainland. In 1954 due to the system inaugurated by the Association, the loss was reduced to \$16,000. This financial loss does not mean that the Association was operating at a financial loss. Additional financial data will be presented in a later section of this report.

Puerto Ricans are flown to Millville, New Jersey, and re-transported to the Glassboro Service Association camp in Glassboro. Upon arriving at camp the farm worker is given a hot meal. Usually, he is assigned to a job within twenty-four hours after arriving in camp. He is not charged for his first night's lodging and food, nor his breakfast the next morning. Throughout the farming season, 150 workers are always stationed in camp. These workers represent a labor pool from which local farmers may draw upon a day-to-day basis, or in an emergency.

While in camp, the workers receive breakfast and supper. They must observe all the rules promulgated by the camp; for example, there must not be any gambling or drinking in camp.

Upon arrival in camp, the Puerto Ricans are greeted by two Puerto Rican ministers. They advise the men about camp rules, and serve as counsellors to them about personal problems, and family problems at home and on the continent. The ministers also arrange planned recreation programs for the camp. A television set, ping pong table, tape recorder, and a movie projector are located in the recreation room.

About three nights a week, one of the ministers visits the home of different farmers in the neighborhood of Glassboro. He carries out

a recreational program on the farm. In such instances, as many as ten or twelve workers might be on the farm. In the height of the season, the workers labor seven days a week.

There is a hospital in camp. Each worker pays \$3.75 for medical expenses. If he becomes ill, or injured while on the farm, he is sent to the hospital. In order to help meet the expenses of the camp, each farmer is charged a service fee. This fee provides for replacements, hospitalization, and the use of a road agent who also serves as an interpreter. Each farmer must pay to the Garden State Service Association an amount equal to six per cent of the total gross earnings of his workers.

In 1954, the seasonal wages paid to workers approximated three and one quarter million of dollars (\$3,250,000).¹⁴ This money was earned by 4,231 Puerto Rican contract workers and 3,322 walk-ins, a total of 7,563 workers. A total of 1,400 farmers paid \$193,500 to the camp for its services. An additional \$15,866.25 was paid to the camp by the farm workers for hospital service fees, and \$37,791 was paid by 150 farm workers for food and lodging for 153 days (June through October). Revenue from the three sources mentioned above totaled \$247,157.

Puerto Rican farm workers also receive jobs through the Farmers and Garden Service Association located at Holmdel, New Jersey. The Farmers and Garden Service Association is a cooperative that was originated by 20-25 charter members. Any local farmer who pays \$10.00 becomes an associate member, thereby entitling him to obtain workers. Any farmer, who is a member of the County Farm Bureau (membership costing \$7.50) may secure workers for his farm. Between the Farmers and Garden Service Association and the Glassboro Service Association, 1,600 farmers obtained 8,298 Puerto Rican farm workers during the 1954 farm season.¹⁵ These farmers had crops of asparagus, strawberries, blueberries, peaches, corn, tomatoes, peppers, broccoli, okra, apples, cabbage, cauliflower, beets, spinach, and leafy crops harvested for them.

Puerto Rican workers employed by the Glassboro Service Association and the Farmers and Garden Service Association for the season of 1954 totaled 8,308 workers. It is estimated that there were perhaps 500 additional workers employed by growers who were not members of either association.

This is approximately the same number employed during the season of 1953. It was reported that 3,632 employed by the Associations were walk-ins from Puerto Rico and Florida with a sprinkling from New York City. Year by year, the number of workers who by-pass the official contract of the Puerto Rican Employment Service in-

¹⁴ Annual Agricultural and Food Processing Report Covering Activities of New Jersey State Employment Service, December 1954, p. 6.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 6.

creases. However, the walk-ins are usually placed under contract by the two service organizations, giving the workers practically all the benefits and safeguards contained in the official Puerto Rican Contract.¹⁶

The Glassboro Service Association statistics indicate that the approximate weekly earnings were \$40.00 per week, and Farmers and Gardeners reported approximately \$39.00 per week for each farm worker. The U. S. Department of Labor reported that the average daily farm earnings in New Jersey in 1953 for Puerto Rican workers was \$6.62.

TABLE V.

PUERTO RICAN FARM WORKERS INTERVIEWED IN NEW JERSEY, NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA, BY WEEKS IN LABOR FORCE ON MAINLAND, AND AVERAGE EARNINGS FROM SEPTEMBER 1952—SEPTEMBER 1953.¹⁷

<i>Weeks All Periods</i>	<i>Workers</i>	<i>Average Earnings</i>
Fewer than 4	487	\$531
4-7	6	80
8-11	102	168
12-15	37	285
16-19	130	460
20-23	78	566
24-27	60	700
28-31	18	769
32-35	12	993
36-39	9	1,209
40-43	6	1,441
44 or more	3	1,401
	26	1,488

Examination of Table V shows that during the first seven weeks on the mainland, the Puerto Rican farm worker averages about \$20.00 per week. After being on the farm for 8 to 11 weeks, he averages \$26.00 per week. After working 15 weeks, he averages less than \$31.00 a week. It is important to remember that these wages represent only gross earnings. Out of these earnings, transportation costs and food have to be deducted. It is estimated that his food costs \$7.00 per week.

It is possible that these low wages are one of the reasons why so many Puerto Ricans "skip", or leave a farm before the work is completed. He may have become discouraged because of the high wages which he has supposed people earned in the United States. If he comes to the farm, and the rain, hurricane, drought, or some unforeseen circumstances prevent him from working, or the crop fails, he has nothing to do, and loses money. At the same time, he has to support himself, and pay installments on his transportation. Table VI shows the number of farmers who have trouble with farm workers leaving before the season is over.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 5.

¹⁷ U. S. Department of Labor, Puerto Rican Farm Workers in the Middle Atlantic States, November 1954, p. 10.

TABLE VI.
ANALYSIS OF FARMS HAVING TROUBLE WITH WORKERS
LEAVING BEFORE THROUGH.¹⁸

	<i>Number Farms</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Had trouble	504	46.2
Had no trouble	545	49.9
Didn't answer	42	3.9
Total	1,091	100.0

Forty-six and two-tenths per cent of all farms surveyed reported trouble with workers leaving. This problem existed in equal proportions on all sizes of farms.

Puerto Ricans were by far the worst offenders, according to 420 of the 504 farmers who had skip-out trouble. Comparing them with Southern migrants, the only other sizeable migrant group in the area, Puerto Ricans were reported most prone to skip by eight times as many employers.

Five hundred thirty-six employers furnished 33 reasons why they believed their workers stayed. Steady work, good treatment, good earnings, and satisfactory housing were the four leading reasons given. These, and practically every one of the 33, were reasons of incentive.

Fifty reasons were listed by 504 employers for workers leaving before the employer was through with them. Topping all was the lure of industry or the trades, with the incentive to earn more money elsewhere a close second. Piracy was sufficiently troublesome to rate third. Farmers took the frequently offered excuse "illness or death in the family" at somewhat less than face value, remarking that workers who left for this reason were often later found working in adjacent neighborhoods. Although homesickness was tied for seventh place on this listing, we believe it is one of the more important basic causes for Puerto Ricans returning home before the work is completed.¹⁹

On reliable authority, the writer was advised that some Puerto Ricans skip due to mistreatment. Instances are known in which Puerto Ricans were manhandled by employers or they were sent home. The farmer in certain instances failed to pay the worker his wages at the end of the week, holding them over to the second week. The very manner and tone of voice in which the farmer has spoken to his workers has been cause for them to leave him. The Puerto Rican has felt that he was not being treated as a man. It was revealed to the writer that where the employer has treated the Puerto Rican fairly, has provided recreation for him, and was thoughtful of him, not one worker ever left his employer.

¹⁸ William G. La Tourette, Survey of Seasonal Farm Labor Problems in the Southern Half of the State of New Jersey, 1953, May 1954, p. 5.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 22.

In one farm community, the writer was given the following statement by a local minister:

"The farmers don't try to understand the Puerto Rican. The farmer stays to himself and the Puerto Rican stays to himself. The farmer places a Puerto Rican in charge who can speak some English. This person tells the other workers what to do on the farm. After the work day is over, the farmer is finished with the Puerto Rican."

A county agricultural agent voiced these opinions about Puerto Rican workers:

"The walk-ins are unpredictable and undependable. They move more easily than the contract workers. Probably more walk-ins are found on farms where the farmer is not a member of the County Agricultural Board.

"The problem is to keep the Puerto Rican busy. He has no complaint about the number of hours he works so long as he gets the rate agreed upon. I see the main problems relating to Puerto Ricans as these: 1. The language difficulty. A few farmers have gone to school and are learning how to speak Spanish. 2. Farmers have not been careful in managing the Puerto Ricans. There is inadequate supervision of the workers. In the old days, the farmer would tell his help to go out and pick the beets, or do a particular job and it would be done. Now he should explain to them how to do a particular job, or teach them how to do it. At the same time more supervision is needed. 3. The Puerto Ricans are not good with machines. The farmer, or his son, or some relative must operate the machines on the farm. 4. Some of them get homesick and leave the farmer without any notice."

A northern county agricultural agent summed up his experience with farmers and Puerto Ricans in this manner:

"About 100 Puerto Ricans are here during the farming season. They start coming in April and stay through the celery crops in November. About 50 Puerto Ricans remain on the farms all year round. A number of them work on nursery farms. They are excellent workers and the farmers are well pleased with them.

"The farmers have built nice rooms in their barns, or have added rooms to their own homes in some instances. In some places, they have their own toilet facilities and running water. The farmers have recognized the importance of good housing. One farmer found out that his workers left him and went to work for a farmer down the road who had better living accommodations.

"The average farmer employs two to three Puerto Ricans. It is unusual in this area for a farmer to employ six to eight. However, there are some farmers employing that number.

"Originally most or all of the farmers received Puerto Ricans from the migrant labor camp. After the first year or two the farmer gets his help directly from Puerto Rico. If a farmer and a Puerto Rican like each other very much, and have good working relationships, the Puerto Rican will return to him every year. In this manner, the farmer does not have to pay a service fee to the migrant labor camp. In some instances where one or two laborers are employed, the farmer will pay their passage to the States. In a couple of instances, good workers will bring along one or two relatives if his employer requests him to do so."

WHERE PUERTO RICANS GO WHEN THEY LEAVE

Estimates given by the Migration Division of the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico, New York City, indicate that eighty per cent of the seasonal agricultural workers return each year to Puerto Rico. The study made by the Garden State Service Cooperative Association estimates that 70 per cent of the workers return to Puerto Rico. Table VII shows the destination of workers after leaving farms.

TABLE VII.

DESTINATION OF PUERTO RICAN WORKERS AFTER LEAVING FARMS.²⁰

<i>Where Returned</i>	<i>Number Farms Reporting</i>
Puerto Rico	123
Back to camp	89
New York City	84
Other farms	71
Industry or trades	68
Pennsylvania	25
Chicago	19
Food processing plants	13
Florida	12
Philadelphia	6
Ohio	4
Hammonton, New Jersey	3
Long Island, New York	2
Newark, New Jersey	2
Rhode Island	2
Vineland, New Jersey	2
Army Service	1
Buffalo	1
Connecticut	1
Delaware	1
Detroit	1
Illinois	1
Killed by car	1
Maryland	1

²⁰Ibid. p. 13.

<i>Where Returned</i>	<i>Number Farms Reporting</i>
Michigan	1
New York State	1
Ocean City, New Jersey .....	..
Perth Amboy, New Jersey	1
Jail .....	..
South .....	..
Virginia .....	..
Nearest tap room .....	..
Total	537

The questions, "Do migrant Puerto Rican workers continue to migrate each year?" Or, "Do they eventually settle permanently on the mainland?" have not been satisfactorily answered. The study of the Puerto Rican farm workers answers these questions in the following manner:

"To determine whether a pattern of annual migration of farm workers between Puerto Rico and the Middle Atlantic States is emerging, the surveyed group of workers were asked about their future migration and employment plans. A high proportion—31%—said that they intend to settle on the mainland, while 8% intend to return to Puerto Rico at the end of the season and remain there. More than half of the workers said they intend to return to Puerto Rico and reenter the mainland for farm work.

"On this score, there seems to be conflicting evidence. On the one hand, a majority of workers indicated their intention to continue to migrate for seasonal farm employment. On the other hand, experience over the past several years points toward a nonrecurring type of migration. The fact that most Puerto Rican farm workers surveyed were married and living away from their families tips the scale in favor of the conclusion that the majority are using this organized migration as a stepping stone toward eventual settlement on the continent, as an experiment to see whether they would be able to adjust to life on the mainland, or as a means of supplementing their incomes for one or two seasons."²¹

THE "PERMANENT STREAM" OF MIGRANTS

The pattern of migration of Puerto Rican urban workers has been described as the "permanent stream" by Clarence Senior. In New Jersey, the Puerto Rican urban worker is living in all of the six largest cities in the State. He is also residing in the small commun-

²¹ "Puerto Rican Farm Workers in the Middle Atlantic States," U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, Division of Reports and Analysis Washington 25, D. C. (November 1954) p. 4.

ties. (See Table II.) Our data have revealed that he has lived in urban communities in New Jersey for over 40 years on a permanent basis. Such areas, when the Puerto Rican has established himself in the community, have served as a magnet to draw additional Puerto Ricans. For example, the study made by Fred Gobul, Rutgers University, "Puerto Ricans in the Perth Amboy Labor Market," reveals that a majority of the Puerto Ricans migrated from San Sebastian, and from two or three small adjacent communities.

The Puerto Rican urban worker has entered the United States either at Miami or New York City. These two cities are the only air terminals for the movement. Therefore, it may be true that most of the Puerto Rican urban workers in New Jersey came directly into this State from New York City. However, their residence in New York City was more of the nature of a visit to family and friends before continuing on to their original destination. Today, many Puerto Ricans land at Newark Airport and settle in New Jersey without visits to New York City.

HOUSING ACCOMMODATIONS

The pattern of housing by Puerto Ricans living in the cities embraced by this study repeats the same cycle which other migrant or immigrant groups have experienced. For the most part, Puerto Ricans are living in the slum sections of town, the boarding house districts, or the dilapidated houses in good sections of town and the oldest sections of the community. Statements made by officials about the type of housing Puerto Ricans occupy in their communities are presented herewith:

They are living in houses nobody should live in.

They are living in dirt cellars.

They are living in cellars where there are pools of water.

They are not living under any worse conditions than the Negro.

The city forced several landlords to close up some places due to health reasons and overcrowding.

The writer obtained names and sections of the cities where Puerto Ricans were the inhabitants. A study of the location of these streets and sections reveals that they inhabit the worst kind of housing, together with the Negro, in the city. Table VIII shows the type of housing occupied according to census tracts and blocks.

TABLE VIII
CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSING FOR CENSUS TRACTS, BY BLOCKS: 1950.
*All Dwelling Units by Condition
and Plumbing Facilities*

<i>Census Tract</i>	<i>Block</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Owner Occupied</i>	<i>Renter Occupied</i>	<i>No Private Bath Or Dilapidated</i>	<i>No Running Water Or Dilapidated</i>	<i>Occupied by Non-White</i>
*57	45	53	6	47	40	30	10
*69	9	88	9	78	33	16	57
.....	10	18	2	15	12	6	7
*CJ13 .....	..	876	304	532	461	290	486
*CJ14 .....	..	1,216	747	407	188	50	58
*26 .....	..	1,143	99	1,031	540	176	53
*35 .....	..	982	143	832	142	43	38

* 57 and 69 are in Newark. CJ13 and CJ14 are in Camden. 26 and 35 are in Jersey City. Information taken from H-E Series, 1950 United States Census of Housing.

The census tracts were selected as being typical of the kind of housing where most Puerto Ricans and Negroes live in the cities of New Jersey.

In all of the cities covered by this study, Puerto Ricans and Negroes are living in the same blocks and in some of the same buildings. However, it was also found that landlords would rent apartments to Puerto Ricans and not to Negroes.

It is also true that other landlords would rent to Negroes and not to Puerto Ricans. In some instances, a landlord would sub-divide his house into three or four apartments and would receive an enormous return on his investment by renting to Puerto Ricans. For example, in one city, a city official showed the writer a building that originally contained 18 apartments. Each apartment consisted of four rooms and a bath renting at \$40.00 per month, or a total of \$720.00 a month, making a total of \$8,640.00 per year. The landlord sub-divided these 18 apartments into 36 apartments. Each apartment consisted of two rooms and a common bath. Each apartment rented for \$20.00 per week. The landlord now receives \$720.00 a week and a yearly income of \$37,440.00 compared with a previous income of \$8,640.00 per year.

This same condition is being repeated in some of the smallest towns of New Jersey. In one community of 10,000 inhabitants a landlord is receiving \$108.00 a week rent for one of his pieces of property. This property consists of 19 rooms, housing 20 persons of whom 16 are Puerto Ricans. There are three bath rooms in this house, and the toilets are filthy.

The Bureau of Tenement House Supervision, State of New Jersey, has over 50,000 tenements under its jurisdiction. Several years ago, it took five years for the Bureau's 27 inspectors to visit every tenement house. Today, its staff has been reduced to only 12 inspectors. The Bureau finds it impossible to inspect each tenement house with its limited staff. Therefore, it concerns itself with special investigations resulting from complaints of violations of the Tenement House Laws.

According to the Tenement House Law, a property owner is supposed to file his building plans with the Bureau of Tenement Supervision for its approval. The tenement property owner always files his plan with the local municipal building inspector's office. However, the owner of the property does not observe the state law by filing his building plans with the Tenement Bureau, and the municipal office is under no obligation to report such changes to the Bureau. It is on this basis that tenement house owners sub-divide their property without registering their building plans, take advantage of minority group persons, and receive enormous return on their original investment.

The rentals paid each week by most Puerto Ricans according to the data supplied by official agencies and persons interviewed in this survey ranged from \$15.00 to \$25.00 per week for two to three rooms. One welfare agency stated that it was paying \$28.00 per week for two rooms for one of its Puerto Rican clients. In one of the small communities visited a welfare agency reported that it was paying \$16.00 per week for three rooms for one of its Puerto Rican clients. The high weekly rentals charged many Puerto Ricans have resulted in overcrowding of rooms and apartments. This means that the rental increases the number of occupants per room so that it may be split equitably among all of them. The following was given to the writer by persons interviewed in the field :

We know of places where 20 persons live where previously only seven or eight persons lived.

Six families are living in one apartment.

The Puerto Ricans move with greater frequency than any other minority group.

As their income increases, they are getting better housing.

The writer visited one home where five cots were located in the living room. This home had at least four bedrooms upstairs. The owner, a Puerto Rican, lodged and boarded Puerto Ricans. If one of his tenants became unemployed, he still fed and housed him, hoping to recapture his losses when the tenant returned to work. However, the tenant would sometimes leave for a job in Miami or some other city. The owner told the writer that he had lost \$400.00 as two of his unemployed roomers took jobs in Miami.

In Jersey City, Perth Amboy, and Camden, Puerto Ricans seemed to be purchasing homes in greater numbers than in the other communities visited. In several cities, it was frequently mentioned that Puerto Ricans were being overcharged on the purchase price. Information was also obtained that indicates that some Puerto Ricans are taking advantage of their position as property owners.

The Director of Health in one large city stated that he is constantly advising owners of properties not meeting the housing or sanitation codes to make the necessary corrections, or they will be fined for violating these codes. At the same time, his inspectors have warned Puerto Ricans as well as other tenants not to live in such properties. In several instances, both landlord and tenant have been fined. The landlord was fined for permitting such a condition to exist, and the tenant for living in such a place. He stated that if a Puerto Rican hears that a building inspector is in the neighborhood, he will immediately pick up his belongings and move to another block, or section of town.

It would not be fair to leave the impression that all Puerto Ricans are living in sub-standard dwellings. A few have purchased homes in a good neighborhood, and others have been able to rent apartments with all modern conveniences, and are not living under overcrowded conditions.

PUBLIC HOUSING

Six public housing authorities were contacted in this survey. These six authorities have 15,014 dwellings units under their supervision, accounting for 66.7% of the total 22,508 public housing units in the State of New Jersey. Puerto Ricans were living in 190 of these units. Of the six housing authorities, one housing authority has 150 Puerto Ricans living in its developments. This means that 40 Puerto Rican families are living in developments in four other cities. One of the largest cities in the State reported that it has no Puerto Ricans living in any of its units. In fact, it was stated, no Puerto Rican has ever applied for an apartment. It is known that Puerto Ricans have lived in this community for at least fifteen years.

The Tenant Selection Director in one city has met, and is still meeting, with Puerto Ricans in order to get them interested in applying for public housing. His development houses at least 18 Puerto Rican families. This director stated that Puerto Ricans are still applying in very small numbers, but that those who have applied, are ineligible as both husband and wife are working. The combined income of husband and wife makes them ineligible for housing. Two other Tenant Selection directors pointed out that combined income of all the family members prevented most Puerto Ricans from becoming tenants. One housing authority stated that it had found that most

of its Puerto Rican tenants previously lived in one room and paid excessive rentals. Another tenant selection director reported that for every Puerto Rican family moving into an apartment, 10 or 12 Puerto Rican families would apply for admission the next day.

HEALTH AND GENERAL LIVING CONDITIONS

Three health directors reported that the general housekeeping standards of the Puerto Ricans were below average. One health officer said:

"The housekeeping standards are poor. He knows too little about sanitary conditions such as keeping garbage in a metal container instead of a paper bag. Before we condemn the Puerto Rican, I believe we should learn more about what he believes is the proper thing to do. Once we understand him, then we will know where to start from. The Puerto Rican migrant is just like any other migrant to America. He gets poor housing and low paying jobs. We have heard of Puerto Ricans living in cellars. You know a person may live in a basement, but not a cellar."

In two communities the Health Department passed out circulars or attached them on the doors of some Puerto Rican tenants. These circulars were written in Spanish, advising them about good housekeeping habits. After these steps were taken conditions seemed to improve.

Information was given by one health officer that the Puerto Ricans were "taking over the County Tuberculosis Sanitorium." The writer visited the county hospital in question and talked to the Superintendent. He revealed that the hospital had received only 20 Puerto Rican cases in the last four years. The Superintendent stated that the Puerto Ricans are very cooperative in following directions and taking their treatments. The biggest difficulty he found was that so many of the European immigrants have T.B. These same thoughts about European immigrants were verified in a conversation with a director of the County T.B. office. It was mentioned that this condition was difficult to understand as the European immigrant is not a citizen, and is supposed to be given a vigorous examination before coming to the United States. If such a person has a positive report of T. B., he is not supposed to be admitted to this country. Additional information received from still another County T.B. office indicated that there was no higher incidence of T. B. among Puerto Ricans than any other group of people.

HOSPITALS

In Camden, Jersey City, Newark, Paterson, Perth Amboy, and Trenton, hospital officials reported that Puerto Ricans frequently used their pre-natal and post-natal clinics. It was revealed that these clinics were more frequently used by them than any other clinics.

Hospital officials revealed that Puerto Ricans generally came to the hospital on their own initiative instead of being referred by their personal physician. On some occasions when Puerto Ricans report for medical attention they need immediate hospitalization. In his own country, the Puerto Rican receives free medical care and attention. Puerto Ricans, having their own physician, usually live in the cities, and represent the more affluent ones.

There seems to be general agreement among the hospitals visited that the Puerto Rican, employed in industry and covered by hospital plans, constituted no financial loss for hospital services rendered. On the other hand, Puerto Ricans not covered by hospital plans, usually represented financial loss for services rendered. One hospital stated that even if the head of the household is covered, the other members of his family are not covered by hospital plans. In such instances, the hospital finds it difficult to collect for its services.

Only one of the hospitals stated that Puerto Ricans pay their hospital bills fairly well. One hospital official indicated that Puerto Ricans evade paying their bills. If some one is sent to collect, the collector cannot find the person, nor can he find anyone else who knows him. One other hospital official stated that none of the Puerto Ricans will pay their bills in advance, or at the end of the hospitalization period, but will make an agreement to pay \$5.00 per week on their bills.

A knowledge of the medical habits and background of the Puerto Rican permits the reader to grasp the significance cultural factors play in understanding individuals of a different race, religion, and nationality living in his country.

The Spanish language did not seem to present a problem to any of the hospitals. All hospitals stated that someone on their staff, either a nurse, an interne, charwomen, porter, or laboratory technician spoke Spanish. In many instances, a member of the family, relative, or friend, who could speak English accompanied the patient.

SCHOOL RELATIONS

The Puerto Rican school population in the elementary and secondary schools in Camden, Jersey City, Newark, Paterson, Perth Amboy, and Trenton totals approximately 1,300 students. Statistics for five of these six cities totaled 1,034 children, and it has been

estimated that at least 250 Puerto Rican children are enrolled in the sixth city. One of these cities reported that 100 Puerto Rican children were enrolled in the parochial schools. Altogether these six cities would have an estimated enrollment of 500 Puerto Ricans in the parochial schools. The grand total for Puerto Rican enrollment in the private and public schools in New Jersey approximates 1,800.

One school official indicated that Puerto Ricans are enrolled in ten of the 33 public schools in his city, and in four of the 11 private schools. Some other school officials stated that Puerto Ricans are enrolled in all of the schools in the city. One school official pointed out that Puerto Ricans constituted 100 of 400, or 25%, of all new students enrolled in one of his schools. In two other schools in his city, there were 70 Puerto Ricans of a total of 500 students, and 80 Puerto Ricans of a total of 650 students.

Statements made by school officials about Puerto Ricans pupils reveals that each official views them in a different manner. For example :

The Puerto Rican displays native disregard for formal education and early physical and emotional immaturity.

We have instructional problems, but no discipline problems. We find where one or two Puerto Ricans speak English they assist the others and assimilate much faster. We have several teachers who speak Spanish. We send them to the schools where most of the Puerto Ricans are enrolled.

We know that some Puerto Ricans have had no schooling. We place them in special groups according to age.

Language is our primary problem. We have no disciplinary problem.

We have a disciplinary problem in one school. The Puerto Rican boys molest the girls.

In one rural school district where a large number of Puerto Rican migrants work during the summer, one school official revealed that eight Puerto Ricans were enrolled in school in September. However, by October, all of the Puerto Rican students had left his school. Information from other rural school officials indicated that there were not any Puerto Ricans enrolled in their schools at the time of the study. However, additional information reveals that a small number of Puerto Ricans were enrolled in school in the late spring and early fall. Conceivably, the same ones enrolled in the spring might not be the same ones enrolled in the fall.

Adult Education evening classes sponsored by local boards of education for foreign born have not met with much success among

Puerto Ricans. According to Clyde E. Weinhold, formerly of the Division of Adult Education of the State Department of Education:

The problem of integrating the Puerto Rican is much more difficult. Although they are citizens, they speak a foreign language. It is difficult to enroll them in the regular English classes for the foreign born because these classes are, to a larger extent, geared to preparation for citizenship. The Puerto Rican is proud of his citizenship, and rightfully so, and objects to being included in such a group.²²

The Institute of Management and Labor Relations of Rutgers University sponsored three courses in Adult schools for Puerto Ricans and co-sponsored a fourth course with a local group for the same purpose. Two of these courses were held in Perth Amboy, Passaic and Trenton. A total of 28 sessions were held in these communities. Ninety-one Puerto Ricans enrolled in these courses. The average course was seven sessions.

In one of the large cities covered by this study, the Parent Teachers Association sent letters to the Puerto Rican parents requesting them to join the organization. The letter informed the parents of the purpose of the PTA, and advised the parents about the monthly meetings.

RELATIONS WITH WELFARE AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS

More misconceptions prevail about Puerto Ricans being recipients of relief and welfare service than about any other phase of their community living. Time and time again, the writer was advised by individuals interviewed in this survey that the local relief agency knew how many Puerto Ricans were residents in the community, or the relief agency has all the facts about Puerto Ricans, or that so many Puerto Ricans are on relief.

The welfare director in the cities studied intensively in this survey recorded a total number of 5,150 relief cases of which 63, or 1.22% were Puerto Ricans. These cities have a population of 1,171,023 and a total of 17,700 Puerto Ricans. The total percentage of all Puerto Ricans on relief in these six cities represent 3.55% compared with 4.3% of the total population on relief for all persons other than Puerto Ricans. The State agency that receives reports from local municipalities regarding the number of assistant cases in the community had no idea as to the number of Puerto Ricans in the State receiving public assistance. Public assistance cases are not classified according to race, religion, or nationality. In some instances, a municipality does not report to the State agency all of the cases

²² Modern Settlers, Newark Sunday News, December 12, 1954, p. 26.

receiving public assistance, however, it can be reported from reliable authority that in some communities Puerto Ricans have been denied public assistance. In these instances, the local relief officials have taken the position that Puerto Ricans are foreigners who do not deserve any assistance.

The highest number of Puerto Rican relief cases any of the six departments of welfare had at any time was 50. On the day visited this department reported only 15 cases. Another relief department revealed that two years ago, it had ten times as many Puerto Rican cases whereas it has now only five cases a month. One relief director, not included in those cities mentioned above, is very concerned with the growing number of Puerto Ricans on relief. When questioned as to how many Puerto Ricans were on relief last year, the number reported was 12. In January, 1955, five Puerto Rican cases were certified for relief. This condition resulted in "a meeting with the mayor, the relief department, the Catholic Charities, and the American Red Cross. None of the agencies have any more funds to cope with a large increase of recipients and our funds are running out."

When Puerto Ricans first appeared in one of the major cities covered by this survey, there was a meeting of all the social agencies in the community. A director of one of these agencies said, "We were scared to death. We thought that we would have the same thing here that was going on in New York. Fortunately, the situation never developed here."

One relief director reported an increase in the number of Puerto Rican cases. These Puerto Ricans have legal settlement in the community, and have received all of the unemployment compensation entitled them. At the expiration of the unemployment compensation insurance they applied for relief.

All of the relief agencies indicated that transportation fare for many Puerto Ricans was paid by some of their relatives or friends. In some instances those Puerto Ricans on relief had been housed and fed for several weeks by their friends or relatives. After this period of time, if the recent migrant could not find a job, he applied for relief. In several of these communities, the recent arrival was brought to the department of welfare by the Puerto Rican's having legal settlement.

One relief officer felt very strongly that the Puerto Ricans on relief represent those who are less capable, have little or no skills, and who speak poor English. In those instances where it looked like the Puerto Rican would be on relief for some time, he was sent back to Puerto Rico.

One relief director stated that his agency had returned 50 to 100 Puerto Rican families to Puerto Rico between 1940 and 1952. His agency had a permanent arrangement with one of the major airlines to transport Puerto Ricans to their country. This department of welfare operates on the philosophy that it is easier and cheaper to return Puerto Ricans to the island than it is to keep them on relief. Today, this department has only one or two active Puerto Rican cases. A Puerto Rican is advised that if he accepts emergency relief, he will have to be returned to Puerto Rico. This information has spread through the community, and as a result, last year only 12 Puerto Ricans filed application for relief. Four of this number were certified for relief.

Even though personnel of relief agencies have more contact and experience with Puerto Ricans than most individuals in the community, it was found that some of them retained certain beliefs about Puerto Ricans. One employee was operating on the belief that no Puerto Rican could come to the United States unless he had a job waiting for him. Another employee in a different relief department wrote to the Department of Immigration regarding some of its problems with Puerto Ricans. (The Department of Immigration has no jurisdiction or concern with Puerto Ricans as they are United States citizens.) In still another relief agency information was given to the writer that Puerto Ricans earn enough money during the farming season (average salary for Puerto Ricans on farm \$460),²³ to carry him through the winter, and that all Puerto Ricans carry "a lot of money on their persons".

There was general agreement among all of the relief agencies that the Puerto Ricans are proud people, clannish, and can take care of the needy ones among themselves. One other general agreement was that Puerto Ricans remain on relief for a shorter period of time than any other racial, religious or other group. The average Puerto Rican is on relief two to three weeks and he will take any kind of job that is offered to him. It was pointed out that the native white and Negro were too proud to accept a job as a garbage collector, or any other service job that the Puerto Rican will readily accept.

The Catholic charities render important services in meeting the requirements of needy Puerto Ricans. In each of the four Dioceses of New Jersey, Catholic Charities give financial and material assistance, offer placement services, and social service assistance to Puerto Ricans. It was difficult to obtain statistics regarding how many Puerto Ricans receive services from the Catholic Charities, because of the method of reporting cases. One Catholic priest revealed that many persons receive assistance, either directly from a priest, a nun,

²³ Puerto Rican Farm Workers in the Middle Atlantic States, U. S. Department of Labor, p. 6.

or the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and such assistance is not recorded. One of the four Catholic Charities Headquarters, revealed that it knew of only two instances of having assisted Puerto Ricans with family problems during the past year. This Headquarters, however, spoke of the assistance given to local Puerto Ricans through individual church affiliations. The Headquarters of another Diocese reported that it presently had 20 cases of Puerto Ricans among a total of 2,000 cases.

RELATIONS WITH PROBATION DEPARTMENTS

Probation departments, located in eight counties, embracing the cities studied in this survey, reported that the case loads are just beginning to reflect Puerto Ricans. One of these county officers revealed that it had its first Puerto Rican case five years ago. Today, this office has 35 Puerto Rican cases of a total of 3,600 in contrast with another county probation office, where ten cases involving Puerto Ricans were processed in 1954. Altogether approximately 172 Puerto Rican cases were reported in eight counties.

There was a consensus of opinion that as a local Puerto Rican population increases, the number of Puerto Rican cases will increase. Puerto Ricans will get into the same kind of trouble proportionately as do other racial, religious, and other nationality groups in the community. In all of the counties there were not any serious cases reported for Puerto Ricans. Cases involving Puerto Ricans were classified largely into sex offenses and stabbing. Other cases involved marital difficulties and muggings.

Knifing incidents generally involve only Puerto Ricans, although some included Puerto Ricans and Negroes, or Puerto Ricans and whites. Most probation officers indicated that Puerto Ricans carried knives with them for personal protection, and relied upon them as their only friend in a new land. It was further pointed out that failure to understand American procedures, rules, and regulations and the inability to speak the English language, led to unnecessary arrests. One Domestic Relations Judge stated:

“Cases are just beginning to appear in Domestic Relations Courts. The types of delinquency crime are no worse than any other group. Their language difficulty is the biggest problem. They don't know what is happening. If they understood us, and we understood them, there would be less problems. Usually a friend or someone in the group will serve as an interpreter. Even if there was a large percentage on probation, I believe that this condition would be due to the language problem.”

One County Probation office is hiring an officer who speaks Spanish fluently, so that he can work more harmoniously and effectively with

Spanish-speaking people. Several of the probation offices have persons on their staffs who speak Spanish or Italian. One probation office stated that it was greatly handicapped due to its inability to have someone accessible to speak Spanish when necessary. Still one other probation court relies upon a court assigned interpreter who works on a part-time basis.

POLICE RELATIONS

Police officials express similar experiences about Puerto Ricans in their communities in many instances. There was general agreement that Puerto Ricans frequently carry knives and that case records show stabbing incidents resulting from such a practice. One police official revealed that the passage of the state law forbidding the carrying of switch blades, cut down immensely the number of arrests of Puerto Ricans. Immediately after passage of the law, two or three Puerto Ricans were arrested for carrying switchblades. As soon as word spread around that it was unlawful to carry switchblades, the police had less trouble with Puerto Ricans. However, the police officers of five other counties still report arrests of Puerto Ricans for carrying switchblades.

Throughout northern and southern New Jersey police officials reveal a number of arrests involving Puerto Ricans resulting in violation of motor vehicle regulations. These motor vehicle violations involve such offenses as driving down a one way street the wrong way, failure to stop at signs, transferring a license from one car to another without having the car properly registered, not observing traffic laws, and driving without a license. These same violations were found to exist by the state police as well as by the office of the Division of Motor Vehicles. One local community newspaper reported this statement:

"In acknowledgement Colonel Russell A. Snook, Superintendent of Police said; 'We recognize that the influence of Puerto Ricans in connection with our migrant labor program intensifies our traffic problem, and we are extending every effort within the limit of our facilities to meet the situation. We realize that there have been serious accidents as a result of the violations by these drivers.' "

It was reported by reliable authority from several sources that some Puerto Ricans arrested had obtained drivers' licenses' illegally. In such instances, Puerto Ricans reveal their licenses were obtained for a fee. Fees may have ranged any where from \$10 to \$50 for acquiring a license.

In situations where Puerto Ricans have failed to pass drivers' tests more than once, some Puerto Ricans have offered motor ve-

hicle inspectors bribes for licenses. As a result of such offers, these individuals were fined and/or given jail sentences. Experiences of motor vehicle inspectors indicate that in comparison with European immigrants, Puerto Ricans do not attend English classes or attempt to learn English as readily as other newcomers to New Jersey.

All police departments reveal that the language barrier is the greatest factor in the number of arrests of Puerto Ricans. One Police Department has met the situation very effectively. It sent ten of its members, made up of representatives from each of its divisions, to Spanish classes. These policemen speak conversational Spanish, and speak it so effectively that the FBI has utilized them when necessary. This police department has found that its policemen solve cases quicker and get better responses and more cooperation, and establish better relations with Puerto Ricans in its community. Furthermore, the police discovered that some of the individuals whom the courts have been using for interpreters, ask the defendant how much money he has before proceeding as interpreter before the court. All of these interpreters were immediately dismissed.

One policeman stated the communication problem in this manner:

"The language is the biggest problem. We put him in jail over night and let him out in the morning. You can't understand him, and he can't understand us. We need an interpreter."

Another legal officer stated:

"There will probably be less arrests if there wasn't a language difficulty. A policeman could tell a group of local boys, who had been blocking the street corner, to move along as the inspector would soon be passing by, and the boys would move. But with the Puerto Ricans not knowing what the officer said, an argument might result, leading to an arrest."

Statistics were not generally available as to the number of Puerto Ricans arrested. Some police officials reveal that no general statistics were kept on the number of Puerto Ricans arrested. In half of the cities visited, it was thought that the number of arrests among Puerto Ricans was going down. In the other half, it was indicated that the number of arrests would be increasing in proportion to the Puerto Rican population in the city. However, one city thought that Puerto Ricans constituted a problem. In this community, one of the smallest in the state, there was a total of 210 persons sent to the county jail in 1953. Fifty-four of this number were Puerto Ricans. One law official in this community stated:

"It is no wonder that so many Puerto Ricans are arrested. Anybody without any money, friends, lawyers and influence, ends up in jail. They have no one to help them. Their offenses are not serious. They usually spend only one or two days in jail."

The register for commitments to the county jail in the above instance was studied. It was true that nearly all of the offenses were minor. Puerto Ricans had been arrested for disorderly conduct, or some minor motor vehicle offense, or had spent one to three days in the county jail.

In three cities, police had received personal complaints about the public conduct of the Puerto Rican in regard to personal dress. For instance, in the business section of cities, where some apartments are located over business stores, Puerto Ricans were observed by retailers and neighbors as being scantily dressed in their apartments. Neighbors and businessmen would call the police. The police would have to instruct the individual in question to pull down their shades, or wear more clothing. In other instances, police reported that they instructed Puerto Ricans to be less affectionate and emotional in public places.

Police officials as well as many other persons interviewed in this survey, disclosed that Puerto Ricans are being overcharged for automobiles by unscrupulous dealers. One police official stated that some cars are purchased that should not even be permitted to run on the streets. Instead of paying \$25.00 for this automobile a Puerto Rican might be charged \$200 to \$300.

THE PUERTO RICAN URBAN WORKER

The Puerto Rican urban worker is handicapped in obtaining work by reason of language, prejudice towards newcomers, failure to understand his cultural background, as well as skin color in many instances. In spite of these handicaps, many Puerto Ricans secure jobs readily. However, these jobs are usually classified as personal service jobs such as waiters, bus boys, bellhops, maids, elevator operators, and porters. Jobs in this classification pay low wages, often call for long hours, and represent the least desirable jobs. Puerto Ricans are welcome in many communities to these jobs, as there have been few "takers" for these jobs. One union official of a hotel and restaurant employees union pointed out that his union was often responsible for the first job that a Puerto Rican received in his community. Another union official of the same type of union revealed that Puerto Ricans are filling a need in the area of personal service jobs. Puerto Ricans as members of his union received \$40.00 a week for 48 hours of work. However, he pointed out that many Puerto Ricans employed in the same kind of jobs, that are not organized, earn only 30.00 to 40.00 a week, for 70 hours.

As factory workers, Puerto Ricans are largely employed as unskilled and semi-skilled workers in electrical machinery and equipment supplies, food and kindred products, apparel and other

fabricated textile products, chemical and allied products, and fabricated metal products. A Puerto Rican was employed in a shipping advisory capacity in only one plant in the cities covered by this survey. No firm was found that employs Puerto Ricans in a white collar capacity.

The Division Against Discrimination made a study of The Minority Group Worker in Camden County. (November 1954.) Statistics taken from this survey, plus additional data received during the course of the survey revealed that 340 Puerto Ricans are employed in 25 of the 142 firms embraced by the 1954 survey. (See Table IX.)

TABLE IX.
JOB ASSIGNMENT AND EMPLOYEES BREAKDOWN.²⁴

<i>Job Assignments</i>	<i>Negroes in 101 Plants</i>	<i>Jews in 67 Plants</i>	<i>Puerto Ricans in 25 Plants</i>
Unskilled	78	14	11
Semi-skilled	60	16	9
Skilled	64	24	7
Supervisory	27	22	1
White Collar	6	28	..

Data from an unpublished employment policies and practices survey in 11 plants in a small southern New Jersey community, undertaken in the winter of 1955 by the Division Against Discrimination, reveal that Puerto Ricans are employed largely in unskilled jobs. This survey embraced 11 concerns, employing a total of 1,127 workers of which number 86 were Negroes, and 36 were Puerto Ricans. Of the 11 concerns, Negroes were employed in ten and Puerto Ricans in three of them.

A study made by Fred Golub, Extension Associate, Rutgers University, entitled "Some Economic Consequences of the Puerto Rican Migration into Perth Amboy" (1949-1954), discloses some interesting facts. (See Table X.)

TABLE X.
FIRMS EMPLOYING PUERTO RICANS ACCORDING TO
NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES.

<i>No. Workers Employed</i>	<i>Less Than 20</i>	<i>10-24</i>	<i>25-49</i>	<i>50-99</i>	<i>100-199</i>	<i>200-499</i>	<i>500 and Over</i>
Total No. Firms	29	27	10	16	13	10	6
No. Firms Employing P. R. .	1	8	5	8	9	5	4

²⁴ The Minority Group Worker in Camden County, prepared by Thomas H. Bogia, Field Representative, Division Against Discrimination—November 1954, p. 7.

Forty of these 111 firms hired 541 Puerto Ricans in unskilled, semi-skilled, and a few in skilled capacities. No Puerto Ricans were employed in supervisory or white collar positions. Additional data in this survey reveal that 15% of 78 unemployed Puerto Ricans were qualified white collar and skilled workers. They had received such training work experience in the United States Army, but they had been unsuccessful in acquiring jobs at their top skill in civilian life. Most of them had worked since being discharged from the Army in personal service occupations.

It was encouraging to find a manufacturer of electronic parts, located in the metropolitan area of New York employing Puerto Ricans in large numbers. Puerto Ricans constitute 25% to 30% of his work force of 1,200 employees. Puerto Rican men are assigned to medium heavy assembly work and Puerto Rican women to light assembly work. A small percentage of all Puerto Ricans are engaged in skill capacities. The personnel manager stated that approximately a third of the Puerto Ricans live in town, one-third live in a second community, and one-third live in a different community. He disclosed that Puerto Ricans have been employed since 1941 and he has found them to be stable workers. Some of the Puerto Ricans have previous comparable experience; but, most of them were untrained. He further reported that:

"It is sometimes difficult to reach them at their homes. Some cannot be reached by telephone. When asked about this matter, they report that they are obliged to change living quarters frequently and cannot be sure of getting messages. The language problem is at a minimum, because most Puerto Ricans speak English. The company does not require that English be spoken. We are very satisfied with Puerto Rican workers."

In the same type of factory, in a different city, employing 10,000 employees, the personnel manager thought two Puerto Ricans were employed. So few Puerto Ricans were employed because very few apply and those who do apply are not able to understand or read English. In many of the other jobs in the company a knowledge of English is a requirement, due to job directions and regulations. Employers contacted in other cities in this survey reported few Puerto Ricans employed due to language difficulties. One of these personnel managers employed Puerto Ricans in his plant. However, he indicated that a Puerto Rican would not be hired for any job that required writing or reading. If a Puerto Rican could meet the requirements of a job, he would be employed on his own merits.

The Puerto Rican, being proud, and sensitive, is reluctant to talk of his hurts and injured pride, in being denied employment. The fact is, however, that he is being denied employment opportunities. The Division Against Discrimination had received several complaints against employers who refused to hire Puerto Ricans because of their nationality. Personal interviews by the writer with Puerto Ricans throughout New Jersey have verified the belief that Puerto Ricans are often discriminated against because of their nationality. One Puerto Rican, a leader in his community, in one of the largest cities in New Jersey, stated:

"We don't bother about going to the employment service office anymore. We find that they send us out only on farm jobs, and this time of the year there are no farm jobs. We manage to get jobs on our own as construction workers or day laborers. We feel that Puerto Ricans ought to have an employment office just for themselves."

Additional information obtained in this community disclosed a general agreement among all persons interviewed, that few, if any, were employed as factory workers.

In all of the 12 cities visited in this survey, data obtained revealed four Puerto Ricans employed as white collar workers. Three of these four individuals were on public payrolls and the fourth person had his own accounting business. One of the three public employees was working for the State of New Jersey and the other two were on municipal payrolls.

A small class of entrepreneurs, or small business men, is developing among the Puerto Ricans. In neighborhoods largely inhabited by Puerto Ricans small grocery stores, and restaurants will be found. In one small city due to the amount of business coming from Puerto Rican farm workers, two haberdashery stores employ Puerto Rican sales persons.

EXTENSION OF CREDIT

Extension of credit to Puerto Ricans in most instances seems to be no problem. Representatives of social and welfare agencies as well as public and private employers thought that the Puerto Rican can easily acquire jewelery, clothes, and electrical appliances on the installment plan. In fact, it was usually stated that credit was extended too easily. Salesmen would overload them with items bought on the installment plan by stating that payments would be only \$2.00 to \$3.00 a week. But, when an individual has more than

two accounts to meet at the end of every month, he may find himself in financial difficulty. In order to check the experiences of banks and credit agencies with Puerto Ricans, the writer visited five credit houses. One collecting agency reported that:

"It is impossible to trace Puerto Ricans. When you go to their homes, nobody knows anything about the person you wish to see, nor has any body ever seen them. You can't get any information. It is almost impossible to execute a judgment."

A large financial institution reported:

"Our experience is not too good. Many Puerto Ricans apply for credit after being here a few weeks. Credit is often denied to anyone who has been employed only a short period of time. However, if anybody has steady employment for two years, and has established stability in the community, he can get a loan."

In many instances, Puerto Ricans who have not lived in the community for two years and who have been employed for less than two years, manage to get a loan by having a co-purchaser who meets all of the bank requirements.

A third credit agency stated:

"Our experience is that banking and loan companies are reluctant in granting loans to Puerto Ricans. This situation has developed because of trouble in the past with the giving of false names and addresses.

"It is very difficult to explain to a Puerto Rican earning \$65.00 a week why credit has not been extended to him. He fails to understand why his application is turned down. About 75% of Puerto Ricans live in furnished rooms, move about frequently, and are employed in low paying and unstable jobs."

Two credit agencies reported that their experiences with Puerto Ricans were not any different than those with individuals living under the same social-economic conditions.

ACCEPTANCE IN THE COMMUNITY

The Puerto Rican, like the American Negro, is a second class citizen in his community. He is discriminated against in churches, schools, homes, places of public accomodation, and employment. A member of the clergy stated that Puerto Ricans seemed to be tolerated in the churches in his community but were not really accepted. A different member of the clergy thought that the Puerto Rican would participate in community programs and activities as soon as

he adjusted himself to his new home, increased his standard of living, and as soon as he learned to speak English fluently.

Most Puerto Ricans will state that they are Catholic. However, the prevailing consensus among members of the Catholic clergy is that a fair percentage of Puerto Ricans are not practicing their religion. The significance of this statement is that some Puerto Ricans do not attend church as often as they should, nor are they orthodox in their religious observances. In four of the cities covered by this survey, Spanish speaking priests were assigned to minister to the religious needs of Puerto Ricans. One priest stated that before he arrived in the community, Puerto Ricans visited Catholic churches in Newark and New York City. This particular priest informed the writer, as well as two other priests, of his house to house visits in building up a fair size church congregation.

An interesting experiment occurring in New York City is fully described below. Thus far the writer has not heard of any such practice occurring in New Jersey.

"One of the most Christlike expressions of Christian love is for a Christian family, out of religious motives, to share its home with a child of obviously different racial origin from his hosts. This is what foster parents are now doing in Metropolitan New York. By 1949, the number of homeless Puerto Rican children had grown into an acute social problem. New York Catholic Charities therefore turned to the Cardinal's Campaign for Foster Homes with the hope that enough Puerto Rican families could be found to provide acceptable homes for these children. The reasons for trying to place the children in their own kind of environment were obvious; however, for other reasons, not enough Puerto Rican homes could be found. The only solution was to overlook racial considerations—and ask non-Puerto Ricans to help. Their response has been most edifying.

"According to William E. Gill, Assistant to the Director of the campaign :

"Many of our Catholic foster parents are responding in a splendid way to the Law of Love in regard to the homeless Puerto Rican children of New York. This is demonstrated in a fact that 467 of the 541 Puerto Rican children who have been placed in foster homes by the Catholic Home Bureau and the New York Foundling Home are families of non-Spanish backgrounds. It is interesting to note that these people are descendants of "minority groups" that experienced their own difficulties in getting acceptance here."²⁵

²⁵ American National Catholic Weekly Review, April 2, 1955, Vol. No. 1.

All Puerto Ricans, however, are not Catholics. Puerto Ricans are members of Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, and Pentecostal denominations in most of the large cities included in this area. According to a "National Council of Churches Estimate", 35% of Puerto Ricans are Roman Catholics, 15% are Protestant, and 50% have no specific church background.²⁶

The Puerto Rican attends various Protestant churches. There is no record that Puerto Ricans support a protestant church by themselves.

In one community, a Lutheran pastor received requests for baptisms and marriages from Puerto Ricans in his neighborhood. As these requests increased for his services, he took this matter before the Board of American Missions to accept Puerto Ricans as church members. He was granted this permission. This request was also agreed to by his church council. In December 1951, a Christmas service in Spanish was held to which all Puerto Ricans in his vicinity were invited to attend. A school room in his church was used to conduct Sunday School and church services in Spanish. Gradually, the church members have accepted the Puerto Ricans into their congregation, and all members of the congregation drink from the same communion cup. At present, there are approximately 22 Puerto Rican church members and 50 to 70 attending church services in Spanish.

Catholic and Protestant clergymen in most communities serve as consultants to Puerto Ricans regarding their day to day problems in the community. Clergymen have assisted them in getting birth and marriage certificates, have acted as interpreters and legal advisers, aided them in securing employment, assisted them in obtaining financial and welfare benefits, and have interpreted American customs and habits to them. In some communities where church facilities permit, dances, card parties, and recreational programs are held on Saturday nights for Puerto Ricans. In most of these instances, however, the church is predominantly Spanish speaking.

The New Jersey Council of Churches employs at least three Spanish speaking ministers to meet the needs of Puerto Rican migrants. These ministers are employed on a part-time basis, usually during the length of the migrant season. The ministers spend most of their time in Southern New Jersey where most of the Puerto Ricans are employed.

One area of community acceptance in which the Puerto Rican is discriminated against is public accommodations. Due to the Puerto Rican's high degree of visibility, because of his skin color and because

²⁶ *The Lutheran*, Vol. 36, No. 29, April 21, 1954.

of the barrier of his speech he finds himself discriminated against in this area. The very swarthy Puerto Rican or Puerto Rican of dark skin, experiences more discrimination than his brother Puerto Rican of fair skin, who also feels the sting of discrimination. In one of the small communities included in this survey the owner of a skating rink refuses to permit Puerto Ricans to skate in his rink, although he will permit Negroes to use it. Instances are known of taverns in large and small cities that refuse to serve Puerto Ricans, although some of these taverns will serve Negroes.

Official information was given to the writer about one community where a Puerto Rican could not get service in any tavern in town. After the intervention of a well-known Puerto-Rican and outstanding citizen in the State, the order to refuse service was withdrawn. This order had been given unofficially by a local judge.

In some of the smaller communities, Puerto Ricans have advised the writer of their inability to get a haircut. This condition is felt more keenly by the dark-skinned Puerto Rican who have to patronize a Negro barbershop than his light-skinned brothers who might get haircuts anywhere in the next town. For convenience, and elimination of embarrassing situations, the Puerto Ricans at the Glassboro Service Association Camp have their hair cut in camp by one of their own group.

In the rural and small communities of New Jersey, the Puerto Rican associates almost exclusively with Negro girls. In these areas, community pressures prevent the majority of white girls from keeping company with Puerto Ricans. A policeman told the writer that "no local white girl would go with a Puerto Rican." However, policemen and farmers in other communities state that white girls associate with Puerto Ricans, but they are of the lower social-economic class.

The Puerto Rican farm worker comes to live on the mainland for a short period of time. He comes alone. In town, he usually frequents the Negro tavern. The police officials in all of the cities visited admitted that Puerto Ricans socialize with Negro girls. With the exception of two cities, the police stated that there has been tension and fights between Negro and Puerto Rican men. There has been competition for the same girl.

The competition is greater between Negro and Puerto Rican men in the rural community. In the rural communities, the Puerto Rican men have less opportunity to socialize with white girls and rarely are there Puerto Rican girls. In the large cities where individuals know less about what their neighbors are doing and prejudices seem less intense towards Puerto Ricans the Puerto Ricans find companionship with Puerto Rican girls, many more Negro girls and some

white girls. However, it was found in one large city that Puerto Ricans kept company largely with Negro girls. In this community, Puerto Ricans had not brought in their families, and they had found it very difficult to get stable employment. There is general agreement among police officials that friction and misunderstanding exists between Puerto Ricans and Negroes; that such trouble develops over the Negro girl. The Puerto Rican will buy her clothes, pay for her grocery bill, and sometimes live with her, whereas the Negro only buys her drinks. Several Negro men who frequent taverns serving mostly Negroes and Puerto Ricans voice the same opinion.

The Puerto Ricans attend Negro dances in rural and urban communities. He dances with Negro girls, "but he doesn't bring his women with him". No information was obtained that revealed that Puerto Ricans generally attend public dances, nor was any information received that Negroes attend dances given by Puerto Ricans.

A priest advised the writer that the Puerto Rican will not participate in community programs and organizations until he can speak better English, possess the proper clothes, feel secure in his job, and has better housing. The Puerto Rican is now concerned with improving his standards of living by getting a better job, better housing and better education for his children.

"Bad as the situation is for the white Puerto Rican, it is worse for the colored . . . migration transforms the darker Puerto Rican into an American Negro—even among his own lighter countrymen, who soon learn that difference in color means difference in status. The colored migrants have fewer opportunities and less incentive to become a part of the mainland culture. Their only chance is to look and act conspicuously different from the native Negro."²⁷

Statements from most of the police officials revealed that most of the local newspapers had "blown up" some of the misdemeanors and minor arrests of Puerto Ricans. However, they were quick to add that newspapers had changed their way of reporting incidents about Puerto Ricans in a community that was not too concerned about them. The writer found one local newspaper that still devotes a large amount of space and headlines to activities about Puerto Ricans. For instance, one article on the front page was headed:

"105 BEHIND BARS SETS NEW RECORD"

One paragraph of the same article stated:

"One solitaire of cells is devoted to Puerto Ricans who like to be together."

²⁷ Charles Abrams, "How to Remedy Our Puerto Rican Problem," *Commentary*, February 1955, p. 122.

An excerpt from this article is:

"Why should our streets be turned into a drunken shambles by the rowdyism of farm workers, brought here to boost the employment on farms." (This article appeared in July 1954)

It is recognized that the newspapers are of tremendous force in their communities. They can assist in creating, fostering, and perpetuating various kinds of unhealthy climates as well as modifying unhealthy climates and creating healthy atmospheres in a community. It has been recognized for sometime that the identification of race, religion, or nationality in a newspaper tends to perpetuate stereotypes and to present the worst side of any group living within the community.

One common fallacy existing in nearly all of the places included in this survey was that some agency, institution, or individual has made a study of Puerto Ricans in the community. In all instances, the writer traced down these reports to the individual who was reputed to have made such a survey. In only one instance was such information correct. The data obtained in this particular survey were limited in scope, but, rather helpful. The writer found that individuals who reported having undertaken studies of Puerto Ricans had given up the idea of a survey. These individuals expressed the need for such a survey, or stated that the survey was going to be done as soon as possible. These individuals were interested in Puerto Ricans in their communities and seemed to possess more knowledge about Puerto Ricans than most local citizens.

Expressions and statements from public and private citizens about Puerto Ricans revealed attitudes of mistrust, misunderstanding, and dislike towards Puerto Ricans by half of the persons interviewed in this survey. One public official immediately exploded when he heard the name Puerto Rican mentioned. He could hardly contain himself. He finally settled down, and invited the writer to sit down with him in his office and review the local situation. Before the writer left him, this official requested that he not be portrayed as being prejudiced against Puerto Ricans. The unfortunate condition here, is that he is in a position to let any Puerto Rican who comes into his community feel his wrath. Another public official immediately went off into a discussion of how the influx of Puerto Ricans into his community would introduce "tropical health diseases and would increase the health problems of the community". He is a health official.

A private employer wanted to know "Why do Puerto Ricans come here anyway, why do we let them in?" Farmers, policemen, social workers, and a newspaper man wanted to know "Why isn't a better screening job done before Puerto Ricans are admitted?" Social

workers, private employers and police also wanted to know "if they are colored or white?" Still other persons believe that Puerto Ricans have "low morals", "always have money in their pockets", and "all carry knives".

There is on the other hand, a number of substantial citizens in every community who are genuinely interested and concerned with the adjustment of the Puerto Ricans in their new environment. These citizens are found among social workers, public and private employers, clergymen, police, and members of minority groups. These individuals look upon the problems of adjustment of the Puerto Rican as being no different from those which earlier groups of immigrants or migrants had experienced in earlier days. It was pointed out by some of these persons that all individuals in the same social-economic background, having little education and industrial experience, meet with discriminatory practices in seeking a livelihood, obtaining houses, and enjoying the facilities of public accommodations.

CONCLUSION

Wherever the Puerto Rican lives in New Jersey he is constantly striving for better living quarters. He starts out in the community by living in the worst pseudo furnished rooms. He brings no household effects with him, and must accept the kind of housing available to him. Even the kind of housing open to him is limited to the slum district, the rooming house district, and the unwanted housing in rural villages and towns. The landlord is often reluctant to rent to him as he is thought of as a foreigner, because he speaks a different language, and because of his skin color. If his skin color happens to be dark, he will find it very difficult to acquire any kind of housing.

The Puerto Rican is equally concerned with the problem of securing a good job. With the handicap of being the newest arrival in the community, the handicap of his inability to read or write English, and the handicap of nationality and sometimes skin color, he secures a job at the bottom of the occupational scale. These jobs pay low wages for long hours and offer little security. He is constantly seeking better job opportunities. He is proud and sensitive and will seek any kind of work rather than accept charity.

Puerto Ricans, who have obtained some degree of job stability in the community are following the same patterns of adjustment experienced by previous immigrant and migrant groups. They are moving away from slums, renting better homes, becoming home owners, and seeking a higher education for their children.

The Puerto Rican is handicapped in making a better adjustment in his community by not being aware of the resources available in his city that might assist him in becoming a more stable citizen. He is uninformed as to where he might obtain information about jobs, civil service examinations, public housing, licenses, reporting of violations of health and housing regulations, unemployment compensation, and social service agencies. He is again handicapped, except in one or two communities, by not having leaders among his own group. He has no one to interpret his needs to the community, to assist him with his personal family problems, nor to have anyone interpret the community to him.

The above statements represent, the writer believes, the most basic problems confronting the Puerto Rican in New Jersey. This survey has presented some interesting findings about Puerto Ricans.

These findings are :

1. Approximately 26,000 live in New Jersey on a twelve month basis; during the farming season approximately 34,438 live in New Jersey.
2. Many citizens do not know that Puerto Ricans are United States citizens.
3. Puerto Ricans have been living in New Jersey for over forty years; by 1950 4,000 were living in New Jersey. However most local residents did not notice Puerto Ricans in their community until the last two or three years.
4. Puerto Ricans became an important factor in the agricultural economy of New Jersey in 1946. One thousand industrial workers were brought to New Jersey in 1944.
5. Puerto Rican farm workers are very carefully screened before coming into New Jersey.
6. Most Puerto Ricans live in substandard housing and are often exploited by landlords.
7. Puerto Ricans occupy 199 public housing units of a total of 15,014 included in the survey.
8. Puerto Ricans need greater knowledge of health and sanitary practices.
9. Few Puerto Ricans have a personal physician. They report directly to a local hospital for medical care and treatment.
10. Approximately 1,800 Puerto Rican children attend public and parochial schools.
11. Few Puerto Ricans attend adult educational courses.
12. The total percentage of Puerto Ricans on relief, as revealed by this survey was 3.55% as compared to 4.3% of the total population on relief. Puerto Ricans remain on relief only two or three weeks. Some relief directors discourage relief assistance by their power to return to Puerto Rico any Puerto Rican who receives emergency relief.
13. It is believed by many people that Puerto Ricans "carry knives," "always have money in their pockets," "live off relief," and always take care of their own.

14. Probation Departments are just beginning to get a small number of Puerto Rican cases; they have not received any serious cases thus far.
15. Puerto Ricans do not constitute a problem to the police in most cities. State and police agencies report Puerto Ricans have an excessive amount of arrests for motor vehicle violations.
16. Puerto Ricans are seriously exploited in the buying of second-hand cars.
17. Puerto Ricans working in lower paying jobs, especially service occupation jobs not covered by unions, are seriously exploited in hours worked and money received.
18. Puerto Ricans are good farmers and urban workers. City employers discriminate against them due to language problem, nationality, and color.
19. Puerto Ricans are usually accepted in places of public accommodation, but experience more discrimination in places of public accommodation in central New Jersey than in northern New Jersey—and experience greater degrees of discrimination in southern New Jersey than in central New Jersey.
20. In southern New Jersey, with a few exceptions, most Puerto Ricans are employed as farm laborers.
21. Few Puerto Ricans are known to be employed as white collar workers in New Jersey.
22. Tensions exist between Negro and Puerto Rican men largely in rural communities where there are no Puerto Rican girls; few white girls will keep company with Puerto Rican men; and Negro girls offer the only companionship to Puerto Rican men.
23. Puerto Ricans seek social recreation largely in Negro communities in southern New Jersey. However, to a limited extent they also participate in social relationship with Negroes in some northern communities.
24. Attitudes of intolerance were displayed by approximately half of the persons interviewed in this study.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. All requests for building permits that have been approved by the local municipal inspectors should be automatically registered with the tenement bureau to see if any violations are involved.
2. Social agencies and Puerto Ricans in all communities should organize a committee to assist Puerto Ricans in obtaining a greater share of public housing. This committee should also serve as an advisory committee to Puerto Rican leaders in the community who should interpret the functions of the social agencies in town.
3. The functions and purposes of the Division Against Discrimination should be known to the committee organized under Section 2, so that every Puerto Rican might be in a position to assist himself if he so desires.
4. Special pamphlets should be published in Spanish to inform Puerto Ricans about local customs and habits among the American people, codes of behavior, motor vehicle rules and regulations, rental housing, how to apply for public housing, how to organize English classes, and participate in community activities.
5. The Puerto Rican government should employ a person accountable only to himself at the Glassboro Service Association Camp to assist Puerto Ricans with their problems in camp, on the farm, and in the community.
6. All police and public agencies, where practicable, should employ Spanish speaking personnel.

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