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## An Exploratory and Comparative Study of Role Conflict in Priest-Lay Relationships Among Puerto Rican Immigrants in the City of Chicago

Eoin Murphy  
*Loyola University Chicago*

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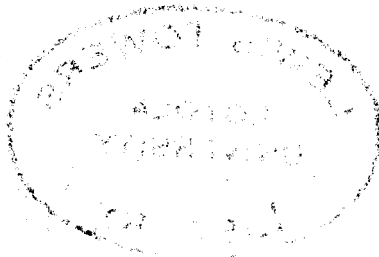
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AN  
EXPLORATORY AND COMPARATIVE STUDY  
OF ROLE CONFLICT IN PRIEST-LAY RELATIONSHIPS  
AMONG PUERTO RICAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO

By  
Eoin Murphy



A  
Thesis  
Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of  
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the Degree of  
Master of Arts  
June  
1967

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## CHAPTER I

### RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS

#### Introduction

This study is the result of the personal interest of the writer in the process of assimilation of immigrant groups into American society. It is a topic which has long been of special interest to sociologists and has been approached with varying emphases and diversity of viewpoints.

The present writer has considered it advisable to confine himself to the study of the assimilation process in the religious situation. He has concentrated on the investigation of one aspect of the relationship between religion and the emerging urban culture. His own background and an interest in the difficulties facing contemporary immigrant groups led the writer to focus on the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church to those Puerto Ricans who have migrated to the United States.

The writer is keenly aware of the complex factors involved in such a relationship and of the subtle interplay of forces affecting the group and the individual. New understanding of such relationships has been gained by the conscious application of the knowledge gained in the field of human behavior, derived from continued research in cultural anthropology, sociology, clinical and social psychology, psychiatry and other

related disciplines. It is due to his conviction that the relationship of the Church to the changing urban environment is an area of urgently needed research that the writer undertook this study. Of itself, it will not result in any new solutions. Hopefully, however, it may bring about a keener insight into the complexity of the Church's task in the inner city and suggest lines of further research.

The present work is an exploration of one facet of the role of the Church in the modern metropolis. The answers gained from this study can not be other than indicative; as an exploratory study, it bears witness to the limitations and emphases resulting from the writer's background. However, it is the writer's belief that it is in studies of this type, which have been described by Merton as those of middle-range, that the answers to many of the problems of the contemporary scene will be found. Certainly it is in studies such as this that the Church will find guidelines that will lead her to a better understanding of her role in late-twentieth century urban America.

The growth of the metropolis to its present dominant place in American life has brought with it fundamental changes in the structure of society - in the ways of life, the density and mobility of populations, in interpersonal relationships governing the ownership and transmission of property, in the exercise and acceptance of authority. Urbanism has become the dominant pattern of life. The intricate organization of urban society and the complex processes that have urged its growth

have been major fields of sociological inquiry for over a century. Urbanism and urbanization are complex phenomena that cover a broad spectrum of human actions and human endeavour and of social mechanisms. The spread of urbanization to what were hitherto rural areas over the past decade has provided sociologists with the opportunity to study urban developments at first hand and as they occur.

Within the urban framework we find some of the most pressing issues of modern society. In 1960 the urban population accounted for 70 per cent of the United States total. In 1950 the Standard Metropolitan Areas contained 56.8 per cent of the United States population. Had the Standard Metropolitan Areas existed as areas of delineation in 1900, they would have contained 32 per cent or less than one-third of the total population.

As Jean Gottmann expresses it:

Mankind is reshaping its habitat. The much-maligned trend towards urbanization has become so rapid and massive as to overshadow many other modern problems... The modern city takes on a volume that calls for new methods. The change in scale produces a change in the nature of the city's problems and in the planning necessary to provide for the urban people's needs.<sup>1</sup>

In the study of the city's problems, one must give due recognition to differences in demographic and ecological variables. This approach is characteristic of the micro-social view of urbanization, which is orientated towards the city as the

1. Jean Gottmann, Economics, Esthetics and Ethics in Modern Urbanization (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1962), p. 16.

primary datum, as a concrete entity that invites a method of specific description. It minimizes the role of formal theory and fixes on demographic and ecological variables as concrete and specific indices of urbanism. This view is expressed in the following passage:

One is all too ready to speak of the urban dweller, the urban pattern, the urban way of life, without approaching the variations found both within and between cities... The central idea of this study has been to unravel the relationships between a great number of urban characteristics, and measure them precisely, rather than study in detail any single feature.

In the midst of the changes in social relationships brought about by the dramatic increase in urbanization stands the urban church. It is faced with the problem of adapting its methods to cope with the multi-racial and the transient neighborhood, the peculiar problems of high-density populations in apartment buildings, the shifting population of the inner city. It has to lay new emphasis on involvement in the social, educational and physical needs of the people; it needs to rethink and reform old concepts, to develop new approaches, seek new sources of information, plan new forms of organization.

It is the role of research to seek an understanding of the problems of the church in the urban environment. Before any concrete programs can be set up, before new ideas and experimental forms can be developed and tested, there first must be a thorough understanding of the precise nature of the problems and

2. C.A. Moser and Wolf Scott, British Towns: A Statistical Study of Their Social and Economic Differences (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1961), p. 2.

explicit goals towards which any action can direct itself. Research in the urban church, especially into the problems and complexities of the inner-city church, is yet at an infant stage. Much remains to be done, especially on the life-style of the metropolis - the relationship of the individual to the new type of group structure in the urban setting, his background, values, motivation, the actions which occupy his time, the many varied influences which make him an individual human personality.

Realizing the many disparate elements and different variables involved in such a study, the writer decided to study one aspect of the involvement of the church in the inner city. This paper intends to examine the relationship between the Puerto Rican immigrant and the Catholic priest in the city of Chicago. This is a uni-dimensional study. It examines only what the Puerto Rican immigrant perceives the role of the priest to be and what he conceives the role of the priest should be toward the Puerto Rican. No attempt was made to examine the priest's conception of his role in relationship to the Puerto Rican.

#### Survey of related literature.

The literature and research which have a direct bearing on this study fall into two more-or-less well defined categories. First there is the literature dealing with the arrival of immigrant groups and their assimilation into American society; secondly, there is the more specific literature which has studied the adaptation of Puerto Ricans to American society with particular reference to the effect of this adaptation on their

religion.

Any discussion of the assimilation of migrant groups into American society will require a clarification of the concept of ethnic group and of its relation to assimilation. Occasionally the concept is confused with that of minority group. Rose operationalizes ethnic groups as follows:

Groups whose members share a unique social and cultural heritage passed on from one generation to the next are known as ethnic groups. Ethnic groups are frequently identified by distinctive patterns of family life, language, recreation, religion, and other customs which cause them to be differentiated from others. Above all else, members of such groups feel a sense of identity and an "interdependence of fate" with those who share the customs of the ethnic tradition.<sup>3</sup>

A minority group must be carefully distinguished from such a group bound by ties of similar social and cultural heritage. An ethnic group may also be a minority group, but it is not of the essence of minority groups that they be bound by ethnic ties. Such a minority group is operationalized by Wagley and Harris as follows:

(1) Minorities are subordinate segments of complex state societies; (2) minorities have special physical or cultural traits which are held in low esteem by the dominant segments of the society; (3) minorities are self-conscious units bound together by the special disabilities which their members share and by the special disabilities which these bring; (4) membership in a minority is transmitted by a rule of descent which is capable of affiliating succeeding generations even in the absence of readily apparent physical or cultural traits; (5) minority peoples by choice or necessity, tend to marry within the group.

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3. Peter J. Rose, They and We: Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States (New York: Random House, 1964), p.11.

4. Charles Wagley & Marvin Harris, Minorities in the New World: Six Case Studies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958) p. 10

Ethnicity emphasizes the cultural values and behavior of a group. It is a cultural identification which is as applicable to the dominant group in a society as it is to a minority group. If and when cultural assimilation takes place, the identification with the dominant culture may be so intense that the group as such has no recollection of the cultural ethos which was at the base of its ethnicity and still manifests itself from the dominant behavior patterns.

The concept of assimilation into American society should be viewed in the light of a long history of writings which have exalted the Anglo-Saxon and tended to consider other ethnic groups as quite inferior to this race. De Gobineau and Chamberlain, Guenther and Grant, have all contributed to the theme that the United States was founded by Anglo-Saxon Protestants with democratic ideals and that this country should be reserved for their kind. This fostered a prejudicial attitude toward the immigrant as one whose presence threatened the great achievement of the Anglo-Saxon, and therefore as one who should either be excluded from the United States, or compelled when he came here to adopt as soon as possible the ways of the traditional Americans, the Anglo-Saxons.

Amundson calls this "Nativism" and attributes it to a triangular base of anti-Catholic, anti-radical, and anti-foreign sentiments, the latter merging into racism in the early years of the twentieth century.

"Cultural pluralism was a fact in American society before it became a theory - at least a theory with explicit relevance for the nation as a whole."<sup>6</sup>

Cultural pluralism was based on the theory that there is strength in variety, and that the contribution of various immigrant groups have a beneficial effect on the total society. It envisages a mutual respect for ideas, customs and values. In such terms America can be seen as a mosaic of ethnic groups, each retaining its unique qualities while contributing to the overall cultural pattern of the society.

The development of the theory of cultural pluralism has been one of the significant factors in the development of a more favorable attitude toward ethnic groups and people of other cultures. Hand in hand with this development came increased research into the meaning and importance of culture and its significance in relation to the behavior of the individual. New emphasis was laid upon cultural background as the vital influence in the formation of a person's values and attitudes and as the basis of everything that gave meaning to his life. The realization that asking the immigrant to shed his whole cultural background and to deny the values which had become part of his very being was damaging to the individual personality led to a new acceptance and a greater respect for the concept of cultural pluralism.

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6. Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality, Daedalus, 90, (Spring 1961), pp. 274-5.



Gordon makes a distinction between two types of assimilation of immigrants: one is the process of cultural assimilation, the other that of structural assimilation. Gordon stresses the overwhelming reality of structural pluralism in American society and predicts that it is highly unlikely that this will be changed in the immediate future.

On the other hand, as cultural assimilation has developed, many of the culturally pluralistic items have disappeared. Thus Gordon sees structural pluralism as the major key in the understanding of American society where cultural pluralism holds a minor place.

Glazer and Moynihan hold that the ethnic group in American society has become a new social form. Even after its distinctive customs, language and culture have been fully absorbed into American society, the ethnic group as a structure is continually recreated by new experiences in America. The authors contend that religion and race seem to define the major groups into which American society is evolving as the specifically national aspect of ethnicity dies. <sup>7</sup>

An important distinction is to be made between cultural assimilation (acculturation) and social assimilation. Parsons and Kroeber distinguish clearly between a social system and a cultural system. They speak of a culture system as "the

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7. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1963).

transmitted and created content and pattern of values, ideas, and other symbolic meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behavior" and of a social system of interactions among individuals and collectivities."<sup>8</sup> This means that that there can be cultural assimilation of an immigrant without a corresponding social assimilation.

A recent study conducted in Chicago<sup>9</sup> contended that acculturation was a one-way street. Its conclusions were that the immigrant must completely accept the language, customs, usages, the complete culture of the dominant society, in order to be a success in that society. This involves a total denial and rejection for the immigrant of the customs and cultural heritage of his own group. This reinforces the findings of Campisi's study among the Norwegian ethnic group. Campisi concludes that "success in the American world means emulation, imitation and appropriation of American ways."<sup>10</sup>

In the early years of the century social scientists concentrated on the process and problems of immigration and the capabilities of various ethnic groups to adapt to life in

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8. A. L. Kroeber and Talcott Parsons, "The Concepts of Culture and Social Systems," American Soc. Rev., 23, (oct. 1958) pp. 582-3.

9. John J. Lennon, "A Comparative Study of the Patterns of Acculturation of Selected Puerto Rican Protestant and Roman Catholic Families in an Urban Metropolitan Area (Chicago)," (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1963).

10. Paul J. Campisi, "A Scale for the Measurement of Acculturation," (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1963).

America.<sup>11</sup> During the last twenty-five years the focus of research has changed to the relations between racial and ethnic groups. With this change in emphasis has come an increasing degree of precision in methodological investigation and a greater involvement in the concern with the implications of empirical findings for action. Wirth sees the trend as one "from an earlier preoccupation with the study of differential traits and capacities of the various racial and cultural components of the human family to the present dominant interest in the development of effective methods for understanding and dealing with problems of racial and cultural relations."<sup>12</sup>

A study of Puerto Rican migrants to New York City completed in 1960 stresses that the experiences of the present day immigrant groups closely parallel the experiences of the earlier immigrant groups in their effort to become assimilated into the dominant American society.

The authors point out some new elements in the Puerto Rican immigration which affect assimilation. One important factor is

11. Cf.: Prescott L. Hall, Immigration and its Effects upon the United States (New York: Holt, 1907); Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Mills, Old World Traits Transplanted (New York: Harper & Sons, 1921). Henry Pratt Fairchild, Immigration: A World Movement and its American Significance, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928).

12. Louis Wirth, "Problems and Orientation of Research in Race Relations in the United States," British Journal of Sociology, 1, (1950), pp. 118-9.

13. Renato Poblete and Thomas F. O'Day "Anomie and the Quest for Community among the Puerto Ricans of New York City," The American Cath. Soc. Rev., XXI, 1, (Spring 1960).

American Cath.

that these most recent arrivals are United States citizens. Secondly, they arrive at a time when most other groups whose American origin goes back to a similar immigration experience have advanced far along the path to general American culture patterns. Thirdly, despite their American citizenship, they have quite a different culture from that of the mainland.

The fourth differentiating factor is of considerable significance. The earlier immigrants clustered in communities where adaptation was eased by preservation of important elements in the older culture. The vital role that the immigrant community played in avoiding the worst effects of social and personal disorganization during the acculturation process has come to be realized increasingly during recent years. The immigrant community provided for the immigrant the security of a well-organized social life during the difficult period of the transition to the new culture. Fitzpatrick develops this idea and points out that the immigrant community and the strongly united immigrant family helped immigrants to protect themselves against the shock of this transition.<sup>14</sup> These isolated immigrant communities gave the immigrant support and security during a difficult period of transition; they preserved an orderly social pattern which kept him aware of traditional values while

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14. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., "Sociological Aspects of Immigration and their Impact on Religious Practice," in Report on the First Conference on the Spiritual Care of Puerto Rican Migrants, (New York: Archdiocese of New York, 1955), pp. 84-5. Also "The Integration of Puerto Ricans," Thought, XXX, n.118, (Autumn 1955), pp. 402-420.

he gradually accepted the new experience of American life.

Poblete and O'Dea consider that because of the circumstances of American urban life today, the Puerto Rican immigrants are unable to form a community. The community of immigrants, in Catholic life at least, was centered on the national parish. And, as Fitzpatrick emphasizes, the practice of the faith is much more of a cultural matter than we have recognized previously.<sup>15</sup> The national parish provided a means of transition into the American way of life which was both gradual and reassuring. When the immigrants were organized in such a community, that practice of the faith which had been part of the old culture became part of the new life also. Of course this carried with it the danger that the practice of the faith would become so intimately identified with the older culture, that as the second generation gradually adopted American values and cultural life, they would also tend to abandon the traditional faith.

It is the hypothesis of Poblete and O'Dea that "the formation of sects is one of the known ways out of anomie, and the facts of Puerto Rican life in New York suggest the presence of such a condition among their new arrivals. The sect represents a search for a way out of that condition and is therefore an attempt to redevelop the community in the urban situation."<sup>16</sup>

15. Fitzpatrick, "Sociological Aspects of Immigration and Their Impact on Religious Practice," p.85.

16. Poblete and O'Dea, p. 29.

Poblete and O'Dea argue that isolation is one of the aspects of living in the new culture from which the immigrants are saved by their salvation conversion. They associate isolation with a loss of orientation in life and suggest that conversion seems to offer a way out of anomie, both in terms of providing social relationships and giving meaningful orientation to the converted.

Lennon's study seems to arrive at different conclusions from those reached by Poblete and O'Dea. The focus of Lennon's study was on determining to what extent religion is a factor in acculturation. The author made a distinction between acquiring the necessary behavior required for participation in the new society and the internal commitment of the individual to the new culture. He quotes Munch:

In some cases that the immigrant group has made a thorough adjustment to the new environment without ever losing its identity as an ethnic group. An almost complete cultural assimilation.<sup>17</sup>

Lennon gives as his purpose to determine if these Puerto Rican families in Chicago find themselves in such a situation, that is, (1) are they learning the more necessary external behavior patterns or skills in the new culture amid the surroundings of a new environment?; and (2), is change actually taking place in their traditional values and sentiments?<sup>18</sup>

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17. Peter J. Munch, "Social Adjustment among Wisconsin Norwegians," *American Soc. Rev.*, XXIV, (December 1949) pp. 780-7.

18. Lennon, p. 15.

Lennon measures acculturation by a number of variables and attaches a value to each one in order to measure the extent of the acculturation of each immigrant. He concludes that the more an immigrant clings to his native language and religion, the less chance he has of enlarging his new world. This means that the immigrant community or the national parish prevents the immigrant from being assimilated into American society. He accepts the conclusion of Puerto Rican Journey<sup>19</sup> that the Puerto Ricans' intimate attitude to religion grows less as they become more assimilated into the new society.

The most significant section of Lennon's study is that dealing with the traits the Puerto Ricans liked most in their churches. The replies of the Protestants put great emphasis on the use of Spanish in their church, the communal participation in the church service by the congregation, and the feeling of togetherness or community. Lennon concludes that this is a need, both spiritual and cultural, that the Puerto Ricans have within themselves which the Catholic Church is failing to meet and which the Protestant churches fulfill or pay attention to.

The author draws a further conclusion. Since the emphasis here (on the use of Spanish in the Protestant churches) seems to be centered on the need for a spirit of togetherness and mutual assistance, which is provided by the services in Spanish, this

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19. C. Wright Mills, Clarece Senior and Rose U. Goldsen, The Puerto Rican Journey (New York: Harper, 1950), p. 114.

operates to isolate the immigrants further from social interaction. Thus the church may unintentionally be impeding the acculturation of its members as it attempts to solve the dilemma of what to do about having Spanish or English in its services.

It is significant for Lennon that the Protestant pastor and the Catholic priest, to a lesser degree, have a unique opportunity to interpret American culture to the Puerto Ricans. This has been a traditional avenue to acculturation for immigrant groups but now it may impede acculturation by forcing the immigrant to rely too much on his clergyman and to interact with members of the larger society through the clergyman.

The author concludes that the Protestant churches neutralize acculturation by providing services in Spanish, a place to share the elements of Hispanic culture, and the spiritual and material help of an understanding pastor. The Catholic Church performs a similar function but not to the same extent. For Lennon, this process impedes acculturation more than it assists it. The author regards the churches as buffers preventing the Spanish speaking people from moving onward toward fuller participation in the American social system and concludes that assimilation is far-off and illusory goal.

A Unesco conference on the problems of immigration devoted considerable time to a consideration of the problems involved in the cultural integration of immigrants.<sup>20</sup> Under discussion was

20. W. D. Borrie, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants, (Paris: Unesco, 1959)



the fact that national governments reflected the wishes of influential blocs of people in restricting immigration to those people who were considered to be assimilable and that this attitude was evidenced in the United States quota laws of 1921 and 1924. The conference observed that those laws implied a belief in the basic homogeneity of the host society and that the immigrants should conform to its social norms, illustrated in the popularity of the 'Melting pot' and 'Americanization' theories.

The concept of assimilation was discussed at some length at the Havana conference and underwent sharp criticism. The author of one paper denounced the use of the word 'assimilation' as implying a one-way street in inter-group relations resulting from the misleading biological connotations of the word.<sup>21</sup> He contended that the United States has neither assimilated the various groups of immigrants nor absorbed them; that the immigrant groups and the native stock have both advanced and been biralized by their association with one another; and that this concept of cultural intergration rests upon a belief in the importance of cultural differentiation within a framework of social unity.

A study on the absorption of immigrant groups by Eisenstadt places particular emphasis on a full understanding of the

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21. William S. Bernard, "The Integration of Immigrants in the United States," Papers and Proceedings of the Unesco Conference, (Havana, April 1956).

various processes involved in immigration studied within the complete social context of the receiving country. He argues that an adequate explanation of the whole immigrant process can be gained only by a complete and critical study of the host of variables involved. Such factors as the economic status of the immigrant group, their education and cultural background, the institutional changes required of them in the new society, the type of settlement (rural-urban, grouped-dispersed), all these must be taken into consideration when examining the assimilation of immigrant groups.<sup>22</sup>

A recent study of the absorption of immigrant groups in Brazil highlights some interesting aspects of the assimilation process.<sup>23</sup> The authors' conclusion was that the motivation which impels an immigrant to emigrate is psychological, springing from a dissatisfaction with and insecurity in his native social environment. When the immigrant actually leaves, he withdraws from the social sphere in which he was a unit and has to reformulate his conception of his status and the roles he must fill, and revise his system of values within the framework of the new society. In this resocialization process, however, the adjustment is not uni-dimensional but reciprocal and demands an analysis of its effects on the receiving society as well as on the immigrant.

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22. S. N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants (London: Chapman, 1954), pp. 263-4.

23. A.H. Newa and J. Diegues, Jr., "The Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants in Brazil," In Borrie, pp. 189-206.

A study of out-group marriages of Puerto Ricans in New York City gives indications that a rapid assimilation is taking place.<sup>24</sup> A high rate of intermarriage of one ethnic group with another is generally accepted as a reliable index of cultural assimilation. The author found that there is a significant percentage increase in out-group marriage among second-generation Puerto Ricans in New York City. He found a positive correlation of out-group marriage with an advance in occupational status, with a tendency toward a younger age of marriage, and with a decline in marriages by Spanish-speaking Pentecostal and Evangelical Ministers. The author concludes, on the basis of this study, that the process of assimilation to the culture of the mainland is proceeding rapidly.

Another article by the same author discusses at some length the relation of the community to the assimilation of immigrants.<sup>25</sup> Starting with a conviction of the important role the community plays in the life of the immigrant, he develops the position that the relationships in the concept "Community" play a decisive role in the cultural assimilation of the immigrant by providing for him a graduated introduction into the new society. The relationships expressed by the concept "community" are a basic pattern of relationships found in man's social life. The emphasis in Eisenstadt and Gordon on the distinct

24. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, "Intermarriage of Puerto Ricans in New York City," The American Journal of Sociology, LXXI, 4 (Jan 1966)

25. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, "The Importance of 'Community' in the Process of Immigrant Absorption", The International Migration Review, 1, 1, (Fall 1966).

social identity is another way of indicating the central role of the immigrant community. The author maintains that if people are torn away too rapidly from the traditional cultural framework of their lives, and thrown too quickly as strangers into a cultural environment which is unfamiliar, the danger of social disorganization is very great. They need the traditional social group in which they are at home, in which they find their psychological satisfaction and security, in order to move with confidence toward interaction with the larger society.

The immigrant community shields them from a too sudden exposure to a strange cultural environment and enables them to retain their identity on the basis of familiar relationships and role involvement.

Florence Kluckhohn's study of ethnic groups in the Boston area discovered that those families in which emotional "illness" had occurred were families in which the close ties with family and community had broken down. In those families in which family and kinship ties had remained strong, there was no emotional "illness" involved.<sup>26</sup> A study of immigrants to Israel concluded that men cannot be of sound mental and physical health in the midst of widespread associational activity (gesellschaft) unless they find some way of perpetuating the satisfactions of community (gemeinschaft).<sup>27</sup> The author found that the primary

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26. Florence Kluckhohn, "Family Diagnosis: Variations in the Basic Values of Family Systems," Social Casework, 39 (March 1958), pp. 63-73.

27. Abraham Weiberg, Migration and Belonging, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961).

group relationships which were found in the community of friends and kin were essential for the emotional stability of the immigrants. Eugene Litwak presents evidence that, even in internal migration, the extended kinship ties play an important role in enabling the migrating family to adjust successfully to the new environment,<sup>28</sup> while a study of internal migration in Britain showed that those who had migrated continued to depend upon the sense of belonging to the former community for emotional support in their new habitat.<sup>29</sup>

This review of the literature pertinent to the study of the assimilation process can not do justice to the amount of work already done in this field. However, it is clear that much of the emphasis is placed on the psychological and emotional factors involved in the transition from one country or one community to another. This study will endeavour to throw further light on these factors in relation to religion.

#### The Setting.

The background of this study is the emigration of Puerto Ricans from the island to the mainland of the United States.

Puerto Rico is a small island, approximately one hundred miles long and forty miles in width. On an area of 3,435 square miles live 2,633,000 people. This gives a population density

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28. Eugene Litwak, "Geographic Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion," *American Soc. Rev.*, 25:3 (June 1960).

29. Michael Young and Peter Wilmot, *Family and Kinship in East London*, (Middlesex: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1957).

per square mile of 766 people, or more than eleven times that of the United States. Some idea of the density of the population can be gained from the realization that if the United States were as densely populated as Puerto Rico it would contain practically the entire world population.<sup>30</sup>

Puerto Rico's population has increased dramatically since the beginning of the century. In 1899 the population of the island was 953,243; by 1950 this had increased to 2,210,703, and in 1965 the population stood at 2,633,000.<sup>31</sup> This represents an increase of over 175 per cent during approximately sixty-five years. What makes this even more remarkable is the fact that the island's population growth has been offset in recent years by migration to the United States.

A birth rate that was always high and a steadily declining mortality rate have combined to bring about this dramatic increase. It was more than a simple agricultural economy could support. In the middle 1930's Puerto Rico was in a state of abject poverty. The depression had ruined the island's economy; there was practically no industry; most of the population was unemployed or employed at starvation wages; and malnutrition, misery and disease were prevalent. Rexford Tugwell, governor of Puerto Rico during the early 1940's titled his book describing this grim situation The Stricken Land.

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30. The Puerto Rican Department of Health, July 15, 1965; United States Bureau of the Census, 1965.

31. The Puerto Rican Department of Health, July 15, 1965.

In 1898, as a direct result of the Spanish-American War, Puerto Rico came under the rule of the United States. The Puerto Ricans were not given United States citizenship until 1916. There was no determined economic policy for the island. The economy was based practically entirely on the sugar crop which provided too seasonal an employment to defeat the abject poverty. A study of Puerto Rico's reform of the mid-twentieth century points out that by 1930 the island's social, economic and political systems were geared almost exclusively to the production of sugar.

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In 1940 Luis Munoz Marin became the political leader of the island, and together with Rexford Guy Tugwell, perhaps the most sympathetic and capable of all the governors appointed by the United States, began to establish a more diversified economy for the island. The Munoz-Tugwell regime placed the emphasis on the development of industry through foreign and mainland investment. This brought about a steadily rising income in the island, improvements in education and housing, and increased health services. In 1948 Luis Munoz Marin was elected the first native governor of Puerto Rico and in 1952 Puerto Rico became a commonwealth of the United States.

Since the early 1940's Operation "Bootstrap" have become two of the most frequently heard words concerning Puerto Rico.

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32. Rexford G. Tugwell, The Stricken Land: The Story of Puerto Rico (New York: Harper & Sons, 1947).

They are used to describe the economic revival, a dramatic one, which began around that time. It was a concerted effort to promote all sectors of the economy, involving the government of the island and private interests.

The migration of Puerto Rican workers to the United States always has been very closely linked to economic factors. The economic transformation of Puerto Rico brought about new jobs and a higher standard of living but it also destroyed many old jobs. Besides the effect of the Puerto Rican economy on the migration rate, the close relation of the migration to the United States national income and the job opportunities on the mainland also must be taken into account. The figures of the Puerto Rican migration to the United States indicate this, especially in the net outflow from the United States in 1961 and 1963 of over 7,000 Puerto Ricans.<sup>33</sup>

The chief influence that this economic development has had on the Puerto Rican migration to the United States is that the migrants of the late 1950's and 1960's are better educated than the migrants of previous years and have a higher level of skill. It means that many migrants are in a much better position to adapt to the changes demanded by the new society.

A second point to note is that the early migration from the island was almost exclusively to New York City. During

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33. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Migration Division, Department of Labor, A Summary of Facts and Figures (San Juan, 1965), p. 15.



the 1940's more than ninety per cent of the immigrants were settling in New York. Since 1950, as new job openings have created an increased demand for workers in other areas of the United States, the proportion of migrants settling in New York has declined steadily and seems to be levelling off at around sixty per cent of the total migration.<sup>34</sup> The 1960 census reported Puerto-Rican-born persons living in all but one of the 101 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of over 250,000 population. As Senior remarks, if there is no serious setback to the American economy, further dispersion will very likely continue.<sup>35</sup>

The people of the island have long had a tradition of widespread social intermingling and frequent intermarriage of people of all shades of color. Racial characteristics range from the completely caucasoid to the completely negroid and there is a complete acceptance of social intermingling of people of different color and social characteristics. The determination of a person's status in Puerto Rico according to color or race is a very complicated matter. The tradition of social intermingling and intermarriage has been very strong, particularly in the lower classes. In fact, the Puerto Ricans have a saying that, in contrast to the practice in the United States, a person's

34. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Migration Division, p. 16.

35. Clarence Senior, The Puerto Ricans: Strangers - Then Neighbours (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961), p.88.

status determines what his color is.

However, since the economic rejuvenation of the island, a new middle class has been growing rapidly, helped in its claims for higher status by education, industrial development and greater diversification of employment. Upward social mobility related to upward economic mobility has become a significant factor in the lives of the Puerto Ricans and complicates the role color plays in determining a person's class.

Family life in Puerto Rico has developed under three main influences; that of the native Borinquen Indians, that of the Spanish colonists, and that of slavery. In recent years the influence of the mainland has been increasingly significant in the life of the island.

Family life has been influenced decidedly by Spanish characteristics. It bears strong resemblances to the family pattern of peasant Europe. The father plays the dominant role; the wife's role is subordinate, one of service and loyalty. The parents watch over the welfare of their own with a care which reaches the point of overprotection, extending their guardianship even to the extent of playing an important part in the selection of the marriage partner for the son or daughter. There is a strong respect for elders and age earns a position of influence which is a characteristic of a traditional family structure. The husband's role is that of provider and protector; this is his duty and privilege. He makes the important decision and rules the family in an authoritarian manner,

disciplining the children for departure from their role - expectation.

Yet despite the impression of strength and togetherness that this family structure might impart, there are certain basic weaknesses in the Puerto Rican family. Its stability is based more on a clear understanding of roles and a readiness to perform the duties expected of one's position in the family rather than on a spirit of togetherness in the American sense. These role expectations also influence the extended family - the network of "compadres" - godparents at Baptism, best man and bridesmaid at marriage - which performs the function of a bulwark of support and friendship in time of hardship and trouble. The key to the understanding of the Puerto Rican family structure is contained in the term "respeto" - inadequately expressed by the English word respect - which consists of an understanding of one's obligation to the family and a willingness to carry them out.

One major weakness in the Puerto Rican family is the wide extent of consensual marriage. According to the 1960 census, over 25 per cent of Puerto Rican marriages were classified as common-law marriages. These marriages have been a feature of Puerto Rican life despite the efforts of the Catholic Church to change it. The children resulting from these unions are legally illegitimate but are socially recognized and enjoy the rights of legal children.

An even more serious defect in the Puerto Rican family is

the element of sexual adventure on the part of the man. Stemming from a double standard of sexual morality there is a widespread acceptance of concubinage and sexual adventurism, and sexual liberties outside of marriage are not considered a problem in the American sense of the word. These outside interests are never considered to be morally right but they are tolerated as human failings. They can and do cause strain between husband and wife and can be the occasion of conflict and personal violence leading to separation or abandonment. Yet even when this happens the network of family ties softens the blow and the relative or friend becomes the strength and support in time of shock. The "compadre" and "comadre" become a second set of parents to take over if the family is disrupted by death or desertion. The mothers and children rarely lack a home, and despite the shock of growing up in confused family settings, the children are neither resented nor neglected.

Even though the culture of the island has felt many influences through the centuries, particularly those of Spain and the United States, it is still a distinctive culture. The cultures of the Borinquen Indians, of Spain and the United States blend together to form one culture. The coming of the Spanish brought the first decisive influence on the Indian culture. As a Spanish colony Puerto Rico was "Catholic" in its culture. Just as a man was born into an upper or lower class family, he likewise was born into the Catholic faith. There is a great deal of truth in the saying that when the Spanish came

to a new territory they built a church and a fort. Religion was the basis of the cultural environment for the Spaniard. In every town there was a plaza dominated by the church, signifying the presence of God in the community. Very often the city hall stood at the opposite end of the plaza, symbolizing the strong association between church and State. For many years Catholicism and Spiritualism were the only two forms of religion. When the United States acquired Puerto Rico, many Protestant missionaries came to the land. In recent years the Protestant and Evangelical sects have been very active on the island, and estimates of the percentage of Puerto Ricans who are Protestants or belong to the various sects vary from ten per cent to twenty per cent.<sup>36</sup> Almost every town has a Protestant church and the Puerto Rican is familiar with Protestantism before he leaves the island. Spiritualism is widely practised and the spiritualists are everywhere on the island. These spiritualists exert great influence over the people and often the seances lead to a fervor which borders on religious frenzy. Despite the efforts of the Church to correct spiritualistic practices they are widely believed in, and many Puerto Ricans carry their trust in spiritualism with them to the mainland.

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36. Melvin Tumin and A. Feldman, Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962); Paul Hatt, Background of Human Fertility in Puerto Rico (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955).

In contrast to their efforts in the religious field, the Spaniards were not noted for fostering education in the colonies. In 1898 only one Puerto Rican in forty-one attended school and the illiteracy rate was more than eighty per cent.<sup>37</sup> Within forty-two years after the United States had acquired the island, the population had doubled and the literacy rate had risen to more than sixty-eight per cent.<sup>38</sup> In recent years, education has been one of the greatest tasks of the island's government and its cost has been heavy. For more than thirty years English and Spanish alternated as the language of instruction and confusion resulted. Most of the migrants to New York were poorly qualified in skills and education and an elementary school education was not sufficient to get them gainful employment in New York. In 1948 Spanish was made the language of instruction with English taught from the first grade and more intensively from the fourth grade.

The Puerto Rican who journeys to the mainland to work is in a peculiar position. He is a United States citizen and as such is part of the huge mobile work force which crosses county and state lines every year in search of better working and living condition. But, commonly identified as a "migrant" and coming from a cultural environment which is basically different, he has acquired an unfavorable image in the eyes of his fellow citizens

37. William C. Baggs, "Puerto Rico: Showcase of Development," Brittanica Book of the Year (1962), p.12

38. Lbid, p.12.

and is often the object of suspicion and hostility.

The migration from Puerto Rico consists of two main groups. One group goes to the mainland to live and to work there permanently. The majority of this group goes to the cities and finds work in the manufacturing and service industries. The number of migrants in this group is especially affected by economic conditions on the mainland.

The other migrants are those who come in the spring and the summer to fill seasonal farm labor shortages along the Eastern Seaboard and in the Midwest. Since the slack season in sugar cane, which is a winter crop on Puerto Rico, coincides with the peak of the farm season in the United States, this arrangement enables farmers on the mainland to obtain much-needed manpower and enables Puerto Rican agricultural workers who would otherwise be unemployed during the summer season to find work. Some of these workers move to the big industrial cities and get jobs in the manufacturing industries.

The migrant is not usually illiterate but he lacks facility in the use of English and an understanding of what lies ahead of him. He has no conception of the severity of a North American winter; he can become very confused at the air or sea terminal; he is puzzled by the hostile attitude of his fellow citizens toward him because of his color; he is in a strange land, separated from the familiar environment which is so dear to him and in which he feels he is at home.

### Relevant Theoretical Considerations.

There are few problems of contemporary life which have undergone more sociological investigation - and are in need of such investigation - than the processes of immigration and assimilation of immigrant groups into a new society. It is to clarify the subject matter of this study and to put it in the correct theoretical context that the writer reviews some of the theoretical considerations relevant to the understanding of such processes.

One of the most evident facts about an immigration into a new society is that there are cultural differences between the migrant group and the new society. This has been a problem for the Church from its very beginning and remains a crucial question today in its relationship with the Puerto Rican migration which the writer is studying in this paper.

Herberg, in his fascinating study of the religious influence in contemporary American life,<sup>39</sup> stresses the point that whenever there has been large-scale immigration or "racial" cleavages, that the chief determinant of social location is likely to be some form of ethnic reference. But, for the American who has emerged with the third generation, the principle of identification is participation in the religious community. The religious community, used in the sense of the great divisions of Catholic, Protestant and Jew, is the transmuting pot which

39. Will Herberg, Protestant, Catholic, Jew (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1955).



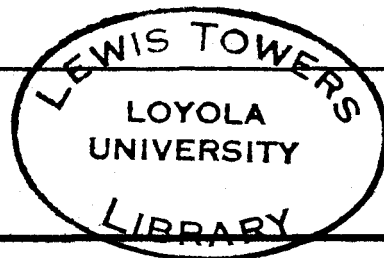
which brings about the ethnic and cultural integration that is characteristic of American life.<sup>40</sup>

Herberg points out that it would be inaccurate to think that the old ethnic lines had disappeared or were no longer significant. But, for the third generation, the religious community became the primary source of self-identification and social location, and ethnic interests and loyalties were finding more expression through this new social structure.

Applying this concept of Herberg's to the newest immigration, that of the Puerto Ricans, one must first realize that as yet there is no third generation of significant size. If, as Herberg hypothesizes, the religious community is to be the primary source of self-identification and social location, its influence is vital in any consideration of the cultural assimilation of immigrant groups. If "to have a name", to be "somebody", to feel a sense of "belonging", is to belong to the religious community, then an understanding of how the religious community can be made meaningful to the immigrant within the framework of his own cultural values and within the limits of his perspective on life and reality is essential to a consideration of the relationship of the Church to different cultural groups.

In the experience of immigrant groups in the United States it was the immigrant community which gave the new comer security

40. Ibid., p. 37.



and a sense of belonging as well as a gradual introduction to American society. The national parish minimizes the problem of intercultural communication. Very often the priests and people came from the same cultural background and the faith, together with the neighborhood community, remained the familiar and satisfying element which eased the transition into a strange and often hostile society. The fear that these little enclaves of foreign culture would have a corrupting effect on American society proved groundless.

Herberg remarks that at the present time the Catholic Church is conceived as an over-all institution representing and supporting the major ethnic groups - apart from Jews and Negroes that still suffer from discrimination. Now a priest of Irish or Polish stock, very much assimilated into the American way of life, will speak for and represent ethnics of quite different origin and background. This is considered to be quite natural, and Herberg argues that this is a result of having the ethnic concerns represented through the religious communities.<sup>41</sup>

Intimately connected with this concept is a consideration of Tonnies use of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* as signifying two anti-thetical social entities, the folk culture and the civilization of the state. As Tonnies reminds his readers, "the artificial, even forces, character of these abstractions must be always kept clearly in mind".<sup>42</sup>

41. Ibid., p. 35

42. Ferdinand Tonnies, *Community and Society*, trans. Charles P. Loomis (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p.221.

For Tonnies, Gemeinschaft exists in the language, the folkways, the beliefs of a people; Gesellschaft in the realm of business, travel or the sciences. The particular type of sentiment proper to a Gemeinschaft is the special social force and sympathy which keeps beings together as members of a totality. This is understanding and is based on a direct and intimate knowledge of each other which leads to direct interest of one in the life of the other and a readiness to share in his joy and sorrow. The basis of this unity is first of all blood relationship, secondly physical proximity, and, finally, intellectual proximity. In the life of a Gesellschaft there is an artificial aggregate of persons which resembles the Gemeinschaft in so far as the individuals live together peacefully; but in the Gesellschaft they are essentially separated in spite of all uniting factors.

Tonnies assumes that all social relationships are created by human will. As social facts they exist only through the wills of the individuals to associate. The Gemeinschaft groups are based on friendship, neighborliness, and on blood relationships.

These categories of Tonnies are logical concepts which assist in the description of the relevant areas of consideration. They are ideal types which do not actually exist empirically in pure form, and no society could exist if one form or type existed to the exclusion of the other. As ideal types the categories can be used to describe both change and the differences between groups at any one time. Its relevance toward immigrant groups in a new society makes it valuable for this study.

The folk-urban typology of Redfield and Sorokin's familistic and contractual relationships can be considered in conjunction with Tonnies concepts. Redfield formulated an ideal-type folk society by assigning to it a set of attributes. The urban society is composed of antithetical attributes. The folk society is an intimate, homogeneous grouping with a strong sense of togetherness and solidarity in which behaviour is spontaneous and there is a common understanding of the proper modes of action. The family is the unit of action and the kinship system is central; traditional ways of action have assumed a sacred character.

Sorokin's familistic relationships are based on mutual love, understanding and sacrifice. There is a sharing of the joys and sorrows within an intimate group in which the participation of the members is all-embracing. The contractual relationship is specific and factual with no blending of interests on the basis of a mutual love. The rights and duties of each party are established by contract and the whole unity of the group is based on the principles of self-interest and utilitarianism.

Even with a realization of the limitations of application of these typologies to present-day sociological problems, the writer suggests that the concepts can be a starting point in the analysis of social change, in this context, in the analysis of the various problems arising from the transition from one (folk) society into another (urban) society. The whole concept of community need clarification in its relationship to the

process of assimilation of migrant groups. Any group or time in history may be compared with the use of these conceptual tools. The writer shall try to illustrate their relevance to the assimilation of Puerto Ricans.

McIver defined community on the basis of (a) a specific geographical area; and (b) by ascribing to it "community sentiment"<sup>43</sup> In this "community sentiment" there is an awareness of three essentials: (1) role-feeling, the understanding of having well-defined roles to fill in the group; and (2) we-feeling or a sense of "togetherness", of belonging to the group; and (3) dependency-feeling, a realization of one's need of the community and a recognition of the benefit one derives from its solidarity.

Park made a distinction between three different types of community - the biotic, the moral, and the spatial. Spatial corresponds to McIvers geographical area; biotic corresponds to the awareness of having well-defined roles to fulfil or a type of functional interdependence; while moral corresponds to a combination of the we-feeling and dependency-feeling. Park was aware that these concepts could not be applied easily to community life in the city and that in a simple community they would probably blend into one another. Stein points out that, of themselves, spatial neighborhoods may have no significant social meaning and true communal participation may exist

43. Robert McIver and C. Page, Society, An Introductory Analysis (New York: Rhinehart, 1949), Ch. I.

between people scattered throughout a city.<sup>44</sup> For Stein, at the basis of community life lies a "configuration of values and a set of institutional patterns", a definite "social identity", and primary group ties and primary relations.

The question arises of how the community is linked to the larger society outside itself. Arensberg and Kimball posit this as one of the guiding norms to determining a community - that there must be a certain set of relationships within the dominant or majority society.<sup>45</sup>

Fitzpatrick's perceptive essay, already discussed by the writer, does much to clarify the position of the community to the immigrant group.<sup>46</sup> The author contends that interaction within the cultural framework produces a type of sub-system with its own social structures and dynamics. As a sub-system with its own social structures and dynamics. As a sub-system, community focuses around the primary institutions of family, religion and recreation.

For Fitzpatrick, the links of the community with the larger society are occupation, the education of children, and political action. Education is particularly important because it is the major socializing institution which communicates to the children the culture of the larger society. Political action also brings the

44. Maurice Stein, The Eclipse of Community (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 112.

45. Conrad Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, Culture and Community (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964).

46. Fitzpatrick, "The Importance of 'Community' in the Process of Immigrant Assimilation"

the community into immediate participation in the life of the larger society, and in this participation the community is engaged in an action proper to the larger society as a whole.

The author considers that the community plays a decisive role in the process of cultural assimilation, providing a base of security and satisfaction from which the immigrant can make a gradual transition into the strange and very often frightening world which faces him.

One of the most relevant theoretical considerations related to the problem of the cultural assimilation of immigrants is the question of what factor or factors are important in causing anomie in an individual. There is considerable evidence to support Merton's contention that the anomic individual is to be found in various segments of the social structure, with persons in low economic positions being most obviously in a state of personal disorganization. Bell has found that anomie is inversely related to economic status and supports Merton in the hypothesis that "differential access to economic success goals combined with a generally uniform expectation for economic success will result in anomie among those persons with the least opportunity to achieve such success".<sup>47</sup> Anomie is also related to social isolation, with those who score high on the isolation scale having higher average anomie scores than those who are not so isolated.

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47. Wendell Bell, "Anomie, Social Isolation, and the Class Structure", *Sociometry*, (Jan. 1957), p. 114.

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Merton has developed his thought on the relationship of the individual to the social structure in his classic essay, "Social Structure and Anomie".<sup>48</sup> He points out that in the social structure there are culturally defined goals held out as desirable and legitimate objectives for all the members of society. The ways of reaching these goals are regulated by the cultural norms of society. In other words there are socially acceptable ways of reaching out for these goals of society, and there are taboos on socially unacceptable ways of attaining these ends. Merton states that an effective equilibrium in society is maintained as long as satisfactions accrue to those individuals who are conforming to both cultural constraints, that is, who obtain satisfaction from striving for the attainment of the legitimate goals society proposes and from adhering to the procedures institutionalized by society to attain them. If the emphasis is continually on the goal-achievement, then those who are continually failing to achieve these goals through the institutionalized norms of the social structure will work to bring about changes in the methods set to achieve the goals. Because of the sacrifices usually involved in the striving for these goals according to the institutionalized norms, positive incentives for adherence to status obligation must be available to every position within the social structure. Merton states:

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48. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), pp. 131-160.



"It is, indeed, my central hypothesis that aberrant behavior may be regarded sociologically as a symptom of dissociation between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realizing these aspirations.<sup>49</sup>

Merton points out that societies differ in the way and in the degree in which the folkways and institutional controls are effectively integrated with those goals which are regarded as being high in the hierarchy of values. If an over-emphasis is laid upon the goals of society without a corresponding emphasis being laid on the institutionally prescribed ways of working for them, then the members of society are faced with the task of striving for the goals without any stress being laid on the particular means to be used. The most effective means of reaching the goal, whether approved by society or not, becomes accepted. When this attitude become prevalent, the society or not, becomes accepted. When this attitude becomes prevalent, the social structure is unstable, and there develops a type of normlessness in society which Durkheim labelled "anomie".

The author points out that it is unlikely that cultural norms, once interiorized, are ever totally eliminated. Something remains which will produce personality tensions and conflict with a varying degree of personal disorganization. Despite the person's rejection of formerly interiorized norms, there remains a type of emotional attachment to them, leading to guilt

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49. Ibid., p. 134.

feelings, uneasiness, and a sense of abandonment. Merton remarks: "Symbolic adherence to the nominally repudiated values or rationalizations for the rejection of these values constitute a more subtle expression of these tensions".<sup>50</sup>

The social structure that is characteristic of American today is one that produces a strain toward deviant behavior and anomie. The major goal of the dominant society continues to be economic success and its attendant social status. When the institutionalized means of achieving these goals are stressed and the emphasis is not laid entirely on the goal-achievement, the culturally prescribed rules regulate the choice of means. But where there is almost exclusive concentration on the outcome, the regulatory structure breaks down and the choice of means is governed only by considerations of personal advancement and the fear of punishment.

Merton enumerates five types of adaptation by individuals to the prescribed norms of society. Merton emphasizes that to consider these types of conduct in several different spheres would introduce a complexity unmanageable within the confines of a general consideration of the individual in society. For this reason he is primarily concerned with economic activity in a competitive society where wealth holds a "highly symbolic cast".

50. Ibid., p. 136.

The five types of adaptation enumerated and discussed by Merton are:

(1). Conformity, or acceptance of both the cultural goals and the institutionalized means.

(2). Innovation, or the acceptance of the cultural goals together with the rejection of the institutionalized means.

(3). Ritualism, which is the rejection of the cultural goals together with the rejection of the institutionalized means.

(4). Retreatism, which rejects both the cultural goals and the institutionalized means.

(5). Rebellion, which is an alienation from the reigning cultural goals and standards.

It is important to remember that Merton formulated these categories as a sociological explanation of all kinds of deviant behavior. He undertook the formulation by creating theoretical combinations of human attitudes toward both goals and means, varying one factor at a time until he had a complete set of five categories. Merton's interest lay in assessing the consequences of the socio-cultural process for placing the individual under stress.

Merton's paradigm seems to be most readily applicable to a social system where achievement values are prominent, because when the achievement goals are high institutionalized, the ambivalent person can easily resort to deviant behavior in accentuated goal-striving. In the present structure of American society, this is very much the case for the newly

arrived immigrant. Where ascriptive values were institutionalized, this outlet would be largely closed.

Merton conceives of anomie as a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of certain segments of society to act in accordance with them. The social structure acts on the cultural values, making conforming behavior readily possible for some and practically impossible for others. When the cultural milieu calls for attitudes and behavior which the social structure precludes, there is introduced into society a strain leading toward normlessness. This is not the sole cause of the social condition of anomie, since the social processes, involving both psychological and sociological concepts, which bring about anomie in society, are affected by a complexity of interwoven variables.

Merton's theory of the lack of congruence of means and ends integrates the findings and theories of a number of research projects. Lerner<sup>51</sup> and Handlin<sup>52</sup> stress the vulnerability of the newly arrived immigrant to become a "Marginal man" in society, caught between two conflicting cultures and confused by the demands of the new society.

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51. Max Lerner, America as a Civilization (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1959).

52. Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1951).

Middleton and Meier and Bell<sup>53</sup> found that alienation of the immigrant from the dominant society is a result of disabling conditions in the social structure.

When desirability of specific cultural goals is stressed without corresponding emphasis on the institutionalized means, disorganization and anomie result. Ultimately, any integration of the dominant society and the sub-culture is tenuous.

### Typology.

This study developed out of the author's personal interest in the problems of assimilation for immigrant groups. He had a certain familiarity with the Puerto Rican community in Chicago and some contacts with those who were working with this community. Because of these influences, as well as an interest in the Puerto Rican immigrants as the latest immigrant group, he chose the Puerto Rican immigrant as the subject of his study.

For purposes of facilitation the research, a community in Chicago was selected which had a large proportion of Puerto Rican residents among its population. This community was geographically located in a rectangular area bounded by Damen Avenue (2000 W.) on the east and Leavitt Street (2200 W.)

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53. Russell Middleton, "Alienation, Race and Education" American Soc. Rev., 28:973-977; Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to Achievement of Life Goals," American Soc. Rev., 24: 189-202.

on the west side, by Division Street (1200 N.) on the south and by North Avenue on the north side. This is an old area on the near West side of the City of Chicago, formerly inhabited mainly by Polish and Lithuanian ethnic groups who have moved out to other areas of the city. The physical appearance of the area is depressing. The buildings have deteriorated rapidly, and little effort seems to have been made by the landlords to keep them in good repair. All the houses in the area have been converted into apartments with the object of getting just as many rent-paying residents as possible.

A sample of fifty adults was selected from this area by a regular-interval sample with substitution (For the purposes of this study, an adult is defined as a person over 21 years of age). In certain cases the selected household had no male living there and in this case the female adult was interviewed.

The interviewing was conducted in person by the writer. Since his knowledge of Spanish at the outset of the study might have caused him to miss many of the nuances of the respondents replies, the writer was accompanied on all the interviews by a leader in the local Puerto Rican community. This had two other advantages which contributed greatly to the insights of this study: (1) the writer was able to consult with his companion regarding any phrases or attitudes which seemed significant during the interview; and (2) the barrier of suspicion and fear of a stranger, especially one with papers,

which often is present in such a community, was broken down by the introduction of a friend. As the writer is a priest, in order to prevent the danger of bias he interviewed in law clothes, being introduced as a student from Loyola University doing a study for the benefit of the community. The replies of the respondents under these circumstances seemed to the writer to be spontaneous and genuine. The second half of the sample was drawn by a systematic random sample from a Spanish-American Catholic Action Group called the 'Hermanos de la Familia de Dios' - 'The Brothers of the Family of God'. As this group contained some few Mexicans and Spanish-Americans of other countries substitution was necessary in some cases. This group was selected because of their orientation, goals, and spiritual formation.

This group was formed in 1959 to work with members of the Spanish-American community in Chicago and to mold them by religious formation so that they would be able to help the members of their community by giving them a better understanding of their religion and an awareness of the importance to society of the Christian way of life. As the members of this group undergo a spiritual training and formation for a period of approximately four years, their understanding of their religion and its relevance to society is highly developed. This group was selected on the basis of their commitment to religion to act as a comparative group with the sample selected from the general population. The purpose of this comparison was to see to what extent, if any,

this religious formation and commitment to religion helped the Puerto Rican in the assimilation process.

The interview schedule was constructed in English and then translated into Spanish. The writer attempted to convey the precise meaning to idiomatic Spanish terms and had the translation checked by a sociologist who speaks Spanish fluently. The interviews took place at the respondent's place of residence and the same interview schedule was used for both groups. After the respondent had answered the questions on the schedule, the writer sought his opinions on life in the United States and his general attitude toward the subject matter of the study.

The interview schedule was constructed around two major scales. The first of these was Vernon's Church Orthodoxy Scale.<sup>54</sup> This is a unidimensional scale using the Guttman Scalogram Technique. Vernon, taking religion as a social institution, constructed the scale to measure religious orthodoxy, or the degree to which a culturally established institution is effective in channeling the behavior of individuals. With reference to religion, an individual is orthodox to the extent that the institutional norms find expression in his behavior. The scale was constructed to measure both overt behavior such as attendance at church services and covert behavior such as acceptance of church teachings. Vernon also suggests that

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54. Glenn M. Vernon, "An Inquiry into the Scalability of Church Orthodoxy", *Sociology and Social Research*, (June 1955). pp. 324-327.



individuals are found along a continuum of orthodoxy in consequence of certain personal background factors.

The items in this scale were found to have a coefficient of reproducibility of 0.89. The writer substituted some practices of the Roman Catholic Church for those of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, but made no basic changes in the construction of the scale. For scaling purposes five alternative choices were given for each item, ranging from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree". The alternative choices were scored from four to zero and an individual's score was totalled over the ten items of the scale.

The second scale used was that constructed by Srole to measure anomia. This was constructed to measure social dysfunction or disorganization and consists of five items. In part, the scale incorporates items referring to the individual perception of his social environment; in part, to his perception of his own place within that environment. The five items comprising this scale refer to (1) the perception that community leaders are indifferent to one's welfare and needs; (2) the perception that the social order is essentially fickle, leaving the individual no opportunity to plan his life ahead with any degree of success; (3) the individual's perception that he and others in the same position are receding from their life-goals rather than realizing them; (4) the measurement of a person's loss of the internalized societal values and norms culminating in a sense of frustration at the futility of life itself; (5)

the conviction that there is no supportive value or stability in immediate personal friendships and relationships. The coefficient of reproducibility of this scale is  $.90$ , and its coefficient of scalability is  $.65$ , thus giving validity to its acceptance as a unidimensional scale. The scale scores ranged from four to zero for each alternative choice, giving a possible low of zero and a possible high of twenty.<sup>55</sup>

Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index of Social Position was used to determine social status.<sup>56</sup> In this scale the factors of occupation and education are combined by weighting the individual scores obtained from the scale positions. The weight for occupation is seven and the weighting for education is four. To obtain the social class of an individual as determined by this scale, the scale value for occupation is multiplied by its factor weight and the scale value for education is multiplied by its factor weight. The possible range of scores on a continuum is from a low of eleven to a high of seventy seven.

Besides these scales a number of questions were constructed to measure the cultural integration of the immigrant, his attitude toward the priest, his attitude toward church organizations, and finally, his attitude toward government and

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55. Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries", *American Soc. Rev.*, 21, (1956), pp. 709-716.

56. August B. Hollingshead, The Two-Factor Index of Social Position (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1957).

community organizations. These questions were designed so that they incorporated the following controls:

1. Age
2. Religious affiliation.
3. Marital status.
4. Area of origin in Puerto Rico
5. Length of time in the United States/
6. Experience in other cities before Chicago.
7. Contacts with the Catholic priest in Chicago.
8. Influence of relatives already residing in America.

The data obtained from the interview schedules were computed, analyzed and interpreted. The relationships which were hypothesized were tested for statistical significance by the use of the Chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) test. The Chi-square tests essentially whether the observed frequencies in a distribution differ significantly from the frequencies which might be expected according to some assumed hypothesis. Corresponding to each frequency predicted by the hypothesis there will be an observed frequency. When Chi-square is calculated, the question is whether the calculated value of Chi-square is sufficiently great to reject a "null hypothesis" that the observed discrepancy between the frequencies could have arisen by chance. The confidence level chosen by the author for the Chi-square test was the five per cent level. On occasion the Chi-square test established a relationship at a higher level of confidence. Wherever necessary, the use of Yates' Correction was applied to the Chi-square test. On occasion two categories had to be combined in order to subject the results to a Chi-square test.

### Empirical Questions and Hypotheses:

The study wishes to examine to what extent cultural shock and cultural differences affect the Puerto Rican Catholic immigrants in their acceptance of the role of the priest in an urban metropolitan area of America. To do this it examines three empirical question:

1. Is the state of anomia which is known to affect the Puerto Rican migrant in the transition from Puerto Rico to an urban metropolitan area of American manifested in his relationships with the Catholic priest?
2. Are those Puerto Rican immigrants who fail to adjust to the role of the Catholic priest in an urban metropolitan area of America affected more by social tension and conflict and more prone to fall into a state of anomia?
3. Does the conflict aroused in the Puerto Rican immigrant by his failure to adjust to the role of the Catholic priest in an urban metropolitan area of America impede the assimilation of the immigrant into American society?

These 4 empirical questions and a review of the literature lead to the following hypotheses:

1. The cultural shock which is involved in the transition from Puerto Rico to an urban metropolitan area of America for the Puerto Rican immigrant is a significant factor in his failure to adjust to the role of the Catholic priest in an urban metropolitan area of America

2. The failure to adjust to the role of the Catholic priest in an urban metropolitan area of America is a contributing factor in the development of tension and conflict in the Puerto Rican immigrant and leads towards anomia. Results obtained were tested for significance by the Chi-square test and a decision was made to accept or reject the Null hypothesis at the five per cent level of confidence.

3. The conflict aroused in the Puerto Rican immigrant by his failure to adjust to the role of the priest in an urban metropolitan area of America impedes his assimilation into American society.

These questions will be examined by comparison between the two groups differentiated on the basis of their commitment to religion. Additional attempts will be made to find some indications of how these attitudes might be affected by social status and other controlled variables.

#### Summary.

In this chapter the author has presented a statement of the problem of the Puerto Rican immigrant who is trying to assimilate into American society. The literature on this subject is extensive and seems to concentrate chiefly on the problems of adaptation caused by cultural and socio-psychological differences. The Puerto Ricans, although American citizens, come from a different cultural background and find the culture of the mainland alien to them. This study is set in the general context of the social condition of anomie as formulated by Robert K. Merton and the study will try to apply this general theory to the specific problem under consideration. The information on the problem was obtained

by interview schedule, and this was coded and analyzed. The results obtained were tested for significance by the Chi-square test and a decision was made to accept or reject the Null hypothesis at the five per cent level of confidence.

#### Operational Definitions.

There are a number of terms which the writer will use in this study which he would like to operationalize at this stage.

Some definitions of terms have already been made and the writer has clarified some terms as he intends to use them in Chapter I. As the expression "ethnic group" and that of "minority group" occur frequently throughout the study, the writer would like to define these terms. He accepts the definition of ethnic groups as given by Rose:

Groups whose members share a unique social and cultural heritage passed on from one generation to the next are known as ethnic groups. Ethnic groups are frequently identified by distinctive patterns of family life, language, recreation, religion, and other customs which cause them to be differentiated from others. Above all else, members of such groups feel a sense of identity and an 'interdependence of fate' with those who share the customs of the ethnic tradition.<sup>57</sup>

A minority, on the other hand, is defined as:

A group of people, who, by virtue of being identified as sharing descent within a particular nationality, as sharing particular religious beliefs or practices or as sharing certain hereditary physical traits, are singled out from the other members of society and subjected to various disabilities in the form of prejudice, discrimination or persecution.<sup>58</sup>

As used by sociologists, the term minority does not necessarily have any numerical connotation. Despite its literal meaning a minority is not

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<sup>57</sup>Peter I. Rose, They and We: Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 11.

<sup>58</sup>J. W. Vanger Zanden, American Minority Groups (New York: The Ronald Press, 1963), p. 21.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHOD AND TECHNIQUES

#### Operational Definitions.

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a statistical category.

Since the writer shall also be referring constantly to the concept of community he should like to define it in the terms set out by Buitron:

A community is a group of individuals among whom there is a spirit of solidarity, yet who live in a more or less determined geographical area which is yet wide enough to allow its dwellers to satisfy their basic needs within its boundaries, and where these dwellers are so related between them and the region they inhabit, that anything happening to the region or group affects the individual. In this sense the community is not a unit but a number of units which integrate it.<sup>59</sup>

One of the terms which is basic to this study is the concept of anomie. As initially developed by Durkheim, the concept of anomie referred to a condition of relative morallessness in a society or group. This was a breakdown of the moral norms that limit desires and aspirations. Durkheim tended to associate this breakdown with rather special "change of role" circumstances. For Durkheim, the concept referred to a social condition affecting the social structure, not to a property of the individuals living in that structure. But this limited utility of the concept has been extended and diversified by sociologists to refer to a condition of individuals rather than their environment. MacIver formulated a psychological conception of anomie as "the state of mind of one who has been pulled up by his moral roots, who no longer has any sense of continuity, of folk, of obligation." And again as "the breakdown of the individual's sense of attachment to society".<sup>60</sup> It can be seen that MacIver's approach is

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<sup>59</sup> Anibal Buitron, "Sharing in the Life of the Community", Conference 37 in The Cultural Integration of Immigrants, ed. W. D. Borrie (Paris: Unesco, 1959).

<sup>60</sup> Robert M. MacIver, The Ramparts We Guard (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950), pp. 84-92.



psychological because for him anomie is a state of mind, not of society. This is true even though the state of mind may reveal social tensions. This psychological concept of anomie refers to identifiable states of mind of concrete individuals. Nevertheless, this psychological concept is a counterpart of the sociological concept, not a substitute for it. Lasswell also interprets the concept as referring to "the lack of identification on the part of the primary ego of the individual with a 'self' that includes others. In a word, modern man appeared to be suffering from psychic isolation. He felt alone, cut off, unloved, unwanted, unvalued".<sup>61</sup>

The sociological concept of anomie presupposes that the environment of the individual can be thought of as including the social structure, on the one hand, and the cultural structure, on the other. The cultural structure is the set of behavioral norms accepted by the members of the society, while the social structure is the set of organized social relationships by which the members of the society interact. Anomie, then, can be conceived as a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring when there is acute disjunction between the cultural norms and the ability of the members to act in accordance with the norms. For purposes of analysis, no matter how intimately the social structure and the cultural structure are related, the two must be kept separate until they are brought together again. When the cultural and social structures are malintegrated, there is a strain in society toward the breakdown of the cultural norms, leading to normlessness.

In this study the writer will be referring to the concept of anomie

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<sup>61</sup>Harold Lasswell, "The Threat to Privacy", in Robert M. MacIver (ed.). Conflict of Loyalties (New York: Harper & Bros., 1952).

as it represents the contemporary condition of the individual which is variously referred to as social dysfunction or disorganization, normlessness or alienation from society. This inclines toward the concept of dysfunction and of malintegration of the individual in the molar social system. This is a state of mind of the individual, having its origin in a complex interaction of social and personality factors. To express this concept, the writer wishes to adopt the term used by Srole, that of "anomia".<sup>62</sup>

Anomia refers to this psychological state of the individual, in distinction to anomie, which is the state of social disorganization of the community or society in which the individual resides. This means that anomia is a condition of the individual which is dependent on both sociological and psychological processes. Robin Williams seems to disagree with this concept of anomie. He maintains that "anomie as a social condition has to be defined independently of the psychological states thought to accompany normlessness and normative conflict".<sup>63</sup>

There is one other concept which the writer would like to operationalize at this stage of the study. This is the concept of cultural assimilation which has already been discussed at considerable length in Chapter 1. Frequently the concepts of "assimilation" and "acculturation" are confused, and at other times they are used interchangeably. As mentioned already, the term "assimilation" has retained much of its physiological analogy. This analogy breaks down when it is conceived as a situation of complete conformity - at all social and cultural levels - with the society of the receiving area. This concept does not admit of interchange or appreciable influence by the immigrant on the non-immigrant culture.

A distinction should be made between assimilation of the individual

and of the group. The former may become 'invisible' in all sorts of social contexts (work situation, church, cultural association) but still retain contact with a group (ethnic club, language society) which may be visible as a group. Action and interaction are involved here, but generally in the sense of 'visibility' group assimilation may be a much longer process than individual assimilation.

Regardless of what term is used, they all refer to a process of economic, social and cultural adjustment in a new social and cultural environment. As this writer believes that this process is something that takes generations rather than years, he would like to side with those who feel that assimilation, especially for the first generation should aim at achieving uniformity where this is felt to be necessary in the interest of the receiving society and cultural pluralism where this is essential to the welfare of the immigrant. This new concept of conformity within a framework of cultural pluralism can best be expressed by the term cultural integration. This takes cognisance of the many gifts and riches brought to the new society by the immigrant group and also individually by the immigrant and it rests on an awareness of the importance of cultural differentiation within a framework of social unity. The writer would define this as: A dynamic process in which there is a mutual interchange of values, beliefs and norms by the immigrants and the receiving society; an interchange which is made on the basis of understanding, tolerance and accommodation and which has as its goal a cultural amalgam which unites the distinctive contributions of both cultures.

#### Population of the Study.

The population of the study were the Puerto Rican Catholic immigrants

to the city of Chicago. The sample was drawn from one community of the general population and from a Catholic Action group described as the "Hermanos de la Familia de Dios". They were people who had lived in Chicago for periods varying from one year to twenty years and had tried to adopt to life within the framework of American society. Generally, the living conditions were poor when judged by the standards of American living, but poverty is an old and familiar thing to most of the Puerto Ricans.

#### The Research Instrument.

The interview schedule was constructed after a series of discussions with people who had worked with the Puerto Ricans for years and with a number of different Puerto Ricans. The writer also had the assistance of one of the leaders of the community in constructing the schedule. His advice and the long discussions which the writer had with him were particularly valuable as they ensured the relevance of the questions to determine the subject-matter of the study. As the writer did all the interviews personally, and as he had a fluent Spanish speaker with him in all cases, he was able to get many additional sidelights on the questions at hand.

#### Limitations of the Study.

As this study is but an exploratory and comparative one, its findings can only be regarded as guidelines for future, more specific research, and perhaps as incentives to action. The author feels justified in stating that this was the first study to focus on this particular aspect of the relation of religion to the assimilation of the immigrant. He is aware that the size of the sample and his arbitrary choice of one community in Chicago to represent the Puerto Rican immigrants must cloud any findings with a certain degree of uncertainty. It is his hope that future studies will concentrate on verifying

or examining his findings anew.

Even though a good rapport was established on all occasions but one in the home of the respondent, there were certain distracting influences. The main one of these was the presence of the wife and family who tried to "help" the respondent in giving his opinions. Other, more minor ones, were the competition of the television set and the seemingly endless visitors.

#### Summary.

In this chapter the writer has operationalized the terms he uses throughout the study. He has discussed at some length the concept of anomie, both as it refers to the individual and to the society in which the individual lives. From this discussion has resulted the adoption of the concept of "anomia" as defined by Srole. The writer then considered the population of the study, the interview schedule used in the research, and, finally, some limitations of this type of study.

## CHAPTER 3

### ADAPTATION AND ANOMIA

#### Depersonalizing Consequences of Urban, Technological Society.

As the writer stated in chapter 1, the quest for economic viability was the factor which drove the majority of Puerto Rican immigrants to come to the United States. After the Second World War, an increased demand for manpower coincided with the establishment of a new form of transportation - a cheap and regular air service between San Juan and New York. Now, for as little as fifty dollars and by a far less tiring journey, the immigrant could make his way to the opportunities of the mainland within a few hours.

Since the air and sea termini were in New York, this metropolitan area became the initial point of reception for the new immigration and the great majority of immigrants remained in the metropolitan area. But, especially since 1950, a more diversified settlement of the immigrants has come about principally because of the widespread labor shortages within many parts of the United States. Between 1950 and 1960 the Puerto Rican population outside New York Metropolitan Area itself has increased by 404 per cent, while that in the Metropolitan Area itself rose by 150 per cent.<sup>64</sup>

An examination of the following table will show the reader how the Puerto Rican population of the United States has risen since the beginning of the century.

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<sup>64</sup> Clarence Senior, The Puerto Ricans: Strangers - Then Neighbors (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961), pp. 87-88.

TABLE 1

## THE PUERTO RICAN POPULATION OF THE CONTINENTAL U.S.

Date	Total	P. R. Birth	P. R. Parentage
April 1, 1960	855,724	596,280	259,444
April 1, 1950	301,375	226,110	75,265
April 1, 1940	n.a.	69,967	n.a.
April 1, 1930	n.a.	52,774	n.a.
April 1, 1920	n.a.	11,811	n.a.
April 15, 1910	n.a.	1,513	n.a.

Source: Puerto Rican Department of Labor, A Summary in Facts and Figures, 1964-65, p. 16.

It will be seen from the table that the number of Puerto Ricans living in the Continental United States was minimal at the beginning of the century. Even though 220,000 came into the country between 1910 and 1950, the dramatic increase occurred between 1950 and 1960 with a percentage rise of 170 per cent.

TABLE 2

## THE PUERTO RICAN POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY

Date	Total	P. R. Birth	P. R. Parentage
April 1, 1960	612,574	429,710	182,864
April 1, 1950	245,880	187,420	56,460
April 1, 1940	n.a.	61,463	n.a.
April 1, 1930	n.a.	44,908	n.a.
Jan. 1, 1920	n.a.	7,364	n.a.
April 15, 1910	n.a.	554	n.a.

Source: A Summary in Facts and Figures, p. 17.

This table shows that of the Puerto Rican population of the United States, over seventy per cent still live in New York City. The number of Puerto Rican-born residents of New York has more than doubled itself during the decade from 1950 to 1960, but its percentage of the Puerto Rican-born residents of the United States has dropped from 82.7 per cent in 1950 to 72 per cent in 1960. Since the trend toward a wider dispersion of immigrants has taken place mainly during the fifteen years, the Puerto Rican populations of the metropolitan areas outside New York are relatively small. The 1960 census reported that there were 25,416 persons of Puerto Rican birth in Chicago while almost another 10,000 were of Puerto Rican Parentage. The recency of this dispersion has had two major effects: (1) The immigrant has had no bridgehead or established community into which he could be received on arrival; and (2) the receiving population had no experience of living with Puerto Ricans or the opportunity to achieve understanding of the Puerto Rican immigrant. Very often there is a suspicion and a fear of competition on the part of other low-income groups.

The cities of the United States, including Chicago, to which these Puerto Rican immigrants have been coming, have relied for many years on both internal migration and immigration from abroad for their growth. In recent years a substantial proportion of the cities' populations has moved to the suburbs and the immediate environs with a resulting decline in the population of the city being accompanied by a substantial increase in the population of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. Concurrently with the movement of population there is the fact that the physical plant of the city has deteriorated and industrial complexes and housing show signs of wear and tear. This deterioration often has the unfortunate effect of causing displacement



and relocation of the most recent immigrants, the Puerto Ricans. Urban renewal and redevelopment often do not benefit those who had been living in the area prior to redevelopment and cause those who are not accustomed to the demolition and rebuilding which has changed the city for a hundred years to suspect the hand of discrimination and prejudice being wielded against them.

#### Personal State of Anomia of the Immigrant.

As already mentioned in Chapter k, the Puerto Rican immigrant who comes to a large city in the United States finds himself in a totally different environment to that to which he was accustomed in Puerto Rico. For them it involves the uprooting of their lives from the environment which they know and understand and the effort to adapt to a new culture where they are a minority among a people lacking at times in understanding and very often hostile. They leave behind their particular form of family organization, their own type of social relationships, their specific customs, their food habits. And it is important to remember that these bonds are deeply rooted subtleties; very often it is only when the immigrant changes to a new environment that he realizes that something very important in his life has been lost. For the children, theirs is the generation of acculturation. The past is to be forgotten and the future lies ahead; they find themselves torn between the customs and values of their parents and the society into which they seek admission.

The Puerto Rican culture stresses the dominance of males in most social activity, in paternal authority and in patriarchal authority. The obligation of the father to provide for his family is a routine matter of honor and prestige. But urban life in America challenges such values. The

increased emphasis on work for women, who sometimes earn more than their husbands, reduces the prestige of the providing role of the husband. This weakening of the male role within the family has meant higher rates of desertion and caused much internal strife within families. A study done in New York comments:

In any culture, the intrapsychic status depends, in part, on family stability, on continuous structural settings for that stability, and upon ~~cultural values~~ capable of supporting, in realistic fashion, both family and structural setting. The family thus becomes an interdependent small group organization. It functions, for better or worse, as the major recognizable unit of a larger social system. It transmits, in more or less coherent patterns, those meanings and values of a culture which find support or meet rebuffs in the realities of a social world. In the family of Puerto Rican and Spanish-oriented cultures generally, they are sanctioned as part of a pattern of total masculine control or dominance. But these patterns are open to change and have changed with the movements of rural populations to industrialized centers like San Juan and New York City.

While larger role expectations may consistently demand a father's economic contributions to enhance his total cultural prestige and honor, the challenge of this general pattern is hollow and meaningless if the economic position of the male changes to the extent it has in Puerto Rican families. Instead, the father, ideally representing the weight of authority within the home, sees his economic role diminish, and with it his importance and real authority. Thus, the economic pressures at the bottom of the social scale in contemporary Puerto Rico are much like those intensified in the New York scene itself. Males undergo a general downgrading in jobs available and the marriages become as evanescent as their dominance role. There is no barrier in a weakened Catholic religious system to formal separation or simple desertion. Both occur increasingly. As families hear the untimely of poverty, migration and cultural dislocation, so their component members may break under the strain of rapidly changing or burdensome family organization.<sup>65</sup>

#### Specific Background.

The members of the sample studied by the writer were all born in Puerto Rico. This came as no surprise in view of what has been said

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<sup>65</sup>Marvin Opler, "Dilemmas of Two Puerto Rican Men", Clinical Studies in Culture Conflict, ed. G. Steward, (New York: Ronald Press, 1958), pp. 223-244.

already concerning the recency of dispersion of Puerto Rican immigrants to other metropolitan areas outside New York City.

In the sample taken from the general population nine of the respondents were female and forty-one male. Because the sample drawn from the comparative group of Hermanos was an all male group, no statistical analysis was possible on the basis of the variable of difference of sex.

When the writer examined the age of the respondents, his findings confirmed a fact that is already well established, that the average age of the Puerto Rican population is less than that of the general population of the United States.<sup>66</sup>

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF THE GENERAL AND HERMANOS  
SAMPLES ACCORDING TO AGE

Sample	21-30yrs.	31-40	41-50	51-60
General	19	23	6	2
Hermanos	24	19	6	1
Total	43(%)	42(%)	12(%)	3(%)

Sample Size: 100.

The table shows that a very large proportion of the samples (85 per cent) was under forty years of age. Since all the respondents were born in Puerto Rico, this table reflects the fact that their experience of life on the mainland is comparatively short.

<sup>66</sup>The United States Census of 1960 showed the average age of the Puerto Rican population to be 27.9 years.

<sup>67</sup>"Anomie and the Quest for Community".

## The Quest For Community

The study of Poblete and O'Dea<sup>67</sup> stressed that the immigrants of earlier centuries clustered in communities where adaptation was eased by the preservation of important elements of the older culture. The immigrant community performed a vital role in minimizing the worst effects of social and personal disorganization in the transitional period of the acculturation process. In contemporary America it is very difficult to form a community of any appreciable size on a geographical basis because of the dispersion of public housing and the constant urban renewal and redevelopment of the city. Fitzpatrick confirms the beneficial effect of the immigrant community and counters the charge that it impeded the assimilation process with the assertion that the community provided a solid base of security from which the immigrant could make his first ventures into the unfamiliar dominant society.

A study of recent migration to Chicago has shown that different types of migrants tend to have in common certain social characteristics, including a tendency for concentration within distinctive areas.<sup>68</sup> The author distinguishes between mobility and migration, defining mobility in terms of changes in experience and social situation. Since migrants have in common the experience of making a transition from familiar to an unfamiliar environment, they all experience the loss of security found in the routine and accustomed and the challenge of new experiences and relationships in terms of which mobility is defined. Certain areas of the city have been classified

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<sup>67</sup>"Anomie and the Quest for Community".

<sup>68</sup>Ronald Freedman, Recent Migration to Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950).

as "mobile" by urban sociologists and these areas are expected to be congenial to migrants. Since migrants tend to move in disproportionate numbers to a group of these mobile areas, the author designates them as "Migrant Zones".<sup>69</sup>

This writer found strong evidence during the interviewing that Puerto Ricans who came from the same area on the island tend to gather together in the same geographical area when they move to Chicago. One respondent expressed his feelings in this way:

"I want to be with my friends from the same part of Puerto Rico because then we can talk about the island and the people we know and it is like being back home again."

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF THE GENERAL AND HERMANOS SAMPLES  
ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

Sample	Married	Single
General	46	4
Hermanos	50	10
Total	869 86(%)	14(%)

It can be seen from Table 4 that the great majority of the respondents had set up their own homes. Of the ten Hermanos who were single, only one was not living with relatives and he was to be married within a month. The strong familial ties of the island were carried with them as in most households relatives who were not members of the immediate family were living in the house. Frequently there were as many as six or seven visitors in the house. One of the respondents explained it like this:

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

"We all gather together at nights in one another's Houses. We might have a ging-song or just talk together. There is no need for a party of us to get together, we just come. When we were in Puerto Rico we used to gather outside every evening and play the guitar and sing. We still do here. Manuel (one of his friends) plays the guitar for us."

The Relationship Between Community and Anomia.

The scale scores on the anomia scale had a possible range of zero to twenty. For the purposes of this study the scale was divided into three sections with cutting points at 6 and 13. As a result, 0-6 signified a low state of anomia; 7-13 a moderate state of anomia; and 14-20 a high state of anomia; aThe scale scores were found to range from 4 to 19.

It will be recalled that the first hypothesis stated that the cultural shock involved in the transition from Puerto Rico to Chicago is a significant factor in the immigrant's failure to adapt to the role of the Catholic priest in Chicago. As such factors as living in a friendly community, contacts with friends, and steady employment are known to ameliorate this cultural shock, these factors will be tested for significance in relation to the hypothesis.

TABLE 5

A COMPARISON OF THE GENERAL AND HERMANOS SAMPLES  
ON THE ANOMIA SCALE

( $\chi^2 = 6.5757$ ;  $^70 P > .05.$ )

Sample	Degree of Anomia			
	High	Medium	Low	Total
General	20	27	3	50
Hermanos	9	34	7	50
Total	29	61	10	100

<sup>70</sup>The expected frequencies gave 5 units to the cell,  $\chi^2$  is thus used.

The Chi-Square test on the scores obtained in this table established that there is a significant difference in the level of anomia for the General Sample and the Hermanos Sample at the five per cent level.<sup>71</sup> It must now be determined whether the variable of commitment to religion bears a significant relationship to the different levels of anomia.

TABLE 6

A COMPARISON OF THE GENERAL AND HERMANOS SAMPLES  
ON COMMITMENT TO RELIGION

Sample	Degree of Commitment to Religion			
	High	Medium	Low	Total
Hermanos	45	5	0	50
General	20	29	1	50
Total	65	34	1	100

To determine high, medium and low commitment to religion, the writer established cutting points at 13 and 27. The possible scores ranged from 0 to 40 so that low commitment extended from 0 to 13; moderate commitment from 14 to 27; and high commitment from 28 to 40. When these divisions were made it was found that because of the way the scores were distributed they did not lend themselves to statistical analysis. Because of the importance of the scale of the study in determining the relationship of religious commitment to anomia, the writer decided to combine the categories of medium and low commitment. He is quite conscious of the fact that this will cause some detail to be lost, but he will try to point out further details later.

<sup>71</sup>In this study the judgment is made that a significant relationship exists when P(probability) = .05 or .05.

TABLE 6a

A COMPARISON OF THE HERMANOS AND GENERAL SAMPLES  
ON COMMITMENT TO RELIGION

Sample	Degree of Commitment to Religion		
	High	Medium and Low	Total
HERMANOS	45	55	50
GENERAL	20	30	50
Total	65	35	100

$$\chi^2 = 27.8; P < .001.$$

When the table is set up in this manner it is found that there is a highly significant difference between the Hermanos and the General Sample on the basis of the degree of their commitment to religion. This difference was found to be significant at the 0.1 per cent level.<sup>72</sup>

TABLE 7

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT AND ANOMIA  
FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE POPULATION

Religious Commitment	Degree of Anomia			
	High	Moderate	Low	Total
High	9	49	7	65
Medium-Low	20	12	3	35
Total	29	61	10	100

$$\chi^2 = 19.881; P < .001$$

<sup>72</sup>When the scores in the religious commitment scale were set up in a frequency distribution it was seen that all the scores of the Hermanos Sample were in the upper half of the scale and 62 per cent of their scores (31) were in the upper quarter. Although 40 per cent of the General Sample scores were in the High category, these were clustered in the lower third of that category, from 28 to 32. The mean score for the Hermanos was 31.8 and for the General Sample it was 25.96.



It must be noted with regard to this relationship between religious commitment and anomia for the total sample population that the Chi-square test could not be applied validly since the expected frequency in one of the cells was less than five units. Therefore this test would not be accepted as statistically valid. The writer determined, however, to group the medium and low scores on the anomia scale, thus developing a two by two table which lost a certain amount of detail.

TABLE 7a

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT AND ANOMIA  
 FOR THE TOTAL <sup>S</sup>AMPLE POPULATION

Religious Commitment	Degree of Anomia		
	High	Moderate-Low	Total
High	99	56	65
Medium-Low	20	15	35
Total	29	71	100

$$\chi^2 = 20.712; P < .001.$$

When the medium and low scores on both the anomia and religious commitment scales were combined, the relationship between the two variables as outlined in a two by two table was again found to be statistically significant at the 0.1 per cent level.

TABLE 8

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT AND ANOMIA  
FOR THE GENERAL SAMPLE.

Religious Commitment	Degree of Anomia		
	High	Medium-Low	Total
High	3	17	20
Medium-Low	17	13	30
Total	20	30	50

$$X^2 = 8.680; P < .01$$

Studying the relationship between religious commitment and anomia for the General Sample, a statistically significant relationship was found to exist between them at the 1 per cent level. Because of the low frequency of scores in the Medium-Low category on the anomia scale for the Hermanos, the distribution did not lend itself to statistical analysis.

The findings obtained here seem to confirm those of Poblete and O'Dea.<sup>73</sup>

They hypothesized as follows:

The development of sectarianism among New York Puerto Ricans is a response to anomie. It is furthermore a response that represents a positive quest for community in the face of the loss of more traditional social structures and the impersonalization of modern American urban society.<sup>74</sup>

The authors drew upon the studies of western civilization to show that one of the consequences of the growth of individualism is a feeling of anxiety. This has resulted in a frequent seeking of fellowship and is

<sup>73</sup>"Anomie and the 'Quest for Community'".

<sup>74</sup>Ibid. p. 26.

expressed by Reisman as the need for "other-directedness" among Americans.<sup>75</sup> Poblete and O'Dea posit the mutual interaction of religion and community as necessary to each other by providing the support of social solidarity. They see the formation of Pentecostal sects among the Puerto Ricans as a way out of anomia and an attempt to rebuild the community in the new environment. From the results of their study the authors suggest that the salvation type of conversion which these people experience seems to be an escape from the feeling of isolation and loss of orientation in life by giving them an opportunity to enter into social relationships and a feeling of belonging. This we-feeling, together with a well defined ~~role~~ role in the sect-community gives the member a new solidarity. The group solidarity serves, not to destroy each person's individuality, but to enable him to develop his own personality.

Another study on Holiness religion postulates that the sects function as an agency of the socialization of the lower class in the dominant values of the American community.<sup>76</sup> Boisen states that Holiness sects give their members "hope and courage and strength to keep going in the face of difficulties" which seems to indicate the beneficial effect of the type of community spirit involved in sect membership.<sup>77</sup> Johnson's study emphasizes the fact that the Holiness groups encourage an orientation toward society that stimulates the members to adopt many of the behavior patterns and

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<sup>75</sup>David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

<sup>76</sup>Benton Johnson, "Do Holiness Sects Socialize in Dominant Values?", Social Forces, 39(May 1967), 309-316.

<sup>77</sup>Anton T. Boisen, "Economic Distress and Religious Experience", Psychiatry, 2(May 1939), p. 194.

motivation of the higher strata in that society. The author suggests that the great attention paid to the conversion of the member is indicative of an effort to direct the individual's motivations and values in fundamental ways. He posits that the Holiness acceptance of much of society and its values is of a positive nature, in terms of an ethic of inner-worldly asceticism; a demand of dedication, perseverance and achievement, which coincides with the dominant American values.

A study by John Holt hypothesized:

(1) This religious movement (the growth of the sects) is largely the natural product of the social disorganization and cultural conflict which have attended the over-rapid urbanward migration and ~~concomitant~~ urbanization of an intensely rural, and among other things, religiously fundamentalist population; and (2) the movement is typically a social movement in that it is an attempt on the part of certain groups experiencing acute social maladjustment to recapture their sense of security through religious revival and reform.<sup>78</sup>

The author states that the data obtained in the study are not adequate to support his hypotheses. But he inclines to the view that this religious growth is a form of secession from reality, and escape-activity by which the individual seeks stable and secure social status in the midst of a feeling of insecurity.

Liston Pope has shown that it profited the millowners of Gastonia to encourage and promote religious practices among their workers, extending after some time to the establishment of Pentecostal sects among the workers. It was found that the worker who had a religious outlook was more stable and applied himself more to his work, thus being of more value to his employer.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>John B. Holt, "Holiness Religion: Cultural Shock and Social Reorganization", American Soc. Rev., 5 (October 1940), p. 741.

<sup>79</sup>Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947) pp. 29-30.

### Relationship to the Priest.

When the respondents were asked a series of twelve questions to ascertain their concept of what the role of the priest toward them should be and how they feel he visualizes and fulfills his role at the present time, certain differences were obtained for the two samples.<sup>80.</sup>

TABLE 9<sup>81</sup>

#### A COMPARISON OF THE HERMANOS AND GENERAL SAMPLES ON VIEWS OF ACCESSIBILITY OF PRIESTS

Sample	Yes	No	Total
Hermanos	7	42	49
General	17	28	45
Total	24	72	94

$$X^2 = 6.8072; P < .016$$

There was a significant difference at the 1 per cent level between the replies of the Hermanos and the General Sample regarding the difficulty of seeing a priest in Chicago. It is worth noting, however, that 56 per cent of the General Sample said that it was not difficult to see a priest in Chicago. Some of the Hermanos stated that while they did not agree that it was difficult to see a priest, they felt that it would be difficult for some Puerto Ricans who were not in contact with a priest to see one. The writer feels that it would be interesting to compare the views of the Puerto Ricans with those of American Catholics of the same class. One of

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<sup>80</sup>For the purpose of this study, the writer employed the criterion that only unequivocal agreement or disagreement scored, not noting the degree of agreement or disagreement for analysis.

<sup>81</sup>"It is difficult to see a priest in Chicago."

the respondents expressed his feelings in this way:

"When you go to the church to see the priest it is almost as difficult as going to see the President. You have to ring the bell, and the secretary comes and asks you if you have an appointment, and you are put waiting in a room for a long time, and every now and then the secretary passes by the door, thinking you might steal something. It is the secretary who is the main trouble--she doesn't like us and tells us to be sure and wipe our feet as soon as we come in the door. It was not like that in Puerto Rico--you could go to see "el cura" at any time of the day and you would be welcome."

When the respondents were asked a further question about the reception they received from the priest, the replies were not as disparate.

TABLE 10<sup>82</sup>

A COMPARISON OF THE HERMANOS AND GENERAL SAMPLE  
ON RECEPTION BY THE PRIEST

Sample	Yes	No	Total
Hermanos	12	37	49
General	16	34	50
66 Total	28	71	99

$$\chi^2 = .6893; P > .05$$

It was found that there was no significant difference between the Hermanos and the General Sample with regard to the reception they had received from the priest. A comparison with the previous table proves to be interesting. It would seem that those Puerto Ricans who have overcome the initial difficulties and who have actually gone to a rectory have received a friendly reception. The writer would suggest that those who say that it is difficult to see a priest may include, besides the Puerto Ricans

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<sup>82</sup>"You are made to feel unwelcome when you go to see a priest in Chicago."

who have gone to see a priest, those who are deterred from going because of being in a strange environment and of not having the customary means of access to the priest, said that Puerto Ricans born on the island were used to being in fairly frequent contact with the priest and that he was a familiar sight to them. When in Chicago they are afraid to make the initial contact with the priest because he is not familiar to them. This seems to underling the need for the priest to try to reach the Puerto Ricans by informal contacts so that he can become known to them as a friend. When a priest visits the Puerto Rican in his home he is always welcome.

TABLE 11<sup>83</sup>

A COMPARISON OF THE HERMANOS AND GENERAL SAMPLES  
ON ATTITUDES TOWARD HOME VISITING BY THE PRIESTS.

Sample	Yes	No	Total
Hermanos	45	5	50
General	45	5	50
Total	90	10	100

It would appear from this table that there is no significant difference between the attitudes of the respondents in the two samples regarding the desirability of the priest visiting them in their homes. Ninety per cent of both samples expressed this wish and fifty two per cent of the General Sample and fifty eight of the Hermanos expressed strong agreement.

<sup>83</sup>"The priest should visit the Puerto Ricans in their homes."

TABLE 12<sup>84</sup>

A COMPARISON OF THE HERMANOS AND GENERAL SAMPLES ON FEELINGS TOWARD AN AMERICAN PRIEST VISITING HOMES.

Sample	Yes	No	Total
Hermanos	47	2	49
General	44	6	50
Total	91	8	99

This distribution did not lend itself to statistical analysis because the expected frequency in one cell was less than five units. Once again it can be seen that 88 per cent of the General Sample said that they would feel perfectly comfortable if an American priest (as distinct from a Spanish-American priest) came to visit them in their home, while 94 per cent of the Hermanos agreed with this. The only major difference between the two groups was that 46 per cent of the Hermanos strongly agreed with the statement while only 12 per cent of the General Sample strongly agreed. This difference might be attributed to the more frequent contact of the Hermanos with American priests and their consequent feeling at ease in their presence.

TABLE 13<sup>85</sup>

A COMPARISON OF THE HERMANOS AND GENERAL SAMPLES ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE PRIEST TOWARD THE PUERTO RICANS.

Sample	Yes	No	Total
Hermanos	34	11	45
General	39	11	50
Total	73	22	95

$$X^2 = .061; P > .05.$$

<sup>84</sup>"I would be perfectly comfortable if an American priest came to visit me in my home."

<sup>85</sup>"The priest is friendly toward the Puerto Ricans in Chicago."



There was no significant difference between the Hermanos and the General Sample on their views of the attitude of the priest toward them. No distinction was made as to the type or nationality of priest. 20 per cent of the Hermanos agreed strongly while 8 per cent of the General Sample did so; but 10 per cent of the Hermanos were reluctant to give an answer as they felt that some priests were not friendly. One respondent, after talking at length, summed it with this sentence:

"Most priests don't understand the Puerto Rican culture and our way of living and they dislike us because we are different from the rest of them".

At this stage the writer would like to examine the relationship between the scores on the anomia scale for the total sample population and the answers given by them on the accessibility of the priest and the welcome received by them when they go to see a priest; also on their opinion of the attitude of the priest toward Puerto Ricans. He wishes to submit the first hypothesis to statistical analysis to test for significant relationships between these variables. First, he restates the first hypothesis:

The cultural shock which is involved in the transition from Puerto Rico to an urban metropolitan area of America for the Puerto Rican immigrant is a significant factor in his failure to adjust to the role of the Catholic priest in an urban metropolitan area of America.

TABLE 14

TABLE 14

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ANOMIE AND THE VIEW OF THE ACCESSIBILITY OF THE PRIEST FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE.

"Difficult to see priest"	Anomia		
	High	Med-Low	Total
Yes	17	7	24
No	10	60	70
Total	27	67	94

$$X^2 = 27.868; P < .001.$$

From an examination of this table it can be seen that there is a highly significant relationship between the degree of anomia of the individual Puerto Rican and his view of the accessibility of the priest. The lower state of personal anomia, the less likely he was to feel that it was difficult to approach the priest. It must be noted, however, that since it proved impossible to analyse this relationship on the basis of different levels of anomia within the two samples separately, due to the size of the frequencies in some cells, and since medium and low degrees of anomia were combined for purposes of analysis, much of the detail on the relationship was lost.

TABLE 15

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DEGREE OF ANOMIE  
AND THE PERCEPTION OF WELCOME BY THE PRIEST  
FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION.

"You are made feel unwelcome"	Degree of Anomia		
	High	Med-Low	Total
Yes	15	11	26
No	13	58	71
Total	28	69	97

$$X^2 = 14.399; P < .001$$

Statistical analysis of this distribution shows that there is a significant relationship between a high degree of anomia and the feeling that the priest does not make the Puerto Rican welcome. Again the categories of medium and low anomia were combined. Eighty-three per cent of the respondents who were in the categories of medium or low anomia disagreed with the statement that the Puerto Rican is made to feel unwelcome when he goes to see a priest.

TABLE 16

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DEGREE OF ANOMIE  
AND THE FEELING OF AMIABILITY OF THE PRIEST  
FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE.

"The priest is unfriendly"	Degree of Anomia		
	High	Med-Low	Total
Yes	15	57	72
No	13	9	22
Total	28	66	94

$$X^2 = 11.807; P < .001$$

The writer found a significant degree of relationship between the individual's degree of anomia and his perception of the friendliness of the priest. Those individuals who scored low on the anomia scale were more likely to regard the priest as being well-disposed toward the Puerto Ricans, while the respondents who scored high on the anomia scale were more inclined to regard the priest as being hostile to them. This seems to be of importance in relation to acceptance of the role and the work of the priest with the Puerto Rican immigrants.

The writer had determined that these questions should attempt to verify the first hypothesis on the basis of these attitudes having a statistically significant relationship to the level of anomia of the immigrant. The hypothesis accepted as proven on the basis of previous research that the immigrant who is involved in a transition from Puerto Rico to an urban metropolitan area of America is in a state of anomia - social disorganization, loss of role-feeling, group alienation. It was hypothesized that this is a significant factor in his failure to adjust to the role of the Catholic priest in Chicago.

The writer contends that the statistically significant relationships found within the limits of this study confirm this hypothesis.

#### Summary.

A comparison of the Hermanos and General Samples showed a significant difference in their commitment to religion. Sixty-two per cent of the Hermanos scores were in the upper quarter while only 12 per cent of the General Scores were in the upper quarter.

When the relationship between religious commitment and anomia was measured for the total sample population; it was found that religious commitment

bore an inverse relationship to anomia and that was statistically significant at the .1 per cent level. Again this inverse relationship was found to hold true for the General Sample and was statistically significant at the 1 per cent level. It was not possible to undertake statistical tests on the Hermanos sample.

The writer then discussed some of the findings of Poblete and O'Dea on the formation of sects. They saw the sects as contributing to social solidarity and being an escape from anomia for the Puerto Rican immigrant. Other writings postulated the beneficial effect of the type of community spirit involved in sect membership and its help for social stability.

A comparison of the Hermanos and the General Sample on their assessment of the accessibility of the priest showed a significant difference at the 1 per cent level. Only 14 per cent of the Hermanos thought that it was difficult to see a priest in Chicago, while 34 per cent of the General Sample thought it was difficult and 10 per cent of them were undecided. As regarded the type of welcome they received there was no significant difference between the groups, 68 per cent of the General Sample disagreeing with the statement that they were made feel unwelcome compared with 74 per cent of the Hermanos.

There was strong agreement that the priest should visit the Puerto Ricans in their homes and both samples felt they would be perfectly comfortable when visited by an American priest. Again, both samples felt that the priest was friendly toward the Puerto Ricans in Chicago and there was no significant difference between the two groups.

On a comparison of the scores of anomia and the attitude of the Puerto Rican immigrant toward three questions directly concerning the role of the priest, a highly significant difference was found in each case. On the basis of this, the writer concludes that there is a relationship between various levels of anomia and the relation of the immigrant to the priest in Chicago; that is, that the degree of anomia of the immigrant is a significant factor affecting his relationship to the Catholic priest in Chicago.

## CHAPTER 4

### ANOMIA AND ASSIMILATION

#### First Acquaintance with the United States.

Recalling what the writer described in Chapter 2, it should be remembered that the great dispersion of Puerto Ricans outside the Metropolitan Area of New York has taken place during the last fifteen years. It was not surprising, then, to find that most of the respondents had no other experience of life in the United States apart from their residence in Chicago. The years of residence for the members of both samples varied from one year to more than twenty years.

The Puerto Rican migrant coming to the United States in recent years has benefited from an orientation program to prepare him for his new life. Each week the 33 radio stations throughout the island carry a program, "Guide to the Traveler", based on the experience of previous migrants. Local committees on migrant orientation have been set up in all the towns of Puerto Rico.

It has been found that the migrants who leave the island are those who already have achieved a certain degree of success there. They are more likely to have had industrial experience than members of the labor force in Puerto Rico: they are more likely to be skilled, and less than half as likely to be unskilled. They are much more likely to have come to have come from the cities. A Columbia University study found that 85 per cent of the migrants had left their jobs in Puerto Rico in order to

come to the United States.

TABLE 17<sup>87</sup>

A COMPARISON OF THE HERMANOS AND GENERAL SAMPLES  
ON LENGTH OF TIME IN THE U.S.

Sample	Length of time in the U.S. (in yrs.)				
	1-4	5-9	10-14	15-20& over	Total
Hermanos	6	12	21	11	50
General	9	15	15	11	50
Total	15	27	36	22	100

$$\chi^2=1.840; P > .05$$

There was no significant difference between the two samples on the length of time they had spent in the United States. When asked about the length of time they had resided in Chicago, it was found that none of the respondents had lived in Chicago for over twenty years.

<sup>86</sup> A.J. Jaffe (ed.), Puerto Rican Population of New York City (New York: Columbia University, Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1954).

<sup>87</sup> Categories 1 and 2 (less than 1 yr. and 1-4 yrs.) and Categories 5 and 6 (15-19 and 20 and over) were combined to permit analysis.



TABLE 18<sup>88</sup>A COMPARISON OF THE HERMANOS AND GENERAL SAMPLES  
ON LENGTH OF TIME IN CHICAGO

Sample	Length of time in Chicago (in Yrs.)				
	1-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	Total
Hermanos	9	14	23	4	50
General	10	16	15	9	50
Total	19	30	38	13	100

$$\chi^2 = 2.7932; P > .05$$

Neither was any significant difference found between the two samples with regard to the length of time they had spent in Chicago. The years of residence were found to be fairly evenly distributed throughout the population, with over two-thirds of the sample population in the categories of 5 to 14 years.

The writer next examined the relationship between the Hermanos and General samples with regard to previous residence elsewhere in the United States.

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Categories 1 and 2 were combined.

TABLE 19

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE HERMANOS AND GENERAL SAMPLES  
ON PREVIOUS RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

Sample	Residence Elsewhere		
	Yes	No	Total
Hermanos	12	38	50
General	14	36	50
Total	26	74	100

$x^2 = 0.2079; P > .05$

There was no significant difference between the two samples on the basis of their previous residence in the United States. This would incline the writer to the belief that this factor has no influence on the degree of anomia of the individual immigrant.

The writer has stated already that the part the immigrant community plays in the assimilation process is an extremely important one. As he has outlined, there are divergent points of view on its influence on the integration of immigrants. Fitzpatrick holds strongly, and this writer agrees with him, that the immigrant community had a very beneficial effect on the assimilation of the early immigrants to this country; that instead of impeding

assimilation, as some claim, it provided the stepping-stone to integration in the new culture with the least possible amount of stress and social disorganization on the part of the new immigrant. Since it is extremely difficult to form a community in the context of present-day urban structures, the writer tried to determine to what extent, if any, the Puerto Ricans have succeeded in forming a community in Chicago.

TABLE 20

A COMPARISON OF THE HERMANOS AND GENERAL SAMPLES ON RELATIVES RESIDING IN U.S. BEFORE ARRIVAL

Sample	Relatives living in U.S.		
	Yes	No	Total
Hermanos	37	13	50
General	31	19	50
Total	68	32	100

$$\chi^2 = 1.655; P > .05$$

There was no significant difference between the two groups regarding those who had relatives living in the United States before their arrival here. 68 per cent of the total sample had relatives living in the United States before their arrival here. Based on the history and understanding of previous immigrant groups, it could be presumed that those who had relatives here would be more likely to receive prior information about the

type of life in the United States and more likely to make their first acquaintance with the new society living in the same area as their relatives.

TABLE 21

DISTRIBUTION OF THE RELATIVES OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION  
ACCORDING TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN THE U.S.

Sample	Chicago	New York	Other Urban	Other Rural	Total
Hermanos	33	7	3	1	44
General	28	8	1	1	38
Total	61	15	4	2	82

This distribution did not permit of statistical analysis because of the low frequencies in some of the cells. When we see that 74 per cent of the relatives lived in the city of Chicago, it is not surprising that these immigrants came to Chicago when they arrived in the United States.

TABLE 22

A COMPARISON OF THE TYPE OF INFORMATION RECEIVED DESCRIBING  
CONDITIONS OF LIFE IN THE USS.

Sample	Favorable	Unfavorable	Mixed	Total
Hermanos	16	1	5	22
General	8	0	1	9
Total	24	1	6	31

60 per cent of the Hermanos who had relatives in the United States had received information from them regarding the type of life they might expect to live in the United States. 29 per cent of the General Sample had received such information. Almost all had thought the information to be favorable as only one of the Hermanos stated that he had received unfavorable information while five of them and one of the General Sample thought it was of mixed content. One of the respondents said quite vehemently "It was all a lie!" The important point to note is that a large proportion of respondents had received information on life in America and found it attractive enough to bring them to the same area where their relatives lived. It could be presumed that reports coming from relatives would have much more influence on intending immigrants than any government information.

As it is accepted theory on the cultural integration of immigrants that the longer the immigrant is in a country the more he becomes integrated with the culture of the receiving society, the writer examined this aspect in relation to anomia for the sample population.

TABLE 23

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE U.S. AND ANOMIA FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Degree of Anomia	Length of Residence in the U.S. (in yrs.)		
	1-10	10-20 & over	Total
High	16	17	33
Low	30	37	67
Total	46	54	100

$x^2 = 0.1165;$        $P > .05$

On an analysis of the replies received from this sample, there is no significant relationship between the length of residence of the immigrant in the United States and the degree of anomia. This is contrary to what the writer expected to find. It may be accounted for, in part at least, by the fact that in order to permit of statistical analysis the writer had to telescope the original five categories into two, thus losing quite an amount of the detail obtained in the replies.

TABLE 24

RESIDENCE ELSEWHERE IN THE U.S. IN RELATION TO THE DEGREE OF ANOMIA FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE POPULATION

Degree of Anomia	Residence Elsewhere in the U.S.		
	Yes	No	Total
High	8	26	34
Low	18	48	66
Total	26	74	100

$$x^2 = 0.3705; P > .05$$

Neither was there any significant relationship found between residence elsewhere in the United States and the degree of anomia of the immigrant. The writer then proceeded to examine the two variables of the area of origin of the immigrants in Puerto Rico and occupational mobility in the United

States to determine their relationship to the degree of anomia of the individual. It seemed reasonable to assume that those immigrants who were accustomed, to some extent, to town or city living would make a quicker or more complete adjustment to life in America. It has been documented plentifully that the Puerto Rican immigrants who come to the United States are better educated and have more experience of city life than those who remain in Puerto Rico.

TABLE 25

THE RELATIONSHIP OF AREA OF ORIGIN IN PUERTO RICO TO THE DEGREE OF ANOMIA OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE POPULATION

Degree of Anomia	Area of Origin in Puerto Rico		
	Rural -Village	Town-City	Total
High	22	8	30
Low	40	30	70
Total	62	38	100

$$\chi^2 = 2.33649; \quad P > .05$$

The area of origin in Puerto Rico bore no significant relationship to the degree of anomia. Of those who were in the category of high anomia, over two-thirds came from either a rural or small village background; but, on the other hand, 57 per cent of those in the category of

low anomia came from the same rural background. So no conclusions can be drawn from the replies given by this sample.

TABLE 26

THE RELATIONSHIP OF OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY TO THE DEGREE OF ANOMIA FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Degree of Anomia	Number of Jobs Held in the U.S.		
	1-4	5-10	Total
High	18	12	30
Low	46	21	67
Total	64	33	97

$\chi^2 = 0.6967; \quad P > .05$

There was no significant relationship between the degree of occupational mobility and the degree of anomia. It might be suggested with good support that, instead of occupational mobility being an indicator of a high degree of anomia, it might be regarded as a manifestation of the interiorization of American work-values - seeking other jobs that will bring them better wages, the ability to purchase more commodities, or better working conditions; or it may simply be the effort to find any type of employment in an unskilled segment of the American labor market.

The relationship of educational attainment to anomia was the next the writer examined. The standard of education is so uniformly low for the



first generation Puerto Rican immigrant and the frequencies were so small in some cells that the analysis was of very limited value.

TABLE 27

THE RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT TO THE DEGREE OF ANOMIA FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Degree of Anomia	Educational Achievement (in yrs.)				
	1-5	6-8	Some High School	High School & Partial College	Total
Low	18	22	14	12	34
High	10	12	7	5	66
Total	28	34	21	17	100

$$\chi^2 = 0.2495; P > .05$$

There was no significant relationship between educational attainment and the degree of anomia of the individual. The different grades of educational achievement were distributed very evenly throughout the two categories of High and Low Anomia.

Resulting from the statistical analysis by which the writer tested for a significant relationship between these several variables and the degree of anomia, he now concludes that in the general context of the immigrant's arrival and his integration into American society, there is no significant relationship between the degree of anomia of the individual and the variables such as length of time in the United States, prior residence in the United States outside Chicago, rural-urban area of origin in Puerto Rico, occupational mobility in the United States, and the level of educational achievement.

It is outside the scope of this study to speculate as to the combined effect of these variables on the integration process, and the writer wishes now to proceed and examine the first sub-hypothesis - that the failure of the Puerto Rican immigrant to adjust to the role of the Catholic priest in Chicago is a significant factor contributing to the development of tension, personal conflict, and group alienation in the Puerto Rican immigrant.

The questions which elicited the following replies from the sample population were designed to examine the image of the priest in the eyes of the Puerto Rican immigrant and to see to what extent a rejection of the role of the priest, however partial, might be related to the growth of anomia in the immigrant.

TABLE 28<sup>89</sup>

THE RELATION OF THE ASSESSMENT OF PRIESTS' AWARENESS OF PUERTO RICANS' NEEDS TO ANOMIA FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Degree of Anomia	Priest's Lack of Awareness		
	Yes	No	Total
High	18	10	28
Low	30	32	62
Total	48	42	90

$x^2 = 2.0013;; P > .05$

The first question<sup>90</sup> sought to determine the extent to which the Puerto Ricans feel the priest is unaware of their needs. It was based on and sprang immediately from previous writings on this question and from

<sup>90</sup>

"The priest doesn't know what Puerto Ricans need."

the pre-study interviewing which the writer carried out. It appears from this study that there is not a significant relationship between a high degree of anomia and the feeling that the priest does not know the Puerto Rican's needs. As one respondent remarked: "They (the priests) know all right. It's just that most of them don't care enough to do anything about the problems."

TABLE 29<sup>91</sup>

THE RELATION OF THE PRIEST'S KEEPING TOO MUCH RESPONSIBILITY TO THE DEGREE OF ANOMIA FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE POPULATION

Degree of Anomia	"The Priest Keeps Too Much Responsibility"		
	Yes	No	Total
High	25	4	29
Low	34	22	56
Total	59	26	85

$x^2 = 5.9136; P < .02$

The question concerning the priest's acceptance of too much responsibility was inserted to determine the strength of feeling of the Puerto Ricans' feeling that the priest was overstepping his role as they perceived it and was interfering in matters which were the responsibility of the community. This question, also, came as a direct result of the pre-study interviewing. The answers showed that 59 per cent of the sample population agreed that the priest did take too much responsibility on himself while 15 per cent said they did not know and 26 per cent disagreed. Statistical analysis of the

91

"The priest takes too much responsibility on himself."

replies showed that the relationship of this feeling to the level of anomia was significant at the 2 per cent level. Supplementary and auxiliary questions showed that the Puerto Ricans wished to have the priest lead them and teach them to act as a community but that he should do so with a view to getting them to develop their own responsibilities.

TABLE 30<sup>92</sup>

RELATION OF ATTITUDE TOWARD WORK OF THE PRIEST TO DEGREE OF ANOMIA FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Degree of Anomia	"The priest has the Wrong Approach"			
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
High	25	4	4	33
Low	31	31	5	67
Total	56	35	9	100

$$x^2 = 11.0762; \quad P \leftarrow .001$$

A feeling of disbelief in the ability of anyone to remedy the situation has been found to be a characteristic of a high degree of alienation. When the respondents were asked whether those priests who were working with Puerto Ricans knew the right way to approach their task 56 per cent of them considered that they did not. 35 per cent disagreed, but of those most of the Hermanos who disagreed (20 of the Hermanos sample) stated that it was those priests who didn't understand the Puerto Rican people or culture who were not

<sup>92</sup>"The priest doesn't know the right way to help the Puerto Ricans."

using the right methods. On statistical analysis the relationship of this variable to a ghigh degree of anomie was found to be highly significant.

TABLE 31<sup>93</sup>

RELATION OF THE OBSERVED ROLE OF THE PRIEST TO ANOMIA FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Degree of Anomia	"The priest is a political official."			Total
	Yes	No	Don't Know	
High	12	15	6	33
Low	11	48	8	77
Total	23	63	14	100

$x^2 = 6.3552; P < .02$

Since one of the primary characteristics of a high degree of anomia is a state of alienation from society and a distrust of the power structure, the question of how the Puerto Ricans linked the priest with the political power structure was regarded as highly important. It was found that there was about an equal degree of disagreement by the General Sample (33) and the Hermanos (30) with this statement, but that the highly anomic individual tended to agree with it. The test for a significant relationship showed that this feeling was significantly related to a high degree of anomia at the 2 per cent level.

<sup>93</sup>"The priest is just another official in the (political) machine."

TABLE 32<sup>94</sup>

RELATIONSHIP OF PERCEPTION OF THE OFFICE OF THE PRIEST TO THE DEGREE OF ANOMIA FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Degree of Anomia	"The priest is just another man."			
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
High	25	4	4	33
Low	34	32	1	67
Total	59	36	5	100

$\chi^2 = 10.3319; P < .01$

This last question in the group was intended to test the Puerto Rican's perception of the priest as somebody sacred, consecrated to the service of God and to leading men to God. 59 per cent of the respondents said that once the priest had removed his distinctive garb he was just the same as any other man. On statistical analysis a significant relationship was found to exist between this perception of the priest and a high degree of anomia. This relationship was found to be significant at the one per cent level.

An examination of the replies to these questions, which examined the perception of the role of the Catholic priest in an urban area of America by the Puerto Rican immigrant in relation to a high degree of anomia, shows that the response to four of the five questions bear a significant relationship to a

<sup>94</sup>"Without his collar the priest is just another man."

high degree of anomia. On the basis of these relationships, the writer holds that the subhypothesis that the failure of the Puerto Rican immigrant to adjust to the role of the Catholic priest in Chicago is a significant factor contributing to the development of tension, personal conflict, and group alienation in the individual is confirmed.

Impeding Factors in Assimilation

The literature on cultural assimilation has always stressed the fact that an unfamiliarity with the customary ways of acting of the receiving society and a feeling of role-bewilderment in the performance of the required roles in society has always been a deterring factor in the cultural assimilation of immigrants. The writer feels that for a Puerto Rican Catholic immigrant, who has a long tradition of Catholicism in his culture and has socialized it from his early childhood, an unfamiliarity with the actions and role of the priest may be a considerable factor in impeding a rapid assimilation into American society. He now wishes to examine the immigrant's attitude toward some of the official structures of the society of America.

TABLE 33

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDE TOWARD OFFICIAL AGENCIES TO DEGREE OF ANOMIA FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Degree of Anomia	'Agencies don't understand how to help'		
	Yes	No	Total
High	18	11	29
Low	56	15	71
Total	74	26	100

$\chi^2 = 3.0986; P > .05$

One of the strong feelings manifested by the respondents during the interviewing process was a high degree of dissatisfaction with the official agencies of the city of Chicago, especially with the welfare agencies. Respondents complained continually of unfair treatment. One man complained that he had been told to go home and wait for a job and that had been six months previously.

The writer feels that an unfamiliarity with the bureaucratic structure causes much of this dissatisfaction. One of the features of the bureaucratic structure is the depersonalization of the relationships with the individual and this frequently conflicts with the client's conviction of the importance of his own problem and its special features. Merton states that this impersonal attitude toward matters of great personal significance to the client give rise to charges of disinterest and arrogance on the part of the agency staff.

There was no significant relation between the attitude of the immigrants toward agencies and the degree of anomia. It is worth noting, however, that while there was no difference between the categories of high and low anomia, 74 per cent of the population agreed that the agencies didn't really understand how to help people.

The writer went on to examine the attitude of the Puerto Ricans toward the advice and assistance given by the agencies.



TABLE 34 95

RELATIONSHIP OF RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF ATTITUDE OF AGENCIES TO DEGREE OF ANOMIA FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Degree of Anomia	"Agencies give the people unwanted advice"			
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
High	23	3	7	33
Low	36	14	17	67
Total	59	17	24	100

$x^2 = 2.6419; P > .05$

No significant relationship was found between the attitude of the Puerto Ricans toward the assistance given by the agencies and the degree of anomia. Again it can be seen from the table that 59 per cent of the sample population think that the agencies do give unwanted advice.

<sup>95</sup>"Agencies try to give the people advice they don't want."

TABLE 35<sup>96</sup>

RELATIONSHIP OF FREQUENCY OF VISITS BY PRIESTS TO THE HOME TO THE DEGREE OF ANOMIA FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE

Degree of Anomia	Frequency of Visits by the Priests			
	Never	Once	2-4 & over	Total
High	27		6	33
Low	26		41	67
Total	53		47	100

$\chi^2 = 16.3871; P < .001$

The writer had to combine some categories in the preceding tables in order to permit statistical analysis. Even though some of the detail was lost by this, a highly significant relationship was found between the frequency of visits of the priest to the home and a high degree of anomia. This was an inverse relationship - the lower the number of visits of the priest, the greater was the degree of anomia of the individual. Among those in the category of high anomia, 23 never had a priest in their home in America. On the other hand, 24 of those who rated low on the anomia scale had had a priest in their homes four times or more. These included 21 of the Hermanos sample who are in frequent contact with the priest.

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The writer had to combine some categories in the preceding tables in order to permit statistical analysis. Even though some of the detail was lost by this, a highly significant relationship was found between the frequency of visits of the priest to the home and a high degree of anomia. This was an inverse relationship - the lower the number of visits of the priest, the greater was the degree of anomia of the individual. Among those in the category of high anomia, 23 never had a priest in their home in America. On the other hand, 24 of those who rated low on the anomia scale had had a priest in their homes four times or more. These included 21 of the Hermanos sample who are in frequent contact with the priest.

TABLE 36

RELATIONSHIP OF FREQUENCY OF CALLS TO THE RECTORY  
TO THE DEGREE OF ANOMIA FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Degree of Anomia	Frequency of Calls to the Rectory			
	Never	Once	2-4 & over	Total
High	19	9	5	33
Low	10	11	46	67
Total	29	20	51	100

$$\chi^2 = 21.4531; \quad P < .001$$

There was a highly significant relationship between the frequency of calls to the rectory and the degree of anomia. Again this was an inverse relationship - the more frequent the calls to the rectory, the lower the degree of anomia of the individual. It can be seen from the table that almost 70 per cent of those who scored low on the anomia scale had paid four or more visits to a rectory.

Based on the analysis of the replies obtained in this study, the writer would agree with Lennon's contention that for recent Puerto Rican immigrants the priest is a symbol of authority to be recognized by his dress and manners. He is somebody whom they respect because of his position but not necessarily somebody they trust. Lennon also found that the relations of Puerto Ricans with their Catholic priests are formal and limited to areas of religion.<sup>97</sup>

TABLE 37

## RELATIONSHIP OF PRIEST AS SOURCE OF ADVICE TO DEGREE OF ANOMIA FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Degree of Anomia	Source of Advice		
	Priest	Friends & others	Total
High	13	20	33
Low	56	11	67
Total	69	31	100

$$x^2 = 19.0909; \quad P < .001$$

There was a significant relationship between seeking the priest as a first source of counsel and advice and the degree of anomia and this was significant at the 0.1 per cent level. Over 83 per cent of those who scored low on the anomia scale said they would go first to the priest when in difficulty or trouble, while 39 per cent of those with high anomia said they would go first to the priest.

The desire and determination of an immigrant to remain in the country to which he emigrates are regarded as important factors in promoting assimilation into the new society. The writer questioned the respondents on their desire to remain in this country or to return to Puerto Rico.

TABLE 38

RELATIONSHIP OF THE DESIRE TO RETURN TO PUERTO RICO  
TO THE DEGREE OF ANOMIA FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE

Degree of Anomia	Wish to Return		
	Yes	No	Total
High	28	5	33
Low	53	14	67
Total	81	19	100

$$x^2 = 2.9522; \quad P > .05$$

There was no significant relationship between the desire to return to Puerto Rico and the degree of anomia at the 5 per cent level. An examination of the table shows that 81 per cent of the sample population wished to return to Puerto Rico. The fact that such a large percentage had a desire to return indicates to the writer a major deterring factor in their assimilation into American society. Lennon states that such immigrants would hardly make serious or prolonged efforts to learn the required behavioral traits.<sup>98</sup>

On the basis of the results obtained from the replies given with regard to the attitude toward public agencies and the desire to

<sup>98</sup>  
Op. cit., p. 87.



return to Puerto Rico the writer must reject his third hypothesis. This hypothesized that the state of anomia is significantly related to the assimilation process as a deterring factor. But the fact that this is such a basic proposition makes one wary of rejecting it on the basis of this study alone.

Application of Controls on the Relation of Anomia to Religious Commitment

The writer wishes now to examine the relation of religious commitment to anomia when the variables incorporated in the study are controlled. It will be remembered that the Hermanos sample was chosen on the basis of the members pre-determined commitment to religion. Then a scale on commitment to religion was applied to all the respondents and on the basis of this they were divided into three categories of high, medium and low commitment. For purposes of statistical analysis, however, the categories of medium and low had to be combined and any analysis on religious commitment was done with these two categories.

TABLE 39

THE RELATIONSHIP OF RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT TO ANOMIA WHEN AGE IS CONTROLLED

Degree of Anomia	20 - 35 yrs. old		
	Religious Commitment		
	High	Low	Total
High	5	12	17
Low	27	11	38
Total	32	23	55

$\chi^2 = 8.4053; P < .01$

TABLE 39 (continued):

Degree of Anomia	36 - 60 yrs. old		
	High	Low	Total
High	6	10	16
Low	22	7	29
Total	28	17	45

$\chi^2 = 6.4808; P < .02$

Because of the low number of frequencies in some cells, the writer had to group the respondents according to age into two broad categories. When the age of the respondent was controlled within the limits of these categories, it was found that the relationship between the religious commitment of the individual and the degree of anomia was still significant, though at different levels for the two age groups. The relationship was significant, though at different levels for the two age groups. The relationship was significant at the 1 per cent level for the younger age group, those from 20 to 35 years old; while it was significant at the 2 per cent level for the older age group, those from 36 to 60 years old.

TABLE 40

THE RELATION OF RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT TO ANOMIA  
WHEN AREA OF ORIGIN IS CONTROLLED

		Town - City		
		Religious Commitment		
Degree of Anomia		High	Low	Total
High		4	8	12
Low		19	8	27
Total		23	16	39

No statistical analysis was possible

		Village - Rural		
		Religious Commitment		
Degree of Anomia		High	Low	Total
High		7	14	21
Low		37	3	40
Total		44	17	61

$$\chi^2 = 23.9981; \quad P < .001$$

When religious commitment was correlated with the degree of anomia of the individual with the area of origin in Puerto Rico controlled, a significant relationship was found to exist at the 0.1 per cent level for

the group with a village-rural background. No statistical analysis was possible on the group with an urban background due to the lack of expected frequencies in one of the cells.

The writer found it impossible to control for the other variables incorporated in the study due to too few frequencies in some of the cells. This was especially true of social status as determined by the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index. However, the writer feels that the correlation of religious commitment and the degree of anomia of the individual with age and area of origin controlled tend to confirm the findings of this study.

## Summary

This chapter set out to consider the relationship between the state of anomia of the individual and his assimilation into American society.

A comparison of the Hermanos and General samples showed that there was no significant difference between the two groups as to length of residence in the United States or in Chicago, or on the basis of their previous residence in the United States. Neither was there any significant difference between the two groups as to relatives residing in the United States before their arrival. It was found that 74 percent of the relatives had lived in Chicago and that 31 percent of the total sample had received information from relatives regarding life in the United States but this distribution did not permit of statistical analysis.

The writer examined the length of residence in the country in relation to the degree of anomia but found no significant relationship. The area of origin in Puerto Rico and occupational mobility in the United States were found to bear no significant relationship to the degree of anomia; neither did the degree of educational achievement.

A series of questions on the Puerto Ricans' perception of the priest's role in the city of Chicago showed that four out of the five attitudes manifested in the replies had a significant relationship to the degree of anomia of the individual. On the basis of this, the writer held

that his hypothesis that the failure of the Puerto Rican immigrant to adjust to the role of the Catholic priest in the city of Chicago is a significant factor in the development of anomia in the individual is confirmed.

The writer found great dissatisfaction among the Puerto Rican immigrants with the official agencies of the city, but found no significant relationship between this attitude and the degree of anomia.

When the writer examined the relationship of the visits of the priest to the home, the number of calls the individual made to the rectory, and the number who sought the priest first as a source of advice, to the degree of anomia of the individual, he found a highly significant relationship in each case. These seemed to indicate that for the Puerto Rican immigrant the priest is a symbol of authority to be respected but not necessarily trusted. No significant relationship was found between the desire to return home and the degree of anomia of the individual.

The writer examined the relationship between religious commitment and the degree of anomia when age was controlled and found the relationship to be still significant. When area of origin in Puerto Rico was controlled, it was found that there was a significant relationship between religious commitment and anomia for those from a rural background; it was not possible to subject the data for urban background to statistical analysis.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION AND REVIEW

#### Review of Purpose

In the preceding pages the writer has tried to examine some aspects of the assimilation process for Puerto Rican immigrants in the city of Chicago. Once again he must emphasize that the study is exploratory and comparative and that one cannot look for any definitive results from it. It is to be hoped, however, that it may play a small part in opening up some lines of investigation and adding to the understanding of the difficulties involved in the integration process for these immigrants.

The writer does not wish to go at length through his hypotheses and method again as they have been outlined fully in Chapter 1. However, some consideration of how appropriate the method used was may be of some use for future studies of this nature.

The writer is convinced that the use of the interview schedule and the personal interviewing process is essential when working with these people, or indeed any group of immigrants of the first generation. The establishment of a good rapport with these immigrants, who have frequently been the victims of officialdom and bureaucracy, is based

more on a personal approach to them and a sympathetic understanding of their problems than on anything else. To win their trust requires patience and kindness but once a spirit of trust is established they are friendly and hospitable and very willing to cooperate.

The scales the writer used in this study were, he feels, adequate for the study. An exception to this was the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Status. This scale is not suitable to determine the social status of the first generation immigrant. A different scale should be chosen or a new one constructed which would be more specific in its intent and content in relation to immigrant groups. Practically all the immigrants fell into the lowest class on the Hollingshead Scale, leaving no opportunity to control by social class.

If the writer were conducting a more detailed study of the same type he would like to construct attitudinal scales and scales of actual participation to measure religious commitment. There may be some difficulty involved in using attitudinal scales solely as very often the attitude toward involvement and participation in institutional affairs may not predict the actual involvement and participation in these affairs.



### Review of Findings.

The first major finding in the study was that there is a significant relationship between religious commitment and the degree of anomia of the individual for the Puerto Rican immigrant in Chicago. This relationship is an inverse one - the greater the degree of religious commitment the less the degree of anomia of the individual. When the writer tested this relationship, controlling for age and area of origin in Puerto Rico, he found that the relationship remained significant.

With regard to the first hypothesis, the writer found that the data of the study seemed to confirm it. Thus, from this study it seems that the state of anomia of the Puerto Rican Catholic immigrant is significantly related to his failure to accept and to adjust to the role of the Catholic priest in Chicago. It was seen later in the study that the priest is a figure of authority and respect, but not necessarily one who is loved and trusted.

The second hypothesis, a sub-hypothesis of the first one, also seems to be confirmed by the data of this study. The failure of the Puerto Rican immigrant to adapt to the role of the priest in Chicago is a significant factor in the growth of personal conflict and

anomia in the Puerto Rican immigrant. The loss of familiarity with a religion which is so much a part of the Puerto Rican's culture seems to affect the immigrant adversely and cause him to seek compensating factors such as the establishment of Pentecostal churches. These sects seem to give him the warmth and "togetherness" feeling he desires and provide for him a way out of his anomic state.

The third hypothesis, that the state of anomia of the immigrant is significantly related to the assimilation process and is a deterring factor in this process, must be rejected on the basis of the data obtained in this study. However, as the writer has stated already, it has been an accepted proposition in assimilation theory that the state of personal disorganization and alienation of the individual which we term anomia is a factor which prevents the immigrant from assimilating rapidly into the receiving society. Therefore, while the writer is unable to accept the hypothesis on the basis of the evidence presented in this study, he feels that this hypothesis should be subjected to further and more specific investigation.

A major finding, which the writer would think better described as a general feeling which was evident throughout the study, is that the Catholic Church seems to be failing to meet the needs of the

Puerto Rican immigrants, both spiritual and cultural. This was what Lennon seemed to conclude in his more specific and comprehensive study, completed in 1963. The culture of the Church is at odds with the secular culture and yet she often finds herself speaking a language which is unintelligible in the inner city. La Vida, the study by Oscar Lewis of a Puerto Rican family in the culture of poverty on the island and in New York City, might well be required reading for those hoping to work with these immigrants in a spiritual context. The contrast between the General Sample and The Hermanos was so startling as to make the writer proceed with extreme caution. It is a matter for another study to determine just how much influence the belonging to a group such as the Hermanos and the spiritual formation obtained therein has on the Puerto Rican immigrant.

#### Relevance of Findings to Theory

The major theoretical framework used in this study was Robert K. Merton's theory of the development of anomia within the social structure and the different types of individual adaptation by rejection of the prevailing values of society and the substitution of new values. Merton's theory was developed to examine "how some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in non-conforming rather than conforming

conduct." <sup>99</sup> He developed Durkheim's concept of anomie into a typology of modes of individual adaptation.

This study did not set out to examine or expand upon Merton's typology. But certain of the findings and the attitudes shown by the respondents' replies seem to be relevant to Merton's theory. One of the modes of individual adaptation which Merton develops is that of Innovation, which occurs when the individual has assimilated the emphasis society places on certain goals without an equal assimilation of the societal norms which prescribe the ways and means for achieving the goals.

Merton emphasizes that recourse to legitimate channels for achieving success - the goals of society - is limited by a class structure which does not give equal opportunity to men of good talent at every level of society. When society stresses common success-goals for the members of society and then denies or excessively restricts access to the approved ways of achieving these goals for a considerable portion of society, then there is a strong tendency toward the substitution of other, proscribed, ways of reaching these goals, a tendency toward deviant behavior. The "normal" response

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<sup>99</sup> Op. Cit. p. 132.

to a situation where there is little opportunity to achieve by conventional means the goals which society stresses is to submit to the pressures toward deviance and crime. There is in America a degradation of manual labor which prevails in all strata of society, and a realization of the limited opportunities for advancement beyond the level of unskilled labor. Where this holds true, there is a marked tendency toward deviant behavior and acceptance of the promises of power and "success" from organized crime.<sup>100</sup>

The writer feels that the strong tendencies toward anomia exhibited by the sample population in the scale on anomia give an indication that great pressure toward deviant behavior is exerted upon a group which is very low in the social scale. The occupational opportunities of the people at this level of society are largely confined to manual labor and the lesser white-collar jobs. Even on such a limited basis as the population of this study, it was evident that many had assimilated the dominant society's values of economic success and social advancement. Without the corresponding economic life-chances to attain these goals, however, there was an attitude of rebellion against the cultural norms of society and a certain measure of hope-

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lessness of ever attaining the goals put forward by society. This may entail the dysfunction of curbing the motivation for sustained endeavor and lead to an eventual rejection of both the goals and the means. The individual then becomes asocialized, pays little attention to the institutional practices and resigns himself to the lack of any claim to value or distinction. The individual is then regarded as a non-productive liability on society and is stigmatized by the conformist members.

The influence of the community in the Puerto Rican population seemed to have a lessening effect on this degree of anomia and alienation of the individual. Despite the difficulties of forming a community in present-day urban life, there was evidence of a high degree of community spirit or community life among the Puerto Ricans, especially with the Hermanos. The writer would agree with Fitzpatrick that this community participation assists the assimilation of the immigrant rather than impedes it. In fact, the significantly lower degree of anomia of the Hermanos sample might be attributed as much to their greater community participation as to religious commitment, and this could provide the subject matter for a further study.

### Implications for Further Research

The main points for further research are those which the writer already has mentioned during the course of this study. This work has been exploratory and any insights gained from it should be researched in detail and with strict controls. Specifically, the writer feels that a clearer understanding must be gained of the meaning of culture in relation to the urban environment, and particularly in relation to the Church's work with other cultures in the city. Secondly, there must be applied research of how the dominant society is affected by the culture it receives. Thirdly, "small-range" studies should be done of the interrelationships of the various interlocking psychological and socio-cultural factors involved in the immigration and cultural integration of the individual. Finally, a study of community in relation to its effect on the integration process and conducted in the light of future urban planning would aid those who are trying to ease the assimilation process.

### Summary

In this final chapter the writer has presented a brief review of the study and some thoughts on its relevance to theory and its value in stimulating further research. This was particularly relevant to

Merton's theory of Innovation and the pressures involved in deviant behavior. It is to be hoped that this study will throw further light on the problems facing the churches in the urban areas and especially in the inner city; that the churches will come to a better understanding of the problems of the inner city; that they may be able to combat the emptiness which is such a pressing issue of modern life.



APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Question

1. Sex: Male \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Married \_\_\_\_\_  
Female \_\_\_\_\_ Single \_\_\_\_\_
2. Were you born in Puerto Rico? Yes \_\_\_\_\_  
No \_\_\_\_\_
3. If yes:  
How long have you been in the United States?  
Less than one year \_\_\_\_\_; 1-4 yrs. \_\_\_\_\_; 5-9 yrs. \_\_\_\_\_;  
10-14 yrs. \_\_\_\_\_; 15-19 yrs. \_\_\_\_\_; 20 and over. \_\_\_\_\_.
4. How long have you lived in Chicago? Less than 1 yr. \_\_\_\_\_;  
1-4 yrs. \_\_\_\_\_; 5-9 yrs. \_\_\_\_\_; 10-14 yrs. \_\_\_\_\_; 15-19 yrs. \_\_\_\_\_;  
20 and over \_\_\_\_\_.
5. Have you ever lived in any other part of the United States  
besides Chicago? Yes \_\_\_\_\_; No \_\_\_\_\_.
6. If yes, please name the parts:  
1. \_\_\_\_\_  
2. \_\_\_\_\_  
3. \_\_\_\_\_  
4. \_\_\_\_\_
7. Did you have any relatives living in the United States  
before your arrival here? Yes \_\_\_\_\_; No \_\_\_\_\_.

Question

8. If yes, in what part of the United States did they live?  
1. \_\_\_\_\_; 2. \_\_\_\_\_; 3. \_\_\_\_\_.
9. Did they send you accounts of life in America before you came? Yes \_\_\_\_\_; No \_\_\_\_\_.
10. Were these accounts a) favorable \_\_\_\_\_; b) unfavorable \_\_\_\_\_; c) mixed \_\_\_\_\_.
11. In what area did you live in Puerto Rico?  
Rural or Small Village \_\_\_\_\_; Town \_\_\_\_\_; City \_\_\_\_\_.
12. Did you have a job waiting for you in the United States before you came? Yes \_\_\_\_\_; No \_\_\_\_\_.
13. Did you have long to wait before getting work?  
Immediately \_\_\_\_\_; 1-3 weeks \_\_\_\_\_; 1-3 months \_\_\_\_\_; 4-6 months \_\_\_\_\_; Over 6 months \_\_\_\_\_.
14. How many jobs have you held in the United States? One \_\_\_\_\_; 2-4 \_\_\_\_\_; 5-7 \_\_\_\_\_; 8-10 \_\_\_\_\_; Over 10 \_\_\_\_\_.
15. What is your present job? (Be specific). \_\_\_\_\_.
16. What was your job in Puerto Rico? \_\_\_\_\_.
17. What was your father's occupation? (Be specific). \_\_\_\_\_.
18. Please circle the highest grade you reached in school:  
Elementary                      High School                      College  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8                      1 2 3 4                      1 2 3 4
19. What religion did you practice in Puerto Rico? \_\_\_\_\_.
20. What religion do you practice in the United States? \_\_\_\_\_.

PLEASE INDICATE BY A CHECK MARK THE DEGREE OF AGREEMENT OR DISAGREEMENT WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Dis-Agree	Strongly Disagree
21. God assists the Church in its work on earth.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
22. God assists all priests in bringing God to men.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
23. The Bible was written with God's assistance.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
24. The Church's interpretation of the Bible is right.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
25. I should attend church on Sunday if possible.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
26. I regularly say grace before meals.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
27. I abstain, because of Church teaching, from unnecessary work on Sundays.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
28. I tithe to the Church or give as much as I can.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
29. I regularly take part in family prayer or pray myself other than at church.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
30. I regularly take part in church activities other than church services.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
31. Mass on Sunday is enjoyable to attend.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
32. It is difficult to see a priest in Chicago.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
33. You are made feel unwelcome when you go to see a priest in Chicago.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
34. The priest doesn't know what Puerto Ricans need.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Dis- Agree	Strongly Disagree
35. The priest should represent the Puerto Ricans.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
36. The priest should lead the Puerto Ricans.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
37. The priest should teach the Puerto Ricans.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
38. The priest takes too much on himself.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
39. The priest doesn't know the right way to help the Puerto Ricans.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
40. The priest is just another official in the machine.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
41. Without his collar the priest is just another man.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
42. The priest should visit the Puerto Ricans in their Houses.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
43. The priest is friendly with the Puerto Ricans in Chicago.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
44. I would be perfectly comfortable if an American priest came to visit me in my home.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
45. There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't interested really in the problems of the average man.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
46. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
47. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
48. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
49. These days a person doesn't know whom he can count on.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
50. Agencies don't really know how to help people.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
51. Agencies try to give the people advice they don't want.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
52. Did you ever have a priest in your home in America. Once _____; 2-3 _____; 4 or over _____.					
53. Have you ever called a rectory to see a priest? Once _____; 2-3 _____; 4 or over _____.					
54. Did you ever speak to a priest since you came to America? Once _____; 2-3 _____; 4 or over _____.					
55. To whom would you go for advice in difficulties? Give choices. 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____					

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Reverend Eoin Murphy has been read and approved by the director of the thesis. Furthermore, the final copies have been examined by the director and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

July 18-1967  
Date

Paul L. O'Rourke, Ph.D.  
Signature of Adviser