



A review in the earlier The American Journal Of Sociology

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ABSTRACT:

This mixed method research accomplished a literature review about acculturation in the American Journal of Sociology. It covered the editions from 1895 to 1924. The word acculturation scarcely appeared. However, topics related to acculturation were usual, i.e., race, immigration, colonialism, intercultural influence, and still gender. Assimilation, multicultural and fusion works were edited, and the pervasive had been already the multicultural model. The research found out that the multicultural model was rooted in the 19th century. Multiculturalism had its roots in the liberal WASP culture. Like Herbert Spencer, the journal often praised minimal intercultural contact in order to achieve cultural maintenance and diversity. The pervasive attitude wanted cultural adaptation with maintenance and, at the same time, it vindicated the WASP superiority. Integration of differentiated categories of thought, races, genders, and migrants were organized mainly by progress, competition, and social dominance narratives, and it impaired the culture of the separated but equal.

Keywords: acculturation, American Journal of Sociology, multicultural, fusion

RESUMO:

Este estudo aplicou o método misto e realizou uma revisão da literatura acerca da aculturação, de 1895 a 1924, no American Journal of Sociology. A palavra aculturação apareceu raramente. Contudo, problemáticas relacionadas com a aculturação foram usuais, por exemplo, raça, imigração, colonização, influência intercultural e ainda o género. Artigos dos modelos da assimilação, fusão e multicultural apareceram, sendo que os multiculturais foram os dominantes. A investigação mostrou que o modelo multicultural assenta no século dezanove e na cultura liberal WASP. Tal como Herbert Spencer, o jornal, usualmente, preferiu o contacto intercultural mínimo para alcançar a manutenção e a diversidade culturais. A atitude dominante preferia a adaptação com manutenção cultural e, ao mesmo tempo, justificava a superioridade WASP. A integração das categorias de pensamento diferenciadas como raças, géneros e migrantes foram organizadas, sobretudo, pelas narrativas do progresso, competição e domínio social, sendo que estes comprometeram a cultura do separados mas iguais

Palavras-chave: aculturação, American Journal of Sociology, multicultural, fusão.

Introduction

The research about acculturation appeared on Anthropology and later on Sociology and Psychology. The research aimed to do a review about the concept of acculturation. It aimed to acquire a clear understanding of the main trends, evolution and historical background of the acculturation concept.

The current research came into view due to a literature review prepared on the American Anthropologist journal (Castro, 2017). The review approached the acculturation phenomenon and it aimed to enlarge the review to Sociology and Psychology. However, the word acculturation just appeared one time in the American Journal of Sociology (Keller, 1906). Regardless the outcome, the American Journal of Sociology, which was the first North American journal of Sociology, approached intercultural topics. Intercultural relationship appeared as a main reason to support The American Journal of Sociology on its presentation,

... as occupations are more visible affected by the actions of distant persons, as communication becomes accurate and rapid between groups of men industrially related though geographically separate, perception of dependence upon physical conditions ceases to be the dominant factor in human calculation. (Small, 1896, p. 1)

Furthermore, the Psychologist Stanley Hall explored different connections among Sociology and Psychology, and the intercultural relationship was one of them (Hall, 1913).

The present review realized that social dominance narratives were omnipresent in the early North American sociological literature. However, in the current article, it was important to state that violence and discrimination were perceived taking into account the work of Elias and Scotson (1994). Violence and discrimination may change according to who is the 'established' and according to who is the 'outsider' at a certain moment and territory. Moreover, it is possible that there are several social actors, and their power positions may change (Foucault, 1966, 1980). Postcolonial and postmodern studies displayed the relationship between power and culture (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1992, 1996; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988), and violence is not confined to a single social group. However, the Western culture (including the Russian) should be recognized as a violent group due to its historical legacy.

The journal's cultural background

A brief look at the earlier The American Journal of Sociology perceived it as conservative in comparison with the post-modern literature. The journal displayed preferences for social dominance and competitive topics, and often it was not critic regarding its own time. However, it had diversity, because it was inclusive regarding other sociological schools, other Western literatures, the Marx's (Spargo, 1910; Zueblin, 1897) and the Veblen theories, and because it had an open discussion section. On the variable topics, the option European matters got 3.4%. Furthermore, some articles were written in Germany (3.5%), in Belgium (2.4%), in France (1%), in Italy (0.7%), and in the UK (0.7%).

In the current review, it was necessary to explore the journal socio-historical context, before to report the method and the current review outcomes. The review stressed several factors in order to characterize the journal background, and those factors must be perceived as related and overlapped. Furthermore, the American Journal of Sociology was rooted in its time and in the sociological Chicago School (Coulon, 2012; Lutters & Ackerman, 1996).

Small (1896), the journal's founder from 1895 to 1926 and previously a student of theology, on his first editorial article, included religion as a main theme, and also as a motivational factor in order to develop Sociology as a robust science. In the current review, religion as a topic got 4.3% of the articles, which was a high outcome. Furthermore, the efforts to devise a robust Sociology perceived Natural Sciences as models (Ward, 1896). Therefore, biology and the Herbert Spencer's work (social Darwinism) was a resource of inspiration. In addition, nature was perceived as created by god and as organized, and still under evolution. In the Natural Sciences the complexity of nature was decomposed into its elementary elements, and it provided natural laws. Consequently, Sociology was expected to do the same methodological path, 'If there can really be established a "dynamics of mind", and a "mechanics of society," the era of speculation in these fields is over and the era of science has begun.' (Ward, 1896, p. 460). Similarly, other cultures were perceived as simplistic forms of the Western development. The supposed primitive cultures were also compared to children, because both were placed on lower stages of development, and both supposedly lacked the fitted rational thought. Hence, the presumed primitive cultures would provide the simplest and universal laws, in order to understand, to organize and to reform the North American society. Thomas (1909) was an exception, because he emphasized cultural factors in order to approach the social phenomena, because '... and the white child is not a savage, but one whose mind is not yet fully dominated by the white type of culture.' (Thomas, 1909, p. 163).

At the political level, the journal may be perceived as liberal and individualist. Spencer, Small, Ward and Summer are considered as classical liberals, because they praised *laissez-faire*. Today, some would be considered as libertarians or leftists or even conservatives. The conflict between individualism and society was present. For instance, the volume fourteen was dedicated to family, and the main theme was 'How far should the members of the family be individualized?'. The female individualization was considered to menace the family and society (Field, 1909; Parry, 1909; Spencer, 1909). Children were educated more and more by the State due to compulsory schooling, and they were educated less and less by parents. Other factors were industrialization, urbanization, and liberalism. The latter provided rights to women (Hagerty, 1909). It is interesting to notice that most of the articles only had one author (99.3%), which reported that individualism was a reality and a methodological practice.

The democratic system was not considered as achieved from the bottom to the top or as a system that shared power, 'China evolved out of feudalism two thousand years ago and her society is altogether too democratic in its make-up to give any element the leverage that was enjoyed by the few thousand enlightened individuals who have controlled the transformation of Japan.' (Ross, 1911, p. 733). The democratic system meant chaos and anarchy, and the authoritarian elite meant order and progress. Inequality was the rule, and individuals had diverse occupations, because they were considered naturally and theologically different, but they were working together for an organic organization (Lloyd, 1901).

Besides the influence of the natural sciences, religion, and political thought, it should be added the historical situation of the USA. It was a recent country, and Sociology helped to build the

New World. Furthermore, the west of the USA was still under colonization, and the relationship with the Indigenous tribes was an important question (McKenzie, 1914). In addition, the Negro Question was still under the influence of the American Civil War (1861 to 1865). It is also important to state that the end of the 19th-century and the outset of the 20th century were nationalistic times. It had consequences at the intercultural level, because colonized or merely ruled cultural groups and immigrants were under assimilation (Du Bois, 1999 /1899; Frazier, 1949).

At the economic level, the USA was under a strong industrialization and urbanization, which brought millions of immigrants, and increased cultural diversity (Lutters & Ackerman, 1996). The USA acted also as an imperial power, for instance, in the Philippines (Jenks, 1914) and in Cuba. It is important to remember that the entire planet was still under European colonization or imperial power. European and Western powers reached its maximum, and the second globalization started (Gunn, 2003; Hobsbawm, 1995). At the economic level, natural resources were perceived far-away from the current ecological exhaustion (Ritzer, 2010). Hence, progress was perceived as permanent and under a teleological thought. Progress was perceived as a sociological concept (Woods, 1907), and, according to Hall (1992) and Musso (2017), it was a genuine belief. Progress and development apparently were central cultural traits in order to define the journal, because it appeared in the Progressive Era (1890s to 1920s). The relationship between Sociology and the idea of progress had its roots on Auguste Comte (Elias, 2012) and mainly on Saint-Simon (Musso, 2017).

The journal itself was the result of those overlapped factors. Progress was perceived as permanent and according to the Christian (Protestant) conception of time (Vidich & Lyman, 1985). However, on many articles, it was also striking that societies, humankind, races, reproduction, and society were under threat of extinction. Maybe, the apocalyptic visions vindicated the competitive point of view, and supported the survival-of-the-fittest, the social dominance, and the ethnocentric approaches. The cultural group that reaches social dominance can vindicate their superiority, because it can rewrite the past and the scientific narratives. Goody (2006) argued that History was written by the winners. However, for the current article, it is also important to consider the losers realities, the mutual (Global) History (Gruzinski, 2004; Subrahmanyam), and that history is achieved by regular people (Abensour, 1997; Zinn, 1994).

Methodological description and some significant statistical outcomes

The current review did a qualitative and a quantitative analysis. In consequence, it applied the mixed method (Clark, & Creswell, 2011). The American Journal of Sociology started to be published in 1895. The volumes were placed in the database www.archive.org, and they encompassed the Vol. 1 (1895-1896), Vol. 2 (1896-1897), Vol. 3 (1897-1898), Vol. 4 (1898-1899), Vol. 5 (1899-1900), Vol. 6 (1900- 1901), Vol. 8 (1902-1903), Vol. 9 (1903-1904), Vol. 10 (1904-1905), Vol. 11 (1905-1906), Vol. 12 (1906-1907), Vol. 14 (1908-1909), Vol. 15 (1909-1910), Vol. 16 (1910-1911), Vol. 18 (1912-1913), Vol. 19 (1913-1914), Vol. 24 (1918- 1919), Vol. 25 (1919-1920), Vol. 27 (1921-1922), and the Vol. 29 (1923-1924). Additional volumes were not available. Volumes were downloaded in PDF files, and the current research searched for the word acculturation, but it just appeared one time by Keller (1910).

The tables of contents were copied to a Word file from the Vol. 1 (1895-1896) to the Vol. 29 (1923-1924). The review only took into account articles, and it provided 860 works, and they

were encoded by the variables; gender, number of authors, origin of author and topics. The SPSS outcomes were only analyzed by descriptive statistics and frequencies.

On the variable gender, the options were male (92.3%), female (7.6%) or both (0.1%) (two or more authors with both genders). On the variable number of authors, the options were one (99.3%), two (0.7 %), and three (0.3%).

On the variable origin of author the options were North America (90.8%), Germany (3.5%), Belgium (2.4%), France (1%), Italy (0.7%), UK (0.7%), Austria (0.2%), Denmark (0.1%), Finland (0.1%), Australia (0.1%), and India (0.1%). Besides the obvious North America (The USA and Canada), the other options were added when data was inserted. It was done taking into account the country where articles were written. The journal internationalization was conneted to Europe.

The American Journal of Sociology covered diverse topics and fields, and it often mixed them. The code topic encompassed the options theoretical or conceptual (18.4%), intercultural relationship (1.4%), race or ethnic identity (1.7%), immigration (1.3%), colonization (0.2%), Americanization (0%), eugenics (1.4%), Psychology (4%), gender or woman (3.5%), method (1.5%), literature review (1.6%), health (0.7%), socioeconomic (2%), social security (1.5%), trade unions (0.6%), poverty (0.2%), trading (0.2%), religion (4.3%), morals or values or ethic (1%), language (0%), children (1.2%), family (1.7%), sexuality (0.1%), urbanization (1.5%), law or legal system or justice (1.4%), political (2.4%), Marxism or Socialism (0.6%), university or academic matters (0.9%), Sociology in Europe (0.7%), European matters (3.4%), Asia (0%), Africa (0%), media (0%), social organizations or associations (0.8%), individualism (0.1%), social movements and social reformers (1%), Education or Pedagogy (4.1%), demographic (0.8%), Statistics (1.7%), History (0.5%), Anthropology (0.5%), Biology (0.2%), discrimination (0%), industrial (1.3%), public opinion (1.2%), crime (0.6%), social evolution or progress (0.5%), both of them (0%), more than two (2.3%), and not defined (24.9%).

The variable topic was encoded employing the title, some articles were examined and some required a search for additional information. Sociology by itself was not considered as a topic, and when any word related to sociology appeared on the title, it was encoded on another option. For instance, the Leuba's title Sociology and Psychology (Leuba, 1913) was inserted on the option Psychology. Another strategy was that in the case that there were two or more topics the main prevailed. It was interesting to notice that the journal often did not approach interaction among individuals and cultural groups, regardless the influence of social reformers (social movement, 1%), political (2.5%) and economic topics (2%). Most articles had a theoretical nature (18.4%).

The options of the variable topic were done after the researcher read and examined the articles that encompassed topics connected to race, immigration, colonialism, gender, Psychology and intercultural influence, which were also employed on the qualitative work. When data were inserted, the researcher noticed that some possible topics were missing, e.g., agriculture, rural matters, leadership, taxes, insurance and Latin America (mainly Mexico). In the review, just two articles had the word conflict written on the title, and the word discrimination did not appear, yet it was an appraised indirectly.

Some topics did not get any statistical entrance, and most of them got lower than 2% of outcomes. Besides the not defined option (24.9%) and the theoretical or conceptual (18.4%) options, few outcomes were upper 2%. Religion got 4.3% and confirmed the influence of the

topic. Education got 4.1% and it emphasized that the journal aimed to build a more «rational» society.

Psychology was the next topic with a higher outcome, and it got 4.1%. Anthropology only got (0.5%), and it was curious that some anthropological articles had more than one author (Herskovits & Willey, 1923). Finally, History got 0.5%, and demographic studies got 0.8%. As stated above, the qualitative analysis encompassed the codes race, immigration, colonialism, women or gender, Psychology and intercultural influence.

Intercultural relationships

At the end of the 19th century and at the outset of the 20th century, Western colonialism reached its maximum and globalization increased (Gunn, 2003; Hobsbawm, 1995). Westerners perceived themselves as superiors, even in comparison to older Asians civilizations (Capen, 1911), 'China is the European Middle Ages made visible' (Ross, 1911, p. 721). The colonization topic only got 0.2% of outcomes.

Acculturation may be approached as a cause of culture, besides cultural diffusion and innovation. Acculturation may be also approached as an effect, because intercultural contact entails changes. Cultural changes produced by acculturation often drive to reactions regarding them and regarding another cultural group. The current review stated that there was no ideal reaction or acculturation outcome. It was possible to find out the main attitudinal dimensions representing the main models, i.e., assimilation, multicultural, and fusion.

Here, it is necessary to define the main acculturation models and approaches. In the assimilation model the minority culture is expected to disappear. The mutual learning will not be reported on the expected outcome, because the minority will be assimilated. In the multicultural model, the minority culture is expected to get cultural adaptation, maintaining at the same time its own culture. In the multicultural approach, just the minority is described as learning, and both cultures are interacting with the larger society. In the fusion model, there is interaction, mutual learning among different cultures, and there are cultural mixtures, which will produce a new culture with inner diversity (Rudmin, Wang & Castro, 2016). Castro added the intercultural model (2012, 2014a, b, 2015, 2016a, b, c, d, e, f; Castro & Rudmin, 2016). In the intercultural model, at private and individual levels the minority may change or maintain its cultural legacy, because of the *laissez-faire* point of view. However, the minority at the public level is expected to get cultural adaptation regarding the majority, for instance, at labor and educational domains. At the institutional level, the interaction between different cultures is reduced. The universalistic values of the French Republic may be an example of the model, because its institutional values are not expected to change, due to the minority agency. According to Meer and Modood, (2011) and Taylor (2012), the intercultural model entailed interaction, but the multicultural did not.

According to the current review, McKenzie (1914) pointed out four possible outcomes for asymmetric and violent intercultural relationships '... the fate of the weaker is summed up as extermination, subordination, or amalgamation ... Nevertheless as fourth object has been evident ... The missionary believes in assimilation ...' (McKenzie, 1914, p. 762). He recommended the assimilation of the American Indigenous, in order to avoid their extermination (genocide). Assimilation was also preferred to avoid amalgamation, because, according to McKenzie (1914), fusion entailed no validation or integration. In addition, Thomas

(1914) provided an example of a failed forced assimilation, because in Posen the Polish were not assimilated to the Prussians.

There were also articles that focused and preferred fusion or amalgamation. For instance, Thompson (1918) reported it in mediaeval Germany on Dutch and Flemish settlements. Yet, the main fusionist author was Simons (1901), because she became an important author in the fusionist literature, (Castro, 2012, 2015; Rudmin, 2003). In the current article, fusion will appear later.

The prevailing reaction and ideal outcome were grounded on the liberal thought, and it can be called of proto-multicultural, mainly because the dominant appraisal aimed cultural maintenance of the oppressed cultures. Cultural maintenance was expected to be achieved by a reduced intercultural interaction. The pervasive attitude wanted also cultural adaptation or americanization with cultural maintenance and, at the same time, it vindicated the WASP cultural superiority, as Hall (1913) wrote,

Thus they should always strive as far as possible to conserve and fulfill destroying as little as possible, recognizing that progress is a matter not of years but of centuries and that it is not impossible that ethnic stocks now obscure may at some time inherit the accumulated resources of the civilization we now represent (Hall, 1913, p. 616).

It was interesting to notice that Park (1914) anticipated the multicultural model, when he wrote about the future of Afro-Americans, 'In the South, similarly the races seem to be tending in the direction of a biracial organization of society, in which the Negro is gradually gaining a limited autonomy' (Park, 1914, p. 623). According to Bateson (1935), multiculturalism was one of the three possible outcomes in addition to assimilation and fusion, '... the persistence of both groups in dynamic equilibrium within one major community.' (Bateson, 1935, p. 74).

The multicultural cultural adaptation with cultural maintenance causes a main contradiction, because adaptation encompassed changes. It is interesting to notice that the psychological and the omnipresent Berry Model (2001) was devised by the dimensions of contact and maintenance, and not by the dimension of changes. However, changes are a defining dimension of acculturation, and cultural maintenance is not.

The multicultural model seems to have its roots in the protestant individualistic ideas. It was also the consequence of the Western intervention on other cultures. Those cultures were not exterminated or completely assimilated or mutually mixed, but rather they were continuously discriminated. In the multicultural model, cultural maintenance was the distinctive and the most important feature, mainly in comparison to forced assimilation or fusion.

Today, individualization is still occurring and individualism is all-pervading, at the outset of the 20th-century, Antonio Llano (1900) wrote an article that could be written today:

Taking the expression 'the race' in the sense of "others" or "the rest of humanity" it may be stated that, in general, the race is a matter of supreme indifference to the individual, whose affections are confined within a circle of small radius, when compared with the entire field of human life; and, in the great majority of

cases, the race is the individual's greatest enemy no need to preservation. (Llano, 1900, p. 504)

The Llano's words (1900) were addressed to the Herbert Spencer's theory. Cultural maintenance entailed a reduced intercultural contact, because Westerns and WASPS were ruling the World. Diversity was another main feature of the multicultural model, mainly regarding the expected uniformity of the assimilation model. Multiculturalism is a synonymous of pluralism, and the latter word was initially applied. Spencer praised diversity among cultures, and, according to him, dissimilar cultures were supposedly separated by space, history, culture, language, and human evolution. In addition, Spencer considered cultures as homogeneous and as not sharing cultural content, because they were completely different. However, different cultures were under interaction on the same territory (and planet), and they mutually changed, regardless the existence of asymmetric power relationships. The rigorous individualism of Llano (1900) dismissed social and intercultural appraisals, and the existence of conflicts among cultural groups. The reaction regarding change may be violent, and the current review did not address a single and sensational solution for aggressive intercultural reactions.

Race and eugenics

The race was an obsession in the 19th-century and in the beginning of the 20th-century. The notion of race was extended from cultural groups, Nations, States and continents to phenotypes (Weatherly, 1911). Globalization enlarged and slavery was forbidden in the Western nation-states. However, the Indigenous of the American continent were still under genocide (McKenzie, 1914), and indentured servitude was usual.

At the end of the 18th-century, Blumenbach divided modern humans into five races. Closson (1898) divided Western Europeans into three races, as William Z. Ripley (1867–1941) and Joseph Deniker (1852–1918) did. The anthropological question about the origin of culture was also pointed out to European phenotype features (Lapouge, 1899). Closson (1898) established a hierarchy among Europeans, and he justified a power relationship among the supposed races. The race topic was perceived under historical (cultural) and biological evolutions, which were often considered as static and homogenous, because every cultural group had unique features, which were not shared. However, some authors perceived features as dynamic (Veblen, 1913), and accomplished by earlier mixtures (Schlesinger, 1921; Thompson, 1918).

In the USA, the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted in 1868. It provided citizenship rights and equal protection under the law (West, 1900), mainly for Afro-Americans. However, West (1900) stated that Afro-Americans were still discriminated at the educational domain, and he also stated that it reproduced asymmetric power relationships. The article of West (1900) revealed the liberal point of view, because he aimed to provide equal rights. However, he also revealed that the liberal point of view was grounded on the separated but equal culture, and on the Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) constitutional law. Afterward, the liberal position was reported on the American dilemma described by Myrdal (1944). Yet, it was previously reported by the Afro-Americans Sociologists Du Bois (1999/1899) and Frazier (1949), and earlier by the French DeTocqueville (2002/1835).

The race question was connected to eugenics. The latter was a main topic at the beginning of the 20th-century (Galton, 1904, 1905), and the eugenic ideas persisted after the Second World

War (Rosental, 2016). Eugenics aimed to improve humans at collective and individual levels. Eugenics also implied a moral conception of society, and between genders and races. There was a private and individual conception, which is today applied, and a collective conception. It was called positive, because it applied techniques in order to prevent some diseases, and it was also called negative, because it focused on the elimination of certain groups, i.e., ‘... lunatics, idiots, epileptics, confirmed criminals, habitual inebriates, and footpads’ (Rentoul, 1906, p, 324). Hence, science was expected to take the place of the natural selection by human intervention, and it would improve groups, races, and individuals, ‘. . . selective breeding, the only possible remedy against dangers that loom great and terrible in the future, is really a question of public health’ (Reid, 1906, p. 554). Eugenics interventions were in contradiction regarding the liberal thought, and even regarding the religious ideas, but not regarding competition and social dominance ideas.

Furthermore, competition was extended not only to races, genders, cultures and countries, but also to inside the same cultural group due to eugenics. Reinsch (1905) acknowledged that some Africans were expected to reach the same cultural level than Westerns, but not all of them. Besides the intercultural differentiation, he established an intra-group differentiation, which was grounded on social and moral standards. The supposed lower Africans were expected to imitate upper Africans, who previously imitated Westerns. Reinsch (1905) suggested cultural separation between Westerns and *Afro-Americans*. However, the *Afro-Americans* group was expected to imitate the former group. The Reinsch (1905) point of view was similar to the Herbert Spencer thought, and both were analogous to the current multicultural model. All of them preferred cultural maintenance, and they also encompassed adaptation regarding the supposed stronger cultures. Yet, adaptation was expected to work with minimal interaction. Furthermore, adaptation with cultural maintenance established a contradiction, as it stated above.

Regardless that there was no main differentiation between humans at genetic level (Bertrand, 2008), phenotypes were visible. Phenotypes in cooperation with cultural, historical and socioeconomic factors (Work, 1900) established color lines, which were reinforced by prejudices and stereotypes (Allport, 1954). According to Mecklin (1913), the color line was,

... the result of this effort of the ruling group to make the black constantly aware of his subordinate status . . . Differed we find two great outstanding facts in which they all agree, namely, the stubborn opposition of the white to race fusion and the strenuous insistence upon the supremacy of his group ideals. (1913, p. 343).

In addition to phenotypes, Thomas (1904) established a differentiation between racism and caste system, arguing that the caste was connected to competitive activities, and the former was connected to biological factors. The economic factor, which later became predominant, also appeared in the articles under review. According to Gilman (1908), the solution for the Negro Question was economic, and she stated that,

If the negro population can become entirely self-supporting and well behaved it ceases to be a "problem" and a menace. The fact that so many negroes have reached this position is the proof that social evolution works more rapidly than the previous processes of natural selection. (Gilman, 1908, p. 80).

According to Weatherly (1910), amalgamation (fusion) was the main preference during and after The American Civil War, because the abolitionist movement and Wendell Phillips (1811–1884) supported it. According to Wendell Phillips, the fusion of races was expected to be the solution for intercultural conflicts (Weatherly, 1910). However, according to Ward (1903), it was expected to occur only at the end of times, which displayed a teleological argument, ‘... and complete fusion of all races into one great homogeneous race - the race of man - is the final step in social evolution’. (Ward, 1903, p. 745). The teleological argument was also present on Freyre (1986/1933), who praised the Brazilian culture of fusion and reported mutual learning among Europeans, Indigenous, and Africans. According to Freyre (1986/1933), social harmony was expected to appear by complete fusion. Freyre (1986/1933) and Ward (Ward, 1903) reported how race was a main concern at the beginning of the 20th century. They did not think additional reasons to explain intercultural conflicts further than race, and they did not think that additional ethnic identities would come out (Barth, 1969), which would produce new intercultural conflicts. Culture is produced by the mere social contact (Elias & Scotson, 1994), and contact drives often to conflicts.

Regardless that some articles praised fusion, most of them preferred separation, ‘Co-operation in the work of civilization can be realized without the mongrelization of the world's peoples. Preservation of distinct racial types means the saving of characteristic traits and capacities which are as stimulating and beneficent for the world community ...’ (Weatherly, 1910, p. 453). The word mongrelization is synonymous of fusion, however the mixture is done with one considered inferior. For Weatherly (1910), it meant degeneration, or a fusion that resulted in anything impure.

As Lévi-Strauss (1952, 1971) pointed out, the race topic revealed a broader problem, i.e., the difficulty to live together. The Indian caste system included other variables than race, and prejudices were also visible in fusionist cultures, for instance, in Brazil (Castro, 2014a, b, 2016a, d, f). Indian and Brazilian cultures reported the persistence and complexity of the race topic (Castro, 2016b). Race and eugenics were related to colonialism, progress, industrialization, nationalism, and were also related to competition in order to get social dominance. Sociology helped to remove the unfit individuals (Batten, 1908), races and cultures. The Negro Question was perceived as a problem that would delay social organization and progress. It vindicated differentiation and separation between races and cultures, and between society and individuals, ‘Meanwhile, one fact was again proven by the Kansas experiment-individual Negroes could succeed under severe conditions, even though the mass might fail.’ (Fleming, 1909, p. 82). Integration of differentiated categories of thought, social practices, individuals and cultural groups were organized mainly through aggressive competition and social dominance, ‘... that periods of military conquest are preceded, followed, or accompanied, as in Elizabethan England, France of the Restoration, and contemporary Germany and Japan, by periods of intellectual conquest and political ardor, scientific advance and aesthetic development.’ (Collier, 1908, p. 370). Finally, it was important to state that the Western culture produced racist works, for instance, in 1853, Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882) wrote the *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* [An essay on the inequality of

the Human races]. However, in 1885, it also produced the Anténor Firmin's (1850-1910) *De l'égalité des races humaines* [Of the equality of Human races]. It was also important to state that tolerance and peace were not exclusive inventions of the Western cultures. The notion of race was replaced by the notion of ethnicity and it gained new meanings, and contradictions. Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) displayed how the word ethnicity is connected to nationalisms, to ethnocentrism, to the minority agency and even how it entered into the capitalistic market.

Immigration

Immigration may be disruptive at national and international levels (Castro, 2008, 2011, 2016c; Guilмото & Sandron, 2003). At the end of the 19th-century and at the beginning of the 20th-century, the immigration topic was already connected to the international crime, socioeconomic inequalities, and national identities. In Europe, one of the first efforts to control immigration was the Aliens Act of 1905, and it was connected to international crime (Knepper, 2010). Crime was also a main topic on *The American Journal of Sociology* and Hart (1896) argued that immigration did not increase crime.

In the USA, perhaps the first law was produced in 1882. It aimed to prevent the Chinese immigration; it was the Chinese Exclusion Act. According to Henderson (1914), racism regarding Chinese people was expected to prevent their social assimilation. In 1907, appeared the Immigration Act (Stockwell, 1909), in order to prevent and to regulate immigration. The Walker's theory stated that the Anglo-Saxons were replaced by other Europeans (Goldenweiser, 1912). However, Schlesinger (1921) argued that people of the thirteen English colonies were already a mixture of different breeds. Schlesinger (1921) praised a two-way of cultural influences in order to approach the immigration phenomenon, '... the two grand themes of American history are, properly the influence of immigration upon American institutions, the influence of the American environment, especially the frontier in the early days and the industrial integration of more recent ...' (Schlesinger, 1921). At the outset of the 20th-century, immigration was mainly related to Eastern and Southern European immigrants. However, Abbott (1909) reported a good integration of the Greeks in Chicago, and Castiglione (1905) of the Italians.

The word Americanization encompassed the necessary adaptation to the USA culture. Adaptation was achieved at private, municipal and at federal levels (Hill, 1918). According to Aronovici (1920), Americanization was a WASP overreaction regarding new immigrants. Americanization or the American cultural and political influence was extended to Cuba and Philippines (Jenks, 1914). It was also interesting to notice that immigration also occurred from Canada to the United States, due to economic reasons, and MacLean (1905) related it to the Canadian national identity and future. It reminds readers that some rich countries were not always wealthy and that sometimes immigration also goes from north to south.

Another topic related to immigration was urbanization, and mainly the presumed social disorganization that urbanization was presumed to cause (Lutters & Ackerman, 1996). Nation States control territories and they produce laws in order to protect their social orders (Guilмото & Sandron, 2003). However, laws due to immigration may be connected to discrimination, racism, intercultural conflicts and international conflicts amongst States. Social inequalities are working at national and at international levels, and international inequalities may be

produced by asymmetric power relationships between States (Castro, 2008, 2011, 2016c). The word status gave place to the words State and statistics, and the demographic statistics were an important part of the State policy. Humans are territorial and aggressive animals; however current climate changes may challenge it. Climate changes are global and are not confined to a single State. The ability to consider it as universal will test the Nation-States. Climate changes may drive to ethnic (racial), religious, cultural, and economic conflicts, and they may appear related. The ability to consider it, as part of the global village, will be the main challenge in order to decrease the aggressive behaviors.

Women

Sociology participated in the transformation of the American society, and the liberal thought enabled the feminist movement. On the American Journal of Sociology feminists were mainly social reformers, for instance, Jane Addams (1860-1935) and Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935). However, according to the review outcomes, the authors were mostly males (92.3%), and females were only 7.6%. Hence, Sociology was still a male affair.

The human evolution and the comparison with the so-called primitives resulted on a narrative about the relationship between genders. It implied a radical differentiation of males and females, and that differentiation was considered as a product and as a producer of societies. It also implied overgeneralizations on the comparisons between Westerns and the so-called primitives, and overgeneralizations about the genders.

Females were perceived as connected to culture and society (Thomas, 1898), and males were perceived as connected to physical strength and warfare. According to Thomas (1906), agriculture and industrial activities were female activities, but they were usurped by males. Often, male dominance had been due to physical force (Thomas, 1897, 1898). In predatory societies, violence and exploration were usual, and females were the ownership of males (Parsons, 1906; Veblen, 1899).

In The American Journal of Sociology there was a connection between past and present and the comparison with the so-called primitives allowed a historical comparison, because the conception of time was linear and Westerns were considered contemporaneous and the so-called primitives were considered as living in previous historical periods. Hence, females were dominated as other cultures were, and they were considered as barbarians (Veblen, 1899) under the male survival-of-the-fittest society (Ritzer, 2010). However, modernity was considered as less aggressive than previous periods, because the former was considered as more cultural and social. Females were expected to gain their place in society, however this cultural background was grounded on overgeneralizations and excess of self-confidence. Therefore, modernity was expected to treat females as equals, otherwise it would be considered as primitive, ‘. . . our civilization is not the highest type possible. In all of our relations there is too much of primitive man’s fighting instinct . . .’ (Thomas, 1907, p. 469).

The Portuguese arrived in Japan in the 16th-century. Japan imitated Westerns and improved its own cultural features. In the 19th-century, the Western influence helped to reformulate and to rationalize the Japanese social organization, which was under industrialization. Clement (1903) under a linear conception of time wrote about Japanese women, ‘... like all careful observers, is able to appreciate what Christianity has done and is doing for the elevation of Japanese women, and ready to acknowledge that Christian thought and public opinion expedite legislation.’ (Clement, 1903, p. 698). Progress was a theological and a teleological idea

(Musso, 2017), and it supposedly affected even other cultures under the influence of the Protestant culture, because supposedly it provided rights and tolerance. However, the Jesuit priest Luis de Fróis (2001/1564), during the 16th-century, wrote that the young Japanese girls were more free than boys. Clement's (1903) point of view was ethnocentric, and it was an overgeneralization. In the journal, few authors avoided overgeneralizations. However, Westermarck (1904) summarized that '... Among the uncivilized races the position of women varies. Among some it is undoubtedly very bad; among others it is extremely good; and, generally speaking, it is much better than it is commonly supposed to be.' (1904, p. 417).

Blauvelt (1901) was a speaker at the National Association of Colored Women, and she condensed intercultural relationships, race and female rights within a single article. She revealed separation among races, and the required Afro-American adaptation. Religion was the connection among Whites Americans and Afro-Americans, because Afro-Americans females were assimilated to the religious domain, 'They realize that at this stage in their progress there is nothing that they need more than a proper race pride a becoming independence and self-respect.' (Blauvelt, 1901, p. 667).

Morality, sexuality, and crime were also themes connected to females (Kellor, 1900a), because they were perceived under discrimination. It was often related to the relationship with male and ownership (Thomas, 1899), as the feminist, anthropologist and social reformer Parsons pointed out 'As the chattel character of women begins to disappear, the original cause and safeguard of female chastity and conjugal fidelity, i.e., male ownership-likewise begins to disappear' (Parsons, 1906, p. 622). Women were discriminated on their sexual behavior, and that discrimination also encompassed moral standards produced by males, which shaped the perception of crime, 'Judged from the effect upon our ideals and upon society's life of, for instance, an intoxicated man or woman, the degradation seems more extreme.' (Kellor, 1900b, p. 679).

Economic independence was expected to play a crucial role on the women's rights (Zueblin, 1909), and it was expected to jeopardize motherhood and family (Snedden, 1919; Wells 1909). Thus, economic independence was expected to endanger society, because it was expected to increase the number of divorces (Howard, 1909). Individual liberalism supported society and, at the same time, it endangered society. It was interesting to notice that degeneration and apocalyptic ideas were main issues on the earlier editions of the journal.

In the American Journal of Sociology, most articles were written a little more than one hundred years ago. They were useful to remind that rights are still fresh and that they are not fully accomplished, and still that they may be abolished. Luis de Fróis (2001/1564), a Portuguese Jesuit priest who lived in Japan during the 16th-century, reported that young Japanese females had more freedom than boys. It reminded readers that rights may be inverted and that they were different according to time and space, and also that tolerance was not a Western invention.

Psychology

According to Small (1896), individuals considered more and more the influence of society on their lives. However, it was necessary to reinforce that idea by increasing the knowledge about it (Small, 1903). Psychology, Social Psychology or Folk Psychology (Thomas, 1896) helped on that aim. Therefore, Social Psychology participated on social reforms, ‘... so a full knowledge of social psychology must underlie the doctrine of social transformation.’ (Ellwood, 1899, p. 664).

Social Psychology was expected to participate on social transformations, because the democratic participation and individual contributions avoided revolutions ‘... by encouraging intelligent public criticism, free discussion, and free thought about social conditions and institutions, by keeping itself adaptable, flexible, alert for betterment ...’ (Ellwood, 1905, p. 59). Social transformations took place by eugenics, and also by hygienist improvements on public health, for instance, it reduced drinking habits (Crooker, 1912).

Imitation was the main way to explain socialization and learning between cultural groups (Hall, 1913; Ross, 1905; Rudmin, 2009). The theories of Mark Baldwin and mainly of the French Gabriel Tarde were considered (Ellwood, 1901). Howard (1912) approached how suggestion and imitation shaped spectators. Later, imitation and suggestion influenced significant psychological works, e.g., Bandura (1963), and the studies about social influence based on conformity, compliance and obedience (Jahoda, 2007).

However, Social Psychology was still far from its main concerns and concepts (Ross, 1905), maybe because the German gestalt only arrived later to the USA. The influence of Psychoanalysis was not also present. Leuba (1913) approached the religious topic under the light of Durkheim, Hubert, and Mauss, and praised the introspective method. McDougall (1924) connected Social Psychology to Lamarck evolutionist ideas and eugenics more than to social and cultural factors. Other articles were more theoretical, for instance, King (1909) wrote about the foundation of Psychology of Religion. To sum up, Psychology helped to develop the supposed rational and organized society, even when it was full of conflicts and wars, ‘But, say some, this great war has demonstrated the failure of science . . . in no case are the differences of a magnitude to render the conception of a league of nationalities psychologically untenable.’ (Dashiell, 1920, pp. 758-768). Experimental Psychology appeared in Europe by Wundt and was concerned with the behavior of the German people (Wundt, 1916). However, Psychology was developed (acculturated) in the North American cultures in an individualistic way. In the American Journal of Sociology, Psychology was still connected to the earlier concerns of Experimental Psychology, maybe because it was still under the 19th-century zeitgeist.

Conclusion

The research aimed to do a review about the concept of acculturation, and it approached key topics connected to acculturation. It aimed to get a clear understanding of the main trends, evolution, and historical background of the acculturation concept. The word acculturation scarcely appeared in The American Journal of Sociology. However, topics related to acculturation were usual. The diversity of acculturative preferences may be reported employing time and space, and both are connected and interwoven.

What individuals and groups are thinking about themselves, as forethought beings (Bandura, 2008; Bruner, 1990), is enriched by cultural diversity, which is grounded in time and space.

Yet, today, many scientific journals of Psychology and Social Sciences only accept recent references. It seems to be a mistake and limitation, and this situation appears precisely in a time that allows to enlarge out the common memory (Serres, 2012). The current research was designed in the opposite direction, because it was grounded on earlier references.

Another problem is that Social Sciences were often perceived as progressive and humanistic. However, the reality was more complex than expected and Social Sciences were also backwards, and what is considered nowadays as liberal had also backward elements (Rudmin, Wang & Castro, 2016).

It is well-known that the roots of the multicultural model were grounded in the 1970s. Yet, the current article found out that some multicultural features were grounded in the 19th-century, and it has its roots in the liberal thought. Multiculturalism has a good feature, i.e., the cultural maintenance, mainly regarding the forced assimilation or fusion. The cultural maintenance may drive to cultural diversity. However, diversity was previous to the multicultural model. Another problem is that the multicultural preference for the cultural maintenance is rooted on social differentiation among cultural groups. The cultural maintenance may vindicate cultural differences, asymmetric relationships, and may not solve intercultural conflicts.

The main problem is not related to maintenance, assimilation, and fusion by themselves. It seems that it is placed on asymmetric power relationships and social dominance (Castro, 2016e). In the current review, social dominance speeches were usual. Peace was not the main concern, and it was unusual to find out an article related to peace (Passy, 1896). Discrimination was not also a main concern.

Finally, it should be stated that to criticize other historical periods is easy. Researchers should be critics regarding their own time. However, it seems that current researchers are not engaged in their time, maybe because the increasing individualism does not give space to recognize conflicts, and that they are shared.

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