San Jose State University

SJSU ScholarWorks

1979

Portuguese immigrant adjustment and informal networks

Ernestine Victoria Borba
San Jose State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses

Recommended Citation

PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANT ADJUSTMENT AND INFORMAL NETWORKS

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the School of Social Work

San Jose State University

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Social Work

by

Ernestine Victoria Borba

August 1979

APPROVED FOR THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

_____

_____

_____

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE COMMITTEE

_____

CONTENTS

TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

PREFACE

The reader is cautioned that this study does not,
nor intend to, present a complete picture of the com-
plexities of Portuguese immigrant adjustment in California
in the present day. Due to its academic nature, the study
must present those views which are substantiated in the
literature on the topic. However, presentation of these
views does not mean support of or acquiescence to them.
Therefore, from reading this paper one might, but should
not, conclude that Portuguese immigrant adjustment is easy
or problem free, nor that the Portuguese are completely
able to take care of all their needs without help from
outside their own communities. My professional experience
as a social worker in the Portuguese community and an ad-
vocate for adequate social services for that community has
proven to me beyond any doubt that such a conclusion would
be fallacious.

It is true that the Portuguese are a proud and in-
dependent people who try to meet their needs themselves.
However, I have often seen their efforts fall far short of
success, with very unhappy consequences. The myth of the
problem-free adjustment of the Portuguese immigrant must
be exposed, as it serves only to perpetuate and justify the
American system's continued ignorance and neglect of the

real social needs of this population.

Because no cry for help is heard outside of the Portuguese immigrant's community, all assume he has no problems. My experience, and that of others who have worked with me to serve our community, testifies that many real unmet needs exist, and that if the Portuguese immigrant does not ask the American society for help, it is usually because he does not know how or where to do so, and because he doesn't believe anyone out there is listening anyway.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

It is a well known fact to helping professionals
that the ethnic and racial minorities constitute a majority
of the poor and oppressed people in the United States. Ex-
tensively documented as well have been the contributions of
ethnicity to identity structures and the deleterious psycho-
social and economic effects of the racial and ethnic preju-
dice and discrimination that have been prevalent in American
society. To Social Work, a profession whose central objec-
tive is the maximization of well-being and the realization
of human potential, the understanding of ethnic cultural ex-
perience is of prime importance.

Social Work began dealing with the phenomenon of eth-
nicity long before its current wave of popularity. The pro-
fession was born out of concern for the problems of immi-
grants and efforts at aiding those immigrants in their ad-
justment to America (Axinn:1975). From the resulting intimate
knowledge of the reality of the immigrant experience, social
workers formulated the theory of "ethnic federation" (Barron,
1958:431) at a time when the prevailing "melting pot" ideol-
ogy was the popular cover for the demand that immigrant
groups adjust by totally conforming to Anglo-American stan-
dards.

This theory stressed the perpetuation of the cultural heritage of the different immigrant groups and contended that each must maintain its racial and cultural integrity while also contributing aspects of its own culture to enrich American life.

In keeping with this tradition, the present study of immigrant adjustment is undertaken in an effort to develop deep and personal knowledge and understanding of ethnicity on the part of a social worker who is convinced that the maintenance of ethnic culture is essential in that it immensely enriches human experience and functioning, and who is principally dedicated to social planning and organizing for fundamental social change. Because of the extent to which community organizing depends on informal community networks (Brager:1969), and the subject group's visibility, the writer finds it important to also familiarize herself with the mechanisms of informal community networks. In addition, the present study is undertaken as a modest effort to add to the stock of literature dealing with the subject of immigrant adjustment, which, according to Milton Gordon (1974:84-88), is an area largely neglected by American social scientists. In calling for more study of this topic, Gordon refers to the failure to analyze the incorporation of forty-one million immigrants and their descendants from variegated sources into American society as one

of the most remarkable omissions in the history of American intellectual thought.

This topic of immigrant adjustment is also of great personal interest, as the writer is an immigrant, and as such, has experienced--without the balm of intellectual understanding--the often painful process of adjusting to the American society. Having gone through a pattern in less than twenty years that is generally believed to usually take three generations--that of culture shock, rejection of own culture and necessarily of self, emotional and psychological conflict and turmoil, and finally, the emergence of bi-culturality--the writer feels strongly the need to explore the immigrant experience.

The population chosen to be the subject of this study is the Portuguese immigrants to the United States. They are further defined in Chapter Three. This group was selected because, in addition to being the writer's ethnic group, they constitute a minority who is so little known as to have been labeled invisible (Smith:1974). A sufficient example of this invisibility problem is that the government of Santa Clara County, one reputed to be more just and generous than most in dealing with minorities, officially estimates, in their 1970 census statistics, the number of Portuguese immigrants and their American born children to be just over three thousand (Tanner:1978), while a well informed ethnic leader of the same community conservatively estimates

their number to exceed twenty thousand (Macedo:1978). The serious implications regarding the unmet need for specialized services that such a gross underestimate entails are obvious.

Another manifestation of this invisibility which plagues the Portuguese in the United States is the relative lack of research, of other than a historical nature, involving this population. The present exploratory-descriptive study is a small attempt to combat this manifestation of the problem of invisibility, and it is hoped that it will motivate further research on this ethnic group.

The exploration of the adjustment of the Portuguese immigrant shall be accomplished beginning with a review of the general process of adjustment which occurs whenever culturally distinct groups come into contact with one another, especially when one is clearly dominant; of the various definitions, theories, and trends of acculturation and assimilation and their possible application to the Portuguese; and of the Portuguese immigrant experience historically. Research shall then be undertaken examining their use of informal community networks in their adjustment to the United States. This is done with the firm conviction that each ethnic group and its experience is unique and can only be properly understood within its own historical context.

Milton Barron (1958:434) has stated that in the course of American history, minority groups have differed

considerably in pace and extent of assimilation due to the fact that some demographic, cultural, and historical factors are conducive to assimilation, whereas others are hindrances. This writer shares Barron's opinion and approaches the study of Portuguese immigrant adjustment from that standpoint, with the distinction that this writer views a people's culture as a product of their history and inseparable from it as each of the two constantly affect and create one another. Finding the Portuguese immigrant to generally assimilate to American culture without conflict or turmoil, one would expect to find in their cultural heritage factors conducive to assimilation.

The Portuguese culture is a blend of the cultures of the different peoples who have occupied what is today Portuguese territory. It is also a culture which, since medieval times, has been shaped more by religious factors than national ones. Christianity had a profound humanizing effect on the Portuguese because of the way it was interpreted to the people by their leaders. These people are said (Dias, 1964:90-100) to have assimilated from Christianity its fundamental principles, those not elaborated by theologians, which represent the essence of Christ's teachings, and to have blended Christian moral principles with their traditional concept of communitarian life into a harmonious whole. Although this harmonious whole has been eroded by

the age of industrialization and capitalism, it is said to not yet have been completely lost. The product of these historical cultural factors is a people who are particularly non-ethnocentric and who possess an enormous capacity for adaptation to ideas and peoples.

Portugal's involvement in world exploration, colonization, and maritime mercantilism has also provided its people with numerous opportunities for close contact and exchange with a multitude of different peoples. The Portuguese culture allowed for open and fraternal relationships, a factor which undoubtedly helped in the colonizing of so many lands with so little force. Study of Portuguese colonization can give clues to how Portuguese assimilate to different cultures. The Azores and Cape Verde islands are examples of the Portuguese method of blending cultures and peoples. Colonization of these two areas in the fifteenth century involved large numbers of African slaves of both sexes who, together with the Portuguese colonists, blended into new cultures which evolved in the direction of the majority of the people present, in this case white and European in the Azores and black and African in the Cape Verdes (Dias:1964).

Contact between Americans and Portuguese dates back to the seventeenth century, when maritime mercantilism and the whaling industry brought them together. According to

M. Estellie Smith (1974) the Portuguese have been con-
stantly involved with America in efforts to improve their
economic condition since that time when they began coming
to work for a few years, making a small fortune, and re-
turning home. Those who came always maintained a close
relationship with the ones left behind, and established
what Smith (1974) labels a "commuter" mentality regarding
the United States. Given the Portuguese historical adap-
tability to new people and places, and the superior living
conditions in the United States, however, many of these
"commuters" stayed in the United States, established com-
munities that helped in the transition, and eventually
blended away into American society. The process continues
today, especially for the Azoreans who have constituted a
vast majority of Portuguese immigrants to the United States.

The Azoreans have had a wealth of experience with
immigration, as they have immigrated to all parts of the
world in attempts to improve on the condition of their life
by escaping the difficulties inherent in physical and eco-
nomic survival on their isolated islands. Continued immi-
gration to many places, among them South America, Europe,
Asia, Africa, and presently North America, has been so ex-
tensive as to maintain the population on these islands
relatively stable for hundreds of years (Guill:1972). The
extra measure of adaptability necessary for survival in the

unpredictable conditions of these volcanic islands probably has made the Azoreans the most adaptable and easily assimilated of all the Portuguese immigrants.

It is the conclusion of this writer that this heritage of non-ethnocentricity and blending with different peoples is largely responsible for the adjustment, free of social conflict and turmoil, characteristic of the Portuguese immigrant in the United States. A general concensus exists in the literature reviewed that this type of adjustment culminates in the complete assimilation and follows a certain pattern. That pattern consists of the immigrant assimilating to the extent necessary for economic progress and the launching of his children into the mainstream of American life, while retaining for himself the lifestyle and values he brought with him; those children adopting American lifestyles, intermarrying with other ethnic groups, and retaining only vestiges of their parents' language and culture; and the disappearance of the next generation into the anonymity of American life. This pattern, however, may be altered in the future by the current popular concern with ethnicity and the maintenance of cultural heritages. The pattern must also certainly involve considerable personal difficulties and losses which have not been explored, but which are beyond the scope of the present study.

Of particular interest to this writer is the

mechanism used by the Portuguese immigrant to establish himself in his new environment in a way that leads him to economic progress--the supposed purpose with which he came. This has not previously been examined, and, in the opinion of this writer, is a crucial factor in determining the degree of difficulty in the adjustment process. In view of the above, this study will explore:

1. Whether and to what extent today's Portuguese immigrant to the United States utilizes the mechanism of informal community networks to help establish himself in his adopted community, and,

2. To what extent such networks involve familial and shared locality of origin connections.

The result is anticipated to provide an idea of how the Portuguese immigrant adjusts so successfully, as defined by the traditional American way of viewing immigrant adjustment, with so little assistance from the host society, as well as information on the formation, utilization, and maintenance of informal networks.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A review of the literature will begin with consideration of the various concepts, theories, and trends of assimilation and acculturation in America. This focus on a subject with which most social workers are fully familiar is pursued, not only for the benefit of the writer, but, for the benefit of those who may read this paper due to their scientific interest in the Portuguese immigrant, and who may be unfamiliar with the field of study on immigrant adjustment--acculturation and assimilation. It is hoped that this portion of the literature review will give those readers a perspective from which to consider the experience of the Portuguese immigrant to the United States.

The Acculturation/Assimilation
Process

The process and results of the coming together of peoples is generally discussed using the terms assimilation and acculturation. These terms have been defined in various ways, sometimes sharing, overlapping, or interchanging in meaning. Most social scientists define acculturation as a cultural process within the framework of assimilation. Milton Barron (1958:429) speaks of it as the adaptation of

a minority culture to the dominant group's culture. It is also defined in more general terms as the cultural change that is initiated when two or more autonomous cultural systems come together and take from each other both material traits and ways of interacting socially (Magers, 1974:15). Kupferer and Rubel (1973:104) define it simply as "the process which occurs when an individual learns a culture different from his own." To Milton Gordon (1964:63-81), acculturation is the first step in the broader assimilation process, during which the newcomer adopts the cultural patterns (dress, food, religion, etc.) of the socially dominant group. He does believe that some reciprocation occurs, however slight, on the part of the dominant group.

Assimilation is the term most often used in discussion of intergroup relations. In America, many assume assimilation to mean the gradual absorption of a minority group by a dominant group with the end result being the loss of the minority's separate identity and the emergence of an enlarged and homogenous society. This dubious oversimplification was originally based on an analogy to the physiological process in which external substances are ingested by a living organism and transformed into body cells presumably in harmony with it. As defined sociologically, however, assimilation does not mean the complete, homogenous merger of all social units involved in the inter-

action, nor an exclusively one way process in which the minority passively accepts the cultural and social influences of the socially dominant group. It is meant to be a process of give and take, of mutual, although unequal diffusion, between the groups (Barron, 1958:428-9). The reality of the assimilation process in the United States has not conformed to the sociological interpretation, but rather has manifested in the demand that minorities abandon the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic characteristics that distinguish them from the national majority (Barron, 1967: 391).

This discrepancy between the theory and reality of assimilation in America has been researched and documented by Milton Gordon (1964), who is a recognized authority on the subject. He defines assimilation as the process whereby minorities or incoming outside groups are incorporated into the host society, which in America means the middle class cultural patterns of, largely, white Anglo-Saxon origins. Gordon divides the assimilation process into seven basic subprocesses, which are:

1. cultural or behavioral assimilation--characterized by change of cultural patterns to those of the host society

2. structural assimilation--characterized by large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society on a primary group level (where contact is personal, informal, intimate, usually face to face, and involving the entire personality)

3. marital assimilation--characterized by large
   scale intermarriage

4. identificational assimilation--characterized by
   development of the sense of peoplehood based
   exclusively on the host society

5. attitude receptional assimilation--characterized
   by absence of prejudice

6. behavior receptional assimilation--characterized
   by absence of discrimination

7. civic assimilation--characterized by absence of
   value and power conflict

                                    (Gordon, 1964:71)

According to Gordon (1964:81), the keystone of the arch of

assimilation is structural assimilation. Once it has oc-

curred, either simultaneously or subsequent to acculturation,

all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow.

The cost of assimilation to that extent is the disappearance

of the ethnic group as a separate entity and the evaporation

of its distinctive values. Gordon concludes that, in Ameri-

can society, there has been widespread ethnic acculturation,

but beyond that, assimilation has advanced considerably less.

     Other theorists have also devised scales and schemes

to measure and predict the process by which minorities are

incorporated into American society, although none as exten-

sive as Gordon's. Shibutani and Kwan (1965:116-121), con-

sidering particularly immigrants, view assimilation basically

as a psychological transformation which is completed when

the immigrant identifies himself as an American. They main-

tain that every situation of inter-ethnic contact is unique,

but that all immigrant groups follow the same pattern of incorporation into American society, and that a succession of immigrant groups have followed one another through the same cycle. The pattern they identify can be summarized in the following steps: arrival in a well established community; relegation to the bottom of the social ladder, due to incapacity to compete; descendants obtain education, become upwardly mobile, and eventually are assimilated into the general population. The assimilation process is then further broken down into phases of contact, competition, accomodation, and assimilation.

To Pettigrew (Franklin 1971:25), assimilation and pluralism form one process. He proposes a six-step paradigm for American assimilation which illustrates its interwoven quality with pluralism. His model follows:

1. Culture shock--among the new arrivals

2. Organization and self-consciousness--and sometimes the actual initiation of a sense of nationalism for the "old country"

3. Assimilation of the elite

4. Militancy--led by the elite and made possible by the accumulation of at least a modicum of power

5. Self-hatred and anti-militancy--articulated most strongly again by the group's elite in reaction to the previous stage

6. Emerging adjustment--signifying an easy acceptance of both the ethnic and "American" identities as completely compatible

While the paradigm holds interesting possibilities, even Pettigrew concedes that it is speculative.

In discussing the uniqueness of experience of each ethnic minority, Warner and Strole (Barron, 1958:434-440) also develop a conceptual scheme by which to predict differential assimilation rates and patterns. One aspect of the scheme relates to social class; the mobile ethnic being much more likely to be assimilated than the non-mobile one. The American class system is said to function to destroy ethnic subsystems and to increase assimilation. The length of time necessary for assimilation and the degree of subordination of the ethnic group is said to be directly related to and increased with the degree of difference between the host and ethnic cultures in the areas of culture and race, and even more so where different race and culture combine.

Another concept relating class and assimilation is presented by Carmen Cox (1978) in her thesis. She equates culture with class culture and views social class membership as the single most important factor in the prediction of different assimilation rates. A most intriguing concept, consideration of which concludes the review of literature on the acculturation/assimilation process. Attention is now turned to the ideologies and trends of assimilation of ethnic minorities as they have appeared in American society.

Ideologies and Trends of
Assimilation in America

As in the theory of the process of assimilation, in the ideologies—often referred to as theories—and trends of assimilation, Milton Gordon is the foremost theoretician. Gordon (1964) maintains that over the course of the American experience, three ideologies or conceptual models have competed to explain the way in which a nation, in the beginning largely white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant, has absorbed over forty-one million immigrants and their descendants from various sources and welded them into the contemporary American people. The three are Anglo-conformity, the melting pot, and cultural pluralism. They have served at various times, and often simultaneously as descriptive models and goal models.

The melting pot ideology, now referred to by Kupferer, Rubel and others, as the melting pot myth, symbolizes the popular American conception of assimilation. According to this ideology, the United States is seen as a nation of immigrants (ignoring the peoples already present), whose distinctive ways of life would blend to create a homogenized national society, greater than the sum of its constituent parts, and characterized by a single set of shared cultural values, normative expectations, and behavior. Gordon (1964:122-3) discusses also the concept of the "triple melting pot," introduced by Ruby Jo Keeves

Kennedy in the 1940's. She saw social divisions persisting along religious lines, Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic, rather than ethnic lines, and predicted such divisions would continue in the future.

The relatively generous and idealistic melting pot viewpoint was popular from the eighteenth century well into the twentieth. Always underlying this viewpoint, however, has been the ideology of Anglo-conformity, which, according to Gordon (1964:89), "in its more moderate forms has been, however explicit its formulation, the most prevalent ideology of assimilation in America throughout the nation's history." This theory actually covers a variety of viewpoints about assimilation and immigration, all being based on the central assumptions of the desirability of maintaining English institutions and the superiority of Northern European peoples. This ideology demands the complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group. Although always implicitly dominant, it became particularly explicit in its dominance around the time of World War I, when it had become evident that the many thousands of immigrants living in industrial cities had failed to fuse into the melting pot (Barron, 1958:430). The fear then spread among the dominant Americans that the Southern and Eastern Europeans were diluting the precious national stock and

corrupting civic life.

The third conceptual model, cultural pluralism, has arisen in acknowledgement of immigrant experience, and in reaction to the racist Anglo-conformity ideology and its cover, the melting pot myth. According to Kupferer and Rubel (1973b:106-7), the persistence of the melting pot myth has had tragic consequences for those groups who haven't been assimilated, many members of whom remain in a no-man's land of marginality, not fitting into any category. The myth is said to have left these people undereducated, under-fed, and to have contributed to the high illness and death rates so characteristic of American minorities. Gordon (1964:233-265) shares the assertion that the melting pot is a myth. He sees American society as composed of multiple pots, some racial, some religious, and some consisting of nationality background communities, which result in products that are culturally similar while remaining struturally separate. The cultural pluralism model was developed by Horace Kallen in 1915, and has recently become perhaps the most popular viewpoint on assimilation. It postulates the existence within a nation of smaller units which retain or have developed a culture peculiar to themselves, and who, while retaining their own values, belief systems, and lan-guage, all participate effectively in the economic and po-litical systems of the larger society. Despite its popu-

larity in these days of the celebration of ethnicity, cultural pluralism is still much more a goal model than a descriptive model, especially as it relates to the full participation of the subunits of the society. The more correct descriptive model, and probably goal model, in the American society continues to be the ideology of Anglo-conformity.

Cultural pluralism also has its critics. John Franklin (1971:21) regards the narrow defining of ethnicity as one of America's tragedies. He feels that cultural pluralism is the continuation of the tragedy as it assesses ethnicity in terms of racial integrity rather than in terms of the integrity of man. Thomas Pettigrew (Franklin, 1971: 33) refers to cultural pluralism as the replacement of one myth with another that has been generated by the current period of relative anomie, great change, and vast disillusionment which conditions give the appearance of complete pluralism.

Milton Gordon (1964:51) presents one further concept which, although beyond the scope of this work, is of particular interest to this writer. It is the concept of ethclass--the subsociety created by the intersection of the vertical stratifications of social class with the horizontal stratifications of ethnicity.

Assimilation of the Portuguese

When faced with pressure to exchange their culture for that of the dominant group, members of ethnic minorities have responded in various ways. Kupferer and Rubel (1973a: 67) generalize that minority members accommodate to the superordinate society in one of two ways. Either they try to become culturally indistinguishable or at least change their traditional styles of life enough to reduce social pressure, or they make strong efforts to retain as much of their cultural heritage as possible, although often succeeding in maintaining only one or a few traits. Socioeconomic success usually follows from the former mode of adjustment and poverty from the latter.

The literature regarding Portuguese immigrants indicates that they have apparently chosen the path of indistinguishability and have assimilated to the American system with negligible social conflict or turmoil. Regarding this group, M. Estellie Smith (1974:89) concludes that they and their descendants have accepted new cultural patterns in a manner comparable to that of other European immigrants. She finds that few of the first generation Americans know the language of their parents well, if at all, and that they prefer American food, dress, and social customs to Portuguese. Their religious patterns are said to have undergone changes similar to those of the Italians.

The view of Geoffrey Gomes (1974) is representative of
that found in the few sources dealing with Portuguese assimi-
lation. He believes that the Portuguese have voluntarily
assimilated and have thereby achieved acceptance and socio-
economic advancement, but at the cost of abandoning their
original language and culture. He contends that the Por-
tuguese language and culture would have disappeared in the
United States if it were not for the continued immigration
from Portugal. He maintains, however, that it would be un-
realistic to expect otherwise, and that Portuguese con-
sciousness and adherence to the Portuguese language cannot
withstand the pressures for assimilation.

Most of the sources consulted concur that America's
treatment of the Portuguese has not differed significantly
from her treatment of other Southern European immigrants.
The Portuguese, while following the traditional scheme of
starting at the bottom, have been, and are being generally
well accepted and have moved relatively rapidly up the
socioeconomic scale. The process has undoubtedly been
aided by their racial indistinguishability from the dominant
group, their cooperativeness in attitude and action, and
their overwhelming concern with economic success. Their
mode of adjustment also reflects the influence of their col-
lective experience as a people. The Portuguese, like all
ethnic groups, are unique, and to be understood, their ex-
perience must be studied from a historical perspective.

Historical Antecedents

The Portuguese people have been referred to, historically, as citizens of the world. Dias (1964:18), a Portuguese anthropologist, states that the Portuguese culture is a homogeneous one which is a product of the cultures of the various peoples, who, in the past, came to inhabit the territory which is today Portugal. These included the Iberians, Celts, Romans, Jews, Germanic tribes, and Arabs. Later the explorations and conquests which began under the direction of Prince Henry, the navigator, also placed the Portuguese in contact with a variety of peoples throughout the world. These contacts probably contributed to the feeling of universality which was encouraged by the Christian spirit prevalent in Portugal at that time. The Azoreans, with whom this study is particularly concerned, due to their constituting the majority of Portuguese immigrants in the present day, had an even greater exposure to a multiplicity of world peoples. Duncan (1972) describes the Azores islands as having, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, stood at the center of a spider web of shipping routes whose threads reached to all maritime communities along the Atlantic coasts of four continents, and as having served as the center of intercontinental communications. This strategic location and the trading activities that went with it, involved the intermixing of

persons of English, Scottish, Irish, Dutch, Flemish,
Italian, French, Spanish, and German nationality as well
as New Englanders, Virginians, West Indians, and Africans.
The original settling of the Azores also included, along
with Portuguese, large numbers of Flemish and African
peoples, among others. According to Duncan (1972), the
ultimate result of all of this international and inter-
cultural contact is the Portuguese, especially the Azorean's,
possession of a certain cosmopolitanism that is sometimes so
culturally deep-rooted as to be almost instinctive and un-
conscious.

Along with initiating world exploration, Dias (1964),
credits Prince Henry with developing a tradition of inte-
grating on an equal footing, different races and cultures,
using the Christian principles of humaneness, brotherhood,
and universality. This tradition involved openness, flexi-
bility, adaptability, and ways of acting dictated by con-
crete conditions; all of which allowed the Portuguese to
absorb non-Christian and non-European values without losing
Christian and European qualities. It also allowed the Por-
tuguese to settle in environments very unfamiliar to Euro-
peans, such as the South American tropics. The tradition
led to an integration and confraternization of the Portuguese
with the peoples they encountered that invariably resulted
in societies hybrid both in ethnic composition and culture.

According to the Brazilian anthropologist and
sociologist, Gilberto Freyre (1961), the Portuguese colo-
nization of the tropics provides a good example of the
Henrian tradition--the transnational style of civilization.
In colonizing the tropics, the Portuguese freely married
and raised families with the native people, granted the
native population the same rights as they granted to them-
selves, learned from them the ways of living in their land,
and gave them the Portuguese language, religion, and more
advanced technology. The outcome is what is seen today as
Brazil's Luso-tropical culture, a product accomplished
through the biological process of miscegenation and the
sociological process of interpenetration of cultures. To
Freyre (1961:275), the proper term to use in describing
what took place when the Portuguese and other peoples came
into contact, is integration, which he defines as the
uniting of separate entities in a coherent whole, somewhat
different from a mere sum of all the parts. He contrasts
this with the subjection of a minority by a majority and
also with assimilation, and insists that integration has
been the rule with the Portuguese, with the other two
processes rarely occuring.

Freyre (1961:208) makes a point of cautioning his
readers that neither the Brazil of today--which he believes
is being ruined by imitating the United States in acting

through abstract principles rather than the study of concrete conditions--nor the comparitively recent Portuguese colonization in Africa--in which the best of Portuguese traditions have been repudiated in favor of the example set by the bourgeois Northern Europeans, who impose values and customs and call it morality--are representative of the Portuguese and Henrian tradition of transnational civilization.

The Portuguese have been said to possess an ancient predisposition toward emphasizing values of safety above venture. Freyre (1961) acknowledges this and illustrates its incorporation into the social policy of Prince Henry, which blended safety with heroic adventure. This policy manifested in the tradition of social security for captives by their integration into patriarchal families where they were guaranteed the same opportunities awarded to those born into such families. He states that this was how the tradition of godparenting began. Another outcome of the Portuguese concern for safety and security was a network of religious houses of refuge throughout the tropics and other colonized areas that provided protection and assistance to helpless people such as orphans, widows, the elderly, and the ill, regardless of their native origin. The various voluntary associations which were formed for mutual assistance wherever the Portuguese settled in the United States,

can be seen as the modern day carriers of the tradition of Prince Henry's social policy.

Another aspect of their cultural heritage which has undoubtedly contributed to the ease with which the Portuguese have adapted to their adopted lands, is what Dias (1964) refers to as their communitarian tradition. Such is based on social organization along the lines of extended patriarchal families, in which were included blood relatives, workers, and slaves, who all supposedly lived together in accordance with Christian moral principles. This form of social organization was prevalent in Portugal until the early twentieth century, when industrialization drastically changed lifestyles, and it is still quite common in the Azores, where various forms of free and reciprocal collective labor survive to this day. This tradition is expressed today in the way those established in Portuguese-American communities readily lend a helping hand to new immigrants, particularly those with some familial tie, however remote.

The Azoreans, who comprise the overwhelming majority of Portuguese immigrants to the United States, are perhaps the best equipped psychologically for undergoing the hardships of settling in a radically different environment from that to which they are accustomed. These people come from the isolated islands in the middle of the North Atlantic, which have been alternately plagued by earthquakes,

volcanic eruptions, and foul weather and seas (Guill:1972).
Poverty was also for most, a part of this environment, which
posed threats of an unpredictable and unbeatable kind, and
which created a sense of fatalism. The Azoreans' continued
survival can be largely attributed to their tenacity, de-
termination, self-reliance, and ability to adapt to fluc-
tuating environmental conditions. The hardships these peo-
ple bear at home make many of those they face as immigrants,
appear pale by comparison.

The Portuguese in the United States

The Portuguese have been immigrating to the United
States since the seventeenth century, when they were drawn
into contact with New Englanders through their involvement
in whaling and maritime mercantilism. Smith (1974:84) es-
timates that eighty percent of these immigrants were from
the Azores. They came to California as well as to New
England, where, in the opinion of informed members of the
Portuguese community in San Jose, they have undergone two
different kinds of settlement experience. Exploration of
this difference, although valuable, is not within the bounds
of this study. Portuguese immigration to the United States
has also been divided into two distinct periods--pre-1924,
and post-1958, which distinction has been thoroughly studied
by Rogers (1974:53). More is said about this in the fol-
lowing.

A general concensus is found in the literature
regarding immigration, indicating that the Portuguese be-
gan coming and continue to come to the United States, in
order to better their economic condition. They came to
work in the maritime and milling industries of New England,
where, during the early twentieth century, they remained on
the bottom rung of the socioeconomic ladder. Smith (1974:
86) refers to the Portuguese as "sociologically, the niggers
of New England," stating that these early immigrants

> . . . remained in menial positions paying little
> attention to labor agitators and social reformers
> alike . . . willing to work for starvation wages,
> often with a good natured smile, and at worst,
> with an air of passive resignation. (Smith, 1974:83)

In her study, Smith (1974:83) found that the Portuguese of
New England have adopted for themselves a largely derogatory
self concept, which was the superficial and ethnocentrically
biased view of their economic overlords. They have main-
tained it over time, despite the fact that parts of this
view have been repeatedly refuted by reality. This view
claims that the "typical" Portuguese is

> . . . hardworking, clean, not too bright, easygoing,
> respectful of authority, non-ambitious, thrifty,
> oversexed, careful of property, uninventive, un-
> imaginative, hospitable, cheerful, unable to deal
> with difficult problems or intricate mechanical
> items, passive, and not much trouble to anyone.

Smith believes that this view had its origin in the days
when the Portuguese worked on Yankee whaling ships and did
not prove as adventurous as the Yankees, due to what she

believes to be the traditional conservatism of peasants and poor people everywhere. The Portuguese, however, have appeared to care little about such assessments or their persistence. Having come strictly for economic reasons, they were not concerned with what was thought, but were satisfied that others valued them as workers--which meant economic security and even progress. When this economic security was compared with the difficult life on the islands, the exclusion from the power structure and the American social sphere was of negligible significance. The Portuguese observed how the more militant Irish and Italians were discriminated against, especially in regard to employment, and perceived their invisibility and what Smith (1974:84) refers to as their "Sambo stance" as the best protection from such discrimination.

In studying the Portuguese of Fall River, Massachusetts, who total one third of that city's nearly one hundred thousand people, and who are likely to be representative of New England Portuguese in general, Paul Whitehead (1966) found that they have travelled a long way down the road of assimilation. He found them represented in all occupations, largely of middle class socioeconomic status, and, with the exception of the community of recent immigrants who maintain the Portuguese traditions, blending indistinguishably into the general population. Also noted

is the apparent Portuguese predisposition to marry out-
side the ethnic group, and this is thought to contribute
heavily to the rapid assimilation. Several Portuguese
organizations were encountered, along with Portuguese
newspapers and radio programs, which, along with the con-
tinual influx of new immigrants, have been instrumental in
keeping Portuguese culture and tradition alive in New
England.

The experience of the Portuguese in California has
been probably less painful than that of those who settled
in New England. No evidence was found in the literature
regarding the Portuguese in California for the severe eco-
nomic and occupational exploitation and oppression or anti-
Portuguese prejudice that was characteristic of early Por-
tuguese immigration to New England. In fact, the litera-
ture is quite positive and flattering in describing the
Portuguese of California. These people are generally con-
sidered to have been a real economic asset to the state
and are even credited with its discovery. Their contri-
bution is said to be extraordinary for their numbers (of
which no reliable estimate was found). They were the ones
to develop and control the state's whaling and dairying
industries and have had decisive impact on the fishing,
farming, and cattle raising industries. The pattern fol-
lowed by the early Portuguese immigrant to California

(Brown, 1944) was to work very hard, save money, and buy land for cash, set up a successful enterprise, and pass it on to his children, leaving them several steps on the socio-economic ladder above where he had begun. The pattern includes the same indifference to politics found in the New England Portuguese, as well as a tendency to hire own countrymen into the family businesses. Although a highly developed California no longer offers such rapid economic progress in return for hard work, the Portuguese immigrant of today continues the tradition of working hard, bettering his economic condition over time, and leaving his children economically better off than himself.

A study of self-concept (Calhoun, 1978) comparing Portuguese children to Anglo-American and Mexican-American children in the San Joaquin Valley, yielded very different results from those of Smith's (1974) study. It found that Portuguese boys scored at a significantly higher self-esteem rate than those of the other two groups, with the Portuguese girls scoring only slightly higher than the other girls. This study is too small in scope to yield reliable conclusions, and the results may be largely due to the rural setting of the study, where the Portuguese have generally been successful farmers and ranchers. A study carried out in the urban area of California may have yielded different results.

Francis Rogers (1974) finds basic differences between the first group of Portuguese immigrants who came prior to 1924, and the second group who came after 1958. He speaks of the Portuguese, in general, as one of the least racist people in the world, and of the early Portuguese immigrant as

> having led unobtrusive and honest lives, earned
> an excellent reputation as solid newcomers, and
> in general having assimilated well . . . had a very
> low crime rate, not becoming alcoholics, considering
> paying off the mortgage and owning own home as the
> greatest of domestic virtues, retaining mother in
> the kitchen to render the family cohesive, and
> joining benevolent and mutual societies in order
> to avoid dependence on charity. (Rogers, 1974:29)

He also documents the importance of the Catholic church, especially the local national parishes, in the lives of the immigrants.

Rogers (1974) has found that the earlier group of immigrants bought almost completely the idea of assimilation, to the point of anglicizing their names, refusing at times to associate with new immigrants, and fully entering into the mainstream of American life through mixed marriages and education--ultimately reaching anonymity. In contrast, the immigrants of the second group, particularly the young, are better educated, aware and proud of their cultural heritage, and characterized by their pride in being Portuguese. They apparently feel none of the characteristic shame caused in the earlier group by the racism

of those of North and Northwestern European descent. It
is very likely that these new feelings of ethnic pride have
been facilitated by the current emphasis on ethnicity that
pervades America. It remains to be seen whether the later
groups's descendants will also disappear into the anonymity
of American life, and if so, how quickly they will become
invisible as did those who preceeded them.

Portuguese Communities in
the United States

The migratory pattern of Portuguese into America has
followed the general rule of going to where relatives or a
former member of the same native area is already established.
This pattern leads to close alliances on the basis of kinship
or village affiliation (Magers, 1977). These close alliances
eventually draw sufficient numbers of people together to form
communities.

Francis Brown (1937:564) speaks of minority commun-
ities as "islands of isolation" and says that the two most
important factors that contribute to their formation are
bonds of language and culture and the low socioeconomic
status of the immigrants whose low wages force them to make
their first home in the poorest areas. He refers to cen-
tripetal forces which help maintain the cohesiveness of the
community and centrifugal forces which tend to break it
apart. Brown (1937:568) includes among the centripetal

forces, the language, church, press, in-group organizations, service agencies such as the benevolent associations maintained by the group for the benefit of its members, and most importantly, the web of customs, folkways, mores, and attitudes that members of the community share. The principal centrifugal forces are changing economic status, and, with it, participation in non-minority activities, and the school. He also attributes the family conflict that goes on between generations in immigrant families to a conflict between cultures, between centripetal and centrifugal forces. It is highly probable that these references to minority communities in general apply to Portuguese communities in the United States, and that the Portuguese-American communities have been a mediating influence between the immigrant and the American culture.

Brown and Ridenour (Brown, 1937:611) claim that religion is the most powerful bond uniting members of immigrant communities. This would appear to be the case with the Portuguese, who, in many of their communities, have established national parishes, such as the Church of the Five Wounds in San Jose, California. Vaz (1965:101) acknowledges the special role the church has played in providing continuity in the immigrants' life by continuing to be the center of his life in his new land, as it was in his home. He feels that the Portuguese have retained their

sense of identity mostly through religious expression.

It was also in connection with religion that the majority of the Portuguese voluntary associations were created. These have also been important institutions in Portuguese community life in America. They were most frequently organized on the basis of ethnic identity for mutual aid in cases of family disasters or deaths, and many of them have developed into full-fledged insurance companies. They represent the immigrant's attempt to achieve emotional and physical security in their new environment. They were often organized in the name of a patron saint, and one of their main functions was carrying out an annual religious festival in his honor. An excellent example of such organizations is the Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit, some variation of which exists in even the smallest of Portuguese communities. They all share in common the task of putting on the annual Holy Spirit Festival, that tradition the Azoreans carry wherever they go. A considerable amount of research has been done on these organizations and the literature describes them in great detail. Their main function in the modern Portuguese community is the provision of religious, social, and cultural events which bring many Portuguese immigrants together and give them a sense of unity with their past and a sense of pride in their cultural heritage.

M. Estellie Smith (1974:82) describes the Portu-
guese communities in New England as separated from the
larger community by clearly drawn physical and social
boundaries. These are crossed by networks primarily in
the economic sphere, often the only point of articulation
between the Portuguese and non-Portuguese, and secondarily
in the educational sphere. Gomes (1974) contends that the
most cohesive element in the Portuguese communities of the
United States, the one which has been most instrumental in
keeping alive their traditions, is the continued influx in-
to the communities of new immigrants. It is they, also,
who maintain the closest contact and ties with the formal
institutions such as the church and the voluntary organ-
izations.

Largely missing from the literature on the subject
of Portuguese-American communities is discussion of informal
organization and networks. Smith (1976) has been the only
one to deal with this factor in a study which superficially
explored the contribution of Portuguese women to the for-
mation of new networks in a New England city.

Summary

In an effort to place into perspective the adjust-
ment of the Portuguese immigrant to the United States, this
chapter began by examining the various definitions and views
existing in American social science regarding immigrant

adjustment and the processes of acculturation and assimilation, the terms most often used to discuss such adjustment. Several views and models were presented due to their readily apparent merit in analyzing the above processes, and those of Milton Gordon were found to be the most enlightening. He not only provides a thorough scientific framework from which assimilation can be understood and even measured, but he also distinguishes most clearly the theory of assimilation from the reality of assimilation as it has operated in the American society. Milton Gordon's theories, as well as the views of Kupferer and Rubel and others, are then used to further expose the discrepancy between the theory and the reality, as the ideologies and trends of assimilation in America are considered, and the three main ones discussed. These three are the melting pot and its offspring the triple melting pot, cultural pluralism, and Anglo-conformity. The discussion leads to the inescapable conclusion that the melting pot is a tragic myth, that cultural pluralism a wishful dream, and that both have served as convenient facades for Anglo-conformity, which is the reality of what assimilation has been and has meant, and what it continues to be and mean in the United States.

After general consideration of acculturation and assimilation, the views of those who have theorized about assimilation of the Portuguese in the United States were

discussed. It is thereby found that the Portuguese have responded to the overwhelming pressure to trade their culture for the American culture by choosing what Kupferer and Rubel (1973a:67) call becoming "culturally indistinguishable" as their mode of adjustment and so have attained the upward socioeconomic mobility and success that generally follow from such a choice. They have conformed to the American society to such a degree that Gomes contends that the only thing keeping Portuguese culture alive in the United States is the continual influx of Portuguese immigrants.

Exploration of the Portuguese historical experience provides the explanation for this group's choice. Elements of this experience are identified which have worked together to make the Portuguese immigrants perhaps predisposed to blending into whatever culture they enter. These elements include: Portuguese culture as a blend of the various cultures that preceded it; Portugal being a maritime nation which placed its people in contact with the world; the Portuguese adoption of the more universal and humane and less theological aspects of Christianity; the historically strategic location of the Azores and their colonization, which again placed the Azoreans--who constitute the vast majority of Portuguese immigrants to the United States--in contact with a variety of the world's peoples and enabled them to begin interacting with New Englanders and "commuting" to

America; the difficult conditions of life in the Azores which prompted Azoreans to emigrate and readied them for the hard life they would face as immigrants; and the fact that Portuguese emigrate for economic purposes.

The Portuguese are said to have been immigrating to the United States since the seventeenth century in efforts to better their economic circumstances, and have come mostly to New England and California, two areas where they encountered qualitatively different experiences. In New England, they first encountered the same exploitation and oppression as did other Southern Europeans, and although they saw it in their interest to react to such exploitation and oppression more passively than other groups, psychological scars persist as can be seen in Smith's (1974) study of their unrealistically derogatory self-concept. Whitehead's (1966) study on the assimilation of the New England Portuguese documents that they have passed what Gordon (1964) refers to as the arch of assimilation--structural assimilation--and are well on their way to disappearing into American society, with the new immigrants being the ones to keep the Portuguese culture alive. The literature regarding the Portuguese in California indicates that they have escaped the exploitation and oppression suffered by their New England kin. They found in California an environment which allowed them to utilize the knowledge and skills they brought

with them in the areas of agriculture and fishing in order to prosper economically and leave their children several steps above them on the socioeconomic ladder. Certain to have been an important mediating and aiding force in adjustment, both in New England and California, and to continue to be so today, were the cohesive ethnic communities established by the Portuguese immigrants wherever they settled. Despite hardships, the Portuguese of both areas are reputed to have adapted well enough to have reached middle class socioeconomic standards and to have done so without social conflict or turmoil and without any special assistance from the host society.

One of the most intriguing studies discussed in this chapter was that done by Francis Rogers (1974), who contrasted the pre-1924 with the post-1958 immigrants and found the latter group to possess much more ethnic pride and reluctance to readily assimilate than their predecessors. Some reasons for this phenomenon are also explored. Another author who must be given credit for her especially sophisticated and sociologically meaningful studies on the adjustment of Portuguese immigrants, is M. Estellie Smith. She was the only researcher found that attempted to relate informal organization to Portuguese immigrant adjustment. Her study exploring the contributions of Portuguese women to the formation of informal networks in a New England city

played an important role in inspiring this writer to explore in greater depth such network utilization and composition in the present study.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

The primary purpose of data collection in this exploratory study is to look into certain aspects of the Portuguese immigrant's adjustment to the United States when he first arrives, and in subsequent situations. Data are sought to help indicate whether a mechanism of reliance on informal community networks is involved in the immigrant's establishment of a foothold in his new community. If found to exist, the utilization of such networks by immigrants to help one another in their adaptation to their adopted land, would suggest a maintenance of the communitarian tradition identified in Chapter 2 as part of the Portuguese cultural heritage. It is expected that the data collected will also illustrate to what extent these supposed networks involve the familial and neighborly connections upon which the communitarian tradition was based.

Definitions

The definition of several terms as used in this study is necessary. These are:

Portuguese immigrant: Anyone who has immigrated to the United States from continental Portugal or the Azores Islands.

Azorean: A native of one of the nine Azores

Islands--which constitute an autonomous region that was

discovered and has been governed by Portugal since the

fifteenth century. A map of the Azores is provided in

Appendix D.

Culture: The way of life of a group of people based

on patterns of learned behavior which are transferred from

one generation to another through the means of language and

imitation.

Minority: A group, or member of a group, which

differs significantly from the Anglo-American in origin,

culture, and/or race.

Family: A group of people related by blood or

marriage whose relationship extends through the second

cousin level.

Any generalizations made about Portuguese immigrants

in this study is of necessity, biased in favor of the

Azoreans, since they constitute a large majority of the

Portuguese immigrants in the United States, as was seen in

Chapter 2.

Subjects

The population of this study is composed of the Por-

tuguese immigrants who reside in San Jose, California.

This city has a significant Portuguese immigrant community,

the size of which has been so widely estimated as to make
it unworthwhile to hazard a guess here. However, an indi-
cator of the size and significance of the community can be
the number of Portuguese social and cultural organizations
that it contains. This number is at least sixteen (Silviera:
1979), and they are listed in Appendix C. No claim is made
regarding the completeness of the list. Portuguese immi-
gration to the San Jose area began as early as the 1800s
(Arbuckle:1978), and continues at a rate estimated by the
Immigration and Naturalization Service (1978:76) to be
nearly 300 per year. It is also said to be an area where
many Portuguese come to live after having begun their United
States residence elsewhere (Costa:1979).

A sample of fifty Portuguese immigrants was selected
for this study. Their names and addresses were obtained
from a mailing list consisting of nearly 2000 items which
is maintained by the Portuguese Organization for Social
Services and Opportunities whose office is located in San
Jose. To select the subjects from the list, the writer
used the table of random numbers presented on page 554 of
Blalock's Social Statistics.

Instrument and Procedure

The instrument utilized to collect data in this
study is a standardized questionnaire containing both
open-ended and fixed alternative items. Although a

majority of the items are designed to explore whether and
the extent to which certain other people were involved in
the immigrant's settlement in his original and current
situation, some have other purposes. A few items are de-
signed to examine the level of interaction between the re-
spondent and other Portuguese people, and these follow from
the assumption that level and amount of interaction is di-
rectly related to the potential for the building, utili-
zation and maintenance of informal networks. One item is
devoted to discovering the respondent's purpose in immi-
grating and is designed to indicate the extent to which
this sample conforms to the generalization repeatedly found
in the literature that the Portuguese immigrate to the
United States primarily to better their economic circum-
stances. Another item tests the strength of the respon-
dent's Portuguese ethnic identity, and an attempt will be
made to relate this to other items. A few items of demo-
graphic data are also sought, so relations to other re-
sponses can also be examined.

The questionnaire is administered by the writer,
using a face-to-face interview format. The interviewer
records, and, in some cases, categorizes the responses on
a separate answer sheet. Questionnaire and answer sheet
are found in Appendix A.

The data collected are categorized and presented in

the following chapter. Analysis will be carried out with
the primary purpose of examining whether informal community
networks are used to assist in adaptation, to what extent
they are used --if found to exist--and upon what types of
relationships they depend most. Secondary analysis will
focus on relationships between use of networks and such
factors as length of residency, English fluency, income,
and education, as well as on the extent to which network
utilization and potential differs in the original and cur-
rent situations. The generalization of findings is lim-
ited. They apply in a general way to recent Portuguese
immigrants to California, and more particularly, to those
of Santa Clara County. This is due, in part, to the dif-
ferences which were identified in the literature review
between the Portuguese of California and those of New
England, and those who immigrated before 1924 as compared
to post-1958 immigrants.

Chapter 4

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Interviewed in this study were thirty-one male and
nineteen female Portuguese immigrants whose length of resi-
dence in the United States ranges from one and one-half to
thirty-five years. All immigrated from the Azores Islands
except two, one of whom came from continental Portugal, and
one from Madeira Island, an island off the southwestern
coast of Portugal, which for purposes of this study, is
simply considered part of continental Portugal. A great
majority of the respondents (78%) spoke little or no Eng-
lish, while only 18% considered themselves fluent in Eng-
lish. English fluency appeared most related to length of
residence and age at immigration, with 66% of the respon-
dents who indicated fluency in English having resided in
the United States over fifteen years and having immigrated
at an age under twenty-five years. Those fluent in the
English language differed significantly from the majority
of respondents on several factors. Distributions of re-
spondents by age, length of residence, family size, income,
education, place of origin, and place of first residence in
the United States are presented in Appendix B. The tables
dealing with income and education also relate these to
current network utilization.

Utilization of Networks

In order to explore whether and to what extent informal community networks are utilized to assist the immigrant in his adjustment to his new country, respondents were questioned about utilization of networks in obtaining employment, and in the personal circumstance of seeking assistance in a problem situation. Further explored was the potential for network formation, utilization, and maintenance among the immigrants. This was accomplished by asking the respondents about other Portuguese immigrants in their neighborhood, other Portuguese also employed at their place of work, their attendance at Portuguese festivals and community functions, as well as Portuguese church services, and the extent to which they transact business with other Portuguese immigrants. Some of these questions sought information regarding both the original situation in the United States, and the current one in order to examine whether potential and actual utilization of networks is maintained or modified in situations subsequent to the one at arrival.

Results regarding the utilization of networks to obtain employment are summarized in Table 1. It was found that informal networks were very extensively utilized in obtaining employment in the original, and, to a lesser extent, in the current situation of the respondents; 90%

utilized community networks to assist in obtaining employment upon arrival in the United States, while 75% utilized them to assist in obtaining their current job. Utilization in the original situation decreased as the length of residence increased. Of the eleven respondents here over 15 years, 82% depended on networks, while 100% of those twelve here less than five years depended on the networks for assistance in obtaining their first job. This greater reliance on networks in recent years may be due to the increasing scarcity of unskilled jobs and the resulting greater difficulty for the new immigrant to obtain employment. Networks involving family members were the most extensively utilized in obtaining original employment, with 78% of the respondents citing use of this type, while use of those involving the other three categories of immigrants was roughly equalized among categories. In the obtaining of current employment, the type of network utilized changed significantly. Of the forty-four respondents currently employed, only 25% relied on family members, while 27% relied on another Portuguese immigrant outside of their family and from a locality of origin different than that of the respondent, for help in securing their jobs. This strongly suggests the formation of new networks by the immigrants in their American communities. Equal numbers of respondents, 11.4%, utilized each of the two other types of networks.

English fluency and education appear to affect the use of networks; as only three of the nine respondents fluent in English utilized networks in obtaining current employment, one utilizing a network involving a family member, and two utilizing networks involving other Portuguese, and none of the respondents with a higher education in Portugal--more than the four years required there--or regular schooling in the United States, made use of networks in obtaining employment.

In the exploration of whom the immigrant first approaches for assistance in a problem situation, some of the same trends identified above were found. See Table 2 for summary of findings. All of the respondents relied on informal networks in such a situation when they first arrived, with 94% of them turning to a family member for help, while 6% relied equally on each of the other three categories of immigrants. In their current situation, 86% still rely on informal networks; however, only 54% maintained their reliance on a family member; while 24% depend on another Portuguese person outside of the family and from a different area of origin. Of the nine English speakers, only one currently depends on a Portuguese person, a family member, for assistance in problem situations, while three of those with higher Portuguese education or regular American education do so, two depending upon a family member and one upon a person from his native village.

Table 1

USE OF NETWORKS IN OBTAINING EMPLOYMENT

Use of network involving:

No. of Respon.	Length of Residence	Family Member	Member of Native Village/ Town	Member of Native Island/ Region	Other Portuguese	Total	%
12	0-5 yrs.						
	Orig. US job	11(1EF)			1	12	100
	Current job	6		2	4	12	100
17	5-10 yrs.						
	Orig. US job	13	1		1	15	85
	Current job	4	3	1	3	11	65
10	10-15 yrs.						
	Orig. US job	7	1	1		9	90
	Current job	1	2	1	2	6	60
11	Over 15 yrs						
	Orig. US job	8	1			9	82
	Current job			1	3(2EF)	4	36
50	TOTALS	# - %	# - %	# - %	# - %		
	Orig. US job	39 78	3 6	1 2	2 4	45	90
	Current job	11 25	5 11.4	5 11.4	12 27.2	33	75

EF = English Fluent   Respondents not currently employed - 6 = 12%

Table 2

USE OF NETWORKS FOR PERSONAL ASSISTANCE

Use of Network involving:	Original Situation in US		Currently	
	#	%	#	%
Family member	47	94	27 (1EF)	54
Member of Native village/town	1	2	4	8
Member of Native island/region	1	2		
Other Portuguese	1	2	12	24
Total	50	100	43	86

EF = English Fluent

Potential for Formation,
  Utilization, and
  Maintenance of
  Networks

The results suggest a high potential for network

formation, utilization, and maintenance in localities of

residence and to a lesser, but still significant degree,

in employment. Results regarding the number of respondents

residing near and working with other Portuguese are sum-

marized in Table 3. These indicate that a majority of re-

spondents resided near other immigrants in their first Amer-

ican community, with 84% having resided near family members,

and 82% near others who were outside of their family and not

from their native area. In this case, the tendency again

appears for reduced interaction with other immigrants from

a common locality of origin, as only 44% resided near such

people. In the current situation, the trend continues, but

with significantly fewer respondents residing near family

members (58%), and a higher proportion (78%) residing near

other immigrants, who were not members of their families nor

from their native area. In comparing the original to the

current situation, a reduction of respondents residing near

other immigrants is found in all categories, but the re-

duction is only large enough to be significant in the family

member category. Of those respondents speaking English, 66%

indicated residing near a family member, while roughly one

half reside near other Portuguese.

Table 3

NETWORK POTENTIAL IN JOB AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Category of Other Immigrant	No. & % of Respondents Residing in Neighborhood with other Immigrant(s)				No. & % of Respondents Working with other Immigrant(s)			
	Originally		Currently		Originally		Currently	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Family member	42	84	29 (6EF)	58	20	40	9 (1EF)	18
Member of native village/ town	22	44	21 (2EF)	42	8	16	12 (1EF)	24
Member of native island/ region	22	44	20 (4EF)	40	9	18	14 (1EF)	34
Other Portuguese	41	82	39 (4EF)	78	17	34	28 (2EF)	56

EF = English Fluent

Regarding preference for residing near other Por-
tuguese immigrants, a majority (68%) of respondents indi-
cated wanting to reside near family members, while roughly
half showed indifference to residing near Portuguese out-
side of their family. Very few respondents, however, in-
dicated not wanting to reside near other Portuguese, and
of these, a significant portion were those with fluency in
English. The only respondent strongly disagreeing with
preference for residing near other Portuguese was a young
woman who had born a child out of wedlock and suffered the
ostracism of her conservative and very Catholic Portuguese
community for her action, and who still harbored the nega-
tive feelings against her people that were the natural out-
come of the damaging treatment she received. The residence
preferences are summarized in Table 4.

Many respondents were also found to work with other
Portuguese immigrants, as can be seen from Table 3. The
same general trend applies to working with other Portuguese
on the first American job as did to residing near other
.Portuguese in the original American residence. A very
large proportion of respondents (40%) reported originally
working with one or more family members and/or with Por-
tuguese people other than those from a common native lo-
cality (34%). Smaller proportions, 16% and 18% respectively,
reported working with people from their native village or

town, and island or region. In the current employment situation, the trend again appears for reduced interaction with family members, with only 18% reporting currently working with one or more family members. The interaction potential increases as one moves through the categories of working with people from the same native village or town (34%), same island or region (34%), and other Portuguese (56%). Of those fluent in English, one indicated working with a family member, one with someone from his home town, one with someone from his home island, and two with other Portuguese—or, more than half of the English speakers reported working with other Portuguese immigrants.

Table 4

PREFERENCE FOR RESIDING NEAR OTHER PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS

Category of other immigrant	Strong positive preference		Positive preference		Indifference		Negative Preference		Strong negative preference	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Family member	21 (1EF)	42	13 (2EF)	26	12 (4EF)	24	3 (1EF)	6	1 (1EF)	2
Member of native village/ town	5	10	19 (1EF)	38	23 (6EF)	46	2 (1EF)	4	1 (1EF)	2
Member of native island/ region	none		17	34	29 (6EF)	58	3 (2EF)	6	1 (1EF)	2
Other Portuguese	1	2	18	36	28 (7EF)	56	3 (1EF)	6	1 (1EF)	2

EF = English Fluent

Strong potential for network formation, utilization, and maintenance is also suggested by the large number of respondents who strongly agreed, or simply agreed, with statements regarding frequent attendance at Portuguese festivals and community functions, regular attendance at Portuguese religious services, and usual transaction of business affairs with other Portuguese. Those fluent in the English language accounted for a significant proportion of the negative responses in this area also. Tables 5, 6, and 7 summarize these findings.

Table 5

ATTENDANCE AT PORTUGUESE FESTIVALS AND/OR
COMMUNITY FUNCTIONS

Frequency of Attendance	Number of Respondents	
	#	%
Often	8 (1EF)	16
Occasional	20 (1EF)	40
Rare	17 (2EF)	34
Never	5 (5EF)	10

EF = English Fluent

Table 6

ATTENDANCE AT PORTUGUESE CHURCH SERVICES

(Level of agreement with statement: "I generally attend Portuguese church services.")

Level of Agreement	#	%
Strongly agree	18	36
Agree	9 (2EF)	18
Indifferent	7	14
Disagree	8 (2EF)	16
Strongly Disagree	8 (5EF)	16

Table 7

BUSINESS TRANSACTION WITH OTHER PORTUGUESE

(Level of agreement with statement: "I usually do my business transactions with other Portuguese people.")

Level of Agreement	#	%
Strongly Agree	18 (3EF)*	36
Agree	17	34
Indifferent	9 (1EF)	18
Disagree	4 (3EF)	8
Strongly Disagree	2 (2EF)	4

EF = English Fluent

* These three English fluent respondents differed from others in that they are businessmen established in the Portuguese community who depend on the Portuguese immigrants for clientele, and who also generally transact their business affairs with other Portuguese businesses.

The purpose for attendance at Portuguese festivals
and community functions was also examined, with the result
that a large majority, 72%, of respondents were found to
attend in order to socialize with friends and acquaintances
from their home localities. The distribution of these
findings is presented in Table 8.

Table 8

PURPOSE FOR ATTENDANCE AT PORTUGUESE
FESTIVALS AND COMMUNITY FUNCTIONS

Purpose	#	%
Interest in subject of festival/function	9	18
To socialize with friends and acquaintances from "home"	36	72
To meet and talk with other (previously un-known) Portuguese immigrants	1	2
Other	4	8

Network maintenance is especially suggested by remarks made
by many respondents in addressing this issue, as they
indicated that the community functions were particularly
valued in that they provided the opportunity to interact
with friends not encountered in other spheres of activity.
These results are also of particular significance in that

they refute the prevalent idea, which Avila (1970) also expresses in her thesis, that Portuguese immigrants attend their festivals, most of which are somehow connected with the Catholic church, due to their religious devotion. Only 18% of the respondents in this study reported that they attend such functions due to interest in the function's subject.

The responses received to the question regarding the purpose for immigrating to the United States support the existing conclusion, cited in Chapters 1 and 2, that the Portuguese immigrate in order to improve their economic circumstances. In this study, 70% of the respondents identified this as their purpose for immigration. Although 26% responded that they had come to join family members, many of them indicated that bettering their economic conditions was a secondary goal. Only two respondents immigrated for clearly noneconomic reasons. One of them came from continental Portugal to escape the political repression of the Salazar regime, which then ruled Portugal, and the other came to escape an uncomfortable personal situation.

In an effort to gauge the strength of the respondents' ethnic identification, they were presented with the statement, "I live in America, but I am always Portuguese!", and asked to reply by indicating their level of agreement

with it. The statement was chosen because it is one the
writer has heard expressed by several Portuguese immigrants.
The responses were as follows: 38%--strong agreement, 20%--
simple agreement, 26%--indifference, 12%--disagreement, and
4%--strong disagreement. Of the 13 indifferent respondents,
four were fluent in English, as were three of the six who
disagreed, and both of those who strongly disagreed. Ap-
parently, the ability to communicate fluently in English
functions to erode ethnic identity; however, this must be
considered in view of the fact that most of these respon-
dents have been in the United States for many years and
came here at young ages; they have, therefore, received a
great deal of exposure to assimilation pressures. The
relationship between English fluency and length of resi-
dence, as well as age at immigration is illustrated in
Table 9. English fluency is also related to high income;
of the eight families receiving over $5500 annually per
person, in four the respondent was fluent in English,
leaving only four of the non-English speaking majority with
over $5500 per person annual income.

Table 9

ENGLISH FLUENCY RELATED TO:
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE
AGE AT IMMIGRATION

Length of Residence	No. of Respondents
Under 10 years	1
10-15 years	2
15-25 years	4 ⎫
Over 25 years	2 ⎭ 66%

Age at Immigration	No. of Respondents
Under 5 years	1
5-10 years	
10-15 years	1
15-20 years	2
20-25 years	2 ⎫ 66%
over 25 years	3

Total No. of Respondents able to communicate fluently in English - 9 - 18%.

Summary

The data collected in this study suggest that Portuguese immigrants rely heavily on informal community networks in their establishment of a foothold in their new communities upon arrival in the United States and subsequently. A great majority of respondents were found to depend on such networks to obtain employment and for help in resolving personal problems when they first arrived and many reported still doing so today. However, the other immigrants involved in the networks utilized in current situations are often different from the type involved in networks utilized in the original situations. Network composition was found to shift from involvement mostly of family members in original situations to much greater involvement of other Portuguese who are not related to the respondent, nor who come from his native locality or region in the current circumstances. Very high potential for network formation, utilization, and maintenance was also found as many immigrants lived near and worked with other Portuguese when they first came to the United States, and to a lesser extent, many still do so today. The shift from potential interaction mostly with family members originally to greater potential interaction with other Portuguese presently was found here too. This repeatedly encountered shift is suggestive of continual formation of new networks. Network potential was

further indicated by the large numbers of respondents who interact with other Portuguese at community functions and festivals, church services, and in transacting business affairs.

The tendency was usually encountered for comparatively low use of and potential for networks involving other immigrants from the respondent's native village or town and island or region. This tendency is probably best accounted for by the fact that fewer such people would be available to the respondent than other Portuguese from all other areas of emigration combined.

A small percentage of respondents were found able to communicate fluently in English. They generally accounted for a majority of the responses which deviated from those most often received, were found to have higher incomes than most other respondents, and their reliance upon informal community networks, as well as their preference for interaction with other Portuguese, was considerably lower than that of those not fluent in English. A high proportion of those fluent in English also had more education than their non-English-speaking counterparts, a vast majority of whom only had the four years of education mandated in Portugal.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The present study explored Portuguese immigrant
adjustment by reviewing the literature available which re-
lated to immigrant adjustment in general, Portuguese immi-
grant adjustment and its historical determinants in partic-
ular, and by empirically examining the involvement in the
adjustment of today's Portuguese immigrants in the United
States of informal community networks. The conclusions de-
rived from the practical phase of the study follow.

The data collected from the sample population chosen
indicate that Portuguese immigrants utilize informal com-
munity networks very extensively to assist them in estab-
lishing themselves in their adopted land. The utilization
of networks appears to diminish somewhat as length of resi-
dence increases, and the composition of networks seems to
change over time. Those networks utilized upon arrival by
respondents in this study, involved mostly members of the
immigrant's family, while those utilized later involved
family members to a much lesser extent, and other Portu-
guese immigrants, unrelated to the respondent and from
native areas other than his own, to a much greater extent.
Networks were generally found not to involve other immi-
grants from the respondents' locality or region of origin

66

to any large degree, and it was speculated that the reason for this was the relatively fewer numbers of such immigrants available when compared with immigrants from all other areas of the Azores and Portugal. Very high potential for new network formation, network utilization, and network maintenance was suggested by the many respondents who reported considerable involvement in situations of high potential interaction with other Portuguese immigrants.

Those interviewed who were able to communicate fluently in English were found to utilize the informal networks and to be involved in situations of potential network formation, utilization, and maintenance to a markedly reduced extent in their current circumstances, as compared with other respondents. English fluency was also found to be positively related to comparatively high incomes and levels of education. Although a small minority of the sample was fluent in English, generalization of their responses would lead one to believe that knowledge of the English language functions strongly to cause more rapid and complete assimilation of Portuguese immigrants. However, more study is required before any such conclusion can be justifiably reached.

The extensive utilization of informal community networks by respondents in this study implies that the Portuguese communitarian tradition of people informally helping

one another is being continued here, although modified and broadened in Portuguese-American communities to include many people other than those connected to the Portuguese immigrant by familial and shared native locality ties, and is functioning to ease the immigrant's transition to his new land. More general conclusions derived from performing the literature review and completing this study are summarized below.

The general concensus regarding Portuguese immigrant adjustment to American society is that such adjustment has been, and continues to be, smooth, relatively easy, and certainly devoid of social conflict or turmoil. The Portuguese have adjusted without asking for any assistance from the dominant society, and in fact, they have added significantly to its progress with their labor and ideas, as can be seen by examining their contributions to the textile industries of early New England and the agriculture and fishing industries of California. Their apparent tendency to progress economically is attributed by most of those who have written about it to their thriftiness, willingness to work very hard and endure hardships, and their aptitude for taking full advantage of opportunities. They have created mechanisms to help one another, some formal--such as the fraternal organizations--and some informal--such as the networks examined in this study--, which have

aided them in not only adapting, but attaining economic success. Economic success is their goal in immigrating, and that goal is generally accomplished to an extent that allows the Portuguese immigrant to propel his offspring into the mainstream of American society and several steps on the socioeconomic scale above where their parents began.

The outcome of their particular mode of adaptation has been the assimilation of the Portuguese immigrants into the American society to an extent that would please even the most committed of Anglo-conformists. In fact, it is believed that the only thing keeping Portuguese culture alive in the United States is the continual influx of new immigrants. The mode of adaptation chosen by the Portuguese immigrants is largely accounted for by their historical experience. Several factors of that experience were identified in this study, and these have worked as a gestalt to give the Portuguese person, especially the Azorean Portuguese, a tremendous capacity for adaptation to different ideas and peoples. This cultural heritage has culminated in the tendency of the Portuguese to blend into any society they enter.

This blending tendency has very positive aspects in that it allows the Portuguese to adapt comfortably to a culture other than his native one without causing himself or his host society any serious difficulties. However,

there are also very negative aspects to the tendency, the
principal one being that it generally results in the Por-
tuguese immigrant's, and especially his descendants', loss
of native culture after entering a society in which a dif-
ferent cultural group is clearly dominant. Such loss of
culture inevitably impoverishes the immigrant and his de-
scendants socially and psychologically, as it also deprives
the dominant cultural group of the opportunity to incor-
porate those aspects of the immigrant's culture that would
enrich it.

Recommendations for
Further Study

The positive aspects of the blending tendency dis-
cussed above and of Portuguese immigrant adjustment and its
contributions to the American society have been studied in
much greater depth and degree than the negative aspects of
the tendency, or the problematic elements of the Portuguese
immigrant experience in the United States generally. There-
fore, it is these problematic and negative aspects which
are sorely in need of further examination. The writer,
having experienced intimately--through personal experience
as well as deep social involvement with other Portuguese
immigrants--what being a Portuguese immigrant in the United
States means, cannot help but see and feel that much of
what has so far been written about Portuguese immigrants

in the United States presents only one side of the story--
the side perceived by those in a position of being "out-
side, looking in," or "above, looking down." Deeper ex-
ploration is required by researchers whose vision is not
esthetically blurred by social distance. Of the studies
reviewed, the writer found M. Estellie Smith's to be the
most objective and profound.

The present study attempted to review much of what
has been written about Portuguese immigrants in the United
States as well as to take a close look at one mechanism used
in their adjustment. However, this study ends leaving dis-
cussion of the subject remaining quite incomplete. Any
attempt to add completeness to this discussion and explor-
ation of Portuguese immigrant adjustment must necessarily
deal with the topic of the psychological and social costs
to the immigrant, his family, and his community that his
"successful" mode of adaptation entails. Further research
is also required to clarify the relationship suggested by
this study's finding between ability to communicate in the
English language and assimilation into American society.

Some other topics relating to Portuguese immigrants
in the United States that warrant further study follow:
the aversion to politics with which the literature generally
characterizes the Portuguese immigrant, the causes and ef-
fects of such aversion and how to overcome it to facilitate

involvement of the Portuguese in progressive causes from which they've been largely absent in the past, despite their relatively humane and progressive cultural heritage; the way and extent to which Portuguese traditional values and ways of thinking and being change upon impact with American culture; the psychosocial effects upon Azoreans of the exceedingly rapid transition from an essentially feudal mode of social organization to a highly developed capitalist one, which is forced by immigration; the functioning of the Portuguese immigrant family and deviations from its traditional form and functioning; the concept of intergenerational conflict--what Barron labels the conflict of centripetal and centrifugal forces--in the immigrant family; the effect of social class on mode and rate of assimilation, including the phenomenon of biculturality; the ways the Portuguese immigrants and their assimilation or adjustment differs today from those of earlier times, meaning further study of Francis Rogers' findings; and the Portuguese-American community in all its aspects, such as: functioning, socioeconomic composition, leadership, physical and social boundaries, linkage with the larger community, who leaves it and when, et cetera. The list could continue ad infinitum, but it suffices to make the point that an abundance of topics relating to Portuguese immigrants and their adjustment to the United States await fruitful exploration.

REFERENCES CITED AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

REFERENCES CITED AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arbuckle, Clyde (San Jose city historian)
   1978 Personal Interview. San Jose, California,
       October 15.

Axinn, June and Herman Levin
   1975 Social Welfare - a History of the American Response
       to Need. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co.

Avila, Ernestina Anna
   1970 "The Cultural Heritage of the Azorean Portuguese of
       California." Fresno: Fresno State College, un-
       published thesis.

Barron, Milton L., ed.
   1958 American Minorities. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

   1967 Minorities in a Changing World. New York: Alfred
       A. Knopf.

Blalock, Hubert M. Jr.
   1972 Social Statistics. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

Brager, George, and Harry Specht
   1969 Community Organizing. New York: Columbia Univer-
       sity Press.

Brown, Francis J., and Joseph S. Roucek, eds.
   1937 Our Racial and National Minorities. New York:
       Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Brown, W. S.
   1944 "A Historical Study of the Portuguese in California."
       Los Angeles: University of Southern California,
       unpublished thesis.

Calhoun, George Jr., et al
   1978 "An Ethnic Comparison of Self-esteem in Portuguese-,
       Mexican-, and Anglo-American Pupils." Journal of
       Psychology 98 (September) 11-14.

Coelho, Jose Augusto Bettencourt
   1974 Os Acores. (The Azores). Lisboa: Ministerio de
       Educacao e Cultura. (Lisbon: Ministry of Education
       and Culture).

Costa, Constance M. (Portuguese Community Worker)
    1979   Personal Interview. San Jose, California,
           February 1.

Cox, Carmen Moya
    1978   "A Theory of Assimilation." Hayward: Hayward
           State University, unpublished thesis.

Dias, Eduardo Mayone
    1979   "The Portuguese Presence in California." Unido
           Portuguesa Estado de California GXXVIII (Spring)
           A-D.

Dias, Jorge A.
    1964   Portuguese Contribution to Cultural Anthropology.
           Johannesburg: Witwatersand University Press.

Duncan, T. Bentley
    1972   Atlantic Islands - Seventeenth Century. Chicago:
           University of Chicago Press.

Estep, Gerald A.
    1941   "Portuguese Assimilation in Hawaii and California."
           Sociology and Social Research 26 (September): 61-69.

Fagundes, Francisco Cota
    1974   "O Falar Luso-Americano, Um Indice de Aculturacao."
           (Speaking Luso-American, A Measure of Acculturation).
           Report of the First Symposium on the Portuguese in
           California. San Leandro: UPEC Cultural Center.

Franklin, John H., Thomas F. Pettigrew, and Raymond W. Mack.
    1971   Ethnicity in American Life. New York: Anti-defa-
           mation League of B'Nai B'Rith.

Freyre, Gilberto
    1961   The Portuguese and the Tropics. Lisbon: Inter-
           national Congress of the History of the Discoveries.

Gomes, Geoffrey L.
    1974   "Bilingualism Among Second and Third Generation
           Portuguese-Americans in California." Report of
           the First Symposium on the Portuguese in California.
           San Leandro: UPEC Cultural Center.

Gordon, Milton M.
    1964   Assimilation in American Life. New York: Oxford
           University Press.

Guill, James H.
    1972 A History of the Azores Islands. Menlo Park:
          No Publisher listed.

Immigration and Naturalization Service
    1978 1976 Annual Report. Immigration and Naturalization
          Service, Department of Justice. Washington D.C.:
          U.S. Government Printing Office

Kallen, Horace M.
    1956 Cultural Pluralism and the American Idea. Phila-
          delphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Kupferer, Harriet J., and Arthur J. Rubel
    1973a "The Myth of the Melting Pot." To See Ourselves -
          Anthropology and Modern Social Issues. ed. Thomas
          Weaver. Glenview: Scott, Foresman, and Co.

    1973b "The Consequences of a Myth." To See Ourselves -
          Anthropology and Modern Social Issues. ed. Thomas
          Weaver. Glenview: Scott, Foresman, and Co.

Macedo, Rev. Charles
    1978 Speech presented at Portuguese community meeting at
          IES Hall, San Jose, California. December 7. (un-
          taped)

Magers, Deborah
    1977 "An Evaluation of Ethnic Identity and the Persistent
          Cultural Identity System for the Portuguese Com-
          munity of the East Bay." Berkeley: University of
          California, unpublished thesis.

Oliver, Lawrence
    1972 Never Backward - The Autobiography of Lawrence Oliver,
          a Portuguese-American. San Diego: Neyenesch
          Printers, Inc.

Pap, Leo
    1976 The Portuguese in the United States - A Bibliography.
          Staten Island: Center for Migration Studies.

Pinho Helder
    1978 Portugueses na California. (Portuguese in Califor-
          nia). Lisboa: Imprensa Publica. (Lisbon: Public
          Press).

Rogers, Francis M.
    1974 Americans of Portuguese Descent: A Lesson in
          Differentiation. Beverly Hills: Sage Publi-
          cations.

Seltiz, Claire, et. al
    1951 Research Methods in Social Relations. New York:
          Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Shibutani, Tamotsu, and Kian M. Kwan
    1965 Ethnic Stratification - A Comparative Approach.
          New York: The McMillan Co.

Silveira, John R. (Portuguese businessman)
    1979 Personal Interview. San Jose, California, January 23.

Smith, M. Estellie
    1974 "Portuguese Enclaves: The Invisible Minority."
          Social and Cultural Identity, Problems of Persis-
          tence, and Change. ed. Thomas K. Fitzgerald.
          Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings,
          Number 8. Athens, University of Georgia Press.

    1976 "Networks and Migration Resettlement: Cherchez
          la Femme." Anthropological Quarterly 49 (January):
          20-24.

Tanner, Bruce (Planner for Santa Clara County)
    1978 Telephone Interview. San Jose, California, De-
          cember 5.

Vaz, August Mark
    1965 The Portuguese in California. Oakland: IDES Su-
          preme Council.

Warren, Roland R.
    1963 The Community in America. Chicago: Rand McNally
          and Co.

Whitehead, Paul C.
    1966 "The Assimilation of the Portuguese in Fall River,
          Massachusetts." Massachusetts: University of
          Massachusetts, unpublished thesis.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Please describe the composition of your household,
    indicating the relationship to you of each member,
    each member's sex and age, and whether in school or
    working.

2. What is your family's monthly income?

3. What is your current occupation? If a housewife,
    spouse's occupation?

4. What was your first occupation in the United States?
    If housewife, spouse's occupation?

5. How many years of schooling did you have in Portugal?
    In the U.S.?

6. Where did you emigrate from? Rural or urban environment?

7. How long have you been in the United States?

8. Where in the U.S. did you first reside?

9. Why did you come to that particular location?

10. Why did you come to the San Jose area (if not your
    first place of residence)?

11. In the area or neighborhood of your first residence in
    the U.S. were there any of the following?

    a. family members
    b. acquaintances or friends from area of residence
        "back home"
    c. people from same island or region of residence
        "back home"
    d. other Portuguese

12. In the area or neighborhood of your current residence
    are there any of the following?

    a. family members
    b. acquaintances or friends from area of residence
        "back home"
    c. people from same island or region of residence
        "back home"
    d. other Portuguese

13. Did anyone help you to obtain your first job in the U.S.? If so, who was most helpful? (If a housewife, answer for spouse)

14. Did anyone help you to obtain your present job? If so, who was most helpful? (If a housewife, answer for spouse)

15. In your first job in the U.S., were any of the following also employed? (If housewife, answer for spouse)

    a. family members
    b. acquaintances or friends from area of residence "back home"
    c. people from same island or region of residence "back home"
    d. other Portuguese
    e. none of the above

16. In your current job, are any of the following also employed? (If a housewife, answer for spouse)

    a. family members
    b. acquaintances or friends from area of residence "back home"
    c. people from same island or region of residence "back home"
    d. other Portuguese
    e. none of the above

17. When you first arrived and needed help with some problem situation, who did you consult first?

18. When faced with a problem situation today with which you need help, who do you consult first?

19. When and if you attend Portuguese festivals or community functions, which of the following is your primary purpose in attending?

    a. interest in the particular subject of celebration or function
    b. opportunity to be with old friends, acquaintances, and family from "back home"
    c. opportunity to meet and talk with other Portuguese immigrants
    d. other _____

20. Which of the following is the primary reason for your immigrating to the United States?

    a. to better economic circumstances
    b. to join family or friends
    c. for political or religious reasons
    d. to provide my children with greater educational and economic opportunities than those available "back home"
    e. other _____

21. How well are you able to communicate in English?

In the following questions please respond by indicating your level of agreement:

    1 -strongly agree 2 -agree 3 -neutral 4 -disagree
    5 -strongly disagree

22. It is important to me to live near members of my family.

23. It is important to me to live near friends or acquaintances from "back home."

24. It is important to me to live near people from my island or region of residence "back home."

25. It is important to me to live near other Portuguese people.

26. I often (at least once per month) attend Portuguese festivals or community functions

27. I usually do my business transactions with other Portuguese people.

28. I generally attend Portuguese church services.

29. I live in America, but I am always Portuguese!

QUESTIONNAIRE
Portuguese Translation

1. Favor dizer quantas pessoas ha em sua casa, indicando parentesco, sexo, idade, se trabalham ou se vao a escala.

2. Qual e o total em dinheiro que recebe sua familia por mes?

3. Qual e sua ocupacao atual? (Se for domestica, qual e a ocupacao do seu marido?)

4. Qual foi sua primeira ocupacao nos Estados Unidos? (Se foi domestica, qual foi a primeira ocupacao do seu marido?)

5. Quantos anos de escola teve em Portugal? Quantos anos de escola teve nos Estados Unidos?

6. Dondo emigrou? Do campo ou da cidade?

7. Ha quanto tempo que esta nos Estados Unidos?

8. Qual foi o primeiro lugar em que morou aqui nos Estados Unidos?

9. Porque escolheu aquele primeiro lugar?

10. Por que veio para San Jose?

11. Naquele primeiro lugar em que morou nos Estados Unidos, havia la:

    a. parentes seus?
    b. conhecidos ou amigos da sua freguesia?
    c. pessoas da mesma ilha ou da mesma regiao?
    d. outros Portugueses?

12. Na sua vizinhanca atual ha la:

    a. parentes seus
    b. conhecidos ou amigos da sua freguesia?
    c. pessoas da mesma ilha ou da mesma regiao?
    d. outros Portugueses?

13. Quem ajudou o senhor (a senhora, ou se for domestica, o seu marido) a conseguir o seu primeiro emprego nos Estados Unidos?

14. Quem ajudou a conseguir o seu trabalho atual? (Se for domestica, o trabalho de seu marido?)

15. No local do seu primeiro emprego nos Estados Unidos (ou do emprego do seu marido) havia la tambem:

    a. parentes seus?
    b. conhecidos ou amigos da sua freguesia?
    c. pessoas da mesma ilha ou da mesma regiao?
    d. outros Portugueses?
    e. ninguem acima mencionado

16. No local do seu emprego atual (ou do emprego do seu marido) ha la tambem:

    a. parentes seus?
    b. conhecidos ou amigos da sua freguesia?
    c. pessoas da mesma ilha ou da mesma regiao?
    d. outros Portugueses?
    e. ninguem acima mencionado

17. Quando chegou a este Pais e necessitava de ajuda, a quem pedia auxilio?

18. Hoje em dia, quando tem um problema a resolver, a quem pede auxilio?

19. Se participa de festas Portuguesas ou de ativadades da comunidade qual e seu primerio objetivo?

    a. interesse particular na atividade
    b. ter oportunidade de estar entre conhecidos, amigos, e parentes da sua terra
    c. ter oportunidade de conhecer outros imigrantes
    d. outra _____

20. Qual a razao principal por que imigrou para os Estados Unidos?

    a. para melhorar as condicoes economicas
    b. para reunir-se a parentes ou amigos
    c. por razoes religiosas ou politicas
    d. para dar melhor oportunidade escolar e economica aos meus filhos
    e. outra _____

21. Sua capacidade de se comunicar em Ingles e: excelente, boa, razoavel, nula?

Responda as seguintes perguntas indicando se:

1-concorda muito 2-concorda 3-indiferente 4-discorda
5-discorda muito

22. Acho importante viver perto de membros da minha familia

23. Acho importante viver perto de amigos ou conhecidos da minha terra

24. Acho importante viver perto da minha ilha ou regiao

25. Acho importante viver perto doutros Portugueses

26. Assisto com frequencia (pelo menos uma vez ao mes) atividades Portuguesas

27. Quase sempre trato dos meus negocios com gente Portuguesa

28. Assisto geralmente a servicos religiosos na Igreja Portuguesa

29. Vivo na America, mas sou sempre Portugues!

ANSWER SHEET

1. relation to respondent   sex   age   in school

working

respondent

2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____   _____
6. _____   _____
7. _____
8. _____

For questions 9 and 10, categorize the responses into one or more of the following:

    a.   to be near family members
    b.   to be near friends and acquaintances from "back home"
    c.   to be near other Portuguese people
    c.   employment awaited me there
    e.   other _____

9. _____
10. _____
11. _____
12. _____

For questions 13, 14, 17, and 18, categorize the responses into one of the following:

    a.   family member
    b.   friend or acquaintance from area of residence "back home"
    c.   person from island or region of residence "back home"
    d.   other Portuguese person
    e.   other _____

13. _____

14. _____

15. _____

16. _____

17. _____

18. _____

19. _____

20. _____

21. _____

22. _____

23. _____

24. _____

25. _____

26. _____

27. _____

28. _____

29. _____

APPENDIX B

Table 10

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY AGE

Age	Respondents	
	#	%
21 - 30	10	20
31 - 40	15	30
41 - 50	13	26
51 - 60	6	12
61 - 70	5	10
over 71	1	12

Table 11

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY FAMILY SIZE

# in Family	Respondents	
	#	%
1 - 2	11	22
3 - 4	19	38
5 - 7	18	36
8 or more	2	4

Number of families including extended family members: 7

Table 12

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY INCOME

Annual Net Income	Number of Family Members Employed					
	0	1	2	3	4	5 or more
under $5000	1					
$5000-$9000	2	5 (1EF)	4			
$10000-$14999		8 (1EF)	8			
$15000-$19999		1	2	3	2	
$20000-$24999		2 (1EF)	4	2	2	
$25000-$29999			2 (2EF)		2	2
$30000 & over			2 (2EF)			

EF = English fluent

Table 13

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY PLACE OF ORIGIN

Place of Origin	Respondents	
	#	%
Azores	48	96
Faial	8	16
Flores	2	4
Pico	7	14
Sao Jorge	14	28
Sao Miguel	3	6
Terceira	14	28
Portugal	2	4 *

Respondents from rural environment: 48 - 96%
Respondents from urban environment: 2 - 4%

*Includes one respondent from Madeira, which, for purposes
 of this study only, is considered as part of continental
 Portugal.

Table 14

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY ORIGINAL
PLACE OF US RESIDENCE

Place	Respondents	
	#	%
San Jose Area	15	30
San Joaquin Valley	24	48
Other	11	22 *

* Of these, 9 respondents resided in a rural area and 2
in an urban one.

Table 15

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY LENGTH
OF US RESIDENCE

Length of Residence	Respondents	
	#	%
0 - 5 years	12	24
5 - 10 years	17	34
10 - 15 years	10	20
over 15 years	11	22

Table 16

INCOME AND NETWORK UTILIZATION

Net Annual Income per person in the family	# of Respondents	# of Respondents Utilizing Networks to Obtain Current Employment
under $1500	1	
$1500 - $2500	7	5
$2501 - $3500	11 (1EF)	9
$3501 - $4500	15 (4EF)	8
$4501 - $5500	8	8
over $5500	8 (4EF)	3

EF = English Fluent

Table 17

EDUCATION AND NETWORK UTILIZATION

Amount of Formal Schooling	# of Respondents	# of Respondents Utilizing Networks to Obtain Current Employment
none	6	2 *
Schooling in Portugal		
4 years or less	41	32
more than 4 years	2	0
ESL in the US	3	2
Regular Schooling in the US		
under 5 years	1	0
5 - 10 years	1	0
over 10 years	1	0

Number of respondents educated both in the US and Portugal equaled 5.

ESL - English Language Classes

* The other 4 respondents in this category were not employed.

APPENDIX C

Appendix C

PORTUGUESE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS
IN SAN JOSE

Allianca Jorgense

Casa dos Acores

Clube Social Portugues

Irmandade do Espirito Santo

Nova Allianca

Portuguese Athletic Club

Portuguese Band of San Jose

POSSO - Portuguese Organization for Social
Services and Opportunities

Uniao Popular Portuguesa

The following seven fraternal organizations also maintain
chapters in San Jose:

Associao Madeirense do Estado da California

Irmandade do Divino Espirito Santo

Irmandade de Santo Antonio

Luso-American Fraternal Federation

Sociedade do Espirito Santo

Uniao Portuguesa do Estado da California
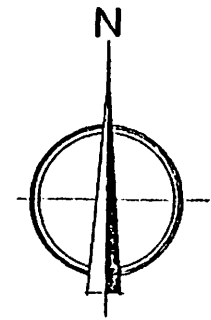
Uniao Portuguesa Protectora do Estado da
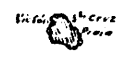California

APPENDIX D

ILHA DO CORVO

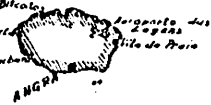ILHA DAS FLORES

ARQUIPÉLAGO
DOS
AÇORES

N

SITUAÇÃO
Latitude Norte: 36°55-39°43'
Longitude Oeste: 25°-31°30'

ILHA GRACIOSA

ILHA TERCEIRA

ILHA DE S. JORGE

ILHA DO FAIAL

ANGRA

ILHA DO PICO

ILHA DE S. MIGUEL

PONTA DELGADA

Formigas

ILHA DE Sta MARIA

Aeroporto

América
do Norte

África