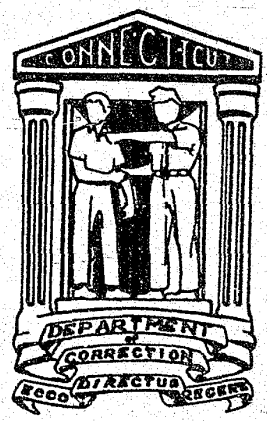
Differences Do Make A Difference



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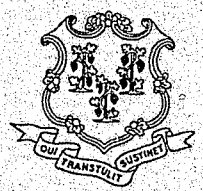

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION, 1974

John R. Manson,

Commissioner

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All of us grow up in cultural contexts that shape our thinking, reactions and life styles for as long as we live. Obviously, what we are is in part individual, another portion reflects the family situation we come from, but a very large and significant portion of our behavior is culturally determined.

Connecticut is rich in sub-cultural traditions that reflect the successive waves of immigration and migration that have made our ethnic melting-pot in this part of southern New England. The Yankees, the Irish, the Italians, the Poles, the Blacks and most recently the Puerto Ricans, as well as many smaller groups, have been part of this process and the traditions of these groups continue to give Connecticut life a strength and vitality that work to the advantage of all of us.

Historical records in America demonstrate very clearly that it is the "new arrivals" among these ethnic groups that are most susceptible to criminal involvement. In consequence, they tend to be over-represented in our correctional institutions. This means a very special responsibility for staff to understand traditions and life-styles that are not their own.

This kind of sensitivity to behavior and thinking that is alien to one's own traditions is not easy to acquire, but the Department of Correction has underway a number of projects to assist us in this. In the pages that follow a number of fundamentals needed for our new understanding of minorities are presented; I hope you will take time to read these carefully and discuss them with others in your work situation.

John R. Manson
Commissioner

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INTRODUCTION

Alice Maxwell and William F. Meredith

American corrections today, along with other systems such as the public schools, is geared to the values and objectives of the middle class which is the dominant group in American society. Somewhat belatedly, these systems are coming to realize that many of the children and adults in their charge have different values and objectives which are due to their membership in minority groups.

A minority group is generally described as a section of the population which differs from the majority in values and therefore in behavioral patterns, interests, and social customs. But institutions which deal with minorities (often in considerable numbers) are apt to ignore these cultural differences or fail to understand why people who are shaped by them fail to respond to education, health, or correctional programs "like everybody else."

Corrections has a special interest in people who are culturally different from the majority because many of the minority groups are overrepresented in the offender population or are moving toward overrepresentation. If corrections is to become truly corrective, its staff must know well the people with whom they work. It is not enough, for example, to provide the usual type of correctional program for a youth or adult whose native language is not English, whose view of life is quite different from that of the white middle class. To ignore these basic facts is almost inevitably to fail to rehabilitate him. He is released from custody bewildered or embittered, unable or unwilling to conform to ways of living which are acceptable to the majority of his fellow Americans. By following such a course, corrections is ignoring differences that can make the difference between rehabilitation and recidivism.

This book is an attempt to present to correctional personnel some characteristics of minority groups as seen by their own members or by men who have worked long and intimately with them. The groups presented are: Mexican-Americans and other Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest; American Indians; American Negroes; Puerto Ricans; and Japanese-Americans. Selection was based on the fact that most of these groups are overrepresented in the correctional population.

Minority Groups in Our Population

As background for exploring differences between minorities and the dominant American society, it is essential to have a few facts about minority groups in the United States. The following tables give some basic information. Since they are drawn from the most recent source of across-the-board data, the 1960 census, the tables do not reflect some very considerable changes that have taken place in the past seven years, such as the accelerating migration of Negroes to northern and western cities and the continuing flow of Puerto Ricans to the mainland and of Mexicans into the United States. Moreover, it is now recognized that a significant proportion of Negro males were not counted in the 1960 census at all. For Mexican-Americans, we have only a

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Mr. Meredith is director and Miss Maxwell assistant director of the Joint Commission's task force on strategies for action.

Table 1

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PRINCIPAL MINORITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960

Group	Northeast[1]	North Central[2]	South[3]	West[4]	U. S.
Negro	3,082,499	3,446,037	11,311,607	1,085,488	18,925,631
	16%	18%	60%	6%	100%
Indian	26,356	98,631	127,568	271,036	523,591
	5%	19%	24%	52%	100%
Japanese	17,962	29,318	16,245	400,807	464,332
	4%	6%	4%	86%	100%
Mexican-American	(5)	(5)	3,464,999		(5)
Puerto Rican	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	892,513
					100%

Sources: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1960, United States Summary;* and Subject Reports on *Nonwhite Population by Race, Persons of Spanish Surname,* and *Puerto Ricans in the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963.)

[1] Conn., Me., Mass., N.H., N.J., N.Y., Pa., R.I., Vt.
[2] Ill., Ind., Iowa, Kan., Mich., Minn., Mo., Neb., N.D., Ohio, S.D., Wis.
[3] Ala., Ark., Del., D.C., Fla., Ga., Ky., La., Md., Miss., N.C., Okla., S.C., Tenn., Tex., Va., W.Va.
[4] Alaska, Ariz., Calif., Colo., Hawaii, Idaho, Mont., Nev., N.M., Ore., Utah, Wash., Wyo.
[5] Census data available only for white persons of Spanish surname in Ariz., Calif., Colo., N.M., and Tex.
[6] Regional data not available for Puerto Ricans.

Table 2

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PRINCIPAL ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960

Group	14 years & under	15 to 19 years	20 years & over	Total
White	48,084,986	11,608,229	99,138,517	158,831,732
	30%	7%	63%	100%
Negro	7,085,970	1,496,991	10,590,715	19,173,676
	37%	8%	55%	100%
Indian	230,733	49,897	275,392	556,022
	41%	9%	50%	100%
Japanese	148,167	31,228	301,032	480,427
	31%	7%	62%	100%
Mexican-American[1]	1,449,629	306,979	1,708,391	3,464,999
	41.8%	8.8%	49.4%	100%
Puerto Rican	344,996	75,784	471,733	892,513
	38.6%	8.5%	52.9%	100%

Sources: See Table 1.
[1] Data available only for white persons of Spanish surname in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas.

census of white persons with Spanish surnames who were living in five states with large Mexican-American populations in 1960. It is now estimated that there may be about 5 million Mexican-Americans in the 50 states today, making them the second largest minority group.[1]

With all these qualifications, it must be pointed out that the tables are indicators of differences rather than complete statements of the extent of differences. But even as indicators, they are significant.

Table 1 shows the available data on the size of the various minority groups and where they lived in 1960. As noted previously, there has been a substantial shift in residence of some minorities since that year. For example, during the Watts riots of 1965, Los Angeles officials stated that Negroes were coming into the area at the rate of about a thousand a week.

By and large, ethnic minorities are younger than the white group. (Table 2) This means many children in proportion to the adults who must support them. All the groups have, on the average, larger households than white Americans. Indian households are larger than those of any other group. (Table 3)

Table 3

POPULATION PER HOUSEHOLD AND YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY 20- TO 24-YEAR-OLDS OF PRINCIPAL ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960

	Population per Household	Years of School Completed by 20- to 24-Year-Olds
White	3.2	12.3
Negro	3.8	11.1
Indian	5.0	10.0
Japanese	4.0	12.8
Mexican-American [1]	4.3	9.4
Puerto Rican	4.0	9.5

Sources: See Table 1.

[1] Data available only for white persons of Spanish surname in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas.

[1] *The Mexican American: Report to the President*, released by the White House June 9, 1967.
[2] Average incomes derived from medians of grouped data.

A crucial difference appears in the average number of school years completed by young adults of the various groups, as shown in Table 3. While Japanese-Americans of this age bracket have slightly more schooling than the whites, other minorities trail these two groups, sometimes far behind. It hardly needs to be pointed out that a young adult with less than a high school education is in a poor position to compete for jobs that pay a living wage.

Lack of education, together with lack of opportunity, is a significant factor in poverty among minority groups. Data from the 1960 census indicate that the average annual income per white wage-earner was then about $3,000. Japanese-Americans exceeded the white group with an average of $3,200. Puerto Rican wage-earners had an average of about $2,500 per year; Mexican-Americans, about $2,400. Much below them were Negro wage-earners, at about $1,500. At the bottom of the totem pole were Indian wage-earners, at about $1,300.[2]

All these figures are subject to qualification, since some are derived from census samples. There is, however, no questioning the relative status of the various groups as regards income.

Differences That Make the Difference

The differences among minority groups that have been noted above can be indicated in figures. But there are others which have to do with less quantifiable factors. These are apt to be the differences which are most important for correctional personnel to consider in trying to rehabilitate minority persons.

Except for the Japanese, poverty is the great common demoninator among minority groups. Their workers are typically in low-paying jobs or are employed sporadically if at all. Discrimination, as well as lack of training, bars access to better-paying employment.

Inability to use English is a further barrier for many adults. Children who are not allowed to use their native language even in the first grade suffer a critical handicap. Those who do not drop out of school may, as one of the writers in this book remarks, graduate from high school illiterate in two languages.

It is not surprising then that many minority people feel that "to be different" in the United States is "to be less than." Many groups see that they have worse housing, poorer schools, fewer opportunities than typical Americans. This sense of low status which is exceedingly difficult to overcome lies at the root of the frustration and hostility that often mark minority attitudes to the dominant society.

Part of the difficulties of many minority groups stems from the fact that they are moving from a rural to an urban industrial way of life, taking with them social institutions which are often ill-suited to the new situation. For example, most Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Indians regard the family as consisting not only of parents and children but also of grandparents, uncles and aunts, and perhaps other relatives. This "extended family," as social scientists term it, is well suited to rural and village life, where close relatives live and work together. But it is difficult to maintain in the crowded slums of cities to which the family may go in search of a livelihood. If the father is unable to find work and his wife must support the family, he no longer has the sense of being a man. Desertion, alcoholism, delinquency, and crime mark the breakdown of the extended family.

Several minority groups are present-oriented. Hence they will work hard when work is necessary to achieve some specific, rather immediate goal, but

see no value in merely building for the future. Moreover, neither in work n play are they strongly competitive. In fact, the person who strives to o his fellows may be the subject of jealousy and gossip.

Finally, almost all of the minority groups discussed in this report have had xperience with authority. Indians and the Spanish-speaking people who led the Anglos in the Southwest were displaced from their lands. Negroes laves. Japanese-Americans were "evacuated" from their homes and con- in camps during World War II. Mexicans have often been unfairly treated immigration authorities. Although many of these group experiences may em remote to the correctional worker and unrelated to his task, he must expect to encounter suspicion or hostility until he demonstrates his commitment to helping the offender in his charge.

The Purpose of This Book

Although many, if not most, of the differences mentioned above are negative in their impact on individuals, this book is not designed to document discrimination and deprivation. Its purpose is to show correctional workers some of the many ways in which members of minority groups are affected by their ethnic affiliations, how their own experiences and those of their group in the past must be taken into account by anyone seeking to influence them.

Some of these group differences have a positive side which can be of great value if understood and made use of by a rehabilitation worker. The extended family is a good example. Although poverty and urban crowding have weakened it and led to confusion and disorganization in many instances, it is a source of great personal strength to its members when it is functioning, even in the slums. Thus corrections should draw upon the extended family whenever possible for help in rehabilitating both young people and adults.

The problem for correctional personnel is to understand the disadvantages that come with membership in most minority groups and to utilize to the full the strengths which also characterize them. The following chapters discuss in more detail the principal minority groups represented in correctional populations and suggest the implications of their characteristics for correctional personnel and programs.

AMERICAN NEGROES

Wesley Ted Cobb

This paper will have two main themes: first, the influence of the social systems created in the United States to fix the relationship of the Negro to the general society; and second, what corrections can do in dealing with Negro offenders.

In approaching these subjects several basic points need to be clearly understood.

1. Three social systems, all products of the American culture, have exerted a profound influence on the American Negro. These are slavery, segregation, and integration. These systems can be seen in the long stream of the American Negro's history reaching over three periods of time:

1619 - 1863 for the system of slavery
1864 - 1954 for the system of segregation
1955 to the present for the system of integration

2. The culture of the Negro *as a group* in the United States is essentially an adaptation, a fusion of the many cultures with which the Negro has had contact over the last four centuries. The social, political, economic, religious, and biological "genes" which have gone into the cultural makeup of the Negro are drawn from the blood and cultural lines of not only the African slaves but European settlers and American Indians as well.

The culture of the Negro *as an individual* is substantially reflective of the social and economic group with which he can be identified in the lower, middle, or upper class of the general society.

3. In the past, the Negro population was largely concentrated in the South and was heavily oriented toward southern agricultural patterns. At the present time, the Negro population has been redistributed throughout the major metropolitan centers of the nation and is largely oriented toward the urban-industrial economic patterns of American society.

4. The bulk of the Negro's experience in this country has been one of racial oppression, restriction, and disadvantage. Since colonial times, the major institutional forces of American society have either contributed to or acquiesced in this discriminatory treatment. In recent years, especially during the last two decades, these institutional sanctions have been weakened or removed. Despite this change in institutional support of racial discrimination and segregation, the nation and the Negro are still confronted with a formidable array of social and economic problems which have accumulated through the previous years of denial and isolation.

Slavery and Negro Culture

Slavery was the primary crucible in which the American Negroes were developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Within it, the cultures of the African and European were fused. The historical roots and cultures of

Mr. Cobb is associate director for community resources, National Urban League.

the European have had better documentation and public relations treatment in this country than that of the African. Examination of one or two points about the African ancestors of today's Negro reveals a degree of cultural diversity comparable to that of the various groups of Europeans. They had names like Sengalese, Whydahs, Eboes, Mocoes, Angolas, or Mandingoes, instead of Poles, Czechs, Sicilians, Croats, Swedes, Danes, Scots, Germans, or Lithuanians. Languages were equally diverse. The early African societies were not as simple as stereotypes and myths about the Negro have suggested. Their legal, political, and economic systems and family structures were in fact quite complex, often far more complex than some of the systems found in Europe at the same period.

Like many of the European immigrants, the African slaves were largely oriented toward agriculture. In fact, among the skills and experiences which made the African slave so highly valued were those of the agricultural worker and the craftsman.

The Negro's development within the system of slavery occurred under the heavy influence of at least three key forces: cultural stripping; miscegenation; and concepts of social caste and class. Cultural stripping was primarily a manpower development device involved "breaking in" or training the African slave. It was also designed to prevent slave rebellions. One feature of the process was intermixing the various African groups across nationality, tribal, and cultural lines. This often resulted in weakening and disorganizing the family unit and other systems of organization which might help the slaves to oppose the slavemaster or detract from the slave's efficiency as a worker.

The process of cultural stripping was effectively dramatized by Mark Twain in his classic tale of two American rebels: Huckleberry Finn and Nigger Jim. It may be recalled that, in their journey on the raft, Huck was helping his friend Jim to escape from slavery. That made Jim and Huck partners in crime. It was against the law for a slave to attempt to become free without his master's consent. It was also against the law for anyone to aid in such an attempt.

Jim said a daring thing. When he got free, he said, he would go somewhere and get a job as a free laborer. He would save his money. He would take the money and buy the freedom of his wife. Then he and his wife would work together and save more money so that they could find their two children and buy their freedom. In this simple dialog, Mark Twain exposed one of the most cruel dimensions of the process of cultural stripping as experienced by the Negro: the dismemberment and scattering of the family.

To see more of the consequences of cultural stripping, ask yourself a few questions. How many American-born Negroes do you know, whose names are Kenyatta, Luthuli, or Mboya? These are African names. Names like these were lost through cultural stripping of slaves who were the African ancestors of the Negro in America. How many Negroes, born in America, do you know whose religion is not one of the dominant patterns of religion in this country? The "Black Muslims" are an exception, but this is in fact an innovation, a cultural product of twentieth century America. How many Negroes, American born, do you know who speak Swahili, Yoruba, Sudanese, or Bantu? These are among the many languages of the American Negro's African ancestors.

Miscegenation or sexual relations across color lines has not been widely reported on by historians, yet it was practiced quite widely throughout the South, conducted largely at the initiative of the slavemaster. It had far-reaching effects on the cultural and biological patterns of both the Negro and white population in the South.

Segregation and the Development of Negro Culture

Segregation should be understood as a continuation of the earlier effort within slavery to fix a generally subordinate socio-economic position for the Negro on the basis of his race.

What is frequently missed or ignored by historians of this period is that while the Civil War resulted in the abolition of slavery, segregation became even more widespread than slavery. It defined in legal terms the social-political status and economic position of the emancipated Negro. The laws regulating the system of segregation came to be known as the "Black Codes," most of them adopted between 1870 and 1910. The system of segregation in the South was quite rigidly enforced by the various institutional forces, including schools and churches, but special emphasis was placed on racially restrictive law. In the North, while a number of states adopted laws restricting or segregating Negroes in relationships with whites, the main reliance for building and maintaining segregation was on controls over jobs and housing. Social relationships were segregated by widespread and fairly uniform policies and practices which covered everything from country clubs to churches.

Regional or local variations notwithstanding, the consequences have been to produce an enormous pile-up of human problems whose rapid multiplication we are now witnessing in our concern about "hot cities" all over the country. These problems have been documented many times in terms of unemployment, bad housing, high mortality rates, high delinquency and school drop-out rates, shorter life expectancy, higher rates of family disorganization and dependency. The influence of segregation in the areas of education and crime among Negroes is especially relevant to this discussion.

The historic decision of the Supreme Court in *Brown vs. Board of Education* in 1954 constituted the most far-reaching challenge to legal segregation by declaring segregation on the basis of race to be unconstitutional. It is hardly necessary to document here the fact that, while legal segregation of schools is coming to an end, the rate of desegregation is very slow and that schools in many parts of the country are still segregated because housing is segregated.

What is important for us to consider in connection with crime is the effect of segregated schools on the educational achievements of young Negroes. For crime and low educational achievement go hand in hand, regardless of race.

One of the most pointed statements on the effects of school segregation on the academic performance of Negro youth was developed in a special study on Harlem youth under the leadership of Dr. Kenneth Clark. Here are some of the findings on Central Harlem schoolchildren:

> In reading comprehension, 13.2 to 39.6 percent of the third-grade pupils [in the various schools studied] are reading below grade level, compared to only 10 to 36.7 percent who are reading above grade level. For sixth-grade pupils, the story is even more dismal. From 60.4 to 93.5 percent score below grade level, while at most 26.7 percent score above.[1]

The study notes that about 41 percent of the pupils entering high schools from Central Harlem in 1960-61 dropped out before graduation. After reporting on the performance of students who do go on to academic or vocational high schools, the study concludes:

[1] Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., *Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change* (New York, 1964), p. 167.

> Less than half of Central Harlem's youth seem destined to complete high school and of those that do, most will join the ranks of those with no vocational skills, no developed talents and, consequently, little or no future.[2]

Similar findings have resulted from smaller studies in city after city across the United States.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice has clearly linked failure in school with delinquency in a "downward spiral of failure."[3] The unsuccessful Negro student, the drop-out or low academic achiever, like the unsuccessful white student, is more likely to become a crime and delinquency statistic.

Negro Offenses and Offenders

Crime is defined for a society by the people who have the power to make, pass, and enforce laws. This is a concept which has had much relevance for the Negro in the United States. What constitutes crime has been for the Negro pretty much what somebody else said it was.

During the period of slavery, Negroes were most directly subject to the personal laws of the slaveowner. They were also subject to the laws governing property which were perverted to cover the system of slavery. As the Dred Scott Decision of 1857 confirmed, the laws of the society at large were regarded as applicable to the Negro only as long as they did not interfere with his status as a slave.

Crimes committed by the Negro during this period were determined by his legal status as a slave. A partial catalogue of the crimes with which the Negro slave could be charged included: worshipping without permission of the slave master, trying to learn to read and write, demanding wages for his labor, "talking back" to a white man, protesting when a slavemaster raped his wife or seduced one of his children, objecting if his wife or children were sold, attempting to escape from slavery, attempting to organize other slaves into revolting against slavery, talking about freedom.

In the South during the decades following the Civil War, the systems of segregation were established so that it was legally a crime for the Negro to: use a public toilet, read in a public library, picnic in a public park, drink water from a public drinking fountain, marry any person regarded as white, attend a racially unsegregated public school, eat in a public restaurant, sleep or eat in a public hotel or motel, sit in the front of a public bus.

The imprint of segregation is still clearly marked. Available data suggest that the Negro offender is likely to be about 25 years old, single, unemployed or marginally employed, a high school drop-out with a record of previous arrests, most frequently as a juvenile offender. He is most likely to be from a urban ghetto or other area which is residentially segregated.

The President's Commission has noted that "one of the most fully documented facts about crime is that the common serious crimes that worry people most . . . happen most often in the slums of large cities."[4] So with juvenile delinquency. "Numerous studies have revealed the relationship between

[2] Ibid., p. 188.

[3] *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society:* Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 68 ff.

[4] Ibid., p. 35.

certain deprived areas — particularly the slums of large cities — and delinquency . . . Thus Negroes, who live in disproportionate numbers in slum neighborhoods, account for a disproportionate number of arrests."[5]

It is regrettable that no clear and consistent data have been developed about the Negro offender on a national or regional basis which are wholly free of errors of method or the influence of racial bias. National Urban League special files on Negro crime contain a report about an alert Urban League staff representative who investigated a police department report of a sharp rise in the Negro crime rate in a midwestern city. Investigation revealed many discrepancies which were the results of errors in methods of organizing data for Negroes. Corrections in the discrepancies produced reductions of 200 to 300 percent in many of the figures reported. It was subsequently concluded that the trend of the Negro crime rate was actually down, not up, because of improvements which the community had provided in job opportunities.

Integration

We come now to the third social system which has had special relevance for the Negro in America — integration. The term relates to the process of incorporating individuals from different groups into the general society.

Integration of the Negro into American society reflects an important shift in the major institutional supports which have reinforced slavery and segregation in the past. Supreme Court decisions on civil rights since 1954 and civil rights laws passed by the Congress in 1957, 1964, and 1965 affirm specific national policies and require reforms in race relations. Other dominant institutional forces such as business, labor, industry, religion, education, and welfare either have taken on or are initiating similar reforms.

Some have interpreted incorrectly the handing down of a court decision, the passage of a law, or the formulation of a corporation policy on better race relations to mean that the problems affecting the Negro have been almost or completely solved. Such a view, however benign, could hardly be less accurate. You simply cannot turn the massive public and private institutional forces of society as powerful as those of this country against any group of people for nearly 400 years and expect that group to be in a position of full recovery and equality through the pronouncements and programs of the last 10 or 15 years. Regarding the integration of the Negro today, our nation has three major tasks: one, dealing with accumulated race problems of the past; two, altering the race patterns of the present; and three, creating new race relations designs for the future.

In 1949, the late E. Franklin Frazier summed up examinations of Negro delinquency and crime and made an observation about the relation of integration to both which is still pertinent nearly twenty years later.

> . . . Gradually students have come to study Negro crime in relation to such economic and social conditions as poverty, ignorance, and urbanization . . . Negro criminality has been studied in relation to the effects of the subordinate status of the Negro. Moreover, sociological studies of the high juvenile delinquency rate among Negroes have revealed that it is not higher than that of whites when studied in relation to the social disorganization of the areas in which Negroes are concentrated in cities. This new understanding of the nature of Negro crime and juvenile delinquency has

[5] Ibid., p. 57.

helped to redefine these problems. *But whether this knowledge will be utilized to reduce Negro crime and juvenile delinquency will depend partly upon the extent to which the Negro is integrated into American life and partly upon the measures which the American community adopts to deal with these problems.*[6]

Corrections and the Negro Offender

It is of course important to understand something about the culture and struggle of the Negro and the various influences in the American society which retard his advancement or undergird some of the differences in deviant behavior. What is more important is effective action to combat these influences today. I believe that, of all persons working in the helping professions, those in the field of correctional services have one of the best opportunities to create new patterns of rehabilitation with respect to the Negro. The institutional apparatus of the correctional system enables the professional in this field to have more complete control over methods and results than is the case elsewhere. The current public interest in crime and delinquency can be tapped for support of the innovations and resources essential to progressive programming for the Negro offender.

In my view, there are several correctional roles or positions which are relevant to efforts designed to advance the rehabilitation of the Negro offender. These include the policy-maker, the administrator, the staff specialist or generalist, and the consultant. What can these people do? There are seven general targets to be given consideration by all who are concerned with helping the Negro offender:

1. Define more carefully and understand the problems and needs of the Negro offender.
2. Reorient and train correctional services personnel, paid and volunteer, so that they will be enabled to operate free of the fetters of racism.
3. Develop the necessary policies to correct present inequities and injustices which apply to the Negro offender.
4. Design and carry out programs necessary to deal more productively with the problems of the Negro offender.
5. Be certain that all efforts are free of influence of race prejudice and discrimination.
6. Measure, improve, and interpret results.
7. Get the resources and public support necessary to do the job right.

The correctional policy-maker can exert significant influence because he is able to exercise controlling judgment over broad guidelines and allocation of resources as well as the organization of public support for enlightened policy and the necessary resources to carry programs out successfully. Four basic actions are suggested: review of policy, policy revision, evaluation of the results of applying the policies, and mobilizing support for policy implementation.

The administrator in the field of correctional services often combines policy-making functions with those of administration. If so, he has a double advantage and opportunity. The first step should be an administrative inventory of what the present situation is, covering a broad range of questions

[6] E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), p. 653. Italics added.

regarding policies and practices. Examples: Does the agency have specific policies against racial segregation and discrimination? Do training programs for all staff include efforts to produce greater understanding of the special factors which influence and help Negro offenders? Does evaluation of staff performance include evaluation of attitudes toward and treatment of Negro offenders? What is the position of the agency head toward the practitioner who injects racial prejudice into his relation with Negro offenders?

The agency's staffing policies and practices are bound to have an effect upon the treatment of Negro offenders. Are Negroes recruited for all staff vacancies? Are they represented at the administrative and policy-making level? Are they given special assignments because they are Negroes? Are they treated in any way that is discriminatory?

Perhaps the most basic question of all is this: Does the agency seek to convey to the Negro offender through actual practice its determination not to continue the discrimination which he has encountered in the society from which he came. Unless he is convinced of this policy, rehabilitation is unlikely to take place.

The second step for the administrator should be the development and execution of a broad comprehensive program designed to get results. Some of the supportive elements should include:

1. Development and publication of specific policy directives which will facilitate implementation of organized programs with the Negro offender.
2. Staff briefing and training sessions on the policy and program.
3. Periodic measurement and reporting on results.
4. Concentration on specific priorities.
5. Assignment of a project coordinator to be responsible to the administrator for program implementation.
6. Allocation of necessary resources and personnel to get the job done.
7. Utilization of professional consultants especially in the planning and evaluation phases.

As another step the administrator should report and interpret the progress not only to his own personnel, but also to his colleagues in the field and, where advisable, to the general public.

As a part of the total effort, the far-sighted administrator will also call upon all related agencies and elements of community leadership to participate in his programming for aid to the Negro offender or lend support to it.

Staff members occupy an especially strategic position because of responsibility which they carry for the day-to-day operations with the offender. Staff members should be concerned with at least six things:

1. *Building trust and confidence.* As previously indicated, over the years the average Negro has had good reason to distrust the law and its representatives at the local level in face-to-face relationships. The practitioner will find his skills blunted and useless in the rehabilitation process if his view is that of the custodian and guardian of white supremacy appointed to hold and punish the Negro for his offense against society.
2. *Providing fair and unprejudiced use of authority.* This is essential to building trust and confidence which is in turn basic to rehabilitation. The Negro offender will be responsive to the rehabilitative process if he can see and understand that he will be treated with consistent

fairness and that his race or color will not be the basis for discriminatory treatment.

3. *Maintaining sensitivity to the previous experiences of the Negro offender with the law.* As a part of the rehabilitative process, the practitioner should find it most helpful to review the individual Negro's case, to determine the extent to which he may or may not have been a victim of injustice at the hands of other representatives of the law.
4. *Diagnosing and treating the special needs and problems of the Negro offender as an individual.* The point is often made by psychologists and medical doctors that, irrespective of generalizations which can be made about human problems affecting any class or group, each case must be considered in relation to the problems which are unique to the individual. The consistent application of this kind of understanding will go a long way toward enabling correctional practitioners to deal with the problems of the Negro at a higher level of competence and with greater results.
5. *Developing supportive contacts with the Negro community.* The correctional worker is also advised to build and maintain a good working relationship with agencies and leadership with full-time interest and responsibility for working on problems of the Negro, among them the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Public agencies such as human relations commissions should not be overlooked.
6. *Building lines of support and understanding of the problems of the Negro offender in the community at large,* so that he will have a greater opportunity to succeed upon completion of his rehabilitation. This is particularly relevant where the Negro offender, returning to the community, can be expected to encounter special difficulties in securing employment opportunities.

A Message from Malcolm X

In closing this presentation, I should like to tell you about an encounter with Malcolm X in Chicago. Malcolm X, as you may recall, was a fiery young Negro who emerged as leader of the "Black Muslims" and irritated a great many people because of what he said and did. In the encounter that I had with him, he was conscious of my relationship with the Urban League. He was aware of the fact that he and I addressed and reached different publics and consequently evoked different responses. So Malcolm X made a special point of asking if I would say something to the people I was able to reach about the implications of the ways in which he had to come up in life. Let me paraphrase what Malcolm X said.

When you meet and talk with these good people, black or white, say to them that I am a Negro who signifies a new breed. I am a black man not born in the South. Although I am a product of the South's history, I did not come out of Mississippi or Alabama or Georgia. I came out of Michigan and Illinois. Say to these people — these good people — that I was one of those kids that nobody wanted to bother with. I was a nappy-headed nigger who smelled bad, who talked bad, and acted bad, who had bad grades in school. But despite all of this badness I knew that I had some ability. I told myself that, and because I could tell myself that, I reached out for some help.

I reached out to the good people in every town I lived in for some help. They said no. They couldn't see past my smell. They couldn't see past my language. They couldn't see past my nappy head. They couldn't see past my raggedy clothes. They couldn't see me for looking and smelling and running.

The people who helped me were the wrong people, from the point of view of the moral society, from the point of view of the democratic society. The people who helped me, whose hands reached out to mine, whose hearts and heads touched mine, were the pimps, the prostitutes and hustlers, the thieves, and the murderers. The people who helped me through grade school were the gangs. The people who helped me through the high school of adolescence were the kids up in the reformatory. The people who helped me through the college of life were the people up in the prisons. And the people who helped me to get graduate training in the university of common sense were the people out on the streets, in the ghettos that were infested with crime and delinquency.

Say this to them, because man there are a whole lot of kids on this street just like me. They smell bad, they act bad, they talk bad, and their report card says they're dumb. But you know something? These kids are smart. These kids are beautiful. These kids are great. They need to be seen and helped.

Malcolm X is dead, but the conditions under which he developed are still here. The correctional systems of our society have perhaps one of the most strategic opportunities to insure that the Negro offender is not only seen and understood but helped.

PUERTO RICANS

Joseph Monserrat

Puerto Ricans in the United States are confronted with a problem that is peculiar although it is shared somewhat with other groups. If you look at the small outline map of the United States which we are using for reference in this seminar, you will find that Puerto Rico is missing, although it is an integral part of the United States. I'm glad the Department of Commerce left Puerto Rico off the map, because it leads to one of the points that some participants in this seminar have been trying to make today. The point is this: Quite frequently, we in minority groups are an afterthought. For example, I was here last week for a meeting of the Plans for Progress group that has had five national meetings in Washington over five years. Not until the fifth session did they finally recognize such groups as American Indians, Spanish-Americans, and other minorities.

I head an agency of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico established on the mainland to do two things: (1) to help the Puerto Rican newcomer adjust to his new community; and (2) to help the community adjust to the newcomer. In the process of trying to do our job as migration specialists, we run programs of employment, education, social service, community organization, information and identification.

In trying to do our job, in thinking about it and planning for people, we began to run into recurring questions. A number of years ago I was frequently asked to go out to speak on "The Puerto Rican Problem." To identify what this Puerto Rican problem was, I tried to begin to find out from the groups who placed the "Problem" in quotes. The only trouble was that, every time I asked what they meant by "the Puerto Rican Problem," people would talk to me about housing, about education, or about crime, or any number of things, but no one told me exactly what this "Puerto Rican Problem" really was. This began to ring some signal bells, and we began to look around, not only at the problems of Puerto Rican newcomers but at the problems of their new communities.

We have offices in Boston, Chicago, New York, and elsewhere on the mainland. To help the newcomer adjust to his community, we begin by assuming that "adjustment" means adjustment to the middle-class values of the communities in which they live. And we find that, when we ask how can they "make it," the question becomes one of how they can come close to middle-class values. That's what "making it" is. I'm a Puerto Rican who has "made it." I've made it because when I get a haircut I get a crewcut, and when I want new clothes I go to Brownings' or Brooks Brothers. I don't speak English with a Spanish accent. If I were in the Bronx I could be speaking to you in a slight, carefully cultivated Yiddish accent. I am adjusted because

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Mr. Monserrat is director of the migration division of the Puerto Rico Labor Department.

I act like, I look like, and I sound like those around me. But the psychic cost of doing this had never been measured.

Common Problems of Newcomers

So our agency came up with the following formulation: most of the problems of the Puerto Ricans coming to the mainland have nothing to do with their culture, with their language, or with their background. What they have to do with is the history and legacy that Puerto Ricans have inherited in their new communities. The legacy runs something like this.

1. New groups have seldom been welcomed to the United States throughout the history of the country, from the founding fathers on down.
2. Most of the founding fathers came in search of religious liberty and opportunity for themselves, not for anybody else. Part of their legacy was that everyone had to fight to "make it," and growth beyond this idea has been somewhat slow.

America has never resolved the problems of the first-generation newcomer. The problems that Puerto Ricans are facing today are the same basic problems that every other new generation or group has faced throughout the history of the United States. To put it the other way around, first-generation Americans never have their problems resolved. Rather, it is the second generation, whose problems are totally different from those of the first, who begin to solve problems. It isn't until the third generation, when the group is totally "Americanized" and has "made it" into the middle class, that the problems are solved.

And what are the problems? Basically, the problems of the first-generation American newcomer are the chronic problems of the urban society into which he moves. Puerto Ricans living in the Lower East Side of New York are faced with the problems that Jacob Riis and Lincoln Steffens were writing about when the inhabitants of the Lower East Side were Jewish. The fact that Jewish culture differs from the Puerto Rican culture does not change the basic problems that both of those groups faced in that particular area. So if newcomers are to adjust to life in Boston, I suppose they will have to adjust to middle-class values with an Irish Catholic orientation. In New York City's Lower East Side, the values would have an orientation primarily Yiddish. And if we go into Chicago, we would probably find that there is a third norm in overall American values. I'd like to ask our previous speakers on Mexican-Americans: Who is the "Anglo" you're talking about? Thirty-six percent of all residents of the city of Chicago are either foreign-born or children of foreign-born. They're not Anglo-Saxon. We get very confused about some of these images which we're trying to emulate.

For Puerto Ricans, the first shock is that, as they move from one part of the American Union, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, to the mainland, they are immediately strangers, if not foreigners, in their own country. Being "foreign" in the United States has little to do with the law. For 50 years we Puerto Ricans have been born citizens of the United States. But we're still "foreigners." So we begin to look and see what it is that we're reacting against or to or about, and we come up with this: To be "different" in the United States has meant to be "less than."

The first thing we have to do if we're going to "make it" is to stop being different. Take language for example. It's a very peculiar thing that the United States is a monolingual nation, despite the fact that it has received

people in large numbers who among them have spoken almost all of the world's languages. Why is American society monolingual? Primarily, it seems to me, because to be different means to be less than. Therefore, second-generation Americans historically, rather than be different, have given up the language, the culture, and the values of their parents in order to "become American."

The people that we're talking about in this seminar are groups of people who insist on continuing to be different. This insistence on continuing to be different in a democracy which we call pluralistic but which has strict limits to its cultural pluralism, creates a full range of cultural conflicts.

Kinds of Problems Puerto Ricans Face

About a million Puerto Ricans now live throughout the 50 states. But most of them have been here for less than 15 years. Puerto Ricans as a group do not have a second generation in this country. Eighty-five percent of all Puerto Ricans born on the mainland are under 14 years of age. We have not had, as yet, a group that has been able to go through technical school or college in order to begin to get the necessary professional know-how, simply because we haven't been here long enough.

So we're confronted with two kinds of problems. One is a time problem — meaning that there are some things that only time will take care of. The other is a problem of doing something about certain key issues *now*, issues about which something can be done. To differentiate between these two sets of problems has been one of the major difficulties confronting our agency.

There's another factor that distinguishes Puerto Ricans on the mainland: they have Puerto Rico. This means that Puerto Ricans can see a totality of themselves in a way in which perhaps other groups cannot. For example, the criminal in Puerto Rico is arrested by a Puerto Rican policeman. He's taken before a Puerto Rican judge; he is prosecuted by a Puerto Rican district attorney and defended by a Puerto Rican lawyer. The jury is Puerto Rican. The warden at the prison, the guard who takes care of him, and the parole board are Puerto Rican also, as is the man who finally pardons him. This is a little different from other groups in the United States. In Puerto Rico the criminal is just a criminal or he's just a prisoner, and the children in school are just children. But one of the problems we're confronted with in the rest of the United States is that in prisons we're not *just* prisoners — we're Puerto Rican prisoners. And the child in school is not *just* a child; he's a Puerto Rican child.

So we begin to find that many of the problems that we're confronted with have something to do with another aspect, another dimension. For example, teachers who teach us or social workers who work with us, even social scientists who study us, the policemen who arrest us, are quite frequently themselves second-generation Americans in the process of adjustment but don't know it. Consequently we Puerto Ricans, in many instances, put a mirror before those who are working with us and show them themselves just a generation ago, and sometimes even less than that.

The reaction to this is frequently more important than whatever cultural differences or whatever nuances of differences might exist. So our big job sometimes has been not just to inform people about some of our values but also to attempt to awaken in them some understanding of their own background and how this affects their relations with us.

Some Characteristics of Puerto Rican Groups

What are some of the characteristics, if you will, of the Puerto Rican groups? In the first place, Puerto Ricans are not a race: we're at best an ethnic group and I'm not even sure what that means. We are Negro and white and "mixed." Our background is mostly Western. We have not had any major significant influence from the Indian part of the population in Puerto Rico.

We have had a little more influence from the Negro part of our group, but less perhaps than might be thought. This is due in part to the fact that the Spanish and Portuguese slave system was different in many respects from the American-British slave system. In Puerto Rico slavery was not a question of color; it was a condition of life. Manumission was not only possible but under certain conditions was obligatory by law. The slave had laws to protect him, and he could buy his freedom on the installment plan. It's interesting to note that there has never been a revolution to free slaves in areas of the western hemisphere that had Spanish or Portuguese slave systems. The people abolished slavery themselves over a period of time.

I'm not saying that the slavery was any less evil; but I am saying that the value around human worth in relation to slavery differed under the two systems. Thus most Puerto Ricans who are in the United States today are culturally and racially an integrated group. As such, they're not understood by their Negro brother any more than they're understood by their white brother. And they're in a position in which they cannot accept the value systems around color of either because to do so would bring racism into their own family in a way in which it has never existed.

This creates a series of concerns and problems around the group. Puerto Ricans are generally, for example, discussed and mentioned as either "non-white" or "other." The concern of the Puerto Rican is not a question of his relation to color because there's a simple admission about "este negro," but it is with the value that's attributed to color. So the reaction is not against being considered a color but being considered a Negro, non-white in the sense in which that reflects negative status in the United States. This requires some interpretation. A number of us have suggested strongly the need to discuss the implications of this because if we don't we're going to have some problems between our minority groups. So this is another area of concern.

Now, what do we have in Puerto Rican communities? I indicated a little earlier that, when you talk about Puerto Ricans, you're talking about three major groups, and there can be even more subdivisions than that. We're talking about the Puerto Rican who was born in Puerto Rico, received part of his education or all of it in Puerto Rico, grew to adulthood in Puerto Rico, and moved here. He is physically living here, but his whole value system is that which prevails in Puerto Rico. Then we have his younger brother, who also received some education in Puerto Rico and brings with him to the mainland the strength of having had this knowledge. He also has the opportunity of acquiring some knowledge of the value system operating on the mainland by continuing his education and forming, as I indicated, the first generation. But what many of you will be working with very shortly, and there's a large percentage of those right now, is the Puerto Rican who is Puerto Rican only by virtue of a definition. That definition says that if either one of your parents was born in Puerto Rico then, when the census counter comes around, you become "Puerto Rican."

There's a little bit more than that. Perhaps these facts are more graphic. Fifty percent of the Puerto Rican youngsters in New York City don't speak anything but English. Thirty-three percent need help with English; 17 percent can be said to be non-English-speaking. This doesn't mean that, when you ask a question, they won't get defensive. They're not going to tell you they don't speak English — that's a very different situation. Again, the group is growing in many ways. You can see tremendous similarities to the Commonwealth in its own development.

First of all, we come from an island which was a colonial possession of Spain for 400 years and then, for a few more years, a colonial possession of the United States. Puerto Rico became a Commonwealth in 1952, but even before that, beginning in 1942, we were able to elect our own governor. We had been in existence since 1508 when the first Puerto Rican migrant discovered the mainland. Ponce de Leon was the first Puerto Rican migrant. He migrated from Puerto Rico and discovered Florida. You recall that's a century before that very overcrowded little ship, from which everyone in America wants to be a descendant, landed at Plymouth Rock. I suppose one of the ancestors of the clientele of the Bureau of Indian Affairs must have looked out from behind a tree then and said, "Ugh! Foreigners."

Reasons for Migration

What we're dealing with here, which I'm trying to point out, is that something takes place which affects us all, but the result is not clearly seen. Let me try to indicate something about migration and its effects on our group, and I think on some of the values. Puerto Ricans have been living in all the states since 1930, but it wasn't until 1946-48 that any large movement took place. The Puerto Rican migration has never been large by mainland standards. There have been seven years in American history when one million immigrants entered the country in one year; yet, although Puerto Ricans have been migrating for a long time, there are not yet quite a million of them on the mainland. What we are talking about here, for example, is a migration of 39,000 in 1946 or 69,124 in 1956 — the largest net migration of Puerto Ricans ever to take place in one year.

Why do we come? There is a direct relationship, an extremely high correlation, between migration and job opportunities on the mainland. Puerto Ricans come to New York when there are job opportunities and they need jobs. Since 1908, when we began keeping records, more Puerto Ricans returned to Puerto Rico during depressions — when, incidentally, the situation is worse in Puerto Rico than it is here — than came up. In recessions or rolling adjustments, whichever the color of your politics, migration slows down or stops. So there's a direct connection between need for labor in the area into which people are moving and the movement itself. Then a group of Puerto Rican newcomers (I believe the same thing is true for Negroes, Mexican-Americans, American Indians, and the Appalachian whites) moves into a new community and begins at the bottom of economic totem pole. This means that they are working for the lowest wages.

In most of this country, the urban center needs these workers for its own economic health on the one hand, but on the other hand it has not been prepared to meet the needs of this group. Thus, for example, the new group needs basic decent housing. But no American community is prepared to provide such housing for the people who need it. So all of these newcomers wind up in

the poorer areas of cities, in the older areas, the slums. Here the whole vicious cycle begins. In the older areas and older centers, we also have the older and poorer schools, and so the whole problem of education begins here. Also, we find that these areas have historically had the highest criminal rates and the highest juvenile delinquency rates, regardless of the group populating them.

So when I say that we have to look beyond the cultural differences to see some of these things, I'm trying to indicate that this is what I'm talking about. These are the areas that have the fewest recreation units, the most dilapidated housing, etc. There have been some changes, but not too many. So the group itself has to tool up to deal with some of the issues it's been confronted with. But a colonial people for whom grouping together was sedition, who could not group together because it was punishable under the law, had to find a different way of dealing with it.

Ways of Survival

One of the ways these Puerto Ricans deal with oppression is what we call in colloquial Spanish *mongo*. A Puerto Rican says, "uh huh," and you speak to him and say, "uh huh," but you've got to define what that "uh huh" means. It can mean yes, it can mean no, or it can mean maybe. And again, he has found that historically one of the ways he has been able not only to survive, but to move ahead has been through this "mongoism" — this ability not to take issue at a given time but to wait *his* time before he takes issue.

Historically, this is what this little island, which now has two and a half million people, has had to do to survive. And what has happened in that struggle to survive? Little Puerto Rico became a province of Spain and had representatives in the court of Cortez, when all of Latin America, with its much richer, larger, and stronger population, was unrepresented. And here little Puerto Rico and the most powerful nation on earth discuss new ways of developing new relationships with the American Union, and they set up something that's called the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Again, this is done by the historically successful way in which these people have been working, through negotiation, through discussion, rather than any kind of uprising, because we could be wiped out in no time. There are only about three and a half million Puerto Ricans in the world. But as a people they have developed this successful and sophisticated method of fighting.

However, the picture begins to change as we get a second and even a third generation who are being raised, not with the strength, background, and knowledge that being Puerto Rican provided for them as Puerto Ricans but within the urban society of which they are a part. And this upbringing will do for them what it has done for all the other groups. The Mexican kids will begin to make noise in a different way; the American Indians are beginning to make noise in a different way; the Puerto Ricans are too. We had two examples of this last year, one in Chicago and one in Perth Amboy. What I'm saying is that, for each of these groups, the social situation in which they find themselves has brought about a similar reaction and a similar kind of change.

Cultural Traits under Pressure

To be a bit more specific about some of the cultural traits, in many ways we are similar to all Spanish-speaking people. For that matter I would extend this a bit to say that we're very similar to people who have an agrarian background. Concepts of time have been mentioned by most of the speakers here, all kinds of time — Japanese time, Mexican-American time, Puerto Rican time, Indian time. When America was an agricultural economy, time did not mean the same thing it means now. What we're talking about, very often, is not a question of a static culture, but a question of industrialization and urbanization. These factors have not been mentioned specifically here but they have a dynamic effect on people.

In Puerto Rico today, the concept of time is very different from the concepts of 25 years ago. Why? Because in that 25-year period we have changed from an agricultural economy to an industrial one. This industrialization, which some people call Americanization, has brought about a radically different value system around time. In an industrial society you must have a different concept and value of time. So we are going through this process at both ends — at the home base and in the areas and communities into which we're moving.

Another cultural trait under pressure is what's called the extended family concept. This exists also in most agricultural situations. It existed for Italians, it existed for the Greeks, and it always existed for other people who were primarily agricultural. This is not such a great cultural difference as we may think it is, but it is something which is prevalent now among Puerto Ricans in a way that is less prevalent among Italians and other groups who are much more industrialized and much more urbanized. The extended family concept is disappearing. But we have the extended family system still functioning in such things as the care of children and aiding, at least temporarily, the newcomer.

We also have questions about the use of names, and this certainly brings a great many problems. Is his name Fernandez or is it Gonzalez? It's both. The use of maternal and paternal names gives a great deal of difficulty, because in the Spanish system we keep the lineage of both the mother and the father. My name is José Monserrat, which is my father's surname. Figueroa is my mother's surname. If I used my Spanish name, it would be José Monserrat Figueroa. Then when I show my New York City birth certificate and I'm not Figueroa but I'm Monserrat, I'm likely to get into a lot of trouble. This is the Spanish system. (Other groups do this too, but in a different way, as for example, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.) This is a custom throughout all of Latin America, which unfortunately creates confusion among record keepers on the mainland.

As with many rural people, one of the institutions which is disappearing but which nonetheless is still common is the institution called the consensual marriage, a non-legal union. Now this was an institution in the United States too, and yet we forget that as a country industrializes and become more paper-oriented and identity-oriented, these things begin to disappear. In Puerto Rico these marriages were never legal, but they were understood and accepted. The concept of illegitimacy of children was removed, because children shouldn't be illegitimate. This kind of marriage creates a great many problems, anguish, and a great moral problem to a good many people who forget two things. One, desertion has always been the poor man's divorce. Two, abortion is the rich man's out. Many things take place in much the same way, except that the reaction in the different milieus in which people are raised are more related to time and stage of development than cultural difference.

The concept of extended family meant that certain kinds of public social

institutions were not developed. For example, for a long time there were few orphanages in Puerto Rico because it was understood that as you were a *compadre* (godfather) you took over the child and the child became part of your family. This system now begins to disappear. With its disappearance and with increasing industrialization of Puerto Rico, new social institutions are replacing many of the family's functions. Old-age homes never existed before, but they do now. Orphanages, foster-care programs, homemaker programs — the whole gamut of social services began to grow geometrically with the growth of industrialization in Puerto Rico.

Many of the people who now live in the States are a product of the Puerto Rico they left 20 years ago, where we didn't have enough schools for all of the children, as differentiated from the present expanded education program in Puerto Rico. They are the product of much lower health standards, while today, for example, Puerto Rico has one of the lowest death rates in the world. The death rate in Puerto Rico today is 6.4 compared to 9.3 in the United States. We're a young people; half of the Puerto Rican population is under 21 years of age.

Generational Problems

One more thing that I'd like to indicate is the whole range of generational problems among Puerto Ricans. First, there is the value system of the parents around the child. Among Puerto Ricans on the mainland there are many complaints of incorrigibility, particularly with girls. We used to have an institution called the *internado,* a form of school that did not have attached to it the mainland concept of a training school although it handled many difficult youngsters. Thus in the early days of migration, unaware of the difference, some Puerto Rican parents would go to agencies asking that their children be placed in an *internado* so that they would learn some discipline.

What was happening was that the Puerto Rican school-age child was learning the value system of his peers which he was beginning to apply at home and cause conflict. This youngster is in a no-man's land, as I tried to indicate earlier, between the first-generation values of his parents and those of the school and community system in which he lives. Now it's the youngster's reaction, in part, to that tremendous traumatic experience which frequently explodes into antisocial behavior, which is the root of the dealings that you have with him. I was once the coordinator of the New York City Youth Board street gang project; in fact I was the first coordinator when that program began in the late 1940's. This was one of the areas of major concern that we found in the youth who joined antisocial gangs and things of that sort.

I haven't been as specific about the traits that we're talking about as I would have liked to be, but I am telling you that this is what we find, whether it be in employment, in schools, or anywhere we go. What we find is a group of young people under pressure in the major areas of high-arrest, low-income crime.

There is relatively little organized crime among Puerto Ricans. Crimes of passion, policy, numbers, narcotics, and a certain amount of robbery and theft we do have. Outside of that we really haven't "made it." We don't have bank embezzlers and things of this sort.

If we follow the path of "adjustment" or "acculturation" of all the groups that preceded us, then I'm afraid that we can say that just as we are now getting top baseball players, just as we have world champion boxers coming on,

we will also be getting the top criminals. This has been a clearly observable process throughout the history of the United States.

Corrections and the Puerto Rican

As I understand them the tasks of correctional institutions are twofold:

1. To quarantine dangerous criminals and thereby protect the community.
2. To correct defective social functioning and to rehabilitate the person.

Where youth is concerned there is, of course, the attempt to dissociate many institutions from the idea of criminality. Many youth are victims of incredible social realities, and many institutions are essentially protective in their function. Yet we must face some facts about the images of institutions, how they are seen by the inmates, the custodial personnel, the immediate community, the community from which the inmate comes, and the broad tax-paying community that largely determines the nature of the institution's program.

The truth is that the overwhelming view of correctional institutions is that they perform a quarantine function. Goffman, in his book *Asylums,*[1] points out that institutions become almost self-contained social structures, and that the patient, client, or criminal must deal with and adjust to some very severe realities. Among other things, privacy is limited, and certain kinds of depersonalizing experiences occur. For example, prisoners are searched and examined; their mail is read.

Furthermore in any look at correctional institutions one sees little heterosexual contact, a fact that increases the artificiality of the social milieu in which the prisoners are to be corrected or rehabilitated. Prisons are notorious for their social structures, in which status, manipulation, power, and contraband are almost synonymous. Many prisoners "do better" inside than outside. In fact it is likely, for example, that a Puerto Rican who is sent to prison for two years after three months in New York will be a socialized prisoner before he has had a chance to adjust to the realities of his migration to the city. Therefore, what is suggested to me is not that the prison's task be defined as making good prisoners, but that the prison's task become the effective utilization of time.

Programming for Release

If the prisoner speaks only Spanish, he may need to learn English. On the other hand, he might be planning to return to Puerto Rico, where he needs little English. The latter should be helped to learn enough English to help him in the institution itself. However, the institution would do well to consider offering classes in Spanish in auto mechanics, the operation of heavy machinery, basic mathematics, reading (in Spanish), etc.

For the goal is really to help the prisoner to an early release and successful adjustment to the reality of the outside world of employment, family life, and responsibility. The point is that the prisoner's release plans should determine his program at the institution, and that program should have a practical base. I am much interested in experimentation at correctional institutions with role-playing techniques and the development of simulated social situations which correspond to the realities in the world outside.

For example, the area of consumer education might be developed through

[1] Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1961).

a small supermarket in which prices are kept current through local newspaper ads. Shoes, work clothes, and appliances might also be included with a discussion of costs, value, buying on time.

Courses in learning how to travel and perhaps even driver education courses might be developed in conjunction with private industry or foundations. But we really must be concerned with the walls which, while confining the prisoner, also keep out the world. We should begin to wonder about those walls we have built, for they exclude us and aid the prison community in creating a recidivist world — a self-perpetuating system.

There is little doubt that the creation of criminals is a continuing process, deep and serious for society. One can hardly solve such problems by consumer education. Yet one can try to change the pattern of criminal recidivism by changing the nature of the institutions we now have. It seems to me that this is a task that starts with children's institutions, adoption, and the foster-care systems of the state.

How does a poor New York City family or an aunt or a cousin go about visiting an inmate at Elmira or Coxsackie? Even when they really want to go, how does a social worker motivate a large family to ride the bus? Placing many institutions some distance from the city which feeds them really isolates the offender from family and social connections. In the case of the Puerto Rican who is a recent migrant, his loneliness must be immense. Accustomed to relying upon an extended family for affection, recreation, and recognition, he may have extremely serious adjustment problems for lack of physical contact with the family. Yet I know of no serious large-scale program to encourage family visits, a program perhaps subsidized by federal or state correction systems. While the problem of contraband may be increased with more visitors, the gains should more than offset that. The gains would be a better adjustment to the institution, a better adjustment at release and, hopefully, reduced recidivism. There should be an effort not only to have more family visits but more community visits.

I cannot help sounding like a reformer instead of an expert on the Puerto Rican's cultural differences, and here is the dilemma I spoke of earlier. People talk about "the Puerto Rican Problem," but the real problem so far as I can see is always something else like education, language, or job training. In corrections it is the system that is the problem. The Puerto Rican is only incidental to the real problem. Therefore I feel it is my place to comment on the correctional system more generally.

I think that the correctional system in this country is going to be under close scrutiny by community groups. These groups will want to know what constructive use the inmates have made of their time. They will want to know about job training, about development of skills. They will want to know how prisoners are prepared for re-entry into society. They will want to know how the local community can help.

Puerto Ricans, as relative newcomers, are only beginning to find, in substantial numbers, their place in community politics and action. As they make their presence felt in local politics, they will make their concerns with the correctional system known also. I have hopes that Puerto Ricans will fight not primarily for a recognition by correctional institutions of their cultural differences but for a system which emphasizes successful re-entry into a productive society.

Corrections Personnel and Puerto Ricans

Corrections personnel, dealing largely with lawbreakers who have been judged guilty of a crime, are frequently under pressure to punish prisoners in a variety of ways. The pressure comes largely from the public which has classically been ambivalent about crime and punishment. The tendency is for groups like Puerto Ricans to be used as scapegoats even within the prison community. I would guess that, if Puerto Ricans do the "worst" jobs on the outside, the same tendency would occur inside.

But here some of the critical problems of institutional management would depend upon the ratio of Puerto Rican prisoners to the total population. In a state like Idaho, with only 60 Puerto Rican residents in 1960, probably very few Puerto Ricans are incarcerated. These few can be handled on an individual basis rather than with a special program. On the other hand, in states with sizable Puerto Rican populations, like New York, New Jersey, and Illinois, programs dealing specifically with Puerto Rican offenders should be instituted.

Correctional personnel should be offered an opportunity to learn the Spanish language (perhaps using selected prisoners as teachers' aides) and something about Puerto Rican culture. It would be important to learn the differences between Puerto Ricans with a rural background as opposed to those from the city. Also, the differences between generations on the mainland are of major importance.

Finally, all correctional personnel should learn a great deal about the problems faced by migrants who relocate physically and culturally. Those correctional personnel interested in the individual's social development would do well to learn about the Puerto Rican family, the roles of the male and female, the attitude toward children. For example, although you may not find what is called an "intact family" in mainland terms, remember that many Puerto Ricans are reared by the extended family quite effectively. Both historical developments and a high death rate in the past made for a situation where many children had no parents to care for them. The culture provided for this problem with the extended family.

Understanding the family situation is paramount in considering release programs for youth and also older prisoners. Probably among Puerto Ricans the extended family should be tapped as a resource, in addition to the immediate family.

In summary, then, training programs for correctional staff will depend upon the directions being taken by the system. If families and communities form an increasing role in an institution's program, then much of the training should focus on preparing staff to develop new programs. Family counseling, home visits, and family weekend institutional visits should be considered and planned for on a much-expanded basis.

If the staff is upset by change, they will only be behaving normally. In some measure the notion of training will have to include retraining for many personnel. Time will be allocated differently for correctional personnel, and more diverse jobs will be created to absorb the retrained personnel in more skilled work areas.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES: IMPLICATIONS FOR CORRECTIONS

Rudy Sanfilippo and Jo Wallach

At the outset of the seminar which is reported in this volume, some participants raised questions about attempting to isolate characteristics of ethnic minorities in American society. Is it really possible to chart such characteristics? Might an attempt to do so serve mainly to emphasize stereotypes about minority groups and thus heighten prejudices which need to be eliminated? Is it possible that considering ethnic characteristics in the context of corrections might reinforce an illusory link between minorities and criminality, if not actually forge one?

While all of these reservations were viewed as valid, the participants agreed that the hazards of such an inquiry would be more than offset by positive gains. The impact of ethnic variations on corrections has never been really assessed. Corrections itself appears to have gone on the assumption that all offenders are alike and has made little differentiation among them. Any variations in treatment have centered mainly around psychological rather than cultural differences.

Seminar discussions suggest that an understanding of cultural differences should affect corrections significantly. While it is true that every minority group in America today encounters the same dominant society and must make certain adjustments to that society's standards and expectations, the unique character of each group dictates how it will adjust, and perhaps how successfully. Furthermore, the very fact that such differences exist requires the dominant society to make different responses, each geared to the group concerned.

A simple and obvious example of the necessity for individualized attention is the fact that minorities often use language systems which are different from English. The Japanese speak and write Japanese; Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans, Spanish; Indians, a variety of languages. Recent studies show that some Negroes have contrived a language system of their own. While many individuals within these groups speak or at least understand English, many do so imperfectly or not at all. Since communication is essential to any human interaction, particularly for any problem-solving process, correctional workers need to know something of the language of the ethnic groups from which come the offenders in their charge. It is all too common for people to interpret negatively what they do not understand. This works both ways: the offender may fail to cooperate in a rehabilitation program because he does not understand what is said, and the supervisor may conclude that he is merely stupid or hostile.

Most, if not all, of our institutions — schools, welfare, employment, law enforcement, corrections, for example — are predominantly middle-class in orientation. Most of the staff have backgrounds and educational experiences which reflect the dominant American society. That society is essentially white, Anglo-Saxon, and based upon the "Protestant ethic," with its emphasis on

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Mr. Sanfilippo is director and Mrs. Wallach assistant director of the Joint Commission's task force on prospects and perspectives for corrections.

work for work's sake, thrift, education, and competition in almost every phase of life.

Conversely, many public offenders are oriented to lower-class values and oftentimes have habits which may appear "peculiar" to the middle-class person. Problems arise for ethnic minorities when the standards and values of their culture confront — and often clash with — those of the dominant society.

Historically, American society has sought to absorb minority groups and to shape them as rapidly as possible into the American mold. The "melting pot" is thus not a mere figure of speech. Differences have seldom been tolerated for long. Rather than building upon the strengths of different cultures, the American way has led to culture conflicts before assimilation.

Discussion of these broad issues and examination of the characteristics of specific groups led the seminar to conclude that these matters do indeed have implications for correctional programming and for the education, training, recruitment, and utilization of correctional personnel. A number of concrete suggestions were made as to how agencies and educational institutions can further the effectiveness of corrections as it works with members of minority groups.

Education and Training of Correctional Personnel

Among the implications of cultural differences for education and training of present and future correctional administrators and practitioners are the following.

1. Academic offerings for persons preparing to enter the corrections field should include course content dealing with the similarities and differences of ethnic minorities in America. Insofar as possible, such content should cover historical as well as present-day conditioning factors.

2. In order to bridge more effectively the gap between traditional academic training and the real world of minorities, members of these groups should be used as instructors. Such contacts provide for "cultural shock" as a learning experience; that is, students undergo an emotional experience which sensitizes them to the problems, frustrations, fears, and aspirations of persons who come from different strata of society than their own. Training experiments conducted by the University of Colorado[1] and the University of Southern California[2] have documented the usefulness of this device in training anti-poverty workers in both urban and rural settings.

3. Insofar as practicable, educational and training programs concerned with an understanding of ethnic minorities should be conducted where such persons normally live. It is generally true in America today that low-income ethnic minority groups tend to live in urban sections or in rural areas which are socially as well as physically remote from the dominant culture. Training "in context" has been demonstrated as an effective device to accelerate the learning process and to increase sensitivity to problems which can only be lived vicariously in the usual antiseptic classroom.[3]

Traditional universitity and college offerings in race relations and anthropology have tended to be too abstract for students preparing for work in the

[1] Howard Higman, Robert Hunter, and William T. Adams, *The Colorado Story*, University of Colorado, Institute of Behavioral Science, Bureau of Sociological Research (Boulder, Colo.: The Bureau, 1964).

[2] Rudy Sanfilippo and Robert Schasre, *Target: Youth Opportunity Center Specialists*, A Training Program within the Context of Poverty, University of Southern California, Center for Training and Career Development (Los Angeles, Calif.: The Center, 1966).

[3] See two preceding references.

helping services. Viewing ethnic groups from a vantage point of contemporary society and within the context of their urban and rural settings can greatly increase a student's capacity to make more meaningful use of the academic experience.

Utilization of Personnel

An appreciation of cultural differences among offenders leads also to suggestions regarding the utilization of personnel. Among the more obvious are these:

1. Caseloads or work assignments of correctional personnel should be determined on the basis of their special interest, training, competence, and sensitivity to particular groups. As noted earlier, communication skills are crucial in the evolvement of meaningful working relationships. Persons unable to relate effectively to certain minority groups should not be expected to perform well in assignments where they are exposed to daily contacts with them. It is fallacious to assume that professionals can relate as well to all ethnic groups as they can to some of them. Certain correctional systems are now experimenting with attempts to classify offenders by psychological type and to match these with types of correctional workers. Similar experiments need to be undertaken in matching worker and offender in terms of cultural variables. Such matching should not be done merely on the basis of similar ethnic origin but in terms of interest, training, and demonstrated effectiveness.

2. Increased sensitivity to the characteristics of ethnic minorities should lead corrections to consider deploying personnel and decentralizing offices into those areas where large numbers of public offenders are found. Treating offenders in their daily living environments can be expected to yield better results than is experienced when offices and personnel remain remote from the social environments of offenders.

3. Focusing upon the offender and his environment calls also for the establishment of linking mechanisms between the correctional agency and the community and its neighborhoods. Considerable success has been achieved in fields allied to corrections with the use of case aides and so-called "indigenous workers" to bridge the gap between the agency and the community. Corrections should experiment with the use of such nonprofessionals in order to evolve feedback between the agency and its clientele. Such a feedback system would provide the means whereby programs and staff could more accurately meet the needs of particular groups. Included among those to be considered as aides or nonprofessional indigenous workers should be the products of our correctional systems. It would be highly advantageous for full-time employment opportunities to be opened up to promising ex-offenders. Experiments conducted by the New Careers Project of the Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, have brought about considerable interest in expanding such employment opportunities in public service fields.[4]

Recruitment from Minority Groups

The recruitment of increased numbers from minority groups also seems indicated as corrections takes cognizance of the cultural differences among

[4] Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, *Progress Report, 1966* (Sacramento, Calif.: The Institute, 1966), pp. 13-16.

offenders. While the recruitment of large numbers of minority group persons may seem difficult on account of the education and experience required for most professional jobs in the field, corrections should nonetheless intensify its efforts to attract more such persons. Perhaps stipends and other financial inducements should be afforded members of minority groups so that they could complete their academic training in subjects useful in correctional settings.

Use of Consultants

In addition to increasing the numbers of minority group members as full-time staff members, there is a need for corrections to engage the part-time services of consultants who are trained in intergroup relations, community development, and related activities. As corrections systematically addresses the problems of ethnic minorities, there will be increasing need for technical assistance from highly trained persons who can provide ongoing consultative services on such matters.

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In summary, it seems clear that an understanding of the social and cultural characteristics of minority group members will lead correctional agencies and the educational institutions which are training personnel for corrections to develop more effective curriculum content, training methods, and utilization and recruitment of personnel. Unless such development takes place, corrections will probably continue to achieve minimal success with these offenders. But planning and development which take account of cultural differences can help greatly in bringing about the rehabilitation of offenders who come from minority groups in our society.

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