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The City University of New York, Ph.D., 1975
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FAMILY AS A UNIT AND LARGER SOCIETY: THE ADAPTATION OF THE PUERTO RICAN MIGRANT FAMILY TO THE MAINLAND SUBURBAN SETTING

by

JUAN-LUIS RECIO-ADRADOS

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1975

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

FAMILY AS A UNIT AND LARGER SOCIETY: THE ADAPTATION OF THE PUERTO RICAN MIGRANT FAMILY TO THE MAINLAND SUBURBAN SETTING

by

Juan-Luis Recio-Adrados

Adviser: Professor Gerald Handel

The purpose of the study

This exploratory study seeks 1) to enlarge the framework within which migration is usually dealt with by adopting the "whole family" approach; 2) to introduce a diachronic perspective by studying families at different points in time along the path of adaptation; 3) to focus on a group of Puerto Rican families that has migrated from Puerto Rico to a mainland suburban area.

Methodology

Family case studies were developed by combining the data from the focused interviews of the individual family members. These data were then elaborated and interpreted utilizing the Hess and Handel framework for the study of the family "as a unit," and the role-theory and symbolic interactionist approach of Ralph H. Turner.

Findings

The kin family network provides the migrant nuclear family with support and assistance while helping to preserve the ambiguity-ridden Puerto Rican identity on the mainland. The presence of some kin of the nuclear family on the mainland allows it to operate as a "modified extended family." A "circularity of service" shapes the patterns of kin assistance, and consequently the performance of work and other universal roles as well as the decision to migrate and stay on the mainland.

Conjugal roles: The trend toward the reallocation of familial and occupational roles on the basis of skills and interests is just in its beginning in the present group. Most of the changes in the traditional roles seem to have started in Puerto Rico before migration due to the exposure to Americanized patterns of life in the factory and urban areas. Traditional role definitions and allocation persist to a great extent, but the irresponsible and abusive aspects of the traditional male role, when assessed against the background of a modern, equalitarian conjugal role-relationship, are subject to a fast and intense erosion.

Child rearing: The migrant families strive for continuity in the child rearing traditional value of "respeto." Love is not verbalized so often, but it is also evident in family interaction. Parental flexibility with the teen-agers is partly due to the fear of losing their affection and company.

Family relations with school, work, and church show how the institutions of the host society influence the family structure while becoming progressively embodied in the redefined family role systems.

Value orientations and factors affecting adaptation: Two value axes structure most of the family interaction, namely "family group oriented personalism" and self-improvement and achievement drive." The duality reflects the cultural contrast and tension between the values of the industrial society and those of the still partly tradition-oriented Puerto Rican family. Migrants have a strong tendency toward personalizing bureaucratic roles. A "personalized institutional welcome" predisposes the migrant to adapt and to take an active role in the organizations of the host society.

The family's "will to stay," which partly depends on its improved living conditions, and the family's interaction with relatives in the area seem to have greater import than the difference in time spent on the mainland -- within the chosen limit of fifteen years -- in order to explain adaptive behavior and adult value orientations.

The definition of the situation by the migrant family suggests a psychosocial concept of successful adaptation as the functional ability to perform new and redefined universal and particularistic roles in the environments of the host society in such a way that is productive of a certain level of individual and family satisfaction which often results in a decision to stay.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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There is no way to repay the Puerto Rican families who agreed to being interviewed at length. Besides showing patience and understanding, they offered both friendship and human warmth. The assistance of teachers, community workers, ministers, sisters and priests was also invaluable.

Professor Gerald Handel, the Director of this dissertation, has been through his teaching, writing and guiding an excellent mentor from its inception. I offer to him my sincere thanks for his wisdom, generosity and patience.

Finally, my gratitude goes to the Graduate School of the City University of New York for the grant of a Dissertation Year Fellowship in 1972-73 that partly supported this project.

Juan-Luis Recio-Adrados

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND RESEARCH DESIGN

THE PROBLEM

The Conceptual Framework

This study is an exploratory attempt to describe the process of adaptation of the Puerto Rican migrant family to a mainland suburban community.

Although there are abundant survey studies of the adaptation of migrants and some even deal with the Puerto Rican migrants in highly urbanized areas, most focus on individual characteristics of the husband or of the working wife at a certain point in time. What these studies fail to give due attention to is the fact that the adaptive process rarely involves individuals as such but instead involves families as functioning entities. Accordingly this study will focus on the family as a unit. This "holistic" approach, which draws on the framework designed by Hess and Handel (1959), seems to fit best the complex situation of the family. Different family mem-

bers surely have different responses to migration and to the new environment, and, as a result, family relations are bound to be strained and reshaped. In effect, the adaptive process can be expected to have a significant impact on the family structure, and in specific ways on the internal role allocation or division of labor, on patterns of dominance and authority, on the goals and aspirations of family members, and on the ways the family views itself.

The larger society to which these families adapt is not an undifferentiated environment: it consists of a variety of institutions and organizations such as school, church, factory, government and the like. Consequently the study will also focus on the patterning of interaction between family and major societal institutions over time. No specific direction is assumed a priori in this reciprocal relation between the family and the larger society. However, as Volkart has put it in interpreting W. I. Thomas:

> behavior is determined by certain conditions, which comprise the 'situation', including the state of the organism, the objective environment, and the subjective manner in which these are perceived, evaluated and made conscious.[1]

If, as expected, a sequential patterning to this interaction is discernible, an attempt will be made to construct a typology of temporal models of adaptation.

The choice of the suburban community as the setting for our study stems from the following considerations: first, that Puerto Rican adaptation to suburban areas hardly, if at all, has been dealt with; second, such a choice can provide a better understanding of the phenomenon of adaptation under more favorable circumstances than those usually found in the cities. These include such things as greater abundance of industrial jobs, better public services and, in a particular way, the presence of a larger lower-middle and middle class Puerto Rican population with a long mainland experience.

The Hess and Handel framework for the study of whole families

Hess and Handel (1959) postulated five processes to describe with a maximum of economy the complex network of family interaction and interpersonal relationships. Their concepts try to grasp the subtle interplay between personalities of the individual family members and the group as a unit of action and as a structure of meaning.

> First, they postulate that separateness and connectedness are the underlying conditions of a family's life and that a basic family process is the effort to achieve a satisfactory pattern of separateness and connectedness.
>
> A second process which these authors identify is that behavior in a family may be viewed as the family's effort to attain a satisfactory congruence

> of images through the exchange of suitable testimony. This family interaction comes to be centered around a particular theme in each family. Themes found in the families include: flight from insecurity, equanimity and its vicissitudes, dynamics of disconnectedness, demonstration of constructive independence, and comforts and crises of companionship.[2]
>
> A family theme is a pattern of feelings, motives, fantasies, and conventionalized understandings grouped about some locus of concern which has a particular form in the personalities of the individual members.[3]
>
> Another family process . . . is . . . establishing boundaries of the family's world of experience. As each family maps its domain of acceptable and desirable experience it raises signposts for goals and signals for danger . . . . Limits to experience are established in a variety of ways and along several dimensions:. . . the differentiation of individual personality, the intensity of experience, the extensity of experience, and the tendency to evaluate experience.
>
> The last process . . . is: dealing with significant given bio-social issues of family life, particularly sex, generation, and birth order. These issues include not only sexuality and authority but, more broadly, how each generation and each sex is defined in terms of feelings, rewards, and restraints.[4]

These processes are meant to guide the analysis of data collected from every member of the family so as to gain the total picture of the family as a unit. Since they were not intended to serve as a coding guide, the process of codification will have to use more analytic and simpler concepts in a first step toward reaching the level of "holistic" analysis and interpretation. Many of these simpler

concepts are in fact provided by the same authors in their explanation of the five processes. For example, in describing the first process the authors talk about ego autonomy, individual creativity, personality development, search for gratification, physical proximity, love and passion, making some kind of life together, etc. This two-stage analysis permits also the utilization of relevant literature which overwhelmingly employs those simple concepts.

"Holistic" approach and larger society

Handel points to the fact that many investigators have remarked on the "burdensome difficulty"[5] of studying "how do the several personalities in a family cohere in an ongoing structure that is both sustained and altered through interaction."[6] The difficulty of the research logically grows if the focus is on the family as a unit as regards its relationships with the larger society. In fact, Hess and Handel write: "We have focused on the interior of the family, so that the framework is somewhat less useful for analyzing the relationship between the family and society."[7]

Ralph H. Turner, a symbolic interactionist, chooses a closed-system approach focusing on the internal dynamics of the family.[8] The properties of the family as a system of processes are studied before attempting to generalize about the effects of various external variables on the family. The three guiding questions about the way family functions as a social unit are: "To what extent does the family function in harmony or conflict? . . . . To what extent is the family as a unit able to reach decisions and divide up the tasks involved in family activity? . . . . How tightly or loosely bonded are the individuals who make up the family?".[9] Turner answers these questions by studying social interaction, socialization, and the family as an organization of roles. The functionalist theory of the relationship between family and society is helpful but it does not account for the variation among individual families in a society and does not provide but a rough outline, rather than a detailed one, of family life. The uniqueness of the internal workings of the family and the various external influences upon it are for him the two sides of the same phenomenon:

> The family is . . . . unique because of its composition; but it is through the external roles of adult male, adult female, and child that many of the important societal influences are introduced

into the family.[10]

Turner never attempts to coin a set of concepts which could encompass the unit aspect of the family. He talks, for instance, about occupation as anchorage for the man's or the woman's role. That is, he addresses himself either to the individual or to interpersonal bonding based on dyad interaction. When dealing with communication networks in the family -- an appropriate locus for holistic considerations --, he draws only on small group research in which interpersonal relationships are absent and, unlike Handel, ignores the holistic approach in psychiatric literature. His study of the role systems and of the conditions for stability and change of the role system remains within the boundaries of traditional role theory.

The present study attempts a holistic analysis of the accounts given by a group of Puerto Rican families about their migration and adaptation experiences. The data provided by the individual members of the family are pieced together into a single "family portrait" by using Hess and Handel, and partly Turner's frameworks in such a way that a more explicit consideration of the relationships between the family and society might allow to widen the usefulness of the "family as a unit" approach. If the basic task is

"to understand how people who regard themselves as members of a family link their lives together and fashion a world of their own,"[11] this world includes "the problems that arise from interaction within a framework of constraints, expectations and aspirations"[12] in the context of the larger society.

No study is here intended, however, of the community and society as such. The psychological and anthropological view that each family, as a small group, develops its own norms, values, and role definitions, says Handel, "is . . . .worthwhile in sensitizing us to the fact that analyses of values and norms that are useful at a macrosocial level need refinement when applied at the mocrosocial level."[13] Norms, values, and role definitions are the embodiment of the institutions of the larger society in the individual experience. A situation of "crisis" like migration to a new environment gives particular salience to the processes of role change and cultural change in general, allowing a dynamic view of the interplay of personality and culture in the family.

The path in the research on the family "as a unit," therefore, seems to be hard but fruitful. The main headway seems to lie in combining the guided, in-depth interviewing as used by Hess and Handel with intense participant observation as proposed by Oscar Lewis.[14]

Analytic goals

This study does not aim at reaching a series of generalizations, but rather at describing
1) the varieties or types of families according to the differential impact of institutions on them and their consequent reciprocally induced change;
2) the individual factors and the paths of linkages leading to a differential satisfaction with the new situation as expressed by the family in the will to stay, and to a certain degree of adaptation. A new formal definition of adaptation will be reached in an inductive process at the end of the study as a result of analyzing the expressions whereby the migrant families describe their achievements, aspirations, and expectations in the new environment. Such a definition will be worked out also in the light of the available definitions in the current literature. In order to be consistent with the "definition of the situation" kind of approach here adopted, the subjective side of adaptation will be stressed. Objective aspects, such as an eventual rise in the standard of living and subjective aspects like expectations and aspirations will also be included as far as they are related to the decision to stay on the mainland.

Some of the suggested factors eventually impinging on the family structure of the migrant group and positively or negatively affecting its adaptation to the new environment are: closeness and strength of the relationships to the kin; closeness and strength of the friendships, neighbor relations in the place of origin; availability of jobs, housing, schools, health services, etc. both in the place of origin and in the place of destination; job and housing discrimination; Latin concentration in certain areas of the host society; relative ease to visit the place of origin; the more or less explicit wish to return to the place of origin some day; the expectation of better chances for the children on the mainland; language and other cultural differences; the level of income and rise in aspirations; the availability of innovators, intermediaries, interpreters or link-persons offering a person-oriented reception, rather than an efficiency-oriented reception, to the migrant family; the length of the residence in the host society.

3) Finally, a series of propositions and hypotheses relating those factors and linkages with the family structure and processes will be presented that seem to work in the study group, but that demand further testing both in qualitative and quantitative research.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The most effective way to study the process of adaptation of a family would be to follow the same family over a period of years. Since this was obviously impossible, an approximation to such an ideal method has been attempted here by studying different families at different points of time. All the families in the study group have been on the mainland at the moment of the study for different periods of time going from one to fifteen years.

Selection of the families

Officials and employees of several social agencies and health services, school teachers and administrators, church ministers, and self-styled community leaders were approached. After explaining to them the purpose of the study and obtaining from them in an unstructured interview their personal appraisal of the subject, they provided the researcher with lists of Puerto Rican families in the area. The total number of families on the various lists added up to forty-two.

An introduction of the researcher to the families either in writing or, preferably, in person was also requested from these informants so as to gain more easily

the family's trust and to dispel any doubts about connections of the researcher with Government agencies or commercial firms. The purpose of the research was to be presented to the families as purely scientific, University-related work, ultimately helping to a better knowledge and remedy of the problems faced by the migrant families during the first years of their residence on the mainland.

Criteria of selection

The original study proposal read as follows:

"The process of selection will have, first a preliminary stage whereby complete families accepting being interviewed will be given a face-sheet data form to fill out . . . . . Then, a list of criteria as a screening device will help to determine the definitive study group."

Since the research aims at the development of a sequential model of the adaptation of the migrant family "as a unit," the following principles of selection were originally established:

1) The families should be similar to each other in some important characteristics to allow for comparability: a) number of children: three as an average for reasons of practicality; b) age of the children: at least two of them being at least eight years old upon arrival in the mainland, so that some con-

tribution by the children to the comparisons based on memories from the home country might be assured; the upper limit of the present age of the children will be twenty years in order to study as much as possible whole, complete families having their children in the household; c) place of origin in Puerto Rico: small town and rural areas, so as to maximize the cultural transition and to draw on rural-urban migration literature; d) present residence: in the same or nearby community; e) working class families, which make the bulk of the Puerto Rican migration to the continent; f) complete families both actually and at the arrival time, although new children may have been added to the family since its arrival; g) any other criteria seemingly relevant in the selected community.

2) The families must have arrived at different points in time, so that "turning points" can be identified and comparisons and sequences in the process of adaptation can be established. Since there is no reason to assume that a too fine staging of the families over the period of time here considered would be productive of identifying meaningful differences among them in adaptation, only families which immigrated at three or at most four points in time will be selected. For instance 1961, 1966, 1971, or 1962, 1965, 1968, 1971.

Other criteria could eventually be considered. For instance, if only very few families turned out to be from direct rural origin, then rural families that spent from one to three years in a city could be selected. In fact, the actual process of finding the families led to a partial reformulation of the criteria of selection as follows: a) number of children: four as an average, because most of the families on the lists were large-sized; b) age of the children: at least one of the children should have been at least eight years old upon arrival in the mainland; in default of them, those families should be selected that have older children at home; no limit of age is established because of the extreme difficulty of finding families fulfilling the list of criteria; c) the place of origin can be either rural or urban; the last place of residence should be in Puerto Rico; d) actual residence in the same or a nearby community in the township of Islip; e) working class families as defined by the unskilled or lowskilled occupational position of the head of the family even if the family enjoyed in Puerto Rico a high social position; f) complete families are preferable; in default of them, those families approximating this norm will be selected;

g) Only families who have arrived in the mainland at different points in time along the last fifteen years will be selected.

The process of selection

Forty-two families in all were approached. Thirty-six of them, by the researcher. Six others were approached by various informants. Eight families out of the forty-two refused categorically to be interviewed.

Only fourteen families out of the thirty-four who agreed to some form of participation fulfilled the definitive criteria of selection and were subject to in-depth interviewing.

The parents of thirteen more families who did not fulfill the established criteria of selection were given a short interview including a series of factual questions from a face-sheet, so that the aggregate data could be presented as a classification of the process of selection and as background information.

The difficulty in finding families who fulfilled the criteria of selection stems from the fact that most of the Puerto Rican families in the area have been on the mainland longer than fifteen years and their first place of residence was New York City. All but one of the families included in the study came

directly from Puerto Rico to Islip; the one exception spent a short period of time in New York City before coming to Islip.

Four families out of the fourteen who originally made up the in-depth study group were dropped subsequently because one or the other of the parents refused cooperation after one or more interviews had been carried out. As a result the final study group was ten families.

Several reasons seem to have moved the just mentioned four families to stop their ongoing cooperation besides the obvious dislike to unveil the family privacy to a stranger. In one of the cases the father first took for granted the willingness of the teenagers to cooperate, and did not think necessary to assure their individual consent as the researcher proposed; then, the father had to change his mind because the youngster did not like to be interviewed. Questions regarding the youngsters' image of their parents seem to have been found threatening probably due to the heavy Puerto Rican emphasis on respect to parents and grown ups. In two cases the irregular situation of the marriage must have made the divorced wives, living with unmarried men, uncomfortable even though the boy friends or husbands were ready to cooperate. Another interview with an abandoned wife had

to be called off after a while because bitter memories of her husband made her break into tears and made it unberable for her to continue. Some data from these unfinished interviews have been incorporated here and there into the body of study to substantiate some points.

Families in general try to protect their internal processes from undue inspection by strangers. Any soft spot in the family situation--irregular marriage, welfare playing, a father who is unsure of his supposedly dominant status, etc. -- only makes for a more acute sensitivity toward the need for hiding the family's doings from the eye of the outsider.

The ten families fulfilling the selection criteria and ready to continue their cooperation were given appointments to carry out the interviews in their own family homes on an individual basis. The staging of the numerous and often long interviews averaging one hour and forty-five minutes and the occasional offer of transportation and referral services permitted the researcher a certain degree of participant observation.

None of the families in the study group lives in the Islip areas of heavily predominant white majority but in areas exhibiting various grades of integration

of white Americans, black Americans, and Puerto Rican Americans. None of the families resides either in a small area which is heavily populated by Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Some of the families live, however, in a rather large development also heavily populated by Black and Puerto Ricans of a slightly higher socioeconomic position than those residing at the just mentioned small area. The family study group, therefore, can be said to represent well enough the variety of residential arrangements shown by the migrant group.

Techniques

The stated aim of the study made advisable the use of a suitable qualitative methodology such as in-depth focused interviewing of all the members of the concerned families. These interviews should provide the needed material to achieve a holistic perspective in the shape of a family life history or family portrait.

The instrument used in this study to carry out the structured interviewing was an interview-guide based on one worked out by Hess and Handel to study the family "as a unit," but it has been considerably lengthened so as to include questions covering areas of family contact with the larger society

and some relevant aspects of the process of migration.

Following Hess and Handel the interview-guide will cover:

> 1. Each member's view of his family.
> 2. The family's daily life--what they do and how they feel about it.
> 3. The work and responsibility roles of each member, including . . . . feelings about it.
> 4. The course of the family's development, beginning with the parents' own families of origin.
> 5. Related to the foregoing, the socialization fo the children.
> 6. How the family members perceive and feel about one another.
> 7. What problems each member feels he has in relation to himself or in relation to other family members. What he particularly likes about each other member.[15]

Further questions calling out information regarding authority patterns, role differentiation and allocation, aspirations and expectations will also be included to achieve a more detailed picture of those family structures particularly affected by the process of migration and adaptation.

Another set of questions covers the relations of the family with various institutional areas like occupational, religious, and educational as well as with the community as a whole.

In establishing causality the heuristic devices

employed by M. Komarovsky (1940) have been introduced in the interview-guide to a limited degree, given the broad focus of the present study. The steps are as follows: a) checking alleged facts with all the family members; b) asking for statements concerning the relevant links; c) testing the alleged causal connection at the time of the analysis by looking for alternative explanations, by seeing whether the alleged causal factor has been present at other times without producing the result, or whether the result has existed without the alleged causal factor; d) testing of the psychological consistency. As an example for the application of such a device the section "Work and position of dominance in the family group" in the case study "The Rolon" (p. 504 ff.) could be read. Another example is the section "Work roles and family roles in the Rolon family" in the chapter "Conjugal roles and division of labor" (p. 220-224).

Interviewing was conducted in Spanish with the parents, and in Spanish or English with the children. Children over eight years of age living in the parents' household were interviewed. Married children living on their own were also interviewed if accessible.

Organization of the chapters of the study

The "family as a unit" framework does not offer yet a set of analytical concepts to adequately encompass both the family and the larger society as the presentation of the findings of this study requires. It seems, therefore, advisable to organize the body of the study under the categories being currently employed both by the symbolic interactionist and role theory studies of the family.

The Hess and Handel's "holistic" perspective has been introduced both in the elaboration of the case studies from the raw research data and in the treatment of each of the basic categories heading the chapters. The final chapter on "Family as a unit and larger society" is a more specific effort to "ground" suggestions for a theoretical advancement in the field of the relations of the family group with the social environment on the findings and insights deriving from the body of the study.

Chapter two will present a review of the relevant literature on migrant adaptation and the family. A special section will deal with the Puerto Rican family on the mainland.

Chapter three offers some general statistical background on the Puerto Ricans in the Islip communities.

Chapter four will introduce briefly each of the

ten families of the study group, and will provide some background on their families of orientation.

Chapters five and six study the families' motivations to migrate and their first steps in the process of adaptation to the host society.

Chapters seven, eight, and nine deal with the internal structure of the family and its functions.

Chapters ten, eleven, and twelve focus on the relations of the family with three major institutional areas, namely work, school, and religious life.

Chapters thirteen and fourteen study the changes experienced by the family and the meanings with which the family invests the process of adaptation.

Chapter fifteen is the full-length presentation of the family case studies as derived and worked out from the interviews of the individual family members.

Chapter sixteen draws consequences for the development of a theoretical framework of the study of the relations of the family "as a unit" and the larger society.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER I

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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

A study dealing with such a complex situation as that of the Puerto Rican migrant family "as a unit" during the first stages of adaptation to a culturally alien suburban area should take into account the ample literature in the various areas of study.

Adaptation and assimilation are not only theoretical concepts but also social problems, and have, therefore, attracted a keen sociological and social-policy oriented interest. Nearly all the large migration movements in our age have followed and still follow the path from the rural or less industrialized areas to the urban industrial areas of the world. Extended kinship, the ethnic community, and the various institutions of the host society seem to affect importantly the process of migrant adaptation and assimilation which obviously entails some degree of socioeconomic and sociocultural change in the

migrants.

Changes in the migrant family are best detected in the transformation both of conjugal and other internal family roles, and in the examination of the occupational, educational, and religious roles. Particular attention is given to the structure of dominance in the family insofar as it can be a particularly sensitive indicator of sociocultural change. Current literature on the Puerto Rican family on the mainland will be discussed in a similar conceptual framework. A detailed consideration of the socialization of the Puerto Rican child will provide a better insight into the Puerto Rican family's role system.

The focus on the "family as a unit" and on its relations with the larger society in a crisis situation, namely that of migration and adaptation, is the fundamental theoretical choice of this study. The background for the Hess and Handel's "holistic" approach to the study of the family is subsequently complemented with various attempts to relate the internal structure of the family to the larger society. Both role theory and the conceptions of the family as a subculture and as mediator of the culture bridge the gap between the approach of the various "holistic" frameworks which focus on the intra-familial processes and the functionalist theory of the family.

I - Sociology of migration

J. J. Mangalam and Harry K. Schwarzweller (1968, 1970) have pointed to the fragmentary character of the current sociological research on migration. The classical Zipf's (1949) and Stouffer's (1940) models of migration identified the factors affecting the propensity to migrate as distance, populations of the end points of migration, employment opportunities, and intervening opportunities - among them the number of migrants.

In an attempt to construct a general typology of migration, W. Petersen (1968) has distinguished between "innovating" migrants, who move in order to get new horizons, and "conservative" migrants, who move in order to retain their way of life in another place. Other types are: forced or impelled migration, "chain migration" (John S. MacDonald and Leatrice D. MacDonald, 1964), mass migration, etc. By pointing to the fact that "there are often greater cultural differences within the boundaries of a nation than between nations,"[1] Petersen relativizes the distinction between international and internal migration. Such an obvious remark dispels the value of any terminological precisions about the Puerto Rican migration to the United States mainland, for example. The value

of the dichotomy, however, lies, as in any other typology, in helping to understand the process of migration concerned through the analysis of its specific traits selected along a continuum limited on both extremes by the categories or types involved.

The studies of demographic orientation are still dominated by the "push-pull" hypothesis. They focus on the description of the characteristics of migrants, of the factors responsible for migration, of their areas of destination, etc.

The problem of assimilation of migrants into the host society has been the one attracting more research of general theoretical import. Thomas and Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (1927) combined both theoretical and methodological import in its treatment of the impact of social values on the attitudes of the migrants and in its use of personal documents, newspaper accounts, and various records. Eisenstadt's study (1954) is also "more concerned about the 'socio-psychological nature of the process of immigration' than in developing a more comprehensive approach to the study of migration phenomena." [2]

Mangalam and Schwarzweller blame such a fragmentary state of the theoretical field of migration studies for some of the misconceptions still persisting in the study of the

phenomenon, like the alleged randomness of migration, its reduction to physical and biological terms, the adoption of the individual as the unit of analysis, etc. Later on, they have tried to develop a general theory of migration (1970). They emphasize "decision-making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends."[3] They further state that "migrants seek a destination where their unmet wants can be satisfied, and where the social organization is as similar as possible to that of the place of origin,"[4] although migration sets in motion a series of changes in the entire social structure.

All sorts of non-economic factors can affect the propensity to migrate. Both push and pull factors impinge differentially upon the different age groups, the different levels of skill, intelligence, etc. Adolescents and young adults are more likely to migrate because of their higher adaptability and readiness to take advantage of new opportunities. Rural-urban movements select the more intelligent only when a substantial change in vocational level is involved (Leo Driedger, 1973) (Hofstee, E. W., 1952) (Lee, Everett S., 1966) (Thomas, Dorothy S., 1938) (Petersen, W., 1961).

Rural-urban migration

The study of migration from rural or less industrialized areas to urban or more industrialized areas gains adequate perspective when the research on the rural-urban dimension is taken into account.

Joseph A. Kahl (1959) reviewed the literature concerning the "social concomitants of industrialization and urbanization." Sorokin, Zimmermann, and Galpin had published a synthesis of the literature on rural societies in 1930-32. Wirth (1938) stressed the disintegration of the kinship basis of social solidarity in urban life. The city -- characterized by size, density, and heterogeneity -- is for Wirth the major determinant of the urban way of life, characterized by secularization, secondary group relationships, increased segmentation of roles, and poorly defined norms resulting in disorganization. Redfield (1941), in the tradition of the Chicago School, also emphasized heterogeneity and lack of isolation as the city's major characteristics. Herbert J. Gans (1968), among many others, studied urbanism and the relatively new phenomenon of suburbanism from a broader perspective. Wirth had not dealt with the city, but rather with the urban-industrial society in Gans' view. The inner city population consists mainly of relatively homogeneous groups "with social

and cultural moorings that shield it fairly effectively"[5] from the suggested disorganization.

Gans points to the quasi-primary character of the relationships between neighbors in the suburbs. If the population is heterogeneous, however, there is little social contact between neighbors even on single-family-house developments.

Both urban and suburban way of life are insufficiently explained by ecological factors. These are only "clues to socially created and culturally defined roles, choices, and demands."[6] Only when the larger social, political, and economic systems allow considerable range of choice, ecological characteristics are useful in understanding human behavior. "Economic condition, cultural characteristics, life-cycle stage, and residential instability explain ways of life more satisfactorily than number, density, or heterogeneity."[7]

Comhaire (1956), Balandier (1955), Forthomme (1957), Mair (1953), and Hallenbeck (1955) point to the weakening of the extended family ties in the African cities and to the simultaneous increase of individualism "because the wage job is an individualistic affair, and because the members of the kin-group no longer live close together."[8]

In contrast with the majority of findings from the United States concerning the disorganization of the farmer

migrant family in the city, Oscar Lewis (1952) reported:

> From our study of Tepoztecans living in Mexico City, we find that peasants in Mexico adapt to city life with far greater ease than do American farm families. There is little evidence of disorganization and breakdown, of culture conflict, or of irreconciliable differences between generation. . . Family life remains strong in Mexico City. Family cohesiveness and extended family ties increase in the city . . .[9]

Kahl (1959) enumerates several reasons accounting for the unusual findings, namely the vicinity of Tepoztlan to Mexico City, allowing for continuing ties of the urbanites to village life; the fact that the Mexican rural family is essentially a nuclear family living in nuclear households, although there are also patterns of aid among extended kin; the religious homogeneity of Mexico reinforcing this family pattern; the fact that American studies of urban families consider "disorganization" many patterns of family life which do not follow the observer's middle-class cultural patterns.[10]

Recently Simic (1973) has studied the smooth integration of peasants into Belgrade, supporting "the contention of Lewis (1952) that 'urbanization is not a simple, unitary, universally similar process', but rather one that 'assumes different forms and meanings, depending upon the prevailing historic, economic, social and cultural conditions'."[11]

The decisive influence of time spent in the city upon

socioeconomic status and community satisfaction was studied by Omari (1955, 1956) among Negro migrants in Beloit, Wisconsin.

Freedman and Freedman (1956) found that farm reared migrants were overrepresented in low status positions in the urban social structure.

Joan M. Nelson (1969), and Van Es and Flinn (1973), among others, have pointed, however, to the conservatism of recent migrants to the city, and to their relative satisfaction with the community due to their economic improvement over their rural past. Political action and eventual radicalism is more likely to be found among older migrants residents of the city because of the shift in comparison reference groups.

II - The study of assimilation and adaptation

Research on the settlement of migrants in the host society uses two different sets of concepts, namely, on one hand, adjustment, adaptation, and accommodation, and, on the other hand, integration, absorption, and assimilation. Other concepts like acculturation are included in either one of the two sets, and, then, are qualified as to the extent to which the process has been carried out. The distinction between adaptation and integration, to choose a pair of polar concepts,

is clearly expressed in the fact that when adaptation is adopted as a conceptual frame of reference, the researcher's attention is preferently directed to the immigrants and to his greater or lesser ability to function in the host society. When integration is considered, then particular attention is paid to the host society and to the structural requirements for participation in its institutions and primary groups.

Mills, Senior, and Goldsen (1950), Lyle W. Shannon (1965), and Schwarzweller and Brown (1969, 1970), among others, have dealt with adaptation or adjustment from a sociopsychological perspective. Richardson (1967) has put forward a theory and a method for the psychological study of assimilation, which somehow complements the Mills, Senior and Goldsen's approach. These three authors defined adaptation of the migrants (Puerto Ricans in New York City) as "inconspicuous functioning and psychic contentment." They constructed an overall index of adaptation which correlated highly with the predisposition to adapt, the latter being measured by employment status, sex, amount of education, age, and color, and the former being indicated by the same items plus going to an agency for help, skill level, knowledge of language, having troubles, being on relief and time of arrival. Richardson's approach clarifies the "psychic contentment" item of Mills, Senior, and Goldsen's operational definition by

distinguishing three major aspects of changes, namely the eventual satisfaction experienced by the immigrant after the initial period of resettlement, the identification level which results from the fact that his satisfaction with the adopted community exceeds his dissatisfaction, and, then, the acculturation level of assimilation when he adopts the values and patterns of behavior of the new society.

James S. Brown (1969) views adaptation as a dynamic state in which the individual plays roles, satisfies needs, and fulfills obligations. J. S. Brown (1969), and H. K. Schwarzweller and J. S. Brown (1969, 1970) devised an index of psychological adjustment of migrants which was measured in terms of identification with the urban locality, nostalgia for home, expressed happiness, extent of worry, anomie, symptoms of psychological anxiety. Social adjustment was measured by Schwarzweller and Brown through indicators of degree of kinship involvement, frequency of visiting with close kin in the area, frequency of visiting in the stem-family home, number of visits received by the migrant in the city from kinsfolk and friends living in the rural area of origin, letter exchange with relatives and friends in the rural area of origin, degree of social contact with urban natives and number of urban friends. James S. Brown (1969) used income,

class, occupational adaptation, social participation, and friendship patterns as indicators of social adjustment.

Instead of distinguishing between psychological and social adjustment, Lyle W. Shannon (1965) defined operationally adjustment in a global or comprehensive way which included

> self-evaluations on the part of the immigrant --such as his expression of job satisfaction and general satisfaction with the urban community in which he now resides-- as well as an objective evaluation of the degree to which he has been absorbed into the economic institutions of the community as indicated by total family income, occupational level, possessions and condition of the household.[1]

Such a juxtaposition of internal and external measures of adjustment intends to emphasize the contrast between migrants expectations and self-perception and the host society's view of the migrant situation:

> We have hypothesized that what the immigrant expects to find will influence his evaluation of changes that have taken place and that the position from which the immigrant starts will influence his conception of how well he is doing. These hypotheses seem to be supported by our data.[2]

The various operational definitions of social adjustment differ from each other according to the different stress they place on the external and internal measures of the phenomenon. J. S. Brown's index of social adjustment lays the stress on the external measures whereas Mills, Senior and

Goldsen's and Lyle W. Shannon's indices of adaptation and adjustment respectively try to balance the external and the internal factors of adjustment. The external factors sometimes are also measured through subjective evaluations of the respondents, for instance, concerning their knowledge of English and the use of this language, through answers revealing tendencies toward relief and other public agencies, and through answers about having had troubles (Mills, Senior and Goldsen, 1950).

In other words, some authors choose to include under a comprehensive term, be it adjustment or adaptation, indicators which other authors prefer to distribute into two separate indices, namely one of social and another of psychological adjustment.

A higher level of cultural assimilation and a stress on structural assimilation is, by contrast, the main characteristic of the operational definitions of integration or assimilation. In a few operational definitions of adaptation and adjustment can already be found, however, slight references to structural assimilation, so that they can be considered to link the description of the two processes under study. For instance, J. S. Brown's definition of social adjustment includes "social participation" and "friendship patterns" among its indicators, and "social contacts with urban

natives" and "number of urban friends" are two of the indicators in the operational definition of social adjustment by Schwarzweller and Brown. The phenomena dealt with in these definitions of adjustment or adaptation are about the same included in the first stages of the long-term process of integration or absorption of immigrants as conceptualized by Eisenstadt and Gordon. Gordon calls this first step "cultural assimilation" whereby the migrants adopt the basic values and behavior patterns of the new society.

Eisenstadt (1955) opened the way to the sociopsychological study of integration of immigrants. He distinguishes three stages in the process of migration, namely the motivation to migrate, the social structure of the actual migratory process, and the absorption of immigrants within the cultural and social framework of the new society. Such an absorption or integration includes the transformation of the individual's status image and set of aspirations and values, and the institutionalization of the individual's role expectations entailing the transformation of his primary groups. In short, absorption or integration comprehends both acculturation and institutional dispersion.

Rivka Weiss Bar-Yosef (1968) further tested Eisenstadt's theoretical framework among Israeli immigrants while

conceptualizing absorption as a simultaneous working of de-socialization and resocialization processes, and relating these processes to the material and organizational environment of the immigrants. Their end result is the establishment of a new identity and role system. This identity "evolves from the cumulative images of the cluster of roles." [3] What is new in Bar-Yosef's approach is the explicit embodiment of role and identity theories in the Eisenstadt's framework such as those of E. Erikson, E. Goffmann, G. H. Mead, and R. K. Merton.

Milton Gordon (1964) distinguishes seven sub-processes and stages in the process of assimilation which includes, like Eisenstadt's absorption, both cultural and social structural components. Gordon hypothesizes that in the United States the "ethclass", that is the ethnic group plus the social class are the decisive factors helping the migrant to define for himself who he is in view of his social participation in primary groups, and that "with regard to cultural behavior, differences of social class are more important and decisive than differences of ethnic group." [4]

According to Germani (1957), full integration is achieved through the effective and legitimate participation of individuals and social groups into the different institutions

and partial structures of the modern society. Attention is paid, thus, to structural assimilation. The first step toward social integration is rural-urban migration. Among the sociopsychological components of the decision to migrate, Germani mentions the complex phenomenon of "mobilization," namely a sort of release from the traditional structure which may occur even in rural areas, and a disposition to play the new roles. The following stages of integration are hypothesized: 1) incorporation of the lower strata into the modern economic process through the adaptation to new occupational roles and the attainment of the required educational level; 2) economic development leading to mass consumption; 3) full social integration.[5] All three stages, and, in a particular way, the second and third, take place at a time and are obviously interrelated. When upward social mobility becomes a mass process, then social structural, psychosocial, and cultural changes take place. These changes provide the mechanisms for participation, that is for full integration, and occur mainly in the cities.

Marginality is the failure to achieve integration into the city. Maybe the migrants are internally more or less organized and integrated, as it happens with the Lima's "barriadas." But they are not able to incorporate themselves into the social structure of the city. Marginals are "those who

do not receive the minimum of gratification from the social system and also do not have active participation in the determination of the goals of the society."[6] The roots of marginality often are the failure of the mechanisms through which economic development is supposed to achieve integration. Other factors making for marginality are: the large cultural distance between the rural area of origin and the city which hardens the adoption of urban patterns of behavior; the absolute and relative size of the migrant group; the ecological concentration of the migrants; the merely adaptive rather than integration easing attitude and behavior of the urban groups and institutions.

Mass media and education are the most important factors or agents of mobilization. A higher level of aspirations is the driving force underlying the mechanisms of social mobility. Therefore, although structural assimilation remains the major indicator of integration, the transformation of behavioral patterns or cultural assimilation is necessarily implied at every stage of the integrative process.

Factors affecting acculturation or assimilation: Remarks on methods.

C. L. Peterson and Th. J. Scheff (1965) reviewed selected sociological and anthropological literature on the process of acculturation or assimilation to a host society as a

consequence of either internal or international migration, or just as the result of the close contact of two different cultural groups within a nation. They started their review as far back as 1932. Among the theoretical studies, they highlight Barnett's Innovation (1953), and Eisenstadt's The Absorption of Immigrants, as the first comprehensive examinations of the phenomenon.

Peterson and Scheff list the variables affecting assimilation in a summary of findings, even though these major variables do not form part of any unified conceptual framework so far unavailable. They also point to the fact that the reviewed studies just present zero-order correlations without controlling other factors. As a consequence, "no decision can be made as to whether the observed relationship is causal or whether the significant measure of association means that the so-called 'independent variable' is merely another indicator of assimilation."[7]

Attention is called to the need for cross-cultural studies of immigrants to different host societies, and also for studies which examine the relative assimilation of immigrants to the same host society, but who arrived at different points in time and differ in their status in their home country.

Shannon, L. W. and Shannon, M. (1967) deplore that most studies on migrant assimilation to cities have so far focused on the individual characteristics of migrants at different points in time, and on their adjustment in comparison with persons who have always lived in the host communities. The use of census data has favored a static and individualistic approach, although some studies focus on the variation among different waves of migration from one region to another and from one time to another (Freedman R. and D. Freedman, 1956). The comparison of migrants with urbanites has a built in bias because it entails the assumption of a social system as standard or criterion to evaluate a different social system. Shannon and Shannon think that the emphasis should be on

> what was happening where the migrants came from, what was going on in the city when they arrived, what was taking place in the city at the time that the study was being conducted, and how each of these increases or decreases the likelihood of assimilation.[8]

Another critique of the focus on the individual migrant's characteristics is that of Beijer (1963) in his review of literature on adjustment of migrants. He laments the fact that

> so far little attention has been paid to the problem of the immigrant's wife and children although this may be the very key to success. The man, in his factory, usually makes acquaintances there in a short time, and sees plenty of people. The wife

is left alone, in a strange environment . . .[9]

The Influence of the Family on Migrant Adaptation and Assimilation

There is ample but contradictory evidence on the importance of the family in the adaptation and assimilation of migrants. Peterson and Scheff report that the immigrant's family of procreation, if it is traditionally oriented and, still more, if it is a extended family, hinders the immigrant's assimilation. (Warner and Srole, 1945), (Bruner, 1956), Smith (1953) found a positive relation between family aid and assistance and assimilation. The involvement of the family from the first steps of migration has been studied by J. S. MacDonald and L. D. MacDonald (1964) and by Ch. Tilly and C. Harold Brown (1968). Litwak, E. (1960) has explained the reasons why the extended family is more suited than the nuclear family to help its members to migrate and to adjust to the host society, namely because it is capable to pool resources from all its members, and because it has superior lines of communication thanks to its size and close ties. H. M. Cholden (1973) refutes the argument that migration promotes the destruction of kinship networks with his findings from a survey of the population of Chicago.

> However, the effects of kinship affiliation and support are not simple. Migrants without kinship affiliation and support find jobs more quickly and maintain higher morale than do migrants who join kinfolk or others.[10]

James S. Brown (1969) found among Appalachian migrants exceptional family solidarity despite migration. The kinship structure of rural southern white migrant families managed to handle most of the problems encountered in the new environment.

Social class origin appears to be a major "conditioning variable" as Schwarzweller and Brown's study of the adjustment of Kentucky mountain migrants has shown (1969, 1970). The authors had hypothesized that the greater the degree of involvement with kinsfolk, the greater the social and psychological adjustment of the migrants to the new environment under certain conditions. They found that the branch-family network, in the case of migrants from high-class and intermediate-class families, performs an important supportive function. But, unlike the pattern for high-class migrants, involvement with persons in the place of origin through visiting also shows evidence of improving the adjustment of the intermediate-class migrants to the area of destination. Intermediate-class families benefit more than lower-class families from the support of the stem- and the branch-family. The authors

suggest that

> feelings of despair and insecurity may be a normative condition among these [lower-class] families, and the family group, as an entity, may be unable to provide the necessary aid (economic, social, psychological) to help its members satisfy their changing needs.[11]

In any case, their research proves beyond doubt that the kinship factor affects adjustment among all classes of migrants, and that there is a direct relationship between the migrant social origin and his socioeconomic status in the area of destination as well as his social and psychological adjustment.

Comhaire (1956) has shown the strength of family ties during the period of transition from rural to urban life in Africa. E. A. Wilkening, J. B. Pinto, and J. Pastore (1968) report that "the extended family is the most important source of information and assistance for migrants to both rural and urban areas of central Brazil."[12] Its role depends upon the social class of the family, the contacts being closer among the higher-status than among the lower-status families. His findings agree with those of Schwarzweller and Brown, and are in support of "those based upon studies of family-oriented European societies --the Polish, Italian, Irish, and family-oriented cultures in the United States."[13] However, Omari (1956), Clark (1962), and Berardo (1965), among others,

have not been able to find any relationship between family involvement and assimilation of migrants.

The ethnic community in the process of adaptation

Milton Gordon finds very little "cultural assimilation" among Puerto Ricans on the mainland, and, a fortiori, no "structural assimilation" whatsoever.[14] Since their United States citizenship, the fact of their concentration in a few northern cities, and the fact that not even two full generations can yet be studied makes the Puerto Rican migration a unique phenomenon, less demanding concepts of assimilation and integration can eventually help to interpret and predict the outcome of the processes involved. According to Fichter (1957), assimilation is "a social process through which two or more persons or groups accept and perform one another's patterns of behavior . . . It is a relation of interaction in which both parties behave reciprocally even though one may be much more affected than the other."[15] Baglioni (1962) follows the agreement of the UNESCO Conference at La Habana (1956) in adopting a similar concept of the assimilation or integration of immigrants in which a reciprocal exchange and contribution between immigrants and receiving society is envisaged and the importance of the resulting differentiation in the social structure is stressed.

The ethnic community is considered to make an important contribution both to the newscomers and to the host society by helping the migrants to bridge the gap between their rural traditions and the urban world and make their first steps into the mainstream of the host society.

H. S. Nelli (1967) points to the group consciousness and community institutions among Sicilians in the United States as an adaptive social formation in response to the urban environment which did not exist in the home country where, according to Banfield (1958), "amoral familism" was rather the rule,[16] surely as a reflection of social structural conditions.

In spite of the sharp decline in their occupational levels, Cubans in West New York, N.J., have been found satisfied with their work in the United States by E. Rogg (1971). The presence of a large refugee community has provided comparison reference groups for the newly arrived, "so that they evaluate their own occupational performance . . . according to the performances of people in similar circumstances, fellow refugees, rather than according to the occupational levels attained by the Americans around them ."[17] The ethnic or national community also provides psychosocial satisfaction for its members. The migrants often live together and work together.

The will to acculturate does not entail the rejection of a cultural heritage, as Hoffman, G. and J. A. Fishman (1971) have found in a study on bilingual-bicultural attidudes of Puerto Ricans in Jersey City, N.J. The ability to engage in activities of both cultures and, in a specific way, the use of Spanish is likely to continue for a long time.

One of the most important functions of religion is to provide identity. When native language churches are available, the religion becomes "an emotionally anchored 'home away from home', reinforcing identity with the country of departure" (J.J. Mol, 1971),[18] and protecting the immigrant group from social disorganization (J.P. Fitzpatrick, 1971). The creation of immigrant ethnic churches and other institutions develops the capacity of the ethnic community for solidarity. S. Tomasi (1972) has shown how the Italian ethnic church in the United States was not only an agent of social solidarity, but also a linkage system between the ethnic group and the total society, beginning with the established Catholic Church. D. O. Moberg (1962), Poblete and O'Dea (1960), P. C. Sexton (1965), and S. Minuchin (1967) have studied how new sects and Pentecostal churches serve the needs of marginal population segments like self-help, feeling of belonging, thrift, self-control, etc. Minuchin describes how some Puerto Rican fami-

lies reach out to evangelical churches and the "espiritistas" (spiritualists) to deal with pressures produced by family problems, and use them as supportive systems that help to maintain family intactness. The effectiveness of these resources is related both to its indigenous character in the ethnic community and to its consequent easy working within the family as an integral part of the system.

Finally, ethnic solidarity is widely seen as a structural requirement for the achievement of assimilation best measured by the equal opportunity obtained by the ethnic group members (N. Glazer and D. P. Moynihan, 1963) (W. B. Miller, 1959) (Puerto Rican Forum, Inc., 1964)(J. P. Fitzpatrick, 1971). D. Wakefield (1959), P. C. Sexton (1965), and L. H. Rogler (1972) studied self-organizing efforts in the Puerto Rican community.

The institutions of the host society and the "personalized institutional welcome"

The hosts' favorable attitudes toward the immigrants make assimilation easier (Humphrey, 1944) (Savorgnan, 1950). Mincieli (1972) has stressed the importance of the role of the social agencies in order to achieve the educational and social adjustment of the migrants. These secondary communities, through "strategic interventions", provide support ordi-

narily expected from the primary community by building cultural continuities between the community of origin and the host community.

The failure of impersonal health services to the urban Chicano has been pointed out by R. A. Cervantes (1972) in sharp contrast with the importance of persons like "curanderas" (folk health practicioners) "who have large followings because they offer personalized service at low cost."[19] His recommendation is that "a change in attitudes, not more tax dollars, and the presence of Chicanos at all program levels are needed before public health agencies can deliver quality health care to Chicano communities."[20] Similarly, Ch. E. Wilson (1972) says that Puerto Rican parents "are not accustomed to receiving notes from service professionals concerning their children. The tradition is the home visit. The main barrier to success for the Puerto Rican children is the prejudice and insensitivity often found among social workers and others in the service fields."[21]

E. Litwak and H. J. Meyer (1967) have studied the different ways of linking formal organizations and external primary groups. One of the types of linking mechanisms is the "detached-worker approach":

> In this procedure professionals from the bureaucratic organization go into the 'home' of the primary group and develop an informal relationship with the family they seek to convert to organizational goals . . . . We would argue that in order to reach very distant families--those organized in primary groups and holding views antithetical to education--it is necessary to establish a primary-group type of relation with them. Only after the communicator has been accepted as a trusted member of the group can the school's views make an impact on the family.[22]

H. J. Gans (1962) pointed to the difficulty of second generation lower-class Italians in comprehending the nature of administrative procedure and to their tendency to personalize impersonal bureaucratic relationships. Gans contrasted the "person-orientation" of his working-class subjects with the "object-orientation" proper to the middle-class as follows:

> . . . Person-orientation is based on a close association with the family circle and the peer group which the individual maintains all his life, and which is built into his personality structure. Middle-class people, on the other hand, choose from a wider range of people the individuals and groups with whom they spend their lives, remain somewhat more detached from them, and can even leave them for others without serious feelings of loss.[23]

The person-oriented West Ender studied by Gans views the bureaucrat, the doctor, the politician, etc. as potential peer group members, and, not understanding their object-oriented behavior, evaluates them in terms of personal morality without making adjustments necessary for secondary-group relationships.

It seems, however, that the above-described "detached-worker approach" (p. 51) involves person-oriented behavior that shortens the distance between the families and the institutions resulting thereby in adaptation of the alienated persons--here, the migrants--to the institutions of the larger society. In this situation mutual value borrowing or exchange seems to take place like between dialogue partners.

"Personalism" seems to imply equality or symmetry in the performance of the dialogue roles inherent in symbolic communication (J. Habermas, 1970), rather than criteria of efficiency implying instrumental rationalization (T. Schroyer, 1970). Therefore, such a tendency to personalize supposedly impersonal relationships can be interpreted in a framework of "critical theory of society" as a reaction against the undue invasion of "systems of instrumental action" into the domain of "symbolic communication", invasion that makes impossible even the effort to approximate an "ideal speech situation." (J. Habermas, 1970).

Socioeconomic and sociocultural change in the path of adaptation

Level of income and occupational status are some of the indicators often included in operational definitions of social adjustment. Occupational success, however, does not require

a break with the ethnic community. Lenore Mary Kelly (1971) has found confirmation of this among second generation Puerto Ricans. In fact, "the loss of community strength and ethnic identity, and the weakening of ties with one's cultural past are more likely to be associatedwith failure to advance or with downward occupational mobility."[24] O. G. Simmons (1965) found that middle-class Mexican-Americans who were better acculturated to the Anglo-American ways, were also more keenly aware of their disabilities and non-full acceptance by the Anglo-American society than their fellow Mexican-Americans of the lower-class. The insulation between the Anglo-American world and that of the Mexican-American lower class seems to account for the difference.[25] Middle-class Mexican-Americans, however, no matter how much desire equal opportunity, are not ready to accept full assimilation to the Anglo-American way of life for this would imply the loss of their cultural identity. They rather prefer a fusion of both cultures in which "the best of both ways" is preserved. Certainly the patterns of the Mexican-American family have changed, and family values can be considered crucial indices of acculturation (R. G. Tharp et al., 1968), along with language use, education, etc. With rising socioeconomic status, the organization of conjugal roles changes from segregated to joint role relation-

ship patterns. But Mexican-Americans still retain fundamental value orientations and modes of participation in interpersonal relationships (O. G. Simmons, 1965). Simmons' conclusion on the subject contains a deep insight into the functioning of a sort of "norm of reciprocity" as structural condition of a kind of assimilation compatible with "cultural democracy":

> Mexican-American culture represents the most constructive and effective means Mexican-Americans have yet been able to develop for coping with their changed natural and social environment. They will further exchange old ways for new only if these appear to be more meaningful and rewarding than the old, and then only if they are given full opportunity to acquire the new ways and to use them.[26]

Changes in family structure and socialization of children among Cuban exiles in Miami, Florida (M. L. Richmond, 1973) have been ascribed mainly to the working status of many wives, to the exposure of the family to new cultural reference groups with different norms for family interaction, and to the children's association with their American peers. The ethnic community in an urban environment cannot prevent multiple contacts with the native urbanites to say nothing of the pervasive influence of the mass media. Richmond found that association with Americans and length of residence in the United States were the variables most highly associated with the assumption of an equalitarian ideology.

Finally, the distinction between "settler" and "tran-

sient" (E. Padilla, 1958) concerning Puerto Rican immigrants is relevant to the kind and pace of acculturation and adaptation. Although becoming a "settler" often does not involve a decision at a determined point in time, but it is rather the result of a gradual process, the "'settlers' view their future as being tied up with whatever life in New York may offer.'[27] The "transients", by contrast, regard their future life as gravitating toward Puerto Rico and hope to return to live there some day. It should be pointed, however, that the acculturation of Puerto Rican migrants starts in their native Island through the intense "anticipatory socialization" that the two-way flow of migrants and returnees and the especial comprehensive relation between Island and mainland set in motion long time ago. E. Seda Bonilla, (1970) perhaps the best Puerto Rican anthropologist, is pessimistic about the chances of the Island's culture for survival, even if at the same time Milton Gordon (1963) has appraised the rate of cultural assimilation of the Puerto Ricans on the mainland as very low.[28]

III - Extended kinship in the modern society

The present study focuses both on the functioning of the kin network and on the effect that the operations of the kin may have on the functioning of other social systems

and viceversa. How does the kin family network interrelate with other social systems or institutions in society. The assumption is that the kin network will adapt by affecting urban society and by being also affected by it.

The Chicago School[1] first, and, then, Parsons,[2] on one hand, and Litwak, and Sussman on the other hand reached opposite conclusions regarding the changes affecting the kin family network in the urban-industrial society. According to B. N. Adams, "Parsons and his critics, in their conceptions of functionality, are in fact talking past each other."[3] Litwak's and Sussman's empirical research and theoretical discussion on the kin network in modern society would deal mainly with the functioning of the kin network or "modified extended family" in itself. Wirth and Parsons, by stressing the functionality of the "isolated nuclear family", would rather be concerned with the relation of the kin network to the society. Parsons affirms that "these extended kinship elements do not form firmly structured units of the social system,"[4] and that the expectation system of the kin network has an "optional quality," that is, the "extended kin constitute a resource which may be selectively taken advantage of within considerable limits."[5]

It seems that only more abundant empirical research will clarify the issue by showing the change of the extended

kinship over a period of years and its interrelation with other social systems. B. N. Adams sides with Parsons in assuming that the modern kinship system is not "functionally central . . . in the total society as it has been in many other times and places", but rather "functionally peripheral to the ongoing of the total structure."[6]

The present study does not presume to solve this wide ranging issue, but it can shed some light on the actual change of a certain kind of extended kin, namely that of a group of recent Puerto Rican migrants on the mainland. Current literature shows how the kin still provides "supportive functions during the period of immigration and transition from the rural to the urban pattern of living,"[7] and how immigrants become "informants, innkeepers, and providers for later kin arrivals."[8] Sussman describes the major activities linking the kin family network as mutual aid and social activities like "inter-family visitation, participation together in recreational activities, and ceremonial behavior significant to family unit."[9]

Referring to the American mainland extended family, R. H. Turner (1970) ascribes its decline mainly to industrialization --entailing physical mobility, a money economy, and expanded consumption and upward mobility opportunities.

Since the urbanization and industrialization of Puerto Rico have proceeded at a fast pace in the last decade, it is likely that also kin groups in the Puerto Rican society have become subordinated to the conjugal unit, although patterns of mutual aid, institutionalized visiting[10], and friendship relationships among kin endure. Also the extended family in Mexico seems to belong to the past and is seldom discussed in the literature (F. Penalosa, 1968).

The traditional functions of kinship have been described as economic, assistance, social-control, social-status, and religious (Leichter and Mitchell, 1967). Some of the elements of the classical extended family, whose presence or default will guide the choice of the appropriate term to describe the different kinds of Puerto Rican families in Islip, are: "geographical propinquity, involvement of the family in the occupational placement and advancement of its members, direct intervention into the process of achieving social status by members of nuclear family units, and a rigid hierarchical authority structure."[11]

Fitzpatrick (1971) thinks that the experience of migration tends to weaken the extended kinship because the family finds itself alone as a consequence of moving from place to place, and because the mainland cities are "not a convenient

environment for the perpetuation of family virtues and values."[12] Since the public and private social agencies provide professional help, the family cannot stand comparison with them. No matter how valid Fitzpatrick's appraisal is for the cities, it remains to see, first, whether such an alleged weakening also happens in the suburban area of Islip, and, second, whether such a weakening has not been taking place in the Puerto Rican society for long time, so that the migration would just intensify a well advanced process.

Some examples of extended kin and their functions

The South Italian family was, according to I. L. Child (1943) a closely bound economic unit dominated by the father, and a cohesive group of individuals who recognized tight bonds of mutual responsibility among the members. Campisi (1948) described the first-generation Italian family in transition as patriarchal only on the surface. It was no longer a tightly knit economic unit, and group solidarity was weakened while the children were inclined toward individualism. Marriage was no longer a family affair. A deep rift between the generations concerning marriage and family patterns had developed. The school challenged paternal authority and undermined devotion to Italian culture.[13]

Gans (1962) described among the second generation

Italians of the West End of Boston a type of expanded family still close to the extended type although no longer an economic unit like it. The family functions as a "social circle" in which the members enjoy each other's company and lend each other assistance and advice. This expanded family system is limited generationally so that relationships are closer among the adult members of the same generation than among adults and their parents. In this way the family circle is part of a wider primary group which Gans calls the "peer-group society" because it functions from birth to death and includes not only the relatives, but also the peers of the same sex, age, and life-cycle status.

Child (1943) had described three types of reactions among the second generation Italians to the conflictive situation created by their exposure to two different cultures, namely the "rebel", the "in-group", and the "apathetic", in accordance with the attitudes adopted regarding both the Italian and the American groups.[14]

The family described by Gans (1962) is an in-group type of family. The close ties to the extended kin group, however, seem to be a working class phenomenon rather than an ethnic characteristic.

"Joint families" among Puerto Ricans in a slum of New

York City (E. Padilla, 1958) seem to have been far less frequent than nuclear families. "Joint families" consist of two nuclear families under a single authority, who share living together on a common budget under the same roof as a single family unit.

> Members of an extended family that acknowledge belonging to a 'great family' and act toward each other in the ways that are expected of this group are referred to as a 'united family' or <u>familia unida</u>. A family group of this type usually consists of a number of biologically related nuclear families which recognize mutual obligations toward each other in case of need.[15]

J. A. Williams, Jr. and R. Stockton (1973) tried to study, drawing on data collected from 321 households, "the extent to which the various structures suggested by Billingsley serve to differentiate the performance of the different family functions."[16] Billingsley's (1968) twelve types of family structure are based on whether a family has a married couple or a single parent, the presence or absence of children, whether other relatives live with the family, and whether unrelated persons live with the family and function as family members.

The functions were classified as instrumental (education, job stability, income, housing and health care), expressive (belonging, self-worth, adjustment to the marriage role, the companionship of husband and wife, and family cohesion), and instrumental-expressive (education of the child-

ren, adjustment to the parent role, and the mental health of the children).

Williams and Stockton found that the two attenuated types of families (nuclear and extended families with a single parent) "were considerably below the others in fulfilling instrumental functions"; that the expressive functions "did not show consistently large differences among the types"; finally, that the attenuated nuclear and extended families seem to fulfill the instrumental-expressive functions less well than the simple nuclear family.

The conclusions are that the most salient structural variable is the presence of both a husband and wife in the family, and that attention should also be paid to other structural characteristics to avoid distortions. For example, the authors found that

> among nonattenuated families the incipient extended family (with no children) appears to have greater difficulty in fulfilling expressive functions, and among attenuated families (with a single parent) the attenuated extended family appears to be less able to fulfill certain expressive and instrumental-expressive functions.[17]

The boundaries of the family in the black ghetto are more open than in white middle-class America, has found D.A. Schulz (1969) in his study of patterns of ghetto socialization. Adults depend upon for support, and even seek intimacy

with persons who often are not related either by marriage or blood. Schulz mentions several factors working to extend kinship terminology to a number of non-kin persons: "the custom of 'farming out' children to kin or close friends" . . ., "the frequent occurrence of children born out of wedlock" . . ., "identification as a member of a black brotherhood" . . ., and the frequent presence of boyfriends in incomplete families.[18] The extension of the intimate community is a functional device providing the lower-class Negro family with "a ready supply of persons who can be depended upon when a crisis occurs."[19]

W. C. Hays and Ch. H. Mindel (1973) have shown that as a result of a historical process that has placed Blacks in a disadvantageous position, Black family structures can be seen as pragmatic choices in terms of the Black experience. The authors find important clues according to which Black families interact more with extended kin and perceive them as more significant than white families do. Black families receive more help from their extended kin in child care than whites do. The number and type of relatives who live in the household is also greater and more diversified for the Black compared with the white families.

However, similar patterns of behavior have been found

among the poor whites struggling for survival in their minority group status within the affluent society. In a long enumeration of characteristics of the lower-blue-collar-class Cohen and Hodges (1963) mention their more intense interaction with relatives, their claiming more relatives who live nearby, and their maintaining kinship ties upon marriage without any reorganization of these ties, no matter how unstable their family life might be.[20]

Colin Bell (1971) has shown that extended family assistance is not limited to the working class. At least for those with bureaucratically organized careers, wider family ties seem to become more important with increasing industrialization. Those with middle-class backgrounds are in a better position to receive extended family aid than those with working class backgrounds, especially when geographical mobility has also been experienced. Demographic factors like size of, and birth order in, the family of origin are also relevant.[21]

Social mobility can lead to weakening of kinship solidarity (Mark Hutter, 1970) when transformation of identity is involved as a consequence either of differential socialization experiences or of strong pressures exerted by occupational mobility like between working class and middle class.

IV - Conjugal roles and division of labor

E. Bott (1957) tried to interpret the variations in the way husbands and wives perform their conjugal roles. She advanced the hypothesis that "the degree of segregation in the role-relationship of husband and wife varies directly with the connectedness of the family's social network".[1] In the segregated conjugal role relationship

> husband and wife have a clear differentiation of tasks and a considerable number of separate interests and activities. They have a clearly defined division of labour into male tasks and female tasks. They expect to have different leisure pursuits, and the husband has his friends outside the home and the wife has hers.[2]

Role differentiation and division of labor on the basis of socioeconomic variables have been studied by Olsen (1960), Blood and Wolfe (1960), Blood (1964), Zelditsch (1968), Aldous (1969), Toomey (1971), and Hochshild (1973).

Segregated role-relationships between husbands and wives, entailing less communication and greater emotional distance are characteristic of working class families in contemporary America as compared with the middle class. (Gans, 1962), (A. W. Green, 1960), (L. Rainwater, 1960), (O. Lewis, 1961) (Komarovsky, 1962),(Rainwater, Coleman, and Handel, 1959), (Pavenstedt, 1965), (Cohen and Hodges, 1963), Handel and Rainwater (1964) distinguish two working-class subcultures, namely

"traditional" and "modern". In the "modern" working-class family, highly segregated conjugal role-relationships are beginning to decline.

Studies on the middle-class American family point to the convergence toward a single type, the "partnership" or "companionship" family which places high value on equalitarianism: Burgess (1948), Burgess and Locke (1953), Dyer (1958), R. S. Cavan, (1964), (1969), Goode (1963),(1964), Ogburn and Nimkoff (1955), Parsons (1954), Kirkpatrick (1955), R. H. Turner (1970).

Marriage roles change with changes in ideology, with the general structure of cultural values, with language use, with education, and with residence (Tharp et al., 1968). In their study of Mexican-American wives in Tucson, Arizona, Tharp and co-authors found that "the more acculturated the group, the greater the marriage role change toward an egalitarian-companionate marriage pattern".[3]

Bott's hypothesis linking the type of conjugal role-relationship with the degree of connectedness of the family's social network has not been satisfactorily tested probably due to the difficulty of operationalizing her concepts (C. Turner, 1967). C. Turner states that a more complex, multivariate research would be needed, and suggests a set of independent

variables: connectedness of social network, size and composition of social networks, occupational aspects, geographical mobility, stage of family cycle, educational level and cosmopolitan or local orientation.[4]

Work roles

R. H. Turner (1970) sees that the critical anchorage of the male role is to his occupation. His occupation identifies him, gives a time orientation to his life, makes preeminent demands over demands from other institutional spheres, and determines his socioeconomic status and general life style.[5]

Blood and Hamblin (1958) found that wife's employment

> tends to result in a more equalitarian ideology for the wife, but that she does not use her greater control over economic resources to bargain with her husband. Rather the husbands and wives studied appear typically to make their important decisions on a give and take basis and to arrange the division of labor in the home on the basis of the relative availability of the two partners to perform the necessary household tasks.[6]

Kirkpatrick (1936) described the "partner" role of the wife in American society as "one of complete equality with the male, the wife having her career in the same sense that the husband has his, and each contributing to the family standard of living".[7]

Under radically changed conditions, therefore, women

no longer conceive their role as complement to the male role, but increasingly "seek to combine homemaking with an occupational role for themselves."[8] Because of their isolation, non-working wives tend to be more aware of the instrumental aspects of their husbands' occupations than of the vocational aspects of their jobs entailing commitment to progress in the chosen occupation.[9] The strain of combining home and work roles leads to "erosion of the woman's vocational interest and commitment to a part-time activity without career significance."[10]

The interaction between family and work roles has been studied by the Rapoports (1965) (1971). The patterns of family interaction result from the intermeshing of the job demands, individuals' personality needs, choices, resources and expectations. In "critical" points of major role transition in the life cycle (the formation of the conjugal family unit through marriage, the completion of professional training, the process of migration and adaptation to the new environment, etc.), certain tasks act as stimuli, and the pattern of dealing with them, through the mobilization of different elements on all levels, affects subsequent structuring of family-work interrelations.

Traditional socio-cultural norms and personal needs interplay in a given field of forces which varies among differ-

ent individuals at different points in their lives, so that individuals combine both personal and social structural elements to form patterns of task accomplishment.[11]

Dominance

Dominance is here taken in the sense R. H. Turner (1970) adopts, namely the "control of the outcome of group decisions."[12] "Each person has certain resources that contribute to his ability to wield greater or lesser dominance over others . . . ,[namely] the values he controls and the interpersonal techniques he has mastered."[13]

C. Safilios-Rothschild (1970) has reviewed the literature on the family power structure which mostly has focused on the aspect of decision-making. Komarovsky (1962) found male dominance in a majority of her blue-collar marriages. However, "because of the high degree of conjugal role segregation, both white and Negro lower-class families tend to be matrifocal in comparison to middle-class families."[14]

Komarovsky (1940) studied the impact of unemployment upon eventual loss of male dominance. The findings were that such a loss happened when the pre-unemployment basis for the husband's authority was economic dependence or coercion (instrumental dominance), whereas the loss did not happen when the male dominance was primary, that is based on love or traditional belief. The criteria of deterioration of authority

were twofold: loss of man's control over one or more spheres of family relations, and changes in grounds of acceptance.

Turner (1970) has drawn out from Komarovsky's research a consequence for the precipitation of change in a role system where the interdependence of roles effects an equilibrating influence. A role system is more easily disturbed when only role reciprocities, without elements of value and sentiment, maintain the system. The primary cases, by contrast, represent a stable equilibrium, if it is assumed --although Komarovsky did not justify the point-- that in those cases a working reciprocity of roles was lacking.[15]

Among the resources available for establishing dominance the following are found in the literature: being better provider, more skilled, better educated, ideology, physical coercion, personal competence, social rank, a range of interpersonal techniques, relative stake in the relationship, time, occupational preoccupation.[16]

The available resources differ in the various social strata and also within the strata according to the informal determinants of dominance. Empirical evidence point to the more frequent equalitarian and democratic values in the middle-class than in the working-class. Coercive methods are more frequently used among the working-class families. The fact that the working-class wife is sometimes able to add her

earning power and work skills to her household skills places her husband in a disadvantageous instrumental position. Since the wife keeps the control of the household, the husband emphasizes a pattern of freedom from responsibility as "the preferred form of substitute dominance,"[17] only interrupted by sporadic dominance.

V - The Puerto Rican Family on the Mainland

There are only a few full-fledged sociological and anthropological studies on the Puerto Rican migration and on the Puerto Ricans on the mainland.[1] Studies focusing to a certain degree on adaptation and assimilation of Puerto Rican migrants are those by Chenault (1938), who tried to show some of the social effects resulting from the migration, the disintegration of the family among them; C. W. Mills, C. Senior, and R. Goldsen (1950), who attempted the first large-scale survey on the problem of Puerto Rican adaptation to New York City; E. Padilla (1958) who studied a small group of families in Manhattan from a cultural anthropological perspective; O. Lewis (1966, 1968) who offers a comprehensive view of the motivations to migrate and of the process of adaptation to the new environment in his background research for his previously published La Vida, an anthropological biography of a single family in the slums of San Juan and New York; O. Hand-

lin (1959) who wrote a historical account of the Puerto Rican migration; N. Glazer and D. P. Moynihan (1969), who placed the Puerto Rican migration in the context of the other major ethnic groups of New York City with an emphasis on the political implications; The Puerto Rican Study 1953-57, ordered by the Board of Education of New York City, that put together valuable information on the Puerto Rican population; P. C. Sexton (1966), who focused on poverty in East Harlem, self-help organizing efforts and relationship between the Puerto Rican population and organizations and city-wide agencies; D. Wakefield (1959), C. Rand (1958), who also focused on New York City in their journalistic accounts.

More abundant is the literature dealing with specific areas of concern. A list of some of the topics studied in the recent years should include bilingualism (Fishman, 1971); religion (Poblete and O'Dea, 1960; Fitzpatrick, 1971); social worker and clients (Garcia Olivero, 1971; Ch. E. Wilson, 1972); education (Bucchioni, 1965; Cordasco, 1966; Cordasco and Covello, 1967; Margolis, 1968); labor mobility (Gray, 1967); vocational choice (Halpern, 1972); occupational success (Kelly, 1971); return migration (Hernandez Alvarez, 1967; Myers and Masnick, 1968); community action (Rogler, 1972); color and race (Piri Thomas, 1967; Seda Bonilla, 1961; Berle, 1959);

health (Berle, 1959; Fitzpatrick and Gould, 1968); conjugal roles (McCauley, 1972).

The only works directly focusing on certain aspects of the family organization are those by O. Lewis (1966, 1968), E. Padilla (1958), B. Berle (1959) and M. A. McCauley (1972), although many others focus on some family problems. These four authors studied families living in New York City. The autobiography of Piri Thomas, Down these mean streets (1967), although a literary work, is also relevant.

Varieties of lower-class Puerto Rican families in the Island and on the mainland

Steward (1956) stressed the importance of the institution of the family in Puerto Rican society. Kinship bonds were strong. Its obligations were extended through ritual kinship. Human relations followed personal, familistic patterns, characteristic of pre-industrial societies. The impact of developed capitalism, reflected on the pervasive cash economy, modified human relations in the various crop areas.[2]

The predominance of consensual unions among the poor in the past should be understood in historical, socioeconomic, and ethicoreligious terms. Such unions were not regarded as immoral. Lacking property, the civil ceremonies did not seem necessary for any practical purpose. Religious instruction was wholly insufficient. That the percentage of such unions has

been constantly declining seems to be the logical consequence of improvements in all the just mentioned spheres.[3]

In the first overview of the Puerto Ricans in New York City, Chenault (1938) pointed to the frequent disintegration of the Puerto Rican family due to migration and, in particular, to the fact that women had it easier than men to secure a job for themselves to such an extent that, Chenault estimated, around sixty percent of the families had left the father behind in Puerto Rico. Cases of desertion were common. Poverty added to the other family problems in the city.[4]

In her study of Puerto Rican families in a slum of New York City, Elena Padilla (1958) distinguished between nuclear families, "joint families," and the "united family."[5] The network of kin family obligations works best among the recent migrants and, then, weakens as the time goes by.

> The Eastville 'united family' is a two --or three-- generation group, consisting of a number of brothers and sisters, their children, and their grandchildren . . . . It may at a given time include relatives living either in Puerto Rico, in New York, or in some other part of the States. The bonds with brothers and sisters and their families who are too far away for frequent visiting are kept strong by the frequent exchange of letters and gifts.[6]

In the organization of the household and family life, the basic group among Eastville Puerto Ricans is the nuclear family, although occasionally relations with kin, especially among the migrants, demand especial household arrangements.

Mencher (1958) pointed to the fact that many of the families in her study functioned in Puerto Rico in the pattern of extended kinship, but they are forced to follow the nuclear family patterns because of the circumstances involved in migration.[7]

Child socialization and conjugal roles

The traditional Puerto Rican family is characterized by a sharply segregated role relationship between husband and wife as described by Stycos (1955), Steward (1956), Brameld (1959), Hill, Stycos, and Back (1959), Landy (1959), Mintz (1960), Brown (1964), and Lewis (1966).

The prevalent norms and values regarding the differences between sexes in the Puerto Rican society on one hand, and the husband and wife role performance on the other, are better understood when the transmission of culture in the period of socialization comes to a focus as it does in Landy's Tropical Childhood (1959). Even if this study concerned just a cane-dependent community in the eastern rain-belt, some generalizations about the Puerto Rican lower-class family made by more extensive studies (K. Wolff, 1952; E. Wolf, 1956; H. Stanton, 1958) are in consonance with Landy's detailed findings.

The inadequacy of the Puerto Rican husband to perform his role --a conclusion reached by many studies on the subject

(Wolf, K., 1952; Stycos, 1955; Landy, 1959; Brown, 1964; Mintz, 1965)-- is traced back to his peculiar socialization in the prevalent values and practices regarding sex differences and roles. An outstanding structural characteristic of the Puerto Rican family, not uncommon in other cultures, is the position of dominance of the husband over the wife in harmony with the higher value generally accorded the male.

"Machismo" is a constellation of values and norms, pervasive in the Latin cultures, that stresses patterns of behavior reflecting and fostering male supremacy. Males are supposed to be or appear self-sufficient, aggressors, domineering. The women, in contrast, are expected to be submissive. "Machismo is associated with sexual prowess, influence, and power over women."[8] Such a differential evaluation of the sexes is also apparent in the double standard of morality (Stycos, 1955) whereby women are protected and restricted and men are encouraged or at least shown greater indulgence in their sexual experiences before and after marriage. "Machismo" could be partly explained as the male's "attempt to bolster his self-image"[9] in reaction against the excessive emphasis on docility and "respeto" in the Puerto Rican child rearing. Such an emphasis seems also responsible for the ambiguous son-husband role of many Puerto Rican males in relationship with their wives (Minuchin, 1967). Landy (1959)

and Minuchin (1967) point to the fact, somehow supported by other reports on child-rearing, that the Puerto Rican male child and boy is reared for dependence rather than for self-assurance and responsibility. Thus, while the adult male is expected to be dominant his childhood training does not prepare him to this. What will be said about "respeto" and obedience in the chapter on child rearing could be anticipated here. Such a strict rearing must result in a high level of repression.

Landy tries to trace male insufficiency back to the sudden withdrawal of attention and affection in the post-infantile period of development. Such a withdrawal comes after the parents' attention has been concentrating much more on the boy than on the girls, and results in the formation of a "preschool security gap" in the boy. The groundwork for a strong superego, based on the performance of desirable behavior is largely missing[10](Landy, 1959, p. 237). Feelings regarding the boy are more emotionally charged than those regarding girls. Boys' identification with their father is weaker than the girls' with their mother, and also works toward the boys' deeper dependence on the mother and a consequent weaker superego than the girl's. Low demands for sociability from both boys and girls further increase their depend-

ence on their parents.

There are also cultural and sociostructural traits weakening the superego and, in turn, reinforced by it. Among them Landy mentions: 1) a fragile sense of community solidarity; 2) the tenuous hold of church and religion on the people and the lack of substitute beliefs systems; 3) the absence of tangible rewards for hard work and good behavior in the economic and occupational system; 4) the regard of most secular authority as a substitute for the parent image and not as the protector of the common good; 5) a material and this-world oriented world view; 6) lack of incentives and drive for achievement.

The boy claims and obtains again the attention of the mother and all the females and younger male members of the family when he reaches his teens. His dependence on his mother will thus continue into adulthood and marriage. (Landy, 1959).

Such an "affect hunger" (Levy, 1943) and protracted dependence on the mother runs counter to the "machistas" expectations of the culture. The male role is, however, ambivalent due to cultural inconsistencies because, on one hand, the boy is expected to prove his manliness and, on the other hand, society restrains aggression, limits sexual contacts,

and offers few opportunities for employment (Landy, 1959).

The dependence on the mother leads the male to further depend on male friends who inspire him "confianza" (trust), in accordance with the rigid division of life spheres of male and female. Since he often fails to find them, he becomes frustrated, withdrawn and lonely. Making use of his privileged male status, he then wanders free of obligation and spends loosely (Landy, 1959) because society expects him to help mainly himself. As a result, the Puerto Rican lower-class husband is often both dependent and demanding. He will find himself caught in a cultural conflict as soon as he gets exposed to the new, more equalitarian ways that demand from him attitudes and reflexes he has not yet been able to develop.

The Puerto Rican lower-class wife is more adequately prepared to perform her role because her rearing fits better than the boy's the tasks assigned to her in the Puerto Rican society. In the post-infancy period parents dedicate more energy to the girl while the boys are largely ignored. She is kept encloistered and overprotected. Since they are fifteen years of age, however, they start going to dances carefully chaperoned. Since only home-related activity is expected from her her ego becomes more self-sustaining and less dependent than that of the boy. The courtship is seen as a

commitment to marry. The boy visits his girl at the girl's house but they are never left alone. During the courtship period the girl learns her submissive role (Rosario, 1958). At marriage a girl should be a virgin ("senorita"). As far as sexual activity, the girl is reared "to endure sex for the male's pleasure rather than her own". Her satisfactions will be in the management of the household and in the upbringing of her children (Landy, 1959).

The lack of communication between husbands and wives is traced back to the childrearing pattern of strict separation of sexes (Mintz, 1966). According to Stycos (1955),the main duties of the children toward the parents is to show them obedience and "respeto", love being secondary. Children are always closer to their mothers than to their fathers. The parents' main duty is to take care of the children especially as far as their material needs are concerned, love being just a secondary aspect of their relationship. The mother's duty is never to abandon her children, and provide them with day-to-day protection and supervision.

Change in conjugal roles and in the structure of dominance in the family

Women's inferior position in society is seen to be based on her "limited economic opportunity" and "takes . . . form in the sex mores of decency, chastity, and fidelity."[11]

A number of authors like Rogler (1940), K. Wolf (1952), Stycos (1955), Steward (1956), Stanton (1956), Brameld (1959), Padilla (1958),Mintz (1966), Seda Bonilla (1964, 1973), Fernandez-Marina, Maldonado Sierra, and Trent (1958), Hill, Stycos, and Back (1959), and McCauley (1972) have studied the Puerto Rican family in transition both in the Island and on the mainland. In several of these studies factors of residence and social class as well as changes in the socio-cultural environment are shown to shape new conjugal role relationships and a new structure of dominance.

Howard Stanton (1956) distinguishes three different patterns of authority structure corresponding to the three subcultures, namely the highlands, the lowlands, and the urban lower class. In the highlands the traditional, authoritarian ideal of the husband still holds. In the rural lowlands women appear to share equally in authority and the man usually shares in the tasks of child care. Among the urban lower-class women have even a more equalitarian status. The majority of the island's broken homes belong to the urban lower-class.[12]

Landy (1959) says that the access of women to the labor force further debilitates the male ego and strengthens the woman's. He saw the chance that the male-dominated community he studied could change toward equality between the sexes and

even to female dominance if males were not given better job opportunities.

R. Fernandez-Marina, E. D. Maldonado-Sierra, and R. D. Trent (1958) concluded in a crosscultural study of Mexican and Puerto Rican families that "Puerto Rican family beliefs are in the process of change toward more Americanization of beliefs". "Considerable discrepancies between the male cultural ideal and acceptance of this ideal by the female subjects of the study"[13] points to an undermining of the father's traditional authority in the family.

The relative disorganization of the traditional family started a long time ago in the Island. Besides the lacking opportunity, it can be attributed to acculturation changes like the trend toward equality of status of men and women as shown in the decrease of consensual marriage and the consequent increase in family stability; the stress on education and achievement motives similar to those of the American middle-class rather than on the traditional present-time orientation of the Puerto Rican people; a "small-family mentality" leading to the formation of more intense bonding and to the eventual disappearance of the "preschool security gap" mentioned above as one of the main sources of weakening of the male ego (Landy, 1959).

Individualism and equalitarianism are replacing traditional values such as personalism, familism, and male supremacy. This is reflected in more freedom and authority for the wife who often takes a job, socializes more, gets more education, widens her interests. (McCauley, 1972).[14]

In a recent re-study of a north coast sugarcane community, Seda Bonilla (1964, 1973) found that obedience, material help, and not bringing the parents worry were still the parents' role expectations of their children. Marriage, however, in spite of its legal and religious sanctions, had become more unstable than the consensual unions of the past. Seda did not find the matricentric model of family E. Padilla had claimed for the same community (in Steward, 1956), but he found instead an extended family pattern with gerontocentric tendencies the grandparents being in charge of their grandchildren often because the mothers feel free to pursue sexual and occupational ventures to achieve economic independence from their husbands. The traditional conjugal relationship dominated by the male was unattractive for the youth. Lack of stability seems apparent in the not so unusual infidelity of young wives with husbands on the mainland farms and in the negative attitude toward assuming the responsibilities involved in maintaining a home. "Young women were conscious of their

capacity to support themselves without depending on a man."[15] Evidence is presented, though, of the endurance of the double standard concerning marital infidelity in the community.

The Puerto Rican family on the mainland is also going through a period of transition and change of the same sort as that going on in the Island. Husbands cooperate more with their wives in child-rearing and household chores. Wives are more often gainfully employed, socialize and go shopping more often.

> While the husband is the authoritative head and makes the major decisions . . ., the wife holds the responsibility for day-to-day management of family affairs. . . . Leisure time activities are determined largely by sex and age, the husband likely to go out by himself or with the older children while the wife remains at home with the younger children. Sometimes in the summer months the parents and their children go to parks and beaches, but seldom do husbands and wives go out together socially without their children. At home marital partners watch television, listen to the radio, and engage in conversation with each other and with friends and relatives. Husbands and wives desire more frequently to share and discuss problems with one another. They prefer and expect to have two or three children, and they more and more depend on them and on each other for companionship, emotional support, love and affection.[16]

McCauley (1972) has shown that the conjugal role relationships of Puerto Rican families living in New York City are affected by both social class and degree of assimilation.

In a specific way, the "joint" conjugal role relationship is related positively to socioeconomic status and degree of assimilation for "division of labor" and "companionship," and only to socioeconomic status for "decision-making." Socioeconomic status is a more important determinant for "companionship" whereas degree of assimilation is a more important determinant for "division of labor" and "decision-making." As a whole, McCauley's data show a considerable resemblance of the Puerto Rican families in the study group to the American middle and working class families as far as the kind of conjugal role-relationships and the in them embedded values are concerned.

By contrast, Padilla (1958) states that the process of adaptation of the Puerto Rican family to New York City involves an emphasis on traditional values as a means of counteracting those social and cultural changes that seem incompatible with the adequate functioning of the family. Parental authority is thus stressed as a source of control, and as a guide in the selection and acceptance of new values.

> Should the authority fail, the migrant family is likely to be shattered. In the framework of the historical and environmental context of the Hispano migrant family, then, it is unrealistic to expect its smooth transition in the direction of middle-class core American values.[17]

Members of Puerto Rican extended families in New York

City are readier to accept some cultural innovations, like American patterns of childrearing, than members of nuclear families, precisely because they count in the kin network with a traditional system of control and guidance, that is with a reference group (Mencher, 1958). Young adults, whether they grew up in New York City or came recently from Puerto Rico, seem to be more tolerant or permissive with their children (Padilla, 1958).

Finally, in a study including some disorganized Puerto Rican families, Minuchin (1967) points to the contradictory demands put upon the children by a powerful, though often irresponsible father, and a loving but helpless mother in relation with the father. The child manages to solve the dilemma by

> 'dichotomizing' his responses: there is 'good' behavior at home, involving a submissive attitude with repression of resentment; and expressions of aggression and antisocial acting-out in the school and on the street.[18]

VI - Family as a unit and larger society

Family subculture and interpersonal relationships

Handel's The Psychosocial Interior of the Family (1967, 2nd. ed. 1972) defined the subject matter and the scope of the "family as a unit" field of study. As Handel puts it in the

context of the study of the black family:

> Poverty and discrimination exert powerful constraints and impose terrible deprivation and hurt. But even under such circumstances, different families have different effect at their own level of organization.[1]

The same author points to the fact that phenomena usually called mental illness are now approached as "the products of social processes and may, therefore, not be clinical matters at all or not in some most important respects".[2]

The family is seen as an active group or system of ongoing processes, not a mere replica of the culture of the larger society. Each family develops its own norms, values, role definitions. In Jules Henry's sentence: "Every family is almost a different culture."[3]

Following Burgess, Handel regards each family member as "a source of some relatively autonomous action,"[4] so that interaction and interpersonal relationships are understood in terms of the participating members. Handel draws heavily on psychological and psychiatrical literature which started to focus on the whole family since the thirties due to the disruption in family relationships resulting from therapy of one of its members, and the consequent interest in attempting a therapy which takes into account the whole picture. Jackson (1961) called "conjoint family therapy" the

treatment of the whole family as a group by one therapist.[5] The study of socialization is particularly relevant, the transmission of conflicting values being at the root of some neurotic patterning in the family.[6]

Hess and Handel's framework (1959) is intended to analyze both family interaction and interpersonal relationships so as to encompass both the individual and the group. Family interaction is conceived of as occurring at the personality level. That "the processes of personality formation and the processes of family integration are, to an important extent, the same phenomena"[7] is partly exemplified by bringing up a "pathological form of separateness in which a child is pushed into the role of family scapegoat and becomes emotionally disturbed."[8] This case shows how badly the concept of role needs refinement and that attention should be paid to the processes of role differentiation and allocation. W. G. Dyer's (1962) use of role-theory in the study of the major factors for marital adjustment could help to clarify the dialectic processes of "separateness and connectedness" in the family group as well as the "family's effort to achieve a satisfactory congruence of images the "establishment of boundaries of the family's world of experience," and the ways "significant issues of the family's bio-social life" are dealt with. The

concept of "family themes" helps to classify families as groups by summarizing central psychological processes.[9] R. Rapoport and R. Rapoport's (1965) analysis of the process of "task accomplishment" whereby the structure of the interrelationship between family and work roles is established, provides further refinement in role-theory, and, in a specific way, on the "problem of apportioning ego involvements or 'sub-identities' (Kahn and French, 1962)."[10]

Since there is no point in repeating here Handel's (1967, 2nd. ed. 1972) extensive review of the current studies of whole families, including a bibliography of more than one-hundred entries, only two authors will be mentioned here to illustrate both the field of study and the methodological approaches involved.

Oscar Lewis (1950, 1959, 1966) stands for intensive individual family case studies all over the world before making generalizations for entire cultures. These case studies will enable one"to get at the meaning of institutions to individuals and at the interrelationships between cultural and individual factors in the formation of personality".[11]

In his field work in the Mexican village of Tepoztlan (1943) each member of the family was studied individually but an area of especial concentration was the study of interpersonal relations within the family. Data were obtained on the

social, economic, religious and political life of each of the families observed.

Lee Rainwater (1966, 1970) described and analyzed the slum Negro family patterns "as these reflect and sustain Negroes' adaptations to the economic, social and personal situation into which they are born and in which they must live."[12] Such adaptations to the caste system in which the Negro families live, however, seriously interfere with their ability to operate outside the ghetto. The author describes the several stages and forms of Negro lower-class family life. Lower-class Negroes have a clear ideal image of the "normal American family," which is very real at times for them insofar as they strive toward establishing such family but find it impossible to do so. The ideal image becomes thus a source of inspiration and stress. Rainwater enumerates the following steps toward family formation: going together; becoming pregnant; getting married; husband-wife relations; marital break; three-generation maternal household, open to the world; and boyfriends, not husbands. The identity forming processes involve each and every family member in a joint effort to achieve a satisfactory congruence of images. Strategies for survival are designed either as "expressive life style," or a "violent strategy," or a "depressive strategy," although most lower-

class people follow mixed strategies.

The community study used open-ended interviewing and participant observation of a small group of families as main methods of research.

The impact of the larger society: Some significant family studies

Some significant studies on the impact of the larger society upon the family will be reported here, even if they cannot be considered studies of whole families insofar as not every family member is studied. These studies deal with the family in a crisis situation, and thus can provide some leads toward the progressive elaboration of a conceptual framework embracing both the family as a unit and its linkages with the institutions of the larger society.

Crises are "those situations which create a sense of sharpened insecurity or which block the usual patterns of action and call for new ones."[13]

> At least three variables are at work to determine whether a given event becomes a crisis for any given family: (1) the hardships of the situation . . ., (2) the resources of the family, its role structure, flexibility, and previous history with crisis, and (3) the definition the family makes of the event; that is, whether family members treat the event as if it were or as if it were not a threat to their status, their goals, and objectives.[14]

Burgess categorized family crises into three types:

change in status, conflict among its members in the different conception of their roles, and loss of family members by departure, desertion, divorce, or death.[15]

R. C. Angell in his The Family Encounters the Depression (1936) used as research data documents written by fifty college students about their families in an attempt "to discover what changes in socio-psychological structure were induced in different types of family by sudden reduction of income" . . . "A typology in terms of 'adaptability' and 'integration' was finally developed that seemed to yield verifiable predictions with respect to adjustment to the decrease in income."[16]

Mirra Komarovsky in The Unemployed Man and His Family (1940) studied "the relation between the man's role as the economic provider of the family and his authority in the family."[17] At least three members in each family were interviewed, namely husband, wife, and usually the oldest child. The causal links were checked through the method of "discerning" applied to the interviews and analysis of the resulting documents.[18] When the wife's relation to her husband prior to the crisis was loving, no deterioration of the husband's authority ensued, or, at any rate, a lighter one than that in the case that her relation had been merely instrumen-

tal.

In his Families in Trouble (1946) Earl L. Koos makes clear that he intends to illuminate rather than demonstrate a thesis.

> Since it is impossible to control the variables affecting family life as the physical scientist controls the conditions of his experiments, we are often unable to do more than illuminate our thesis.[19]

Koos studies the problems encountered by tenement, low-income families and the consequences for family organization both as an interacting group and as a part of the community. It is shown that "a short-term change in role adequacy makes lasting changes." "'Role devaluation' occurred when ego was held responsible by the members for the crisis or for dealing with it ineffectually."[20]

Sixty-two families were interviewed in New York City. Only families with one or more children were included because of the study's concern with intra-family structure. No rigid schedule was followed, although the interviews proceeded within a pre-established set of questions. Children were interviewed.

Reuben Hill studied in Families Under Stress (1949) the adjustments to two crises, namely war separation and reunion in an attempt to discover the types of family organization and processes of adjustment which makes families most invulnerable

or vulnerable to these crises. The family's successful adjustment to crisis is seen in an adequate role performance of its members after working out new role patterns in the changed situation. Among the effects of crisis on the family the following are mentioned: change in the frequency and pattern of sexual relations, personality changes, changes in parent-child relations, changes in inter-family activities, strengthening of the family if the experience with the crisis is successful and weakening if otherwise, etc.[21]

Hill did not interview any children. The information about the children's roles and adjustments to separation and to reunion was gained from the parents. He used as research tools the questionnaire, the family history, and a rating scale for rating families in adaptability and integration.[22]

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER II

SOCIOLOGY OF MIGRATION

1. William Petersen, "Migration: Social Aspects", in David L. Sills, ed., The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (New York: Macmillan, 1968), vol. 10, 287.

2. J. J. Mangalam and Harry K. Schwarzweller, "General Theory in the Study of Migration: Current Needs and Difficulties", International Migration Review 3:1 (Fall 1968), 9.

3. J. J. Mangalam and Harry K. Schwarzweller, "Some Theoretical Guidelines Toward a Sociology of Migration", ibid. 4:2 (Spring 1970), 8.

4. Ibid., 15.

5. Herbert J. Gans, "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life", in Sylvia F. Fava, Urbanism in World Perspective (New York: Crowell, 1968), 65.

6. Gans, ibid., 75.

7. Gans, ibid., 74.

8. Joseph A. Kahl, "Some Concomitants of Industrialization and Urbanization", in William A. Faunce, ed., Readings in Industrial Sociology (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), 55, reprinted from Human Organization 18 (Summer 1959), 53-71.

9. Oscar Lewis, "Urbanization Without Breakdown: A Case Study", The Scientific Monthly, vol. 75, No. 1, July 1952, 40-41, cited by Joseph A. Kahl, ibid., 60.

10. Joseph A. Kahl, ibid., 61.

11. Andrei Simic, The Pleasant Urbanites (New York: Seminar Press, 1973), 148.

THE STUDY OF ASSIMILATION AND ADAPTATION

1. Lyle W. Shannon, "Urban Adjustment and Its Relationship to the Social Antecedents of Immigrant Workers", International Review of Community Development, 13-14 (1965), 178.

2. Ibid., 184.

3. Rivka Weiss Bar-Yosef, "Desocialization and Resocialization: The Adjustment Process of Immigrants", International Migration Review, 2:3 (Summer 1968), 28.

4. Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 52.

5. Gino Germani, "The City as an Integrating Mechanism", in Glen H. Beyer, ed., The Urban Explosion in Latin America (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967), 180ff.

6. Ibid., 195.

7. Claire L. Peterson and Thomas J. Scheff, "Theory, Methods and Findings in the Study of Acculturation: A Review", International Review of Community Development, 13-14 (1965), 159. The long enumeration of variables is grouped under the following categories: a) background variables (sex, age, education, etc.); b) personal orientations (independence, social mobility, pull factors and ties to home, etc.); c) personality characteristics (individualism, dependence, anxiety, etc.); d) social situation (order of arrival, etc.); e) nature of host traits selectively adopted (material aspects of culture, early or lately learned traits and their resistance to change, etc.); f) nature of the immigrant groups' internal relations (pre-contact solidarity of the home culture, the immigrant family, etc.); and g) nature of the immigrant group's external relations.

8. Lyle W. Shannon and Magdaline Shannon, "The Assimilation of Migrants to Cities: Anthropological and Sociological Contributions", in Leo F. Schnore and Henry Fagin, eds., Urban Research and Policy Planning (vol. 1 Urban Affairs Annual Review), (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1967), 57.

9. G. Beijer, Rural Migrants in Urban Setting (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff 1963), 19.

10. Harvey M. Choldin, "Kinship Networks in the Migration Process", International Migration Review 7:2 (Summer 1973), 175.

11. Harry K. Schwarzweller and James S. Brown, "Social Class Origins and the Economic, Social and Psychological Adjustment of Kentucky Mountain Migrants: A Case Study", in E. B. Brody, ed., Behavior in New Environments (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1969, 1970), 140.

12. E. A. Wilkening, Joao Bosco Pinto, and Jose Pastore, "Role of the Extended Family in Migration and Adaptation in Brazil", Journal of Marriage and the Family,vol. 30, No. 4, Nov. 1968, 695.

13. Ibid.

14. Milton Gordon, Assimilation, 76.

15. Joseph H. Fichter, Sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 229.

16. Edward C. Banfield, The Moral Basis of a Backward Society (New York: The Free Press, 1958).

17. Eleanor Rogg, "The influence of a strong refugee community on the economic adjustment of its members", International Migration Review 5:4 (Winter 1971), 474-481.

18. J. J. Mol, "Immigrant Absorption and Religion", International Migration Review 5:1 (Spring 1971), 62-71.

19. Robert A. Cervantes, "The Failure of Comprehensive Health Services to the Urban Chicano", Health Services Reports, vol. 87, No. 10, Dec. 1972, 932-940, abstracted in Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, vol. 1 No. 2, May 1973, 247.

20. Ibid.

21. Ch. E. Wilson, "An Introduction to the Puerto Rican Child", Human Needs, vol. 1, No. 6, Dec. 1972, 10-14, abstracted ibid., 246.

22. E. Litwak and H. J. Meyer, "The School and the Family: Linking organizations and External Primary Groups", in Paul Lazarsfeld et al., The Uses of Sociology (New York: Basic Books, 1967), 522-543.

23. Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press, 1962), 259.

24. Lenore Mary Kelly, " Community identification among second generation Puerto Ricans; its relation to occupational success" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University, 1971), 357.

25. Ozzie G. Simmons, "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans", Daedalus, 90 Spring, 1961), 286-299, at 293.

Unfavorable economic and social conditions like those described by Chenault (1938) burdening the first wave of Puerto Rican migrants in New York, plus the fact that they had been on the mainland just for a short time, make unlikely that the migrant may adopt the ways of the host society and consider desirable his participation in it. As L. Rainwater (1970) says: "In general, the fewer the rewards a society offers members of a particular group, the more autonomous will that group be with reference to the norms of society" (p. 6n.).

In this context it would be worthy of further research the extent to which a "norm of reciprocity" presides over the reciprocal exchange and contribution between immigrants and receiving society, so that the limited opportunity for social mobility would at least partly explain the limited readiness and even reluctance to give up traditional values and patterns of behavior on the part of the migrants. See H. Kloss, "Language Rights of Immigrant Groups", International Migration Review, 1971, 5:2 (Summer), 250-268.

26. Ibid., 298.

27. Elena Padilla, Up from Puerto Rico (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 301.

28. Milton Gordon, Assimilation, 76.

EXTENDED KINSHIP IN THE MODERN SOCIETY

1. W. I. Thomas, "The persistence of Primary Group Norms in Present-day Society and their influence in our educational system", in Herbert S. Jennings et al., Suggestions of Modern Science Concerning Education (New York: Macmillan, 1917), 159-197, cited by Turner, Family Interaction, 419.

2. T. Parsons, "The kinship system of the contemporary United States", American Anthropologist, vol. 45, 1943.

3. B. N. Adams, "The Social Significance of Kinship", in M. Anderson, ed., Sociology of the Family, 140.

4. T. Parsons, "Reply to His Critics", in M. Anderson, ed., ibid., 120, excerpted from T. Parsons, "The normal American family", in S. M. Farber, ed., Man and Civilization: The Family's Search for Survival (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), 34-36.

5. T. Parsons, ibid., 121.

6. B. N. Adams, ibid., 140.

7. M. B. Sussman and L. G. Burchinal, "The Kin Family Network in Urban-Industrial America", in M. Anderson, ed., Sociology of the Family, 111.

8. Ibid., 113.

9. Ibid., 109.

10. Carlos Buitrago, Estructura social y orientaciones valorativas en Esperanza, Puerto Rico y el Mediterraneo (Rio Piedras, P.R.: Editorial Edil, 1970).

11. Sussman and Burchinal, "The Kin Family Network in Urban-Industrial America", 105.

12. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, Puerto Rican Americans (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 97.

13. Joseph Lopreato, Italian Americans (New York: Random House, 1970), 64-65.

14. Ibid., 68-73.

15. Elena Padilla, Up from Puerto Rico (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 133, 115.

16. J. Allen Williams, Jr., and R. Stockton, "Black Family Structures and Functions: An Empirical Examination of Some Suggestions Made by Billingsley", Journal of Marriage and the Family, 35: 39-49, at 40.

17. Ibid., 48.

18. David A. Schulz, Coming Up Black (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 12, 10-11.

19. Schulz has also construed a seven-fold typology of male marginality. He distinguishes three types in complete Black ghetto families: the indiscreet "free man" who divides his allegiance between his legitimate family and one or more "illegitimate" families; the discreet "free man", who does not use his "cutting out" to antagonize his wife and children; and the traditional monogamous type whose main concerns are his home and his family. In the incomplete families another four types are presented. The boy friend can be a quasi-father, a supportive biological father, a supportive companion, or a pimp (Coming Up Black,126-128, 136-146).

20. Albert K. Cohen and Harold M. Hodges, "Characteristics of the Lower-Blue-Collar-Class", Social Problems, vol. 10, No. 4 (Spring 1963), 303-334.

21. Colin Bell, "Occupational Career, Family Cycle, and Extended Family Relations", Human Relations, Vol. 24, No. 6, Dec. 1971, 463-475, at 473-474.

CONJUGAL ROLES AND DIVISION OF LABOR

1. Elizabeth Bott, Family and Social Network (London: Tavistock Publications, 1957), 60.

2. Ibid., 50.

3. Roland G. Tharp, Arnold Meadow, Susan G. Lennhoff and Donna Satterfield, "Changes in Marriage Roles Accompanying the Acculturation of the Mexican-American Wife", Journal of Marriage and the Family, vol. 30, No. 3, August 1968, 404-412, at 412.

4. C. Turner, "Conjugal Roles and Social Networks Re-examined", in Michael Anderson, ed., Sociology of the Family (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1971), 245.

5. Ralph H. Turner, Family Interaction (New York: John Wiley, 1970), 255-258.

6. Robert O. Blood, Jr., and Robert L. Hamblin, "The Effect of the Wife's Employment on the Family Power Structure", Social Forces, 36:352, May 1958, cited by Ralph H. Turner, ibid., 281.

7. Clifford Kirkpatrick, "The Measurement of Ethical Inconsistency in Marriage", International Journal of Ethics,46: 444-460, July 1936, cited by Ralph H. Turner, ibid., 269.

8. Turner, Family Interaction, 282.

9. Ibid., 256, 259.

10. Ibid., 282.

11. R. Rapoport and R. Rapoport, "Family Roles and Work Roles", in M. Anderson, ed., Sociology of the Family, 272, 283.

12. Turner, Family Interaction, 118.

13. Ibid., 124.

14. Lee Rainwater, "Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower-Class Family", in Gerald Handel, ed., The Psychosocial Interior of the Family (Chicago: Aldin, 1967), 379, reprinted from Daedalus, vol. 95 (1966), 172-216.

15. Turner, Family Interaction, 205-206.

16. Robert O. Blood, Jr., and Donald M. Wolfe, Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living(New York: Free Press, 1966), 44-46.

17. Turner, Family Interaction, 460.

THE PUERTO RICAN FAMILY ON THE MAINLAND

1. Paquita Vivo (1973) has published the most complete bibliography on the Puerto Ricans. Most of the studies relevant here are included in the sections "Migration" and "Sociology". Cordasco, Bucchioni, and Castellanos' annotated bibliography on the Puerto Ricans on the Mainland (1972) contain most of the relevant material under the headings "General Studies" and "Conflict and Acculturation" in the chapter "The Mainland Experience". J. Dossick's Doctoral Research on Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans (1967) also contains a few entries on the subject.

2. Julian Steward, ed. The People of Puerto Rico (Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinois Press, 1956), 500.

3. Sidney W. Mintz, "Canamelar: The Subculture of a Rural Puerto Rican Proletariat". In Julian Steward, ed., ibid., 376-377.

4. Lawrence Chenault, The Puerto Rican Migrant in New York City (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 142-143.

5. See above: Review of Literature, Extended kinship in the modern society, p. 61, Padilla (1958) lists the several forms of the nuclear family: "stable couple with no children; stable couple and their children (their own, theirs 'by rearing', and those who are 'staying' with them); stable couple and their children, plus children of prior relationships; one parent and his or her children; and one parent, his or her children, and a temporary spouse" (Up from Puerto Rico,p. 133).

6. Ibid., 117-118.

7. Joan P. Mencher, "Child rearing and family organization among Puerto Ricans in Eastville" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1958), 1-7; 303-310.

8. Fitzpatrick, Puerto Rican Americans, 91.

9. Salvador Minuchin, Families of the Slums (New York: Basic Books, 1967), 239.

10. David Landy, Tropical Childhood (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 236-246. This paragraph and the following ones resume Landy's ideas.

11. Charles Rogler, Comerio, A Study of a Puerto Rican Town (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Publications, Social Science Studies, 1940), 187.

12. Howard Stanton, "Puerto Rico's Changing Families", in Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology (London: International Sociological Association, 1956), IV, 101-107, at 104.

13. R. Fernandez-Marina, E. D. Maldonado-Sierra, and R.D. Trent, "Three Basic Themes in Mexican and Puerto Rican Family Values", Journal of Social Psychology, 48 (1958), 167-181, at 178.

14. Margaret McCauley, "A Study of Social Class and Assimilation in Relation to Puerto Rican Family Patterns" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University, 1972).
See also Scott (1967) on the effects of industrialization, urbanization and mass public education on values and patterns of life of the Puerto Rican family (cited by McCauley, 1972, 46).

15. E. Seda Bonilla, Social Change and Personality in a Puerto Rican Agrarian Reform Community (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 70.

16. McCauley, "A Study of Social Class and Assimilation . . . .", 48-49.

17. E. Padilla, Up from Puerto Rico, 148-149.

18. S. Minuchin, Families of the Slums, 240.

O. Lewis (1968) found a higher proportion of divorce, separation or abandonment among the low-income Puerto Rican families in New York than among those in Puerto Rico. He also noted, however, that the weakening of extended family and "compadrazgo" (ritual co-parenthood) worked toward a more independent and integrated nuclear family.
In his Introduction to La Vida (1966), O. Lewis enumerates a series of traits of the "culture of poverty" on the family level:

> "absence of childhood as a specially prolonged and protected stage in the life cycle, early initiation into sex, free unions or consensual marriages, a relatively high incidence of the abandonment of wives and children, a trend toward female- or mother-centered families . . ., a strong predisposition to authoritarianism, lack of privacy, . . . and competition for limited goods and maternal affection." (xlvii).

FAMILY AS A UNIT AND LARGER SOCIETY

1. Gerald Handel, ed., The Psychosocial Interior of the Family 2nd ed. with a new Prologue (Chicago: Aldine, 1972), xv.

2. Ibid., xvi.

3. J. Henry, "Family structure and the transmission of neurotic behavior", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1951, 21, 800-818, at 800, cited by G. Handel, ibid., 525.

4. Handel, The Psychosocial Interior, p. 519. The author points to the ambiguity and probable inadequacy of the concept "interaction patterns" as applied to the family insofar as it may be taken to mean interaction between some but not all members of a family, and also between the members of an extended family living in several households. He prefers to talk about "interpersonal relationships" as a more fruitful concept in understanding families, and adopts the nuclear family as a meaningful unit of study, but mentions the view of those studying "the nuclear family as a component of the extended family and the entire family network as embedded in a larger social and cultural network" (Ibidem, 519. Handel refers to Spiegel and Bell, 1959).

5. Ibid., 522.

6. Ibid., 524-525.

7. Ibid., 534.

8. E. F. Vogel and Bell, N.W., "The emotionally disturbed child as the family scapegoat", in N. W. Bell and E. F. Vogel, eds., A Modern Introduction to the Family (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960), cited by Handel, ibid., 533.

9. Handel, Ibid., 537.

10. Kahn, R. L. and French, R.P., (1962) "A programmatic approach to studying the industrial environment and mental health", Journal of Social Issues, vol. 17, 1-47, cited in R. Rapoport and R. Rapoport, "Family Roles and Work Roles", in M. Anderson, ed., Sociology of the Family, 295.

11. Oscar Lewis, "An Anthropological Approach to Family Studies", in G. Handel, ibid., 135-136, reprinted from American Journal of Sociology, vol. 55 (1950), 468-475.

12. Lee Rainwater, "Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower-Class Family", in G. Handel, ed., The Psychosocial Interior of the Family, 363.

13. Reuben Hill, Families Under Stress (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), 9.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., 10.

16. R. C. Angell, "A critical review of the development of the personal document method in Sociology 1920-1940", in Louis Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn, and Robert Angell, The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology (New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 53, 1945), 214.
Family "adaptability" is its readiness in meeting obstacles in its way as a unit based on established habits of collective discussion and decision. Family "integration" is a consequence of the "many bonds of coherence and unity running through family life, of which common interests, affection, and a sense of economic interdependence are perhaps the most prominent". (Angell, The Family Encounters, 15).

17. M. Komarovsky, The Unemployed Man and His Family (New York: Dryden, 1940), 1.

18. Louis Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn, and Robert Angell, The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology, and Sociology (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1945), Bulletin 53, 219.

19. Earl L. Koos, Families in Trouble (New York: King's Crown, 1946), p. 2.

20. Ralph H. Turner, Family Interaction, 207.

21. Reuben Hill, Families Under Stress, 7, 13-15.

22. Ibid., 379.

CHAPTER III

THE PUERTO RICANS IN THE ISLIP COMMUNITIES: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Introduction

This chapter describes the various characteristics of the Puerto Rican population in the Islip communities. It will provide a statistical background in which the qualitative studies of the families can be located in the area.

The group of Puerto Rican families here under study represents a minority within the Puerto Rican community under the following respects: they came to Islip straight from Puerto Rico unlike the majority of their fellow countrymen in the area who first spent many years in New York City; they average less years of education and hold lower skilled jobs than the predominantly middle-class Puerto Ricans who lived for many years in New York City. The statistical data here presented will further help to define the socio-economic position of the families under study in the Islip Puerto Rican and total community. The focus of the study

being mainly of a microsociological kind, no proper description of any specific community is offered here. Another reason for such a restraint is the preservation of the anonimity of the families here discussed in depth. Since all of them live in several areas in the township of Islip, census and other statistical data will be presented, corresponding to that township and to some of the communities, township planning areas and school districts with heavier Puerto Rican concentrations of population. Specially abundant data will be offered about two Islip communities with large Puerto Rican population which here will be called "A" and "B". These are the two communities from which the present study group is drawn.

General Population Statistics in the Area

Table 1 shows the heavy population growth experienced by the town of Islip in the decade 1960-70, namely an increase of 62.2 per cent. The population of the areas where the Puerto Rican group under study resides increased about 100 per cent in the last decade.

Such a high rate of population growth should be seen in the light of the simultaneous industrial expansion in Long Island as a whole. Harold V. Gleason writes in the 1973 Franklin Factbook: A Guide to Long Island:

Just 20 years ago, defense, home construction and agriculture were Long Island's mainstay industries. All three are still important but the scene has changed. Today, Long Island is characterized by a fast expanding and increasingly diversified industrial sector -- a national leader in the fields of aviation, electronics, plastics and machinery.

One indicator of this intense diversification is that today manufacturing occupies only 25 per cent of Long Island's labor force, compared to 33 per cent in the 1950s.

. . . . . .

Light industries are locating on Long Island in increasing numbers. Each year more than 100 new manufacturing plants enter the area or existing plants expand facilities.[1]

TABLE 1

EVOLUTION OF THE POPULATION OF ISLIP

	Census 1960	Census 1970	Estimate Jan. 1 1972	Estimate Jan. 1 1973
BAY SHORE AREA				
Brightwaters (Inc)	3,193	3,808	3,838	3,834
Bay Shore	9,802	11,119	11,068	11,079
West Bay Shore	6,517	8,747	8,876	8,986
West Islip	13,924	17,374	17,618	17,764
North Islip	13,161	21,594	22,125	22,572
North Bay Shore	7,160	15,840	16,639	17,575
Brentwood	15,387	28,327	28,845	28,925
West Brentwood	5,658	7,072	7,154	7,268
Edgewood	2,739	4,142	4,334	4,536
Pilgrim State Hospital	12,112	8,199	7,787	7,700
TOTAL AREA	89,653	126,222	128,284	130,239
ISLIP AREA				
Ocean Beach (Inc)	111	109	108	107
Saltaire (Inc)	28	37	37	38
Islip	6,362	7,692	8,044	8,130
East Islip	4,946	6,861	7,294	7,459
Islip Terrace	2,532	4,944	5,174	5,226
Central Islip	16,607	36,391	37,075	39,179
Central Islip Hospital	10,461	6,550	4,551	3,600
Great River	6,554	8,742	8,877	6,902
North Great River	6,280	12,080	12,452	12,616
Fire Island (Unine)	72	36	37	34
TOTAL AREA	53,953	83,442	83,649	85,291
SAYVILLE AREA				
Oakdale	2,774	7,334	7,874	8,226
West Sayville	5,849	7,386	7,738	7,819
Sayville	6,485	11,680	12,060	12,317
Bayport	5,009	8,232	9,411	9,626
Bohemia	2,860	8,926	9,755	10,657
Lakeland	912	3,707	6,042	6,505
West Ronkonkoma	1,720	4,820	5,792	6,295
Lake Ronkonkoma	1,577	3,646	4,032	4,268
South Holbrook	1,149	6,700	8,154	9,872
East Holbrook	124	1,404	1,702	1,760
South Hauppauge	894	5,381	6,021	6,794
TOTAL AREA	29,353	69,216	78,581	84,139
TOTAL TOWN OF ISLIP	172,959	278,880	290,814	299,669

SOURCE: Long Island Business Review, April 8, 1974.

TABLE 2

PERSONS OF PUERTO RICAN BIRTH OR PARENTAGE
IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN
NEW YORK CITY: 1950 to 1970

Nativity and Year	United States			New York City		
	Total	Change		Total	Change	
		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
Puerto Rican birth or parentage:						
1970	1,391,463	498,950	55.9	817,712	205,138	33.5
1960	892,513	591,138	196.1	612,574	366,694	149.1
1950	301,375	...	...	245,880	...	...
Puerto Rican birth:						
1970	810,087	193,030	31.3	473,300	43,590	10.1
1960	617,056	390,946	172.9	429,710	242,290	129.3
1950	226,110	...	...	187,420	...	...
Puerto Rican parentage:						
1970	581,376	305,919	111.1	344,412	161,548	88.3
1960	275,457	200,192	266.0	182,864	124,404	212.8
1950	75,265	...	...	58,460	...	...

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population 1970. Subject Reports, Final Report PC(2) - IE Puerto Ricans in the United States, Table I, page xi.

Table 2 shows the evolution of the Puerto Rican population in the United States in the years 1950 to 1970. In the last decade the Puerto Rican population of New York City increased 33.5 per cent from 612,574 to 817,712, and there is consensus concerning its being seriously undercounted. The percentage of increase for the United States was still higher, 55.9, indicating a clear change in the direction of migration, namely a growing proportion of Puerto Ricans are choosing as their first place of residence in the United States several cities and communities other than New York City. In 1950 78 per cent of the Puerto Rican mainland population lived in New York City; by 1970 the percentage had declined to 58 per cent.

The population of Puerto Rican birth or parentage in the township of Islip is 9,135, according to the 1970 United States Census. Persons of Spanish language in the same township are 16,144 including Puerto Ricans. The township comprises 56 census tracts. Three of the planning areas in the township, namely Bay Shore, Brentwood, and Central Islip are the residence of the vast majority of Puerto Ricans in the township numbering respectively 458, 5,508, and 1,761 as well as of persons of Spanish language, respectively 1,103, 7,808 and 2,814.[2]

Mobility of the Puerto Rican population in the area

The 1970 census data for Islip communities A and B, having substantial Puerto Rican population, show[3] that the rate of recent immigration directly from Puerto Rico is relatively low. In A 100 persons five years old and over out of 1420 had their residence abroad, presumably in Puerto Rico, in 1965; in B the proportion was still much lower: only 12 out of 1475 had their residence abroad in 1965. Just for purposes of contrast, the number of Puerto Ricans in the Bronx county who had their residence abroad in 1965 is 21,577 out of 274,235.[4] In contrast with the relatively low direct Puerto Rican migration from the Island to Islip, in A 254 out of 1420, about one-sixth, and in B 418 persons out of 1,475, or more than one-fourth of the Puerto Ricans living in the same two Islip communities had their residence in 1965 in a different county of New York State, most likely in the Bronx or Manhattan.

Structure of the Population

Most of the families are young as the data of the two Islip communities show: In A 227 out of 320 and in B 281 out of 333 have all their children under 18 years of age.[5]

In A a female is the family head in 49 out of 327 (14.9 per cent) and in B a female is the family head in 5 out of 333 households (1.5 per cent). There are 4.88 and 5 persons per Puerto Rican household in these communities.[6] In the Bronx county 24,510 families have a female family head out of

80,706 families.[7] (30.3 per cent). The obvious difference between Islip and the Bronx families evidences the drawback of the attenuated family to achieve the upward and geographical mobility toward suburbia.

The median age of the Puerto Rican population in the two Islip communities is respectively 24.9 in A and 18.1[7] in B. In the Bronx county it is 21.1.[8]

Place of birth

Community B strongly attracts those Puerto Ricans born in New York State. In fact, about two thirds of them, 629 out of 989, were born in this State. The remaining third was born abroad, quite likely in Puerto Rico. In the community A about one-half were born abroad (848), and the other half were born in New York State (744).[9]

Children born

Community B has a rate of 3.82 children ever born to Puerto Rican women ever married.[10] In the Bronx county the rate of children ever born to Puerto Rican women ever married is of 3.27.[11]

Employment Status and Occupation

In Community A 291 out of 543 Puerto Rican females 16 years and over, (53.6 per cent), and in Community B 179 out of 480 Puerto Rican females 16 years and over (37.3 per cent) are in the labor force. The figures for the Puerto Rican males 16 years and over are: 360 out of 447 in A, and 391 out of 414

in B that is 80.5 per cent and 94.4 per cent respectively.[12]

In the Bronx county only 71.2 per cent of the males and 26.9 per cent of the females are in the labor force.[13]

There is, therefore, a remarkable difference between the Puerto Rican female participation in the labor force in Islip and the Bronx. This seems to be the main reason for the much higher mean family income enjoyed by the Puerto Rican families in Long Island. The far higher number of female headed households in the Bronx must at least partly account for the difference.

A simplified occupational distribution[14] of the employed Puerto Ricans in the two Islip communities and in the Bronx by skill level is:

	A		B		Bronx	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional technicians managers	39	(6)	90	(16)	6,924	(8)
Sales, clerical	134	(21)	122	(22)	21,119	(26)
Craftsmen, foremen	90	(14)	74	(13)	9,836	(12)
Operatives, laborers (except farm), service workers, transport equipment operatives	372	(59)	278	(49)	44,408	(54)
	635	(100)	564	(100)	82,287	(100)

Although the occupational distributions of the two Islip communities A and B differ as to the numbers of people in the higher skilled categories, when combined into a single distribution they are almost identical with the global figures for

the Puerto Rican population in Suffolk county.[15] Such a combined distribution shows evidence for more than 25 per cent employed Puerto Ricans in the Islip township holding white-collar jobs (professional, technical, managerial, sales, clerical, finance, insurance, real estate, etc.), and at least 10 per cent holding craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers' jobs.

About one-half of the Puerto Rican population in the labor force are employed in manufacturing and hospital services in the two Islip communities, namely 328 in A, and 270 in B out of a total of 1,199 textile and metal and machinery industries ranking first among the firms with larger numbers of Puerto Rican employees.

The median earnings in 1969 of Puerto Ricans in selected occupation groups in Suffolk county were:[16]

Male, 16 years old and over

Professional, managerial and kindred workers	$11,586
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	8,028
Operatives, including transport	6,304
Laborers, except farm	4,847
Farm laborers, except unpaid, and farm foremen	2,813

Female, 16 years old and over

Clerical and kindred workers	4,256
Operatives, including transport	3,353

Income

The median earnings of the Puerto Rican male in the two Islip communities are $6,804 in Community A and $6,971 in Community B. The median earnings of the Puerto Rican female in the same communities are $3,447 and 4,980[17] respectively. The median earnings of the Bronx Puerto Rican male in the labor force were $5,525. Those of the Puerto Rican female were $4,086.[18]

In Community A 178 out of 320 (55.6 per cent) Puerto Rican families and in B 186 out of 333 (55.8 per cent) Puerto Rican families had an income of $10,000 or more. The median income was $10,554 and 10,780 respectively,[19] the general median family income for these communities being $11,923 and 11,575 respectively.[20]

About 13.4 per cent of the Puerto Rican families in A and 9.6 per cent in B had incomes below the poverty level ($4,999). The mean size of these families in A was of 5.65 persons, the mean family income $3,153 and the mean family deficit of $1,783. 39.5 per cent of these families were receiving public assistance.[21]

In the Bronx 30.4 per cent of all families had incomes below the poverty level, the mean family income being $2,173. The mean size of these families was of 4.40 persons. 57.7 per cent of them were receiving public assistance.[22]

The family income was close to poverty level for 6.3

per cent of the Puerto Rican families in A and for 12.9 of the families in B.[23]

A survey made by the Town of Islip's Housing Code Enforcement Division in a Brentwood area, where at least 15 per cent of the Puerto Rican population in the community resides, found several traits "of what we would normally consider a slum or ghetto, but . . . located within a suburban setting":[24]

Distribution of Families According to their Degree of Dependence on Welfare[25]

Families completely on welfare	40	20.8 per cent
Partially on welfare	14	7.3
Total on welfare	54	28.1
Not on welfare but below the federal lower level yearly budget of $7,817	86	45.8
Total	140	72.9
Above federal minimum budget	52	27.1

A separate tabulation of data for pupils in all of Brentwood shows 20 per cent of all Spanish Surnamed American pupils on welfare. (ADC pupils figures were 16 per cent. Since ADC in Suffolk County comprises approximately 80 per cent of total welfare, a projection of ADC figures showed a total of 20 per cent on welfare).[26]

Housing[27]

According to 1970's Census data, 225 out of 328 housing units are owned by the Puerto Rican families living in them in

Community A. In B 250 out of 320 housing units are owned by the Puerto Rican families living in them. The rest of the housing units are rented. The median value was $20,700 in A and $22,300 in B.

In A 143 of the present dwellers moved into the housing unit from 1968 to March 1970; 125 moved into the housing unit from 1960 to 1967; 60 moved in 1959 or earlier. In B the figures were, for the same periods, 118, 153, and 49. It seems, therefore, that most of the homes were bought in the last decade either by families just moved from the city or by families that came from the city a long time ago. As the census data on family residence in 1965 show, direct, recent migration from Puerto Rico to Islip seems to range in the different communities from less than one per cent to about eight per cent. The economic need motivating in most cases migration makes the migrants unlikely early buyers of their own homes.

School Statistics

The median school years completed by Puerto Rican males 25 years old and over in Communities A and B[28] are 8.8 and 10.2 respectively. Also in A and B the median school years completed by the females 25 years old and over are 9.8 and 12.2; the per cent of Puerto Rican male high school graduates are 27.5 and 33.5; the per cent of female graduates are 37 and 51.2 respectively.

The median school years completed by the total Suffolk County[29] population are 12.2. The per cent of high school graduates is 59.0.

Bronx female Puerto Ricans[30] have a median of 8.3 school years completed, and a per cent of 19.2 high school graduates. Bronx male Puerto Ricans have a median of 9 school years completed, and a per cent of 22.5 high school graduates.

Spanish Surnamed American students are 13 per cent of the Brentwood School District,[31] which had 22,500 students in 1973 and a population of 73, 352 in 1970. From September 1968 to September 1969 the Spanish Surnamed American students increased in the District by 20 per cent, namely from 2,041 to 2,446.

According to the "Multilingual Assessment Program" of the District, 75 per cent of the Spanish Surnamed American students are below grade level in reading in elementary school; 50 per cent were below minimum competency in Junior high school; 78 per cent of high school Spanish Surnamed Americans had low academic averages; 16 per cent of the high school Spanish Surnamed Americans drop out; 29.7 per cent of Spanish Surnamed Americans are seriously below grade level - two years or more; 63.5 per cent of Spanish Surnamed Americans are below grade level -one year.

Among the factors contributing to the poor scholastic

averages of the Spanish Surnamed Americans the paper of the "Multilingual Assessment Program" points to

-A dearth of programs to teach English-as-a-Second Language
-No program in any of the schools to provide adequate study of history and culture of the Latin American people
-Lack of ethnic related personnel: 2.6 per cent of the Brentwood school staff was Spanish Surnamed Americans in 1971-72, although 13.2 per cent of the students were Spanish Surnamed Americans.
-Few staff members for Spanish Surnamed American students to relate to ethnically
-Few success figures in authority with whom they can identify.
-Few teachers for parents to communicate with about their children.
-Few Spanish-speaking counselors in the schools.

Place of work and transportation

Tract 1456.03 inside the Community "A" Planning Area has 1,572 Puerto Ricans out of a total population of 4,123. From a total labor force of 1,294 the vast majority, 1,067 work in Suffolk County and 150 in Nassau County. 942 of them drive their cars to their work places and 284 more are given rides to their work in private cars.[32]

SUMMARY

The data here presented indicate that the Puerto Rican population living in the two Islip communities, A and B, from which the study group was drawn has the following characteristics:

Unlike the study group, the majority of the Islip Puerto

Ricans spent many years in New York City and are predominantly middle-class. They hold higher skilled jobs and have more years of school than the migrants from the study group.

The rate of direct migration from Puerto Rico to Islip is low. Ranging from less than one per cent to about seven per cent in the Islip communities B and A respectively, Puerto Ricans had their residence abroad in 1965, presumably in Puerto Rico. By contrast about one-sixth and one-fourth of the Puerto Ricans living in A and B respectively had their residence in 1965 in a different county of New York State, most likely in the city. This represents a sizeable Puerto Rican contribution to the remarkable influx of population into these communities which have increased about 100 per cent in the last decade.

Far fewer Puerto Rican families are mother-based in Islip than in the Bronx. A much higher Puerto Rican female participation in the labor force in Islip than in the Bronx accounts in part for the much higher mean family income of the Islip families. Far fewer families are close to or below the poverty level in Islip than in the Bronx.

About one-half of the Puerto Rican residents in A and about two-thirds of the Puerto Rican residents in B were born in New York State. About forty per cent of the Puerto Ricans residing in the Bronx were born in New York State, and almost

all the remaining sixty per cent were born in Puerto Rico.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER III

1 Harold V. Gleason, 1973 Franklin Factbook: A Guide to Long Island, p. 1.

2 U. S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. Census Tracts, New York, N.Y., SMSA, Part 1. PHC (1) - 145, Table p. 2.

3 U. S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics, New York, Final Report (PC(1)-034, Table 113, 553.

4 U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics, New York, Final Report PC(1)-C34, Table 130, 661.

5 U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics, New York, Final Report PC(1)-C34, Table 113, 553.

6 U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1970. Census Tracts, New York, N.Y., Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, Part 3, PHC (1)-145, Table P-7, 927.

7 U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics, New York, Final Report PC (1)-C34, Table 129, 659.

8 U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics, New York, Final Report PC (1)-C34, Table 112, 551.

9 U. S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics. New York. Final Report (PC(1)-C34, Table 113, 553.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., Table 130, 661.

12 U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. Census Tracts. New York, N.Y., Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, Part 3. PHC(1)-145, Table p-8, 962.

13 U. S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics, New York. Final Report (PC(1)-C34, Table 131, 663.

14 U. S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics. New York. Final Report PC(1)-C34, Table 115, 557; Table 132, 665.

15 Ibid., Table 132, 666.

16 Ibid., Table 132, 666.

17 U. S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics. New York. Final Report PC(1)-C34, Table 115, 557.

18 Ibid., Table 132, 665.

19 U. S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. Census Tracts. New York, N.Y., Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, Part 3. PHC(1)-145, Table p-8, 962.

20 Franklin National Bank, 1973 Franklin Factbook: A Guide to Long Island, 36.

21 U. S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. Census Tracts. New York, N.Y., Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, Part 3. PHC(1)-145, Table p-8, 962.

22 U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics. New York. Final Report (PC(1)-C34, Table 133, 667.

23 U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. Census Tracts. New York, N.Y., Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, Part 3. PHC(1)-145, Table p-8, 962.

24 Richard Greenspan, Puerto Ricans on Long Island (New York: ASPIRA of New York, Inc., 1971), (mimeographed), 14-19. When Greenspan says that the area in question "has all the elements of what we would normally consider a slum or ghetto" (p. 15) he overstates his case. As he says later on (p. 17) "two of every three families owned their own homes", although "many were old and in poor shape", and "Five of every six families had both a mother and a father" (p. 17).

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 U. S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1970. Census Tracts, New York, N.Y., Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, Part 3, PHC(1)-145, Table H-5, 465.

28 U. S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics. New York. Final Report PC(1)-C34, Table 113, 553.

29 Ibid., Table 130, 662.

30 Ibid., Table 130, 661.

31 Data provided by Miss Nigda Nin, Director of the Multilingual Assessment Program, Brentwood School District.

32 U. S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. Census Tracts. New York, N.Y., Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, Part 3. PHC(1)-145, Table p-2, 378.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIGRANT FAMILIES AND THEIR BACKGROUND

The analysis of the data gives ample evidence of the importance of past experience in the lives of the members of the migrant family for the outcome of their present process of adaptation to the new society. It seems, therefore, appropriate to offer here some aggregate data concerning the families and circumstances in which the migrant families grew up in order to place them in a better perspective.

The families of orientation

Half of the parents of the study group grew up in the "campos" (countryside) and half of them in towns or cities of Puerto Rico.

Their families of orientation were largesized averaging 8.6 children per family. Six of the parents - 30%- were brought up by people other than their own parents (grandmothers, godmother, friends, etc.) either because of early death of the mother, in 25% of the cases or because of the breakdown of the

marriage and of the family that took place in five cases -25% of the parents. In such cases the disgrace or failure of the nuclear family is made up for by the strong ties among the members of the extended family and family friends. The early death of Mrs. Carmona's mother is related by her daughter to the marriage's breakdown: "My father abandoned my mother for another woman, and my mother died from the grief."

The economic position of about 80% of the families of orientation was poor or very poor. 70% of the fathers were farm workers 10% owned their small plot of land or were carpenters, industrial workers, etc. This 80% could be said to be lower class. Four of the parents -20% - could be classified in the lower-middle class or middle class. They were small businessmen, or small landowners. Half of the mothers had to work outside home or in the fields to supplement the family income as croppers, house maids, laundry-women, workers in the tobacco factories, dressmakers, etc. This outside work added to their heavy household chores as housewives of largesized families living in uncomfortable homes often lacking running water, refrigerators, etc. In the absence of their mothers, the oldest daughters had to play soon the role of second mother for their younger brothers and sisters.

All the aforementioned circumstances seem to work toward accelerating the emancipation and marriage especially of the

girls who have lost their mother at an early age and have older sisters. Half of the mothers in the study group got married when they were 16 to 18 years old.

Child rearing was traditional and overprotective with the father taking often a strict disciplinarian role. Mrs. Romano says: "They did not let us women go out unless we would go with them. The males were allowed to go out, but not at night."

The average education of the parents in the families of orientation was of two years. In most cases only elementary schools were located at a reasonable distance of the family residence.

Churches or chapels featuring a weekly service were generally at hand. Religious instructions, however, were held only in the far away town church. All the parents were, at least in name, Roman Catholics. One of the couples, however, got married in the Pentecostal Church.

TABLE 3

FACE-SHEET DATA ON THE FAMILIES OF ORIENTATION

FAMILIES		Parents mainland	Father's occupation	Mother's occupation	Residence of family of orientation	Number brothers	Brothers mainland	Father's schooling	Mother's schooling	Religion parents	Foster parents	Socioeconomic stat.
Arroyo	W	1	fw	hhm	ru	8	4	e	e	c		1
Cabrera	H	o	iw	hiw	r	4	o			c		1
	W	o	fw		u	14	o			c	fr	1
Carmona		o	fw	hhm	u	7	o			c	gm	1
Fuentes		2	fw	hhm	ru	9	6	e	e	cp		1
Garcia		o	fw	h	r	9	o			c		1
		o	fw	h	r	6	o			c	g	1

TABLE 3 -Continued

FAMILIES	Parents mainland	Father's occupation	Mother's occupation	Residence of family of orientation	Number brothers	Brothers mainland	Father's schooling	Mother's schooling	Religion parents	Foster parents	Socioeconomic stat.
Lopez	o	iw		r	10	o			c	fr	1
	o	fw	hfw	r	14	o			c		1
Machuca	o			u	5	1			c		m
	o	b	hhm	u	3	o		3	oc	fr at	1m
Rolon	2	b	hfw	ru	4	4	6	9	c		1m
	1	a	hiw	u	4	3	2	9	c		1
Romano	o	f	h	r	15	o	o		c		1m
	o	bf	hb	r	16	1	e	o	c		m
Santos	o	fw	hfw	r	8	1	o	o	c		1
	o	fw	hhm	r	10	o	2	o	c	gp	1

TABLE 3 -Continued

a: artisan

at: aunt

b: business

c: catholic

e: some elementary schooling

f: farmer (small)

fw: farm worker

fr: friend

g: godmother

gm: grandmother

gp: grandparents

h: housewife

hm: housemaid

iw: industrial worker

l: lower class

m: middle class

p: protestant

r: rural

ru: rural-urban

H: husband

W: wife

TABLE 4

FACE-SHEET DATA ON THE FAMILIES'STUDY GROUP

FAMILIES	Husband's occupation	Wife's occupation	No.years mainland farms	Length exploratory stage (no. of years)	No. of years in Islip	Husband schooling	Wife's schooling	No. of children	No. of children on the mainland	Link to Islip
Arroyo		iw	o	2	5		4	6	4	fr
Cabrera	ff	h	o	3	5	11	e	6	6	fr
Carmona		h		1	9		9	6	5	fr
Fuentes		iw	o	2	2		9	2	2	sr
Garcia	d (fw)	h	o	o	5	3	4	10	10	s
Lopez	iw	h	4	4	13	e	o	5	5	fr

TABLE 4-Continued

FAMILIES	Husband's occupation	Wife's occupation	No.years mainland farms	Length exploratory stage (no. of years)	No. of years in Islip	Husband schooling	Wife's schooling	No. of children	No. of children on the mainland	Link to Islip
Machuca	ff	iw (pt)	o	o	6	14	5	4	4	sr
Rolon	iw	iw	o	o	10	e	12	4	4	f
Romano	1	hhk	11	11	3	e	6	4	4	fr
Santos	iw	hby	5	5	3	9	e	6	6	fr

TABLE 4 - Continued

by: babysitter

d: disabled

e: elementary school

h: housewife

hk: host, housekeeper

iw: industrial worker

f: father

ff: factory foreman

fr: friend

l: landscaping

p: part-time

s: son

sr: sister

The migrant families

In order to provide an overview of the family study group and at the same time to facilitate the reading of the family case studies, which are presented in full in Chapter XV, it seems useful to outline here brief vignettes of each of the migrant families. The categories used in these vignettes and in the tables, which sum up the face-sheet data concerning the same families, have been selected as suitable to describe the families. Most of them can be found in the Review of Literature, especially in the section "The Study of Assimilation and Adaptation." A few of them came to mind during the analysis of the data, for instance, "exploratory stage" and "link person" that helped the family to come to Islip. Education is in today's society a crucial dimension of social stratification. The educational background of the parents seems to be even more important than their socioeconomic position in predicting educational performance of the children and eventually intergenerational mobility at least below the highest IQ levels.[1]

All the categories represented in the vignettes and in the tables seem to affect the process of adaptation according to the current literature. In a particular way, insofar as the immigrants orient themselves toward a search for better opportunities, the major dimensions of social stratification

had to be included in the picture. Occupational position of the parents plus forthcoming information about welfare payments, if any, provided an indirect estimation of the family's level of income and general socioeconomic status.

The Arroyo (a mother based household)

Age: Thirties

Place of origin: Rural-urban area

Exploratory stage: 2 years

Number of years in Islip: 5

Education: Fourth grade

Socioeconomic background: lower class

Occupation: housewife, industrial worker

Link to Islip: friend

Number of children: 6, two of them in Puerto Rico

Relatives on the mainland: 4 brothers and sisters

The Cabrera

Age: Thirties

Place of origin: rural area; urban area

Exploratory stage: 3 years

Number of years in Islip: 5 years

Education: eleventh grade; elementary

Socioeconomic background: lower class; lower class

The Cabrera - Continued

Occupation: factory foreman; housewife, part-time factory worker

Link to Islip: husband's friend

Number of children: 6

Relatives on the mainland: None.

The Carmona (a mother based household)

Age: Thirties

Place of origin: Urban area

Exploratory stage: 1 year

Number of years in Islip: 9

Education: 9 years

Socioeconomic background: lower class

Occupation: housewife

Link to Islip: friends

Number of children: 6, one of them in Puerto Rico

Relatives on the mainland: None

The Fuentes (a mother based household)

Age: Thirties

Place of origin: Rural-urban area

Exploratory stage: 2 years

Number of years since the family reunion in Islip: 2

The Fuentes - Continued

Education: 9 years

Socioeconomic background: lower-class

Occupation: industrial worker

Link to Islip: sister

Number of children: 2

Relatives on the mainland: mother, grandmother, brothers and sisters

The Garcia

Age of the parents: Fifties

Place of origin: Rural area

Exploratory stage: None

Number of years in Islip: 5

Education of husband and wife: third grade; fourth grade

Socioeconomic background of husband and wife: lower class; lower class

Occupation of husband and wife: disabled; housewife

Link to Islip: a son

Number of children: 10, six of them in the household

Relatives of husband and wife on the mainland; the married children's in-laws

The Lopez

The Lopez - Continued

Age: Thirties

Place of origin: Rural area; rural area

Exploratory stage: 4 farm seasons

Number of years in Islip: 13

Education of husband and wife: elementary; none

Socioeconomic background: lower-class; lower-class

Occupation: industrial worker; housewife

Link to Islip: husband's friend

Number of children: 5

Relatives of husband and wife on the mainland: None

The Machuca

Age: Forties

Place of origin: Urban area; urban area

Exploratory stage: None

Number of years in Islip: 6

Education of husband and wife: two-year college; fifth grade

Socioeconomic background: middle-class; lower-middle class

Occupation of husband and wife: factory foreman; housewife, part-time factory worker

Link to Islip: wife's sister

Number of children: 4

Relatives on the mainland: husband's brother; none

The Rolon

Age: Thirties

Place of origin: rural-urban area; urban area

Exploratory stage: None

Number of years in Islip: 10

Education of husband and wife: fourth grade; high school

Socioeconomic background: lower-middle class; lower class

Occupation of husband and wife: industrial worker; housewife, industrial worker

Link to Islip: husband's father

Number of children: 4

Relatives on the Mainland: Husband's parents and brothers; wife's mother and sisters

The Romano

Age of the parents: Thirties

Place of origin: Rural area

Exploratory stage before family migration: 11 years (farm seasons)

Number of years since the family reunion in Islip: 3.

Education of husband and wife: elementary; elementary (sixth grade)

The Romano - Continued

Socioeconomic background of husband and wife: lower-middle; middle class

Occupation of husband and wife: landscaping; housewife and housekeeper

Link to Islip: husband's friend

Number of children: 4

Relatives of husband and wife on the mainland: none; brother.

The Santos

Age of the parents: Thirties

Place of origin: Rural area

Exploratory stage: 5 farm seasons

Number of years in Islip: 3

Education of husband and wife: elementary; sixth grade

Socioeconomic background of husband and wife: lower class; lower class

Occupation of husband and wife: industrial worker; housewife, baby-sitter

Link to Islip: husband's friend

Number of children: 6

Relatives of husband and wife on the mainland: husband's brother; none

For a more detailed synopsis of the families and their paths of adaptation to the host society, see the chapters "First links and steps in the path of adaptation" and "The different meanings of adaptation."

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER IV

1. S.M. Miller and Pamela Roby, "Poverty: Changing Social Stratification". In D. P. Moynihan, ed. On Understanding Poverty (New York: Basic Books, 1968, 1969), 71-72.

CHAPTER V

MOTIVATION TO MIGRATE AND WILL TO STAY

Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data concerning the sources of the decision to migrate as envisaged by the migrants themselves. These data were collected through focused, open-ended interviewing of the individual members of the families under study. Besides resorting to classical categories in the study of migration, such as pull and push factors, varieties of migration decision-making and of longing to return are described. The actual patterns followed by the process of migration will be the subject of the next chapter.

Fitzpatrick has summed up the factors contributing to migration from Puerto Rico to the mainland since World War II as follows: pressure on the Island caused by the population increase and the resulting economic pressure due to the underdeveloped state of the economy and the huge seasonal unemployment in agriculture; "availability of employment on the mainland, a beachhead of relatives and friends on the main-

land, freedom to move, and availability of cheap transportation."[1] The contract farm worker program gives also thousands of Puerto Ricans the occasion to explore the possibilities of permanent employment on the mainland.

Pull factors

The Islip Puerto Rican families under study migrate mainly in search of new opportunity. They look for a better "ambiente," that is better economic and educational chances, better health care, in a word the higher standard of living that the wealthiest country in the world can offer even to those citizens at the bottom of the American social structure. On the mainland and, in a specific way, in the Islip area, newly arrived Puerto Ricans can find plenty of jobs, even if poorly paid, located at a short distance from their living quarters. They have good schools and school transportation. They can feed and dress their families better than in their Island. When the family head is disabled or when the spouses separate, substantial benefits from the public welfare keep the family going. By both husband and wife working, they will be able to buy a modest home after saving for a few years and, then, later on, they will be able to save further either to buy a home in Puerto Rico or to help the children to complete their education, and finally to return to their

native island for retirement. The family size obviously affects the chances for saving and eventually lowers the aspirations down to sheer survival.

Puerto Ricans are fully aware of their advantage as United States citizens to move back and forth, and to establish their residence freely anywhere on the mainland, so that they can always be in search of a still better chance.

The desire of broadening their boundaries of experience also pulls young people to the mainland:

"I wanted to know how was this like. They would say that this was beautiful, good, but one feels disgusted too" (Mrs. Burgos).

"Young people earn a lot of money", says a Pentecostal minister. "For them, this place is heaven. They earn as much as a head of a family".

The second main single factor pulling the family to the mainland, and operating together with the wish for a better "ambiente", is the reunion with the family members already there, especially the parents or children. Being with the family in a satisfactory economic situation is regarded as much more important than the place of residence itself even if this is the home country.

"I came here because I needed badly being with my moth-

er and father" (Mr. Rolon).

"I wanted to know my father who was in the city. He sent for me when I was thirteen years old, and I stayed with him for two years" (Mrs. Burgos).

"I am here out of need, because of Raquel", says her mother, Grandma Fuentes. "I decided to come because my children had come here".

The ease with which they can come to the mainland can have bad consequences for some people lacking moral fiber in the view of a Pentecostal minister who says: "Since coming here does not cost them anything, the Puerto Ricans, unlike the Portuguese or the Spaniards, who have a hard time to come to this country, sometimes get corrupt, lazy, . . ."

Push factors

Nearly all the families in the study group were lower-class in their native island. They knew all sorts of hardships. Large-sized families seem to be overrepresented among the migrants, their lot being especially hard. Several families in the study lived on the "campos" (countryside) with little or no comfort; they had long distances to walk just to get basic services.

"We collected in Puerto Rico $7.50 per month per person from the public assistance (welfare)", says a disabled head of a family. His wife adds: "I used to work very hard

as house cleaner. The neighbors and good ladies would give us bananas, eggs, . . . I earned a paltry thing. I struggled, struggled, and struggled. When my children got up in the morning, I had nothing to give them . . . until I got tired (fed up)".

"There are not too many factories and they do not want to struggle, cut the cane", says a Pentecostal minister. "Everybody wants to emigrate".

> The illiterate and the one with school both have got a chance here. In Puerto Rico the illiterate can't go beyond being a house maid. . . . Over there the only good thing is the warm weather and that it is beautiful. It is good for tourism. Unless you have your own business or an academic training, and then you do not come here even for a visit (Mrs. Rolon).

"The only (bad thing) over there is the work problem. If they had jobs and money, everybody would remain there" (Raquel Fuentes).

"I don't think any person of over there should come here" (Gladys Ruiz).

Mr. Machuca was a small businessman. His business was going into bankruptcy and he saw in migration a chance to regain his socioeconomic status.

Poverty sometimes goes along with serious family problems and migration is envisaged as a way-out:

"We came because we had no home in Puerto Rico, and because my husband used to drink a lot. He also used to squander the money and fall in love, and beat me up. But he promised me he was going to behave here. So we came" (Mrs. Arroyo).

Some of the most perceptive migrants identify the economic infrastructure and the political situation of their island as the basic reason why Puerto Ricans exchange cultural estrangement for opportunities on the mainland:

> The United States wants to have a market in Puerto Rico. They bring here the Puerto Rican products, and then take them back to Puerto Rico now at a higher price . . . We have always a protection in the United States in case of disability. We get pensions. Though, it is not a gift: they get it out of the Puerto Rican pockets. . . . Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. It is neither a State nor "associated".[2] There is only one commercial way: the U.S.A. Puerto Rico is the garbage can of the Americans. There is little industrial production because it is not in the interest of the United States

> Now in Puerto Rico there are fewer jobs than twenty years ago. You earned by that time a paltry thing. Now wages are higher, but work is more scarce . . . There is much political favoritism in Puerto Rico. Four or five tycoons have got everything. Labor is exploited. The foreman has become a "jerarca" (big shot). If you lose your job, you don't find work any more. This is why there are so many Puerto Ricans here. They are looking for freedom, to work for the freedom to live. Here in the United States there is much more labor freedom without having to pay homage to any rascal (manganzon). Over there you have to be a nephew of Ferre, a friend of his wife, . . . Why should you bow your head if you are raising capital for him? Work is free . . . No more servitudes!

A Puerto Rican lady, born in New York City of Puerto Rican parents, and one of the first Puerto Rican residents of Islip has a different view:

> Nobody wants to work in Puerto Rico any more . . . You have trouble even to find a lemon! And the Independentist people say that we don't need the U.S.A.! What they should say to the youth is to work and develop a legitimate pride . . . They only speak about Imperialist exploitation. They don't say anything about the fact that they give us everything!

Patterns of migration

The migration process from its preparatory stages onward is described in detail in the chapter "First links and steps on the path of adaptation". In some cases the exploratory phase consists of finding seasonal farmwork on the mainland before getting married, and sometimes even continuing after marriage. In this manner the migrant gets somewhat acquainted with the pros and cons of the mainland life. In other cases the exploratory phase consists of a dishwashing job in a restaurant, a landscaping job, or an unskilled factory job. About one half of all the male family heads went through one type or another of these exploratory stages at the end of which they sent for their families.

The first move to migrate was often supported by rosy accounts by fellow villagers and relatives returning from the mainland either temporarily or permanently. Migrants like to

contrast with a bit of irony such optimistic views with their own more sober appraisal of the mainland experience where "gold cannot be found on the streets" and where "the most you can expect is to make a decent living if you work hard."

Motivation to migrate and will to stay

Children sometimes repeat the motivations to migrate they have heard from their parents, especially if they are of young age. They point to the poor living conditions of their families in Puerto Rico and to the fact that they had no home of their own. Other children point to the desire to rejoin the family members already on the mainland. Still other children just say it was their parents' --mostly fathers' --decision. Most of the youngest children say that they do not know why they came to the mainland. A few examples will illustrate the degree of children's awareness:

"Because we did not have a house. We lived in my mother's sister house" (Luis Cabrera, 9 years old).

"We came looking for a better future. My father made the decision" (Pedro Garcia, 18).

"I lived there with my mother and my older sister. My sister had to come here because she could not find work. My sisters sent the ticket to me. I decided to come because I liked to travel" (Raquel Fuentes, 17).

"Because my father was here" (Angel Cabrera, 10).

"Because my three older brothers and sisters were already here because they could get better jobs. My brothers and sisters sent the tickets money to my parents and we came over here" (Esteban Garcia, 16).

"My mother wanted to come. Me too. We could not stay alone with the dog" (Jesus Fuentes, 10).

"Because my father wants to" (Luisa Machuca, 11).

"I don't know" (Sara Romano, 11).

The final decision is made by the husband, although in most cases the spouses agree as to the convenience of migration. Since several members of the modified extended kin often participate in the decision by contributing information, resources, encouragement, the decision to migrate can be considered as a cooperative family goal strengthening the family unit to a certain extent.[3] There seems to be wide consensus about the fact that migrants should make first the necessary preparations rather than take any chances.

The fact that Puerto Ricans are United States citizens makes their migration unique when compared with the earlier migration waves of foreign nationals. In the process of weighing the pros and cons of the migration, uprooting as a negative factor is considered only partial and reversible, and, therefore,

not so decisive in the final evaluation. Nuclear and extended family members, friends, neighbors, fellow countrymen by the thousands will alleviate the subjective cost of migration in the arrival point. The migrant chooses to live "better" on the mainland, that is to improve his standard of living, rather than to live "better" in Puerto Rico, that is in the cozy environment where he was brought up and where he feels he belongs. But the chance to return to his island is always open if the present evaluation of the situation would go out of balance or shift in the opposite direction.

After living for some years on the mainland, the migrant may adopt a partly different set of values, and, consequently, the pros and cons being continuously weighed will not eventually be the same ones that led to the original decision to migrate. The time span from one to fifteen years, as the evidence provided by the present study group shows, does not seem to make much difference as far as basic value orientations of the adult decision-makers are concerned. The values, customs and beliefs of the Puerto Rican community in the Islip area resemble in many ways those of the native Island, even when taking into account the wide regional varieties and subcultures. Some of the values are the "family group

oriented personalism", the Christian-stoic acceptance of life vicissitudes, the importance of the expressive and supportive function of the kin family network and of the family celebrations fostering kin solidarity, the "respeto" (respect) for grown ups, the aspiration to give the children the best possible educational opportunities, the rather strict separation of sexes in socializing and division of labor in the household still going on among adults and youth grown up in Puerto Rico, the aspiration to own their own homes, etc.[4]

Such a cultural continuity is favored by the fact that most of the migrants maintain a network of contacts with the Island mainly through visits of relatives and friends in both directions.[5] Like Simic[6] says of the Serbian migrants in Belgrade, who do not plan to return to the countryside, they make the best out of the situation so that they may enjoy the best of two worlds by keeping in touch with the village. Puerto Ricans, however, often entertain serious thoughts of return to their Island, and, therefore, their enjoyment of the best of two worlds is even more intense.

The longing to return

The same factors that pulled the family to the mainland are the ones holding it firmly in it and preventing it from a reckless return to the familiar, warm environment of

the Island. Under equal economic circumstances, families would rather live in Puerto Rico, close to the extended family members and to their friends.

In a very few cases the migrant family arrives in the mainland with very definite plans for an early return to Puerto Rico as soon as they make enough money to buy or build up a home over there. This seems to be made possible either by the industry of both spouses, or by their small-sized family, or by their parents' relatively comfortable economic situation, or by a combination of some of these factors (Cf. The Romanos).

In most cases, however, the families see the fulfillment of their aspirations to return as taking place at a distant, indefinite time. Since the migrants' aspirations have risen considerably since their arrival, the attainment of a similar standard of living in Puerto Rico to that achieved on the mainland is a difficult condition to implement:

"If I return to Puerto Rico I have to be quite sure that I am not going to live worse over there, but at least at the same standard of living I have over here" (Mr. Perez).

"I would like to live in Puerto Rico when I get a home, because I can't go there recklessly (a lo loco)" (Felix Garcia).

In some cases the improvement of the family's economic position only adds up to its mere survival, and, thus, the out-

look of an eventual return to the Island is so dim that the parents comfort themselves with the idea of going there "to die".

Homesickness for relatives, health, and language problems count among the most important reasons for an early return to Puerto Rico that implies giving up the aspirations behind the migration.

Total dependence on the welfare payments is in some cases the only reason to stay on the mainland. Having luck on the lottery is then seen as the only chance left open for returning to the Island. (Cf. The Garcia; Mrs. Arroyo).

Spouses can differ from each other in the wish for return because this wish seems to be strongly related to their individual experiences in the Island before migration and also to their individual awareness and evaluation of the Island's present life conditions. (Cf. The Rolon).

Wives' feelings of isolation and frustration, often resulting from marriage problems or even breakdown, heighten the wish for return, but the advantage of welfare keep these wives and mothers on the mainland in spite of their strong urge to return:

"This country turns people bad. . . . One feels disgusted (here)" . . . (Mrs. Burgos).

Awareness of the worsened economic and moral conditions on the mainland, that is the feeling that the margin of advantage they chose at the moment of migration has in the meantime considerably diminished, intensify the desire for return to Puerto Rico.

The example of fellow villagers who succeeded in their aspiration to build up a home and return to Puerto Rico adds tension and urgency to the longing for return:

"Almost all of my friends have built up a home and have gone to live there. I would like to do the same. I came here just with that idea" (Mrs. Arroyo).

Awareness of the present life conditions in Puerto Rico, however, like the overcrowding of urbanized areas, deters some migrants from returning (Mr. Machuca).

The nostalgia for the customs and life style of the Island is particularly strong among migrants in their late teens, who have just completed a decisive period of socialization in their Island:

> I would like to go to Puerto Rico to study and to work . . . I am crazy about going there. My country where I was born. One lives in another country, but you remember the traditions. Everything is very different. Over there you chat much more. You go to San Juan, to Ponce, . . . There are cock fights (Pedro Garcia).

> I like everything better in Puerto Rico. The only problem there is finding jobs. If

people could have there jobs and money, everybody would stay there. I find people there better than here. They relate more with each other" (Raquel Fuentes).

Jesus and Edwin Fuentes arrived one year ago and are now going through a period of intense nostalgia:

"I would like to return to Puerto Rico because there it is better: you can go to the beach or the river every day. Here I cannot play with my friends climbing trees like in Puerto Rico".

"I don't like it over here, because I don't like to speak English, and I forget the Spanish. . . . I would like to go to live there".

Children who were brought up on the mainland, however, do not show much interest in going to live in a place they only know from hearsay. They would like to go to Puerto Rico just for a vacation. Those who hardly remember Puerto Rico and, nevertheless, would like to go to live there, seem to reflect their parents' aspirations. Sometimes their feelings and wishes are reinforced through the enjoyable experience of a summer vacation with their relatives in the Puerto Rican countryside.

Will to stay

There is general satisfaction with Islip as a place of residence because it is quiet, and neighbors and social a-

gencies are very responsive to the needs of the migrant family. The reasons for the family's remaining in Islip are about the same as those that motivated its coming here. Only now their momentum is strengthened by such experiences as the economic and educational opportunity their children enjoy which will allow them a degree of upward mobility. Plans for returning to Puerto Rico are often put off until the children finish their studies. Among the new factors to be weighed, however, are the desire to remain close to the children, who are likely to remain on the mainland for good.

An important reason for not returning to Puerto Rico is the assessment of the island's present economic situation in terms of the past experiences at the time of migration because of the difficulty of appraising the island's current development through the accounts given by others or even through the short-lived experience of a vacation in the Island.

The parents' perception of relative socioeconomic equality (mainly due to their limited perspective allowed them by the sharp territorial segregation of Latins and Blacks) in contrast to their perception of sharper class differences in Puerto Rico is also a reason to stay here for good.

> Having got used to this country it is difficult to return. I prefer to stay here. I have already

> taken to this country. You go to parties and only those you invite attend the parties. In Puerto Rico anyone who wants to, goes to the party.
> . . . Here you don't have to climb hills
> . . . Clothes get very dirty with mud over there. . . . I have got used to this. When you need to go shopping over there, you have to walk two or three hours to the village (Mrs. Garcia).

It is her past painful experience that makes Mrs. Rolon reaffirm her will to stay on the mainland:

"In Puerto Rico, if you are poor, hard luck . . . I do not return there even to count one thousand dollars bills".

The divergent experiences of the Rolon spouses before migration account, therefore, for their disagreement over an eventual return to the Island:

> When we first came we did not think of returning there because there were problems in finding work. Here the Government helps you. He says we should return, and I tell him that he can go alone. He says that life here is very agitated. But I think that over there it is already the same as over here Mrs. Rolon .

"I miss the climate and many friends. I have aspirations of returning some day and have there my home. But I have first to agree with my wife, because she says she does not want to return" (Mr. Rolon).

The "will to stay" on the mainland, which can be a collective family will and sometimes just the will of individual family members, will be further discussed in the chapter "The different meanings of adaptation" as one of the main

indicators of the migrants' adjustment to the mainland environment.

SUMMARY

Motivation to Migrate and Will to Stay

Most of the families in the study group were lower-class in their native Island. They went through all sorts of hardships. Those on welfare could barely survive on the meager checks. Nearly all complain over scarce, low paid, hard-working jobs.

They migrated in search for better "ambiente", that is for a higher standard of living and the consequent better educational opportunities for their children. Disabled Puerto Ricans are likely to migrate to support their families with the more generous mainland welfare.

They planned, in migrating, to accumulate savings in order to be able to buy or build up a home in Puerto Rico and, in some cases, even to establish a small business in the native Island.

The second main single factor for migration to the mainland is the reunion with the family members already there, especially parents or children.

Children just repeat the same motivations in a more specific way like pointing to the rundown house they had in

Puerto Rico. Sometimes they just point to the fact that their father made the decision and they do not seem too happy about it because they miss the joys of kin visiting and of the countryside.

Since several members of the modified extended family often participate in the decision by contributing information, encouragement, and resources, the decision to migrate can often be considered a cooperative family enterprise which strengthens the family unit to a certain extent.

The subjective cost of the migration is alleviated by the fact that almost none of the migrants considers the decision irreversible, by the very frequent presence of relatives on the area of destination, and by the heavy concentration of fellow countrymen in the same area.

There is a general satisfaction with Islip as a place of residence because it is quiet, and neighbors and social agencies are very responsive to the needs of the migrant family. The reasons for the family's remaining in Islip are about the same as those that motivated its coming here. Only now the momentum is strengthened by experience. Plans for returning to Puerto Rico are put off until the children finish their studies.

Some other reasons for staying on the mainland are the assessment of the Island's economic situation in terms of

the past experience, the perception of a relative socioeconomic equality on the mainland which contrasts with the view that the Island has sharp socioeconomic differences, having got used to a more independent life style, disagreement between the spouses about the merits of returning to the Island, and so forth.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER V

1. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, Puerto Rican Americans (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 14 ff.

2. This is a sarcastic remark on the official political status of Puerto Rico which is termed a "Free Associated State" since July 25, 1952.

3. The Arroyos' migration was at least partly a case of task oriented interaction designed to avoid an imminent marriage breakdown. Once the action was completed, however, conflict revived and the spouses separated.

4. See the chapter "Socioeconomic and sociocultural change"

5. See the chapter "The migrant kin family network"

6. Andrei Simic, The Peasant Urbanites (New York: Seminar Press, 1973), p. 147.

CHAPTER VI

FIRST LINKS AND STEPS ON THE PATH OF ADAPTATION

Introduction

This chapter deals with the first steps the migrant family makes on the mainland which seem nearly always to include an exploratory stage. A description of the various links that the migrant family sequentially develops in relating itself with the larger society upon its arrival will be attempted.

Coping with new situations is made possible for the newcomer only if he finds people in the new environment who lend themselves to cooperative relations. Sometimes these people do not offer enough support to counterbalance the forces of attraction which draw the migrant back to his Island. Some respondents in the study group have known migrants who could not reach a satisfactory enough level of adaptation after a short trial period and therefore returned to Puerto Rico. Although no such instances of precipitous returns were directly encountered in the present study,

the respondents allude to the following as factors behind the cases they had heard about: insurmountable language difficulties, health problems, nostalgia for the relatives left behind, and lack of preparation or of an exploratory stage prior to family migration.

In seven out of the ten families under study there was a clear exploratory period where one member of the family tries out life on the mainland and gropes for the necessary living arrangements before the whole family is committed to migration. In the three remaining families there are also traces of some sort of exploration at least in a broad sense.

Varieties of exploratory stages can be identified, first, according to the various kinds of "explorers" going through them, and second, according to the different kinds of situations of exploration.

1) The "explorers" are mainly of three kinds: the "advanced scout", the "advanced party" and the single person.

The "advanced scout" is the person (or persons) who explore the chances for family migration during a more or less continuous period. This person is a kin member, usually the head of the family. Mr. Cabrera came first in 1964 and stayed alone for three years living in the house of a Puerto Rican friend. Then, five years ago, a friend sold his house to him, and Mr. Cabrera sent for his family. Mr.

Carmona came to the mainland ten years ago. One year later, his wife, after giving birth to their first child in Puerto Rico, rejoined her husband on the mainland.

The label "advanced party" fits better kin members, other than members of the nuclear family, who have been living on the mainland for relatively long time and act as bridgeheads for the migrant nuclear family by securing it living arrangements. The "advanced party" pattern of exploration points to the state of constant flux of Puerto Rican migration to the mainland insofar as the migration of any of the kin members offers chances for a chain migration. It becomes very difficult to determine in each case whether the migration of the first kin member already involves a more or less conscious strategy for a future kin chain migration. Such seems to be often the case among the closest members of the kin. Although the distinction between the "advanced scout" and the "advanced party" is rather thin and it would take a more focused research to determine which is the pattern at work in some cases, the present data, however, point to two somewhat different ways of initiating the migration process. Mr. Rolon's parents served the Rolon family as "advanced party" by sending them the tickets, putting them up in their own home, and finding a job for Mr. Rolon. When the Machucas reached a fast decision to migrant to the mainland, Mrs.

Machuca's sister and brother-in-law put up the Machucas in their family home and helped Mr. Machuca to find his first job on the mainland.

A third kind of "explorer" is the single person. Single exploration is that of either one or both of the parents before getting married and also that of the other family members living in the family household who came to the mainland for some period of time during their single years.

Luz Rolon, Mrs. Rolon's sister, had come to the city years back to the house of one of her mother's "comadres" (co-godmothers). She remained for three months and, then, returned to Puerto Rico because she missed the family. Later on, the Rolon, already in Islip, sent for Luz, still single, to help them with the household chores and babysitting.

Mr. Lopez's exploration as a farm worker was also a "single" one. Mrs. Santos had also been on the mainland as a single girl for two years to work for a cousin as a baby-sitter. This allowed her to see that "this was good". Two married sisters of the teen-ager Raquel Fuentes sent her the ticket to come to study on the mainland. She accepted the invitation because she liked to travel. Mrs. Carmona had been, still single, on the mainland for three months as a babysitter for a Puerto Rican family.

2) Two main kinds of exploratory situations can be

distinguished: "seasonal" and continuous periods of work of different length in non-seasonal kinds of jobs.

The "seasonal" situation is that of the farm workers coming mainly to New Jersey or Long Island for a number of years mostly for a period from four to six months from June or July until October or November, and then, returning to Puerto Rico.[1]

The non-seasonal exploratory situation needs no further declaration. In both seasonal and non-seasonal situations the workers have the chance to gain experience with the mainland life and establish ties with relatives and friends on the mainland with the view of a prospective family migration.

Mr. Santos came to the mainland farms for the first time five years ago and returned yearly to Puerto Rico after each of the four seasons before he finally sent for his family. Mr. Lopez, before getting married, came for four seasons to work on the farms. Then, he got married in Puerto Rico. Mr. Romano came first for nine farm seasons along a period of eleven years. He got married in 1961, and in 1970 he came with his family to the mainland.

The various kinds of "explorers" in the various exploratory situations here described either first develop or reinforce already existing links to the mainland mainly

through the intensification of desirable communication with relatives and friends. The general function served by relatives and friends obviously is that of assistance to the newcomers. What type of assistance will the link person (or intermediary with the host society) try to provide the "explorer" will depend both on the goals and aspirations the "explorer" has for himself and his family, on the particular phase the exploratory activity is going through, and on the ability and readiness of the link-person to assist. The relatives or friends help the "explorers" to enter the host society acting for them as "agents" in helping them to find housing and employment; as "hosts" when the migrant wants to be with their close relatives and thus extend their nuclear family while helping with the household chores and babysitting, or compensating with some shopping money; as "supporters" when the kin member or friend offers mainly emotional help to the newcomer.

In the absence of kin members on the mainland friends play a similar role to that usually played by relatives during the first exploratory steps and they complement them when relatives are there.

A friend of Mr. Santos invited him to Islip and helped him to find housing. Another friend helped him to find a better job. A friend helped Mr. Lopez to find his first industrial job and his first housing in Islip. When Mr. Romano

came first to Islip, a Puerto Rican friend shared with him his apartment. An acquaintance from times back in Puerto Rico found a first job and housing for Mr. Cabrera. He lived for three years in the house of a Puerto Rican friend. Then, another friend sold his house to him. Mrs. Arroyo got her Islip apartment through a lady friend she met in the factory. To sum up, about one half of the families in the study group had the assistance of friends during the exploratory stage.

The exploratory stage comes to a close when the "explorer" or "explorers" actually send for the family once the decision concerning the family migration has been made. In all the cases of the study group relatives are the bridgeheads sending for the rest of the family members still in Puerto Rico when this final phase of the exploratory period has been reached.

The desirability of the reunion of the nuclear family on the mainland at the earliest possible date is taken for granted. Therefore, when the "explorer" husband puts off sending for his family, the wife interprets the delay as a signal of danger to the marriage and the family (Cabrera). Seasonal farm work with yearly returns to Puerto Rico allows for a longer period of exploration prior to family reunion on the mainland (Santos, Romano).

The assistance given to the newcomers by relatives and

friends goes beyond the exploratory stage. Many of the links to relatives and friends and, through them, to the mainland transcend that initial period and become stronger all the time. "Having more friends after some time here you have more opportunities", says Mr. Lopez. Further steps along the path of adaptation to the mainland are made with the cooperation either of the same person-links or intermediaries who helped the newcomer in the exploratory stage or of new acquaintances like foremen from the work place, fellow countrymen, social agencies, and other institutions.

From the exploratory stage onwards and all through the process of family migration and adaptation to the mainland a norm of fairness or reciprocity seems at work among the migrants and their friends and relatives on the mainland. According to this norm one is expected to reciprocate the services others provided for him when he first arrived in the mainland. Such a norm, however, does not always take the shape of strict bilateral exchange of services, but rather of a sort of wider obligation or circularity of service whereby the one whose airplane ticket was paid for is, for instance, expected to babysit for the children of another member of the family, who in his turn has lent a different kind of service to that member of the family who paid for the ticket of the common relative.[2]

As shown in the chapter "The different meanings of adaptation", the five families who had no relatives on the mainland to rely on during the exploratory stage have also been able to adapt to the receiving society. These families established instead links with friends or fellow countrymen during the exploratory stage. This evidence of successful adaptation without counting on the cooperation of kin members points to the existence of other factors that work toward easing the adaptation of the migrant family maybe as effectively as the support of the family does. Conversely the poor adaptation of the Arroyo, the Garcia, and the Fuentes families, notwithstanding the presence of members of the extended family, questions the effectiveness of their support, in the absence of certain conditions in the nuclear family, in order to ease the adaptation of the nuclear migrant family to the host society. One of these conditions, lacking in the Arroyo and in the Fuentes families, is the presence of the father in the family. A fatherless home must surely constitute a special case in the study of the adaptation of the migrant family, and suitable criteria must be applied in order to evaluate in a meaningful way its efforts to cope with the new environment.

SUMMARY

In most of the families under study there was an exploratory period where one member of the family tries out life on the mainland and gropes for the necessary arrangements before the whole family is committed to migration. There are three kinds of "explorers", namely the "advanced scout", the "advanced party", and the single person. The "explorers" first develop or reinforce already existing links to the mainland mainly through the intensification of desirable communication with relatives and friends. The general function served by relatives and friends is that of assistance to the newcomers.

In all the cases of the study group relatives are the bridgeheads sending for the rest of the family members still in Puerto Rico when the final phase of the exploratory period has been reached.

Families without relatives on the mainland to rely on during the exploratory period have also been able to adapt to the receiving society. These families established instead links with friends or fellow countrymen during that period.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER VI

1. For a detailed account of the contract farm worker program, see Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, Puerto Rican Americans (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 15-20.

2. See "The Fuentes", for an illustration of this "circularity" of family service.

CHAPTER V I I

THE MIGRANT KIN FAMILY NETWORK

As seen in earlier chapters, the kin provides the migrants with supportive functions during the period of migration and transition from the rural to the urban society. Kin become informants, innkeepers, money lenders, and so forth, in a word bridgeheads for the migrants in the host society. Although there is some conflicting evidence, most of the literature agrees that kin support plays an important role in the adaptation of migrants to the new environment more so for migrants from the intermediate and high classes than from the lower classes.

The evidence for the Islip Puerto Rican study group generally supports these findings. However, unlike the Kentucky lower-class migrant families in Beech Creek, lower-class Puerto Rican migrant family networks in Islip seem to follow some of the supportive patterns found by Schwarzweller and Brown (1969, 1970) in the branch-family of the intermediate-and high-class Kentucky migrants in the industrial Ohio

valley. The familistic bonds in the Islip families, similar to those of the Ohio families of intermediate class, are further reinforced by the social and cultural isolation from the urban context. The role of the relatives left behind in Puerto Rico also parallels the supportive function of the family homestead for the Kentucky intermediate-class migrants. These relatives act also as a "haven of safety" to which the migrant can always return, even though he will lose economic ground. He expects to receive from them advice, encouragement, and eventual child upbringing assistance. The stem-and branch-family system of rural to urban migration, which patterns the adjustment of the intermediate-class Beech Creek families, seems also at work among the Puerto Rican migrants in Islip.

Among the families in the Islip study various patterns of kin communication and assistance are discernible according to 1) the kind of kin relationship involved, 2) the kind of situation in which kin members relate with each other, and 3) the kinds of assistance given to each other.

1) Kin relationship

Communication and assistance among migrants and their relatives seems to be functionally equivalent, that is any relative residing in the area is expected to lend assistance to the newly arrived kin members. When kin members in the area vary in their degree of kinship, then the relationship

between parents and married children (Rolon, Garcia, Fuentes, Martinez) and those between siblings (Rolon, Fuentes) seem to command the highest degree of communication and assistance, next are relationships between uncles and aunts, and nephews and nieces (Machuca, Santos, Martinez).

Assistance happens in both directions of the kin relationship and apparently with the same intensity. It flows in particular cases either in one or another direction depending on which party has the more advantageous position. It can also flow simultaneously in both directions when the assistance provided is, for instance, of a moral kind (support, advice) from parent to child, of a material kind (money, lodging) from child to parent (Garcia), and also of an exchange of services between parent and child (Fuentes). Assistance among relatives seems to happen irrespective of the sex differences. The main kin relationships that were found in this study are the following: parents and married children (Rolon, Garcia, Fuentes, Martinez); father and unmarried daughter (Burgos); married siblings (Rolon, Fuentes); married and unmarried siblings (Rolon, Fuentes); grandmother and married grandchildren (Carmona); uncles and aunts, and nephews and nieces (Machuca, Santos, Martinez); step-parents and step-children (Mrs. Garcia, Mr. Lopez); godparents and godchild-

ren (Mrs. Garcia); cousins (Mrs. Santos); and so forth.

2) Situations in which the kin members relate and give assistance to each other:

Kin members relate and give assistance to each other both in "routine" and in "crisis" situations. Among the "routine" situations the following can be enumerated: divided residence, like when one or more children remain with the grandmother in Puerto Rico (Carmona, Arroyo); shared residence, like a married son with his family temporarily living in the home of his parents (Rolon); longing for family in Puerto Rico (Mrs. Santos, Mrs. Machuca, etc.); writing to parents (Romano) and godparents (Mrs. Garcia) in Puerto Rico; reunion of most of the family on the mainland (Garcia, Fuentes, Martinez, etc.); visiting with varied frequency like daily (Rolon, Martinez, etc.), weekly (Lopez, etc.), monthly, often, sometimes, on festive occasions, etc.; trips to Puerto Rico around Christmas and summer time every two or three years as an average (Cabrera, Garcia, Rolon, etc.) usually just one of the parents taking along one of the children or just one of the parents or just one of the children making the trip; trips from relatives from Puerto Rico on similar occasions (Mr. Cabrera's parents, etc.), etc. Among the "crisis" situations stand out serious disease, death, marital separations, disability, and bankruptcy.

3) Types and frequency of assistance given among the kin members:[1] The main types of assistance are: lodging (Rolon, Fuentes, etc.); housing finding (Arroyo, Burgos, Fuentes, Machuca); job finding (Rolon, Machuca, etc.); baby-sitting and helping with the household chores (Grandma Fuentes, Mrs. Garcia, Luz Rolon, etc.); buying airplane tickets to the mainland (Rolon, Cabrera, Martinez, etc.); shopping money when lodged by kin members (Rolon, Machuca, Felix Garcia, etc.); up-bringing by grandmothers, aunts, godmothers (Carmona, Burgos, Machuca, Garcia); advice in family crises (Machuca, Martinez, etc.); sending money and clothes to relatives in Puerto Rico (Mrs. Garcia), etc.

Assistance can be given in a continuous, temporary, and occasional way. Continuous assistance in babysitting and housekeeping is given by Luz Rolon and Grandma Fuentes. Felix Garcia provided temporary assistance until his father's welfare case was opened. Buying the airplane tickets to have close relatives come to the mainland, giving advice in time of crisis, flying to Puerto Rico when a relative is seriously ill or has died, etc. are examples of occasional assistance.

Two family cases will serve to exemplify the varied patterns mentioned above.

The Rolon

Mr. Rolon's parents sent the tickets to the Rolon family, put them up in their own home and Mr. Rolon's father found a job for his son. "My father and my wife--says Mr. Rolon-- did not get along well, and I had to move out. They gave us the rooms and I helped them." Since Mr. Rolon's parents and brothers live in Islip they are in almost daily contact with the Rolon family. There is also frequent visiting with other members of the extended family like cousins and uncles. On occasions everybody meets in his parents' home.

Mrs. Rolon's mother and married sisters visit the Rolon almost every day. "She (Mrs. Rolon's mother) treats us like babies," says Mrs. Rolon. Mrs. Rolon's sister, a single lady in her thirties, lives with them. She cooks, does the household work and the shopping. She shares also in the child rearing. She had come first alone, years back, to the city but returned to Puerto Rico because she missed the family. Then Mrs. Rolon invited her to come and to live with her family. She has been twice to Puerto Rico in seven years. Nora Rolon (12) went once to Puerto Rico for a vacation. Ramon Rolon (9) has been twice. Mrs. Rolon has been once and Mr. Rolon has not been at all in ten years. He enjoys family meetings that allow for celebration.

The Cabrera

The Cabreras had no relatives on the mainland. All of them live in Puerto Rico and are poor. During the first years in Islip the welfare, neighbors and "many people" --among them private social agencies-- helped them because Mr. Cabrera's wages were too low. Mrs. Cabrera says: "I would like to be able to help my family and my husband's family, parents and brothers."

Mr. Cabrera goes every year to visit his parents in Puerto Rico. His parents also come once a year to visit the Cabrera family. He must send the tickets to them. A crisis through which the marriage was going at the time of the visit of Mr. Cabrera's parents seems to have subsided under the parents' influence.

Mrs. Cabrera has been once to Puerto Rico in five years. Gloria Cabrera (12) has been several times to Puerto Rico for a vacation.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Cabrera have made a good number of friends here with Puerto Ricans and also with a few Americans through Mr. Cabrera's work and sports connections.

The comparison between the Rolon and the Cabrera families illustrates that the importance of friends seems to grow in the absence of relatives and often replace them in the role of confidant and as a source of assistance. Mrs. Garcia has her children with her, but no brothers and sisters or other

relatives of her age. She has become a friend of a Latin lady of whom she says: "I love her more than my very family." Mrs. Lopez, under similar circumstances, has also made friends with a Puerto Rican lady who has become her confidant. The pattern of friends substituting for close relatives was already pervasive in Puerto Rico where family friends sometimes become adoptive or foster parents when parents die.

Varieties of kin family networks

Three families in the study group show some resemblance to the classical extended kinship, namely the Garcia, the Fuentes, and the Rolon. Felix Garcia and wife do not live in the Garcia parents' household, but the daily visiting pattern and the frequent eating at the Garcia's makes the label "modified extended family" more appropriate for them than the label "simple nuclear family" (Billingsley, 1968). Some data are also given concerning a fourth family, the Martinez that make it similar to the Garcia family. Strictly speaking, however, there is not a single case of classical extended kinship in the study group. These kin groupings in the study are modern in that they lack any organizational principle for defining its internal leadership: no rigid authority structure exists any longer. "The true extended kinship is created as a group whose membership is the same from the point of view of each member and can organize itself for group action."[2]

About the Southern Italian migrant family in the United States, I.L. Child wrote that the "father's authority over a child is traditionally regarded as absolute until the latter's marriage, and even afterwards it may be maintained to a high degree."[3] The Rolon conjugal unit, however, maintains similar relationships with Mrs. Rolon's mother to those with Mr. Rolon's parents. Collateral relationships and bonds, however, seem to be as strong as those based on lineage; the strong friendship between Mr. Rolon and Mrs. Rolon's brother-in-law demonstrates this. Grandparents do not exert dominance upon their emancipated children. Grandma Fuentes is just a guest in Mrs. Fuentes household. Mrs. Rolon's mother has her own apartment and exerts influence on her daughters mainly by caring for them in her daily visits. ("She treats us as babies," says Mrs. Rolon). The welfare system gives the abandoned married daughter, and also the disabled and retired parents economic self-sufficiency. There is also no continuous direct involvement either in furthering the social status of the kin members. The only exception is in the first stage when helping to link the newly arrived with the main institutions of the receiving society is regarded as part of the family obligation. Help in obtaining the first job and housing are the most important forms of assistance. Mrs. Garcia's complaint over her son Felix's insistence in having her babysit for his child and

Grandma Fuentes' dissatisfaction with her status in the family group point in the same direction: namely, the autonomy of the conjugal unit, even of the mother based household (or attenuated family, in Billingsley's typology). The social control function of kinship has declined to the point that unrequested intervention in the nuclear family affairs is refused, as Mrs. Fuentes' and Grandma Fuentes' remarks suggest.

R. Turner says that "the persistence of sentiment over the years is very largely dependent on the many facets of interdependence that are institutionalized through the common household and the tasks of family life."[4] In the families of the study group a sense of family sentiment and obligation is maintained and reinforced by a mutuality or circularity of help. Mrs. Garcia is somehow repaying through her babysitting for the financial support she and her family got from the oldest, emancipated son Felix, and in a specific way, for his help in bringing the whole family of orientation from Puerto Rico. Grandma Fuentes' babysitting seems to exemplify a sort of "circularity of help" going on all the time between grandmother and married daughters.[5] (Cf. the family portrait "The Fuentes.") The conflict between Mr. Rolon's father and his daughter-in-law, no matter the personality factors involved, also shows the growing ineffective-

ness of the grandparent as an "agent through which the lineal principle of kinship organization is made salient."[6] The standards both of filial submissiveness and responsibility have changed over time. Unable to accept the change, Mr. Garcia's repeatedly expressed expectation of getting the children's help when they take a job, tends to stress the normative elements of the relationship because as soon as the children graduate from High School "the foci of interdependence become fewer," and the family sentiment tends to diminish with the lack of structural supports. In a similar vein, Mrs. Garcia complains about her son Felix's not being so ready as he used to be to volunteer rides and services, but she chooses to blame her daughter-in-law for the change.

To sum up, the traditional functions of kinship, which have been described as economic, assistance, social-control, social-status, and religious, do not quite fit the contemporary patterns of these migrant Puerto Rican families in Islip. The economic function is transformed into assistance, certainly very limited in amount; it only extends to the closest relatives. Unmarried children keep their own wages and contribute a small sum for their room and board. Taking a job is an individual undertaking. No collective economic venture is pursued by the extended family

with the possible exception of the migration itself. The social-control function is also limited because the family often gives way to the peer-group, as normative reference group among the youth and even among the male adults. No set of concentric communities encloses all the activities of each and every individual in the mainland urban society as it used to in the more traditional Puerto Rican society. Social status is directly related to the individual occupational achievement and families can do little to secure success. The religious function has also weakened. The extended family acted as a vehicle of the religiosity institutionalized in the culture of the native Island. On the mainland, however, the family finds very difficult the socialization of its members in the religious values. Granted the low degree of cultural and social structural assimilation of the migrant family and the strong religious pluralism of the mainland society, it seems obvious that the mainland churches are a poor substitute for the native society in helping the family to keep alive its religious beliefs. Even so, the transmission of religious values and beliefs is still important, although at times it is not very successful because of the weak socialization and formal religious commitment of the families of orientation. Turner says that mothers in the American society seem to be

the most active carriers of kinship relationships, and this seems to hold also for the present study group, although it may be partly due to the greater occurrence of male desertion of the family (Mrs. Fuentes, Mrs. Carmona, Mrs. Arroyo, Mrs. Martinez's daughters).

Two variables were found in this study that seemed important in determining the character of kin network relationships to the nuclear family, namely a) physical distance, and b) degree of social interaction.

On the basis of the available data three types of kin situation can be distinguished: 1) most of the kin of the nuclear family are on the mainland, in a specific way one or both of the grandparents from one or both lineages; 2) some of the kin are on the mainland and some on the island; 3) none of the kin is on the mainland.

The first variety of kin family network or "modified extended family" described above operates best in the first situation and consequently could be labelled a "unilocated" network. The second variety, which works in the second situation, covers a range of kin family networks like the Santos, the Cabreras, and the Romanos. They differ from the first type in that the grandparents and most of the kin live in Puerto Rico. They could be labelled therefore "bilocated" networks. Such labelling recognizes the importance of geo-

graphical proximity even in the absence of a common household. The "bilocated" kin network can also be considered a kind of "modified extended family" insofar as a degree of interaction is possible with the few kin on the mainland and even with those on the Island by means of written and telephonic communication, and visits in both directions.

Obviously when no kin was on the mainland, no interaction was possible. Consequently the kin in this kind of situation could be labelled "distant." The meaning is that the physical distance rather than any strain in the relationship prevented the family from kin interaction. The Carmona kin network falls under this category. In the rare instances where such a strained situation was detectable, the kin living in Puerto Rico was labelled "remote" thereby implying a lack of positive emotional attachment among the kin members. This variety of kin network includes the remaining families, namely the Burgos and the Machucas. When taking into account the Machucas' comfortable economic position, their relationship with the grandparents does not seem to be a particularly close one as far as it can be inferred from the number of visits paid to them. Mrs. Burgos' mother seems rather unwilling to lend economic assistance to her married daughter, by Mrs. Burgos' own account.

The "modified extended family" and the larger society

Examination of the available data reveals that one of the most important factors facilitating the adaptation of the nuclear migrant family to the new environment is its forming part of a "unilocated" kin family network.

The consequences of a high degree of kinship involvement for the adult migrant's participation and involvement with mainland non-Puerto Rican friends and community organizations are obvious. Although it has been advanced[7] that people who have satisfactory primary group ties are more likely to join voluntary associations,[8] such hypothesis runs counter to the general disinclination found among Islip migrants for participation in voluntary associations. The Puerto Rican migrant family is intent in the effort to satisfy its basic economic needs. Its aspiration to own its own home can be considered as based both on an economic and on a cultural need. On the one hand, the migrant family tries to avoid having to pay high rents to profit-conscious landlords. On the other hand, Puerto Rican culture places a high value in home ownership, not unlike American culture. When asked about their participation in community organizations several husbands mentioned their "neglectful" (dejao, quitao) condition, that is their unreadiness to commit themselves to more obligations than those entailed by the responsible perform-

ance of their family and work roles. Lack of English and insufficient schooling were also mentioned, and are important factors affecting their non-participation. Mr. Cabrera's membership in several sports clubs seems to be the only exception in the study group. There is a moderate degree of migrant participation in school and church activities, but school participation, namely attendance at meetings and contact with the school administration cannot be considered discretionary, and church membership is often inherited.

The Carmona family, in default of its head and of any significant extended kin in the mainland, is on welfare and has been led to develop a satisfactory relationship with several private and public social agencies that provide the family with health services, clothes, transportation, etc. Mrs. C. has learned how to deal directly with real estate offices without any relative as intermediary, but through the services of a Spanish speaking employee of the firm. The fact that the social and health services in the area usually staff Spanish speaking, often Puerto Rican, social workers and community aides with a strong person-oriented approach to the client has also eased the contacts.

The Fuentes, on the opposite side of the spectrum, have functioned as a "modified extended kin," with all the different dealings involved in helping the kin to adapt to

the new environment. A "circularity of help" has been and still remains the dominant pattern of family assistance.

The passage of time, within the limits set for this study, namely from one to fifteen years, does not seem to affect the continuity of the patterns of assistance, visiting, and recreational interaction. The absence of relatives in the mainland ("bilocated kin") and, may be even more, the outgoing personalities of the Cabrera spouses must have contributed to their higher degree of association with organizations of the larger society, particularly with sports clubs[9]

Institutionalized visiting[10] on the mainland and communication with the relatives in Puerto Rico obviously works toward conservation of a variety of cultural items, from food to courtship rituals, and value orientations that slow down cultural assimilation. The relatively high proportion of Puerto Ricans in the Islip population is a structural factor of first importance that contributes to the same effect.

Seda Bonilla, one of the best experts in Puerto Rican culture, is pessimistic about the capacity of resistance of Puerto Rican culture to change even in Puerto Rico. "Seda sees the traditional rural family structure as deteriorating under the impact of higher consumption aspirations, migration, and the resultant inroad on familial and sexual stability."[11]

It would be outside the province of the present study to attempt to determine the extent to which the values and cultural items that the Puerto Rican migrant family tries to preserve in the mainland, were already subject to deterioration in the native island. Some of the particularistic roles[12] which the extended family helps the migrant to preserve or to learn in the host society are "alternatives" open to him like being a member of a Latin church congregation, a client of a variety of public and private social agencies, a consumer of Latin foods, a traveler to Puerto Rico, a host for relatives and an intermediary or link for them with the institutions of the larger society, etc. Some other particularistic roles are for all practical purposes assigned to him, the margin of option being severely limited, like being a resident of a heavily Puerto Rican and/or Black American neighborhood. In any event, kin family interaction, while helping the newly arrived to perform their "universal" roles in the receiving society (industrial worker, high school student, etc.), prevents him from full exposure to city and mainland born friends and from interaction with some institutional spheres of the host society. Insofar as the kin try to expand for the migrant the "alternatives" open to him within the boundaries of his own subculture they foster a situation of minimal assimilation. By setting these bound-

aries, the "modified extended family" tries to preserve the best it can the ambiguity ridden Puerto Rican identity.

The organizations of the larger society deal in very different ways with the phenomenon of cultural pluralism rooted in the migrant kin networks. The public educational system both at the federal and at the state level gives a moderate support to the preservation of linguistic and cultural identity by fostering a gradual transition to the standard curriculum. A far different policy is followed by the Roman Catholic parish schools in the area. The first reason is the underrepresentation of the Puerto Ricans in the student body reaching at best 4 percent of it. The second and basic reason is the strong Americanizing penchant of the Roman Catholic Church leading to a paradoxical situation whereby a "universal" church works as an agent of cultural uniformization. The almost exclusively Irish-American power structure sees a threat in the expansion of cultural alternatives to the unity of the church.[13]

The universal roles, in whose performance the newly arrived are helped by the old timers in the kin network, place emphasis on task and instrumental aspects, namely on efficiency; the particularistic roles emphasize the identity and expressive aspects of the migrant activity, in other words, personalistic values. The noticeable trend among the most self-

confident and successful "providers" in the study group, however, is toward bringing back home from their factories, together with their paychecks, resources for identity and expressive interaction in the family network (Mr. Machuca, Mrs. Rolon, Mr. Lopez, Mr. Cabrera). In other words, a "personalization" of the work role seems to be a sure indicator of satisfaction with the attainments in the community and thus of positive adaptation. Such a "personalizing" trend seems to be rooted in the expressive, personal value orientation of the kin network, and it does not exclude a simultaneous trend in the opposite direction toward transferring the value orientations of efficiency and rationalization from the work place into the kin network. Mrs. Rolon's and Mr. Machuca's high drive to achieve is surely related to their occupational success and it seems to have an impact on the family "themes" and aspirations. Lola Santos' (15) and Nora Rolon's (12) good school performances precipitated their parents' identification with them and the greater involvement of their parents in school activities.

An unwritten norm of fairness and reciprocity seems to regulate the kin assistance, the performance of work and other universal roles, and the decision to migrate and to stay in the mainland. When a member of the kin family network lives

with a nuclear family thereby "extending" the family, he is expected to contribute to the household either with domestic work (Luz Rolon, Grandma Fuentes) or with "shopping money" (Felix Garcia before getting married; the Rolons when they lived with Mr. R.'s parents). This fairness can be expressed in a mutual and in a circular way (Cf. family portrait "The Fuentes.") Personalization and ego involvement demand a reciprocal attitude on the part of the bosses and fellow workers (Mr. Machuca, Mr. Cabrera, Mrs. Rolon) even if such an attitude does not always have significant economic consequences.

Renouncing the warmth of the family kin network in Puerto Rico by coming to the mainland and remaining here is a justifiable sacrifice in the eyes of the migrant families if the nuclear unit is thereby going to satisfy pressing material needs and to provide the children with more and better chances for scholastic and occupational advancement. As a consequence the visits to Puerto Rico cease almost completely when the family kin network has reunited in the mainland. The family, rather than the familiar landscape, climate, and customs, furnishes the main reason either to stay or leave.

This norm of reciprocity seems to be the structural underpinning of the continuous weighing of the pros and cons

of staying or returning to Puerto Rico which goes on inside the migrant family and becomes a recurrent "theme" in kin network interaction. Such an ongoing process of pondering seems to be a specific trait of the Puerto Rican migration which places it at variance with the vast majority of the prior ethnic migrations into the United States.

The Puerto Rican families in Islip assess their mainland experience against the background of an eventual, and likely return to their island, although any objective prediction by outsiders of their chances to return would judge them rather low. Except for the Romano family, which represents the extreme case of a family with definite plans for short-term return, all the other families in the study are constrained to remain in the mainland either by their poverty, or by mortgage payments, or by their aspirations for the occupational and social advancement of their children. Three teen-agers, however, are thinking seriously of going to live to Puerto Rico as soon as they finish High School. Raquel Fuentes will accompany her mother, Grandma Fuentes, who cannot adapt to the mainland. Gladys Ruiz has never been in Puerto Rico, and she would rather stay in Islip, but she does not strongly object to living there with her parents, who plan to return within a year, eighteen years after they left their

Island. Pedro Garcia is crazy about his native Island and he hopes to find there the chance of combining college study and work, which a Latin school counselor has advised him to do. The lack of comparable economic opportunities in their Island remains the single most important "push" factor not to return there; the migrant stays in Islip "sine die", but retains a more or less vague longing for their native Island.

SUMMARY

The kin have a supportive function in the period of migration and transition from the Puerto Rican to the suburban mainland society. The stem- and branch-family system of rural to urban migration, which characterizes the adjustment of the intermediate-class migrants in other studies, seems also at work among the Puerto Rican lower-class migrant families in Islip.

Any relative residing in the area of destination is expected to lend assistance to the newly arrived migrants. Kin members relate and give assistance to each other both in "routine" and "crisis" situations. The main types of assistance are offering of lodging, house and job finding, babysitting, housekeeping, buying airplane tickets, and so forth. Assistance can be given in a continuous, temporary, or occasional way.

The traditional functions of kinship do not quite fit the contemporary patterns of the migrant Puerto Rican families in Islip. Some families in the study group, however, show some resemblance to the classical extended family and can be labelled "modified extended families." They show a pattern of daily visiting, and a sense of family sentiment and obligation which is reinforced by a mutuality or circularity of help.

Two variables seem important in determining the character of kin network relationships to the nuclear family, namely a) physical distance, and b) degree of social interaction. On the basis of the available data four kinds of kin situations and kin networks can be distinguished: 1) the "unilocated kin family network" where most of the kin of the nuclear family are on the mainland so that it can fully operate as a "modified extended family"; 2) the "bilocated kin family network" where the grandparents and most of the kin live in Puerto Rico, so that it can operate as a "modified extended family" only to a limited extent; 3) the "distant" kin family network which is prevented from continuous interaction by sheer physical distance because no kin lives on the mainland; 4) the "remote" kin family network where both physical distance and a strained relationship seem to account for the very limited kin interaction.

One of the most important factors facilitating the adaptation of the nuclear migrant family to the new environment is its forming part of a "unilocated" kin family network. The consequences of a high degree of kinship involvement for the adult migrant's participation and involvement with mainland non-Puerto Rican friends and with organizations of the host society are obvious. Other factors affecting the scarce participation of the migrants in voluntary associations are their being intent in the effort to satisfy their basic economic needs, their lack of English and inadequate schooling.

The passage of time, within the limits set for this study, does not seem to affect the continuity of the patterns of assistance, visiting, and recreational interaction. The absence of relatives on the mainland may become an occasion for a more intense participation in the organizations of the larger society.

Institutionalized visiting on the mainland and communication with the relatives in Puerto Rico obviously works toward conservation of a variety of cultural items that slow down cultural assimilation. Institutions and organizations of the larger society deal in very different ways with the phenomenon of cultural pluralism rooted in the migrant kin networks.

The trend toward the "personalization" of the work

role seems to be rooted in the expressive, personal value orientation of the kin network. This "personalizing" trend does not exclude a simultaneous trend in the opposite direction toward transferring the value orientations of efficiency and rationalization from the work place into the kin network.

An unwritten norm of fairness and reciprocity seems to regulate the kin assistance, the performance of work and other universal roles, and the decision to migrate and stay on the mainland. "Personalization" and ego involvement demand a reciprocal attitude on the part of the bosses and fellow workers, even if such an attitude does not always have economic consequences. Renouncing the warmth of the family kin network in Puerto Rico by coming to the mainland is a justifiable sacrifice in the eyes of the migrant family if the nuclear unit is thereby going to satisfy pressing material needs and going to provide the children with more and better chances for scholastic and occupational advancement.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER VII

1. See, for a more detailed account, the chapter "First links and steps in the path of adaptation."

2. Ralph H. Turner, Family Interaction, 426.

3. Irvin L. Child, Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1943), p. 27.

4. Turner, Family Interaction, 440.

5. Cf. The family portrait "The Fuentes."

6. Ibid., 439.

7. Ibid., 441.

8. David L. Sills, "Voluntary Associations: Sociological Aspects", in David L. Sills, ed., The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (New York: Macmillan, 1968), vol. 16, 373.

9. See "Conjugal Roles and Division of Labor", and the family portrait "The Cabreras."

10. Kin visiting had become institutionalized already in Puerto Rico and the migrants had interiorized the values expressed and reinforced through visiting insofar at least as a minimum degree of behavior conformity is expected from most of the kin members. These crystallized relationships are considered by the actors of strategic structural importance. Such an institutionalization admits of course, different degrees.

    According to Berger and Luckmann (1966) "institutionalization occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors . . . . The typifications of habitualized actions that constitute institutions are always shared ones. They are available to all the members of the particular social group . . ." (p. 54). These typifications occur even in the face-to-face situation within the routines of everyday life (p. 30). When Mrs. Martinez says of her nephews, who call often on the Martinez home, that "they behave almost as if they were our children," she is modifying a "typificatory scheme" which embodies different expectations of nephews from those of children.

Institutionalized visiting reflects the emphasis on close kinship relations especially in the spheres of expression and solidarity.

11. Sidney W. Mintz, "Puerto Rico: An Essay in the Definition of National Culture", in F. Cordasco and E. Bucchioni, eds., The Puerto Rican Experience (Totowa, N.J.: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1973), 83, reprinted from Status of Puerto Rico: Selected Background Studies for the United States-Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966, 380-434.

12. See Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954), 17-18.

13. See N. Glazer and D. P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot, 275-276.

CHAPTER V I I I

CONJUGAL ROLES AND DIVISION OF LABOR

Introduction

The last chapter has shown that the Puerto Rican migrant family we are studying is basically a nuclear one even though its close relationships with other kin members allow it to be called a "modified extended family."

This chapter deals with the change in the conjugal roles of the Islip migrant family. Particular attention is given to the transformation of the structure of dominance which implies a change in the various kinds of resources on which such a structure is grounded, among them beliefs, values, ideology, and new roles such as that of working wife.

The interaction between work and family roles is examined, first, in general, and then in several family case studies. The three mother-based families are considered as special cases of change in the family role system. Finally, some observations are made concerning the influence of the time factor on the changes observed in the conjugal

roles.

The sociocultural and sociostructural processes of change which have been variously labelled as adaptation, assimilation, etc. entail consequences for both the internal and external roles of the migrant families. Roles are played by various types of actors in the context of an objectified stock of knowledge common to a collectivity of actors.[1] They result from the reciprocal typifications involved in human interaction. The interaction with significant others who function as mediators of the new cultural environment has a particular significance for the migrant; it resembles the importance of significant others during the period of the child's primary socialization. The migrant takes on the roles and attitudes of the significant others who either are born members of the host society or are fellow Puerto Ricans who have become more or less acculturated to it. In the process the migrant will eventually transform his identity which results from the cumulative images of the cluster of roles.[2]

Authority and division of labor

Fernandez-Marina, Maldonado-Sierra, and Trent (1958) concluded in a cross-cultural study of Mexican and Puerto Rican families that "Puerto Rican family beliefs are in the process of change toward more Americanization of beliefs."[3]

They advanced the hypothesis that

> the impact of Americanization with its special emphasis upon democratization of family values, the inclusion of larger numbers of women in the working force, the use of individual productivity and efficiency rather than family origin as determinants of status, etc., should tend to create anxiety for the male authority figure because the definitions of traditionally accepted roles are becoming less clear and more confused for those who occupy the positions.[4]

As could be expected from the fact that nearly all the subjects in the present study are of lower-class background, the discernible trend toward Americanization is somewhat less pronounced among them than it was among the Puerto Rican middle-class students, who were the subjects of the above study.

Wives in the present study group show much respect for their husbands and adhere to the traditional value and prestige of maleness. But they are not completely happy with their traditional role which demands that women pay the full cost of preserving the family unity. For example, the husband, although generally abiding by the norm of being as good a provider as possible, still longs for his careless freedom as a single young man and does not quite find his place in the home, perhaps because his wife has to divide her attention and care between him and the children. As a result, the wife frequently resents the unequal distribution of burdens

and the meager responsibility of her husband. However, in a case of actual conflict with her husband, she is likely to submit by lowering her role expectations of her husband (for the children's sake) even more and/or by renouncing her own preferences.

There is among the Puerto Rican couples in the study a general acceptance of the traditional separation of masculine and feminine tasks and division of labor. The Puerto Rican wives however mildly express on occasion the wish that their husbands would cooperate in domestic and child rearing tasks as do American husbands. Acquaintance with the life style of the mainstream American family is at best skimpy through factory talk, observation in public places, and seldom through neighborhood because there is considerable residential segregation.

The Puerto Rican mothers are in immediate charge of all child rearing activities. Sometimes a domineering father intervenes to discipline children who are spoiled by an excess of mothering. More frequent is the other extreme: a father intervenes to soften the mother's discipline. Turner says that "the small size of the contemporary nuclear family and the emphasis on sentiment work against the strict sex-role within the private boundaries of the family unit."[5]

The families making up the present study group, however, are rather large and do not stress sentiment but rather sex-role differentiation.

Occupation does not quite serve as an effective or successful anchorage for male identity because the occupational aspirations of most of the husbands have been frustrated by scarce opportunity and by the burden of providing for large sized families. Wives, consequently, are led to view their husbands' occupation in purely instrumental terms. Only Mrs. Cabrera seems to be able to serve "as interpreter, supporter, and extender for her husband's occupational role,"[6] and this only to a very limited degree: she entertains once in a while in the family home some of her husband's bosses. The occupational demands on the husband --overtime, changing work shifts, etc. -- are inflexible enough to prevent any movement toward greater equality in the conjugal role-relationship. The wife has always to adjust to her husband's schedule.

Most wives do not have any occupational aspirations. A few wives do, but they have been unable to fulfill them, and have to find their intrinsic satisfactions just in their mother and homemaker role, in their better acquaintance and more satisfying relationships with school, church, and social agencies, and, sometimes, in a work role that provides them

with wider social relationships and with the ego strengthening chance to complement the family income.

There seems to be little appreciation, due to insufficient communication and intimacy, by either of the spouses of the specific, exclusive tasks involved in the role of the partner. Wives point to the economic result of their husbands' work rather than showing awareness of the intrinsic gratifications they might derive from it. Husbands, on their turn, only make a few comments on the most obvious aspects of the wife's homemaking and child rearing roles. Such comments reflect their own expectations of their wives, namely that they take proper care of children and home. They hardly show concern with the specifics of the mother and housewife roles except in the case that some tasks, in their view, are not satisfactorily performed.

Slow Change in roles and values

Landy (1959) says that the access of women to the labor force further debilitates the male ego and strengthens the woman's. He sees the chance that the male-dominated community he studied could change toward equality between the sexes and even to female dominance if males are not given better job opportunities.[7] If Landy's insight still holds for much of the Island, then we might construe migration as a male effort to buttress his weak ego and to find better op-

portunities to preserve his traditionally dominant role in the family. However, the Puerto Rican husband is subject to a role strain and conflict, when compared with his American male counterparts, because various "others" in society have role expectations of him which he finds difficult to meet. For example, the teachers and school officials expect that he keep the appointments with the school counselors and administrators and attend the PTA meetings. Unless there is a Latin teacher available, he feels uncomfortable because his English is inadequate and he hardly understands the academic requirements. His wife would like to have him always at home after working hours and become as much of a homebody as the American husbands, in his wife's view, are. But he would rather socialize with his male friends and have a few beers with them. The priests insist upon parents attending religous instructions and services with their children, but on Sundays he always has some repair job to do at home or for a friend. The circle of intimate associates hardly coincide with the churchgoers and, in any event, he feels like a politely welcome guest, who is not really at home in the American churches. Going shopping in the department stores gets on his nerves because the family's desires rise beyond what he can afford. His factory bosses are just interested in

increasing production. His chances for occupational advancement are nil while he would like to fulfill vocational or professional aspirations and thus become a model of achievement for his children. In other words, both his conjugal and his parental relationships may be subject to a "role devaluation" by his wife and children insofar as she might be taking cues from the ostensibly more equalitarian American conjugal role-relationship, and the children might be taking theirs from the predominant middle-class culture.

The wives in the study group generally reject the most abusive aspects of the traditional male role, but they passively accept the dominance of the male in important family decisions. They are mildly interested in changing those aspects of behavior in which the American husbands score higher than the Puerto Rican men. "I have been told," says Mrs. Santos, "that the American husbands help their wives with the household chores. They like to be homebodies, do not leave their wives alone . . ." Mrs. Lopez says: "Some Puerto Ricans abuse their wives a lot." She implies thereby that Americans treat their wives better. Mrs. Cabrera says: "Americans do strange things. The American husbands help a lot in the household. My husband does not help me at home." Mrs. Arroyo, Carmona, Cabrera, Santos, Lopez, and seemingly also Mrs. Fuentes refused to accept the drinking and free-

roaming habits of their husbands. The end result is sometimes abandonment or desertion by the father of the home, sometimes separation on the wife's initiative, and sometimes endurance of the situation for the children's sake. Male dominance in financial decision-making shows in that the husband often keeps his paycheck and does the shopping for major items. Puerto Rican wives would like to have their husbands imitate their American counterparts in being homebodies and in being very cooperative in the household work and with the supervision of the children.

Husbands in the study group consider household work as part of the housewife's role. When the wife works outside the home, she has to add the domestic burden to that of her factory job. Mrs. Machuca cannot bear it any longer and rationalizes her withdrawal from the factory by objecting to the obscene talk among her workmates. That Mr. Machuca expects his wife to be a good cook and an orderly housewife and that he is a domineering character make it even easier for her to leave her job. Mrs. Cabrera has taken up a part-time job to increase the tight family budget, and also to break away for a while from the isolation that her dynamic personality finds hard to bear. Husbands usually share in the household work only when their wives are sick. If there are teen-age girls in the family, then they do a good deal of the house-

hold chores on a regular basis. Only the outside is considered by the husband as his area of responsibility. As American husbands do, the Puerto Rican husband tidies the backyard and cuts the grass around the house; most of the families, however, do not have a real lawn. Some of the husbands grow some small vegetable garden in the backyard. Husbands are also expected to do a good deal of repair work around the house. When repairs require special skills, friends and relatives who have these skills help out. Husbands do their best in doing these things to affirm their superior ability and higher status in the family group. Painting the Rolon's house was a cooperative undertaking by husband, wife, and wife's sister in accordance with the rather equalitarian status of Mrs. Rolon.

Husbands are seldom involved in the care of infants. However, they assume responsibility for keeping track of the whereabouts of their children; they regulate the exits and returns of their children and their visits to friends. They usually say the last word in case of disagreement between the spouses. Mothers retain, however, most of the daily supervision and contact with the school because they spend most of the day at home. Helping the children with their homework is a task that is assumed by the spouse with the greater

schooling.

Women do not express dislike for household work because "everything has to be done" and "because it is for the children's sake" (Mrs. Lopez). Mrs. Santos is happy running her home. Mrs. Lopez is happy having her own home for the first time after having lived in apartments. Only Mrs. Cabrera and Mrs. Rolon seem to have been exposed to the value of education and are not quite reconciled to the idea of being unable to have a professional occupation. Some of the housewives, however, appear harried. Mrs. Garcia traces her nervousness to her harried childhood in her godmother's home. She felt exploited and abused by her godmother and bore the burden unwillingly. She is now happy keeping always active with household chores; however, she resents her excessive isolation and her married daughters' lack of consideration in imposing their babies on her. She avoids visiting her lady friends because her husband does not like being left alone.

Husbands' expectations of their wives are in contrast with their image of the American wife. They see her as always being on the run: going to the movies and to bars and leaving her husband behind at home. Puerto Rican husbands caustically reject such behavior, and prefer the behavior of their own wives.

Housewives in the study group get up early to fix breakfast and to send the children to school. They go to bed late in the night after getting ready the clothes for the next day. During the day they follow a strenuous routine of baby-sitting, cleaning, cooking, washing, ironing, and so forth. They do some occasional shopping (to complete the weekly substantial shopping in the supermarket). In the evening they relax for a while watching the novela (soap opera) in Spanish after making sure that the children have done their homework. Mrs. Arroyo's exhaustion is due to the compounded effort of a mother based home and her full-time factory job. Most of the women would like to have more leisure time to visit with relatives and friends. Their complaints, however, are rather mild, quite likely because most of the women were brought up in seclusion and the marriage at a young age meant for them a sort of liberation (Mrs. Carmona, Lopez, Rolon, Garcia, Arroyo, Fuentes, etc.). Husbands, in contrast, miss their freedom as single young men. They still dream of driving around and drinking with buddies in the warm atmosphere of their native island.

The traditional role of the husband

At least two ways of conceiving and performing the traditional husband role in Puerto Rico are clearly dis-

tinguished in accordance with the high or low value placed on responsibility. Mr. Romano, Mr. Garcia and Mr. Lopez are among the traditional, "responsible" husbands in the study group. They hold to their dominant position, but they are faithful to their wives, show them respect, and take care of the financial and upbringing needs of their families. The traditional "irresponsible" husbands try to combine dominance with heavy drinking, money squandering, and marital infidelity. Mr. Arroyo and Mr. Carmona exemplified these patterns of behavior until the breakdown of their marriages. Mrs. Fuentes, also separated from her common law husband, says: "A good husband tries to understand his wife and children, take care of them if they need something. Sometimes they only take care of themselves."

The Lopez case study illustrates the conjugal role relationship of the traditional, "responsible" husband even though Mr. Lopez was not always so responsible in the past.

For Mrs. Lopez getting married meant a kind of liberation. Just being able to go shopping is for her an unaccustomed joy. All her children were born in this country, but her conception of her mother role is one of total dedication: "I don't like to go out to have fun. I only think of the children." Other than that, little has changed in her habits that could be attributed to the impact of the new environment.

Mrs. Lopez and her children wait as they used to in Puerto Rico until Mr. Lopez returns from work to have their dinner. The undisputed authority of Mr. Lopez is both the result of the rural Puerto Rican cultural pattern and of the widely contrasting personal characteristics of husband and wife. He is determined, strongwilled, and hot-tempered. She is sweet, submissive, sickly, too weak to control the older children. Mr. Lopez's ideal image and role expectations of his wife is of the traditional kind. She should do what he says. She should hold tight reins on the children. She should not work outside the home. Given that Mrs. Lopez's health is poor and that her husband dislikes the idea, she has never considered working outside the home.

Mrs. Lopez's role expectations of her husband are also traditional, but they exclude the abusive aspects of the irresponsible husband role. Long time ago, Mr. Lopez changed his behavior. He stopped drinking and mistreating his wife as he used to do during their first years on the mainland.

Although Mr. Lopez wants to bring up his children with the same respect that he experienced, he is keenly aware of how different are today's child rearing habits. He seems to be ready to adapt himself to the changed circumstances when he points to the need for a greater flexibility in dealing

with teenagers. Evidence for such flexibility can be found in the fact that Victor, a thirteen year old boy who was born on the mainland, says he is allowed to go to the movies by himself and return home around ten o'clock --a practice rather unusual among the Puerto Rican families in the study group.

Mr. Lopez finds considerable gratification in his various roles of breadwinner, responsible father, dominant and now respectful husband, and able worker. His frustration at not being able to perform a more skilled job is somewhat compensated by the similar occupational aspirations he has for his children's future.

The traditional husband role, even the "responsible" one, obviously implies a segregated conjugal role-relationship.[8] Contrary to Bott's (1955) findings but in line with McCauley's (1972) findings, the Islip migrants' evidence supports the view that differences in degree of segregation of the conjugal roles can be partly explained in terms of social class. The families with a higher socioeconomic position in the study (Rolon, Machuca, Romano) seem also to be those exhibiting a joint conjugal role-relationship. Bott's hypothesis linking the degree of segregation in the role-relationship of husband and wife with the connectedness of the

family's social network cannot be either confirmed or disproved by the Islip evidence. Connected family's social networks seem rather a pervasive phenomenon among the Islip migrants. Such a phenomenon seems to be facilitated by the heavy Puerto Rican concentration in the area and by the chain-like structure of migration which brings together kin members and fellow villagers and townsmen. Lower social class and low degree of assimilation to the American middle-class culture seem, therefore, partly to account for the predominance of a segregated conjugal role-relationship among the Islip couples in the study group.

Work role and family role

Husbands in the study group seem to perform their work role better than their parental role. In any case most of them do not have as clear-cut a picture of their children as their wives do. This must be a consequence of their different work schedules, but also may be due to the fact that they are emotionally ill-equipped and prone to feel displaced by the children.[9] An important source of gratification, however, is his dominant husband role that makes him undisputed head of the household.

After long working hours, which are often lengthened even more through overtime, most husbands tend to restrict the performance of their parental role to a general super-

vision of the whereabouts of their children and to playful activities, preferably taking the children out to play or watching sports events on TV. Only if the mother is too permissive or if the father has a domineering character or more schooling than the mother, does the father include important aspects of child rearing in his role.

Male children tend to identify with their father and his occupational role and, in his absence, with the occupational role of their mother. A certain degree of idealization is discernible in such an identification. An unskilled factory worker is considered by his older son to be an electrical engineer.

Success in the work situation (Machuca, Cabrera, Santos, Lopez, . . .), which enhances the husband's self-esteem, usually heightens also his role expectation of his wife. Successful husbands tend to emphasize their high wages and want to have everything ready. When they come home from work, they do not want to have to deal with the discipline problems of the children. They also expect their wives to be fully submissive especially if they have achieved such occupational status as being a foreman in the factory who enjoys the esteem of their bosses at work (Cabrera, Machuca, Lopez, . . .). That is, "work and family modes of interaction tend to be isomorphic."[10] A fair command of English helps

them to advance to such middle-range factory positions and indirectly to sustain their claims for family dominance.

Those wives who work outside the home seem to conceive of and perform their work role in a more instrumental way than husbands do. If they run fatherless homes, they work primarily out of need. The welfare check to mothers with dependent children would provide them, at least in some cases, with less income than the composite total of wages plus supplementary welfare income. In some cases, however, an expressive need is also satisfied by the wives working outside the home, namely that of enlarging their social contacts and of removing them from a state of abandonment and frustration which grows more intense in the home atmosphere. Mrs. Rolon's wholehearted performance of her work role seems to be as expressive as it is instrumental. Her appointment as shop stewardess witnesses to it together with her outgoing and domineering type of personality. However, neither Mrs. Rolon nor Mrs. Cabrera have been able to fulfill their occupational aspirations as mentioned above.

Family roles and work roles in the Rolon family

It seems helpful further to illustrate the interrelationship between work and family with the Rolons, who probably exemplify the most modern joint conjugal role-relationship in the study group. In most of the remaining couples a

traditional division of labor is at work.

The Rolons adopted their modern patterns of behavior before migrating to the mainland. They lived in an urban area where women easily find work outside the home and are exposed to Americanized women roles. Personal resources seem to have been extremely important in the establishment of such a role-relationship. Although Mr. Rolon's ideal conception of the wife's role is the traditional one, his wife has gone beyond achieving an equal status in the conjugal relationship. This is because she has a much stronger personality than her husband. Mr. Rolon has adopted some of the traits of the American husband's role like being more of a homebody. "Surely for the children's sake," as he puts it. It is also likely that other factors are equally responsible for his adopting such a new pattern of behavior. These include such influences as the dominance of his wife, the continuous contact with the members of the extended family, and the absence of his life-long friends from Puerto Rico.

Mrs. Rolon has adopted many American middle-class values. Even in Puerto Rico Mrs. Rolon broke away from the traditional wife role. Women in the lower class often had to leave their homes to take up domestic or factory jobs. Her longer schooling, her achievement drive and competitiveness allowed her to take up a clerical job. Her economic situa-

tion, however, curtailed her aspirations for a higher professional job. Mrs. Rolon says she chose to work both out of need, because her husband did not earn enough as a musician, and also in order to fulfill her vocational aspirations. The pay as a clerk was so low that she decided to quit. When she came to the mainland, she had no other choice but to take a job at a lower occupational level although higher paid than her job in Puerto Rico. The reward was twofold: she became an important contributor to the family income and her self-esteem was enhanced by her excellent factory performance. Mrs. Rolon has a very positive self-image and looks down on her fellow Puerto Ricans for what she feels to be lack of responsibility and a weak drive to achieve. She seems to be trying to prove herself against the male world after having been put down by her father all through her childhood and youth.

Mrs. Rolon found in Mr. Rolon a suitable type of husband, mild and likable, easy to compete with. There seems to be a partial reversal of the traditional family roles: Mrs. Rolon is the idea- or resource-person; Mr. Rolon is more secure, tolerant, harmony-seeking. Individual resources seem to be the reason for the unconventional allocation of roles.

A car accident has recently forced Mrs. Rolon to play the disabled role. She has withdrawn from her factory and

she feels that her own role in the family has been thrown out of balance. Although this seems to be the most dramatic change in Mrs. Rolon's life, her husband points rather to the change his went went through when, upon arriving in the mainland, "she helped me to solve my problems," he says. "When we were in Puerto Rico she did not bother to help me." Mr. Rolon must surely refer to the fact that his wife was able to take a well-paid factory job on the mainland unlike the low paid clerical job she held in Puerto Rico. Mrs. Rolon also misses, since she left the factory, the feminine excitement she experienced in thinking every night about the clothes to wear next day to the factory. While she waits for her insurance indemnity, she has a hard time in working out her new status in the family, deprived of a wide variety of ego-boosting activities.

In the child rearing activities, Mrs. Rolon takes care of the discipline while Mr. Rolon likes to play with the children. Mrs. Rolon's sister, Luz, assumes a good deal of child rearing responsibility. Both spouses share the communication with the schools. This joint activity seems to be partly motivated by a common interest and pride in their oldest child's brilliant achievement.

Communication between the spouses seems to be good. Mrs. Rolon's frankness and Mr. Rolon's "humildad" (good nat-

ured condition) help in that regard. A fair adjustment between the spouses is achieved through the efforts of each of them to perform their respective roles in accordance with the role expectations the partner has. Mr. Rolon says that he has been able to turn his wife into a more peaceful person. They have reached an understanding after a period of disagreement as to the kind of discipline for their children. The Rolons are so closely identified with each other that they derive vicarious personal gratification and social prestige from those qualities that the other spouse possesses and which they regard as particularly desirable. Mrs. Rolon recognizes her husband's humility. Mr. Rolon praises the generosity of his wife. He dislikes, however, her hot temper. In bearing with it, he shows his tolerance, and is able to set up some kind of boundaries to his wife's exuberance and aggressiveness.

Two mother-based families

The broken marriages of the Arroyos and the Carmonas serve to illustrate the fact that the traditional, "irresponsible" husband finds it more and more difficult to keep playing his role at least in certain areas of Puerto Rico and on the mainland. Never being at home, drinking to excess, wife beating, squandering money, having affairs, and so forth are not so infrequent activities among lower class Puerto Rican husbands. The culturally privileged male status spells

trouble and burden for the wives. The belief of the abandoned or separated wives is that there are very few good husbands in Puerto Rico. The just mentioned male activities usually lead in the lowlands and urban areas to separation or abandonment. The three broken marriages in the study group come from the Puerto Rican lowlands where wives do not fear the marriage break-up and appear to share equally in familial authority.[11]

Sometimes the marriage crisis starts in Puerto Rico, and migration is seen as a way out of the unbearable situation. Hope is expressed that the poor marital adjustment will improve with a better economic situation. However, the change of scene did not help the Arroyos at all. Sometimes the crisis develops on the mainland after several years of marriage. Mrs. Carmona mentions a cut in the welfare check, when her husband was sick, as one of the grounds for her husband abandoning the family. She adds, however, that her husband's affair with another woman was already going on by that time. Clash of characters was another secondary reason for the breakdown.

The Arroyo and the Carmona cases illustrate that Puerto Rican wives are no longer tolerant of the most abusive aspects of the traditional, "irresponsible" husband role. This corroborates the conclusion that "an undermining of the father's

traditional authority in the family" is seen in the "considerable discrepancies between the male cultural ideal and acceptance of this ideal by the female subjects of the study."[12] The reason for such a discrepancy seems to be the lack of dependability with which the authority figure performs his role. "I was not going to support him . . . ," says Mrs. Arroyo. Mr. Carmona visits his family once in a while. "I do not want him to come here often," Mrs. Carmona says. "He says he would like to come back for good, but I don't want to."

When abandoned wives decide to take a job, they ask for the assistance of their mothers and relatives if they live in the area. Mrs. Arroyo pays a neighbor lady for babysitting with her children. Although Mrs. Carmona had worked as a housemaid and as a factory worker in Puerto Rico, she now lives entirely from welfare. She has five small children at home and no relatives in the area. Mrs. Arroyo, who had been a factory worker in Puerto Rico, has got a factory job here and also gets a supplement from the welfare. She seems to prefer not to take full advantage of the welfare, although she also may be playing some modality of the welfare game.[13] Abandoned wives remain on the mainland just to be able to support their families and to pursue the educational and occupational goals of their children. Mrs. Arroyo maintains also the hope, however dim, for building some day a house in

Puerto Rico.

The influence of time

The number of years of residence on the mainland, within the limits set in this study, namely from one to fifteen years, does not seem to make much difference as far as changes in conjugal and parental roles are concerned. Even beyond these limits the family Ruiz (arrived in the mainland 18 years ago) maintains the traditional pattern of male authority, though softened by the mutual love and deep religiosity and by the financial contribution to the family income made by the working wife. Mr. Ruiz also took the lead in deciding to return to Puerto Rico next year when his pension time is up. One of the Ruiz teen-agers still at home agrees with the idea, and the other does not rebel against it, although she could choose to stay on the mainland with a married sister. This shows that, when the traditional father role is maintained, parental influence even upon mainland-born teen-agers remains powerful.

The trend toward the reallocation of familial and occupational roles on the basis of skills and interests is just in its beginnings in the present study group. The wives do not seem to have made substantial gains on the mainland toward a full equalitarian status in the family group. Most of the changes in the traditional roles seem to have started in

Puerto Rico before migration due to the exposure to Americanized patterns of life specially in the factory and urban areas. The five working wives (one of them working part-time) in the study group had already taken jobs in Puerto Rico. Six out of the ten families in the study group lived in towns or urban areas, and the remaining four lived in rural areas. Traditional role definitions and allocation, therefore, persist to a great extent on the mainland.

The outright rejection by the wives of the most abusive aspects in the traditional husband role has already been mentioned. There seems to be a trend toward the husband becoming more of a homebody as the time on the mainland goes by. This may be due to the influence of the American family patterns, but it must also be due to the larger number of children who are born a few years after the arrival on the mainland. Other reasons for such a change seem to be: the fact that lifelong friends often remained in Puerto Rico, and the investment of a good deal of leisure time in visiting with members of the extended family in the area, a habit which does not help in the development of new friendships. Mr. Cabrera seems to represent an opposite trend, namely away from the family home, partly due to his close friendships in the absence of an extended family. This trend, however, was already apparent in his delay in sending for his family when he

first came alone to work on the mainland for several years. Such a separation entails the risk of furthering the traditional role of the "irresponsible" husband.

SUMMARY

This chapter deals with the changes in the conjugal roles of the Islip migrant family. The trend toward the reallocation of familial and occupational roles on the basis of skills and interests is just in its beginning in the present study group. Most of the changes in the traditional roles seem to have started in Puerto Rico before migration due to the exposure to Americanized patterns of life specially in the factory and urban areas. Traditional role definitions and allocation persist to a great extent, but the irresponsible and abusive aspects of the traditional male role, when assessed against the background of a modern, equalitarian conjugal role-relationship, are subject to a fast and intense erosion.

Wives adhere to the traditional value and prestige of maleness in the Puerto Rican culture. They resent, however, the unequal distribution of burdens and the meager responsibility of their husbands. The husbands' authority seems to be strongest when the family is poor and the husband is the only breadwinner.

There is a general acceptance of the traditional sep-

aration of masculine and feminine tasks and division of labor. The Puerto Rican wives, however, express on occasion the wish that their husbands would cooperate in domestic and child rearing tasks as do American husbands.

Occupation does not quite serve as a successful anchorage for male identity because the occupational aspirations of most of the husbands have been frustrated. The same thing could be said about those wives who had occupational aspirations.

The Puerto Rican husband is subject to a role strain and conflict because various "others" in society have different role expectations of him which he finds difficult to meet. Consequently, both his conjugal and his parental relationships may be subject to a "role devaluation" by his wife and children.

Husbands usually share in the household work only when their wives are sick. They are seldom involved in the care of infants. However, they assume responsibility for keeping track of the whereabouts of their children.

At least two different ways of conceiving and performing the traditional husband role in Puerto Rico are clearly distinguished in accordance with high or low value placed on responsibility. The traditional, "responsible" husbands hold to their dominant position, but they are faithful to their

wives, show them respect and take care of the financial and upbringing needs of their families. The traditional, "irresponsible" husbands try to combine dominance with heavy drinking, money squandering and marital infidelity.

Lower social class and low degree of assimilation to the American middle-class culture seem at least partly to account for the predominance of a segregated conjugal role-relationship among the Islip couples in the study group.

Husbands in the study group seem to perform their work role better than their parental role. Success in the work situation, which enhances the husband's self-esteem, usually heightens also his role expectation of his wife.

Women satisfy an expressive need by working outside the home, namely that of enlarging their social contacts and of removing them from a state of isolation and frustration.

The number of years of residence on the mainland, within the limits set in this study, does not seem to make much difference as far as changes in the conjugal roles are concerned unless other more determinant factors like a working wife go with it.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER V I I I

1. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1967), 73-74. "In the common stock of knowledge there are standards of role performance that are accessible to all members of a society, or at least to those who are potential performers of the roles in question" (Ibid., 74).

2. E. Goffman, Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1961), 87-88, cited by Rivka Weiss Bar-Yosef, "Desocialization and Resocialization: The Adjustment Process of Immigrants", International Migration Review 2:3 (Summer, 1968), 28.

3. R. Fernandez-Marina, E. D. Maldonado-Sierra, and R. D. Trent, "Three Basic Themes in Mexican and Puerto Rican Family Values", Journal of Social Psychology, 48 (1958), 178. The Puerto Rican subjects of the survey were unmarried high school graduates, ages 16-19, from middle-class background.

4. Ibid., 178-179.

5. Ralph H. Turner, Family Interaction (New York: John Wiley, 1970), 281.

6. Ibid., 260.

7. Tropical Childhood (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 253.

8. See Bott's definition of concepts under the subheading "Conjugal roles and division of labor" in Chapter II.

9. S. Minuchin, Families of the Slums (New York: Basic Books, 1967), 239.

10. R. Rapoport and R. Rapoport, "Family Roles and Work Roles", in M. Anderson, ed., Sociology of the Family (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books), 274, reprinted from "Work and Family in Contemporary Society", American Sociological Review, vol. 30, 1965, 381-394.

11. Howard Stanton, "Puerto Rico's Changing Families", in Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology (London: International Sociological Association, 1956), 103.

12. R. Fernandez-Marina, E. D. Maldonado-Sierra, and R. D. Trent, "Three Basic Themes in Mexican and Puerto Rican Family Values", Journal of Social Psychology, 48 (1948), 178.

13. See "The Arroyos" case study. J. P. Fitzpatrick indicates two main factors behind the welfare problem: first, those traditional features of Puerto Rican culture like machismo, consensual unions, poverty, which led to a problem of abandonment in the past; second, the policies of public welfare making inevitable the practice of deceit and the weakening of the family. See Puerto Rican Americans (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice-Hall, 1971), 159.

CHAPTER I X

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN CHILD REARING AND CHILDREN'S ROLE EXPECTATIONS OF THEIR PARENTS

Introduction

The study of the adaptation of the Puerto Rican migrant family "as a unit" to the mainland society requires consideration of the parental-filial relationships as well as the conjugal role relationships. Parents and children develop both task-and identity-based bonds all through the different stages of primary socialization and life in a common household. Different patterns of alignment and delegation accompany the parental exercise of authority. Not only parents, however, but also children have access to an objectified stock of knowledge containing reciprocal typifications of conduct. Children therefore develop role expectations of their parents in the same way as parents develop role expectations of their children. The sentiment of love guides family interaction in the direction of desirable harmony and avoidance of conflict in a way that is identifiable in terms of the Puerto Rican subculture. Migrants, however, are sub-

ject to a redefinition of parental and filial roles which often remains ambiguous even in terms of the culture of the host society, and therefore arouses anxiety and conflict prone interaction.

This chapter analyzes the various ways the Puerto Rican migrant family in Islip tries on the one hand to hold to traditional values and practices in children's socialization, and on the other hand to adopt progressively values and patterns of behavior from the host society which are involved in a redefinition of both parental and filial roles.

Respeto and obedience

Traditional Puerto Rican child rearing inculcates and fosters "respeto" as the core value. Present migrant parents recall their own upbringing, reaffirm their faith in the validity of the child rearing principles and thus justify their quest for continuity. "She (our mother) would say to us that we should respect grown ups, not to take others' belongings; she would lead us through the right path without offending anyone" (Mrs. Santos). Mr. Garcia is in his fifties and has several married children. His extreme formulation of the value of respeto best represents this cultural background of the present migrant families: "Even when the son is right, he is never right against his father." The respeto and obedience of the past are most of the time highlighted against

the dark, pessimistic view of today's child rearing patterns:

> They brought up well, better than now. Everything has been changing. . . . Now we train them, and they do what they please. One gives them advice, and . . . well, they respect me -I don't permit a bad word-, but, since they are attending school, they have their friends and go out to have good time. (Mr. Garcia).
>
> Then, when I was growing up, children used to obey their parents a lot. Today they don't respect you unless you slap them. But I have always tried to rear them the same I was reared. Sometimes one does not hit them just because one feels sorry, but things reach such a point that one has to hit them. (Mrs. Santos).
>
> I would like that all my children were brought up in the same way I was, with all that respect that there used to be. Today hardly there is any. (Mr. Lopez).
>
> We used to obey. They used to command us just with a look. Today the children never do what they are told to do. They do not respect. The friendships, maybe irresponsible parents, are to blame for it. When I reprimand them, it hurts me more than it hurts them. (Mrs. Cabrera).

Some parents put the blame on themselves and in the weakening of the moral fiber of society without mentioning any difference between the mainland and the native island:

> Today's children don't get any training in responsibility. We were made responsible for a determined task every week. And we did it. Today if you don't threaten your children with a belt, they don't do it. Parents in those times inspired respect and were stern. They used to make the laws and then to enforce them. Today we make the laws, but we don't enforce them because we are liberal and tolerant, and sometimes that damages and spoils . . . . . I have been told I am . . . too severe with my children. But I am not even one third as severe as my father used to be with my family. . . . Without any doubt mankind is moving backwards from the moral point of view. Everything has changed even the civic institu-

tions because there is a sort of licentiousness . . . (Mr. Machuca).

In the present study group the supervisory role is allocated to the mother because she spends many more hours with the children than the working father. Individual characteristics such as Mrs. Lopez' soft character and Mr. Lopez's firmness may combine to alter the pattern. Correction and discipline is carried out either in the name of the father in those families where the father is invested with higher authority as head of the house, or by the mothers on their own name whenever the father is absent more or less permanently or is second to his wife as far as dominance is concerned. Mrs. Santos complains over the ennervating effects of migration upon disciplining of the children:

> In Puerto Rico the girls helped me enough; here they don't. I was alone with them and they respected me much. When they came over here, they were so thin, that their father did not want me to ask them to do anything. I have left them alone because it is better to leave them alone than to hit them severely.

Older brothers and especially older sisters often receive delegated authority from their mothers to run the household and, consequently, acquire respect from the role entrusted to them by their mothers.

Public schools on the mainland help to reinforce the parents' control and help the parents in their efforts to in-

culcate "respeto" in an effective way. Mrs. Fuentes says: "The children's education is better (here). They have to study more. In Puerto Rico neither the Government nor the parents enforce the attendance to school." Her children used to play hooky and she could not do much about it because she was alone and worked outside home. Since the family rejoined Grandma Fuentes in Islip, both institutional controls and extended family supervision work as new effective factors in child rearing.

Love and respeto

It has been hypothesized that with respeto as the core value in child rearing love takes a secondary place among Puerto Ricans.[1]

In the present study group, however, there are many signs of the importance of love and affection. Just to name a few: kissing and hugging and other forms of physical contact, presenting children with gifts, spending time with them telling them stories or playing their games or taking them out to places, inspiring trust so as to receive their confidences, willingly helping the parents with the household chores, etc. All these signs seem to be as much in evidence as the demand for respeto. Physical gestures of affection are expected by the mothers like Mrs. Santos, and, when given, they are interpreted as evidence of the child's

warm disposition. Age is of course an important factor. Pedro Garcia at 18 still displays frequent physical signs of affection toward his mother. Mrs. Lopez says of Janet (14): "She is neither affectionate nor unpleasant." Dorita and Janet Lopez aspire to be able to buy things for their parents. Giving and receiving is one of the most frequent expressions of love in the study group.

Mrs. Garcia says: "One has to treat them with affection. If one is upset, one does more harm than good. It is better to talk to them. Then they realize that one does not like something, and they don't do it." She says that Carlos (8) is affectionate and the only one who gives his parents a kiss before going to bed." But Pedro, his brother (18), is always grabbing and hugging his mother. Ernesto (20) gives her a kiss when he drinks beer. Edwin Fuentes (12) is very sweet with his mother, according to his mother's account. Ida Cabrera (13) says she takes up the heaviest household chores, so that her mother may relax. Mr. Romano likes to play with his daughters on the bed. Annabel Carmona (9) cannot sleep worrying about something that could happen to her absent father. The evidence shows, therefore, that while respeto is a core value, love is also given and expected from the children even if it is not so often verbalized, partly because, as a sentiment, it

colors and flavors the attitudes and patterns of behavior described as respectful. Family reunion after several years of separation, when the father was working on the mainland farms, offer the occasion for a more intense display of affection or love. Such is the case of Mr. Romano, who says: "The girls are happier. They love me more all the time since we are together."

Love and affection are least apparent when the family is in disarray, as in the case of the Carmonas, because the mother is unable to cope both with her own distress and with a large family in the absence of the father.

No evidence is apparent in these families of the hypothesized neglect of the children,[2] due to the large size of the family. Older sisters and brothers help the parents to take care of the younger ones. Fathers are in some cases less attentive to the children's individual differences, but this may be a consequence of the shorter time they spend at home. Two step-fathers in the group are clearly cooler (Mr. Machuca and Mr. Cabrera) toward their step-children than to their own children, but they do not neglect them nor treat them unjustly.

Aggressiveness is certainly discouraged as being in direct opposition to the respect due to grown ups and to everybody. Parents hate seeing their children fighting with each

other. Mrs. Rolon, however, a fighting spirit herself, advises her children to insult back if insulted.

Humildad

"Humildad" (liberally humbleness) seems to be an equally important value in Puerto Rican child rearing. "As long as there is affection and humildad, one can attract even the most rebellious child," says Mrs. Martinez. Mr. Rolon would like his wife to be as "humilde," as he is, that is to be more understanding and peaceful. "I have learnt it -he says- from looking at my mother. She gives everything for nothing. She is humilde. She avoids problems." Mr. Santiago's aspiration for his children is "that they behave like we do, that they may be humildes like we are." "Humilde," he says,"is a person that can get along with everybody without fighting."

No strict separation of the sexes

American and Islip born Puerto Rican classmates on one hand and mass-media on the other are the most likely agents in changing the Puerto Rican traditional child rearing patterns of strict separation of sexes.

Pre teen-agers have the opportunity to mix with the opposite sex mostly only at school and in their immediate neighborhood. Angel Cabrera (10) asks his father in front of this observer for fifteen cents to buy a gift for his girl friend's birthday. Mr. Cabrera reprimands him, but Angel

shows to both of us his girl friend's picture and there is no further rebuke. Ledis Rolon (7) is allowed to play on the street with boys and girls alike. Clara Arroyo (12) often plays with her male cousins. Johnny Figueroa (9), when asked about what he liked best in school, replied: "Las nenas" ("The girls"). Rafael Burgos (8) says: "I love Doris, but my friend Peter took her away from me, and now I cannot have a girl friend. I told Peter to stop fighting, so that we can both love Doris (a 9 years old girl)".

Some parents of young teenage boys permit their sons to visit their girl friends in their homes. From 14 years on, parents tend to relax the regulations concerning boys so as to avoid a "disaster," namely a runaway. But even 15 years old girls of the more traditional families (Santos, Martinez) are not allowed to visit with friends unless under close supervision. Roberto Rodriguez (16) is allowed to visit with his girl friend until 8 o'clock. Pedro Garcia (18) and his brother Ernesto (20) take girls to far away parks. Mrs. Garcia, however, does not allow Pedro to bring American girls home. He tried once, but his mother sent all of them away. Ida Cabrera's (13) boy friend is welcome to spend long hours in the Cabrera home and he gives a helpful hand to Mrs. Cabrera with the household chores. Mrs. Cabrera says:

> If my 13 years old girl falls in love, I let her go on because he is a good boy without any vices. But if I notice that they are mistaken with bad friends, I do not let them go with them. And one gets good results this way. They like entertainment, and I take them to the movies. I take all of them along if they have their little bridegroom.

Victor Lopez (13) is also allowed to go to the movies with his girl friend.

Punishment

Corporal punishment is generally practiced only up to a certain age, namely 12 or 13 years. Mr. Lopez and many other parents say that rather than inflicting physical punishment, they prefer to forbid their children from going out for a few days or even for a month. Victor and Dorita Lopez (13, 10), however, say that their parents sometimes hit them "for reasons." Mr. Garcia says that his father used cruel methods when he was a boy in Puerto Rico to punish him for most anything, even for showing preference for the crust of a loaf of bread. Mrs. Rolon also talks of the extreme severity of her father when she was a child. "I did not fear the belt any longer. I got used to it," she says.

There is a general tendency of relying more on persuasion and less in physical punishment partly grounded on the greater freedom accorded the children in American life. Such a change is sometimes regretted; for example, some parents mention as absurd something that, they say, some-

times happens, a child reports his father to the police for hitting him or reports a teacher for a similar reason. (Mr. Santiago).

Mr. Machuca says: "I used to hit them until they became 9 years old. Now I give them advice and I reason why should they do the things." Luisa (11) says, however, that her stepfather, Mr. Machuca, still hits her. Yvette and Maria Santos (13, 12) are afraid of physical punishment, according to her mother. She says that she has seldom resorted to it lately. She prefers advice and persuasion. But, "if they deserve a slap, says Mrs. Santos, you have to give it." Lola Santos (15) is just reprimanded because her father strongly opposes physical punishment.

Demand for achievement

Islip migrant parents show a general interest in the education of their children. Mr. Santos says something that shows the inter-generational change that is taking place on the matter:

> I know how necessary learning is, and I compel them to learn as much as possible. I compel them more than my parents did with me because they had not attended school. They would send us to school and would teach us 'respeto' at home.

Similarly Mrs. Figueroa says: "I am always telling them the same thing. This is the only wealth I can bequeath them: that, when I pass away, they may thank me for showing

so much interest in that they finish their studies." Therefore, awareness of the importance of education[3] and consequent demand for achievement are widespread among the Puerto Rican migrant families as their occupational aspirations for their children well show. Greater number and proximity of schools, legal enforcement of school attendance, Latin bilingual teachers approaching the family in a missionary-like and personalistic style are important factors behind the rise in aspirations and demands for academic achievement.

Puerto Rican migrant parents, however, have little knowledge of the specifics of schooling and the grading system. This can be explained by the hard circumstances of the life of the migrant families in their places of origin and by the parents' own meager schooling.

Greater job opportunity than in Puerto Rico also raises the demands for non-academic achievement. A full chapter will deal with the socioeconomic status and aspirations. The family's view of school is also given separate treatment in another chapter.

Boundary setting

Child rearing practices include setting up both physical and mental boundaries defining the children's world of experience. In so doing parents are simultaneously setting up limits to their own patterns of behavior. Parents' activity with regard to the upbringing of their children

follows the signposts of culturally defined norms and their own individual characteristics. These norms reflect both the migrants' background and their new situation on the mainland.

Some of the present parents were brought up in a narrow and severe family atmosphere where fathers used to be strongly disciplinarian. Mrs. Lopez says: "My father was a very strict person. We would not visit with anyone, or even go to the store." Mrs. Romano agrees: "(Our parents) did not let us women go out unless we would go with them. The males were allowed to go out, but not at night. They could go to the village."

> My father, says Mrs. Rolon, used to be very old fashioned. He would not allow us to have friends and to visit with them. Our parents' friends were of the hermit type like them, workmates that would visit with each other once a year. I got a complex concerning friendships, so that I do not trust anyone. Some people have friends and ask them for advice if they have a problem. I don't dare.

Mrs. Arroyo compares her own upbringing with the way she is rearing her children:

> We were brought up always at home. We only had contact with our neighbors. I bring my children up in a not so strict a way as our parents did. But I am certainly strict. Because I do not let my children go out from my side without my permission, and only if it is appropriate. They must be indoors by six o' clock. They can play outdoors until that time.

A moderate change is seen as the best way to insure continuity in the essential values.

The Fuentes and the Arroyo children compare the freedom they enjoyed in Puerto Rico until recently with the narrow limits their mothers have set up for them in Islip; they are allowed two or three blocks to roam in. Some parents like the Lopez frequently take the children out to the countryside or to the sport events trying thus to compensate for the seclusion of the week. It is very rare for the family to indulge in what they consider the American custom of letting the children stay overnight in a friend's house. Ana Machuca (12) is allowed to visit with her girl friend. The extreme traditional position is still defended and practiced by Mrs. Figueroa:

> I do not let my daughter go to any house. (She refers to her 14 year old). Not even to the house of Mrs. Prado who are very good and honest people. But, if I let her go, then she would get accustomed and it would be worse. There is no other choice but to cut off with friendships being things what they are, the atmosphere, . . . if one wants to get something out of the children. And she is very happy. This way she gets used not to go with friends and she remains so peaceful. I bring them up here the same as if they were in a 'campo" (countryside)/ There are boys and girls ten and twelve years old, and I see them already smoking . . .One thirteen years old girl a few days later she was already like that (making a gesture indicating pregnancy).

"Once there are several eleven or twelve years old girls together, you cannot control them any longer," says

Mrs. Diaz, an intelligent mother born in the city of Puerto Rican parents and a resident of Islip for 25 years.

Physical boundaries of experience are also grounded on the supposedly dangerous conditions of the neighborhood. Mrs. Santos' 12 and 13 years old girls are supposed to ask for permission to go out. Mrs. Santos says: "I heard on the radio that a bad man goes around." Nora Rolon (12) says: "My mother worries about a man in the neighborhood. That's what they say. She does not let me walk alone." Gloria Cabrera (12) lives in an almost exclusively Puerto Rican-black neighborhood. She says: "They fear I could get killed. There are so many niggers around here."

The Garcia family offers a wide spectrum of ages and, therefore, of child rearing practices. With regard to Pedro (18) and Ernesto (20), the parents have given up in their efforts to control them; they have yielded to the inevitable impact of environment and youth subculture. Juan (14) says that he is allowed to visit with friends. Most of them are older than he, and have a car. Sometimes he says to his parents where he is going to. But, according to him, he is not required to be back at a certain time. Sometimes he returns around one o'clock in the morning. Esteban (16) says that he is only allowed to go to family dances. "When I come late, they ask me where I was. They don't punish me

as they used to in Puerto Rico (five years ago)." He goes out with Pedro to visit with his American girl friends or to take them to parks. "I am supposed to be back by 10 or 10:30 when I am with my friends. Sometimes my father does not let me go out." The slight discrepancy between Juan and Esteban's statements could be based, first, on the bragging attitude of the younger brother about his newly expanded area of freedom, and, second on the disregard in practice of the parental ordinances reported by Esteban and in the consequent laxity in their enforcement. Since Juan and Esteban are invited by their older brothers Pedro and Ernesto, parents surely find it hard to draw a line with any degree of success between them, according to differences of age. The trend to assimilation and identification of the younger ones with the older ones grows even stronger with the parents' acceptance of the older sons' role as keepers and supervisors of the younger ones. In the final analysis they feel that they can do little more than give them good advice. Adopting a stronger course would only lead, they fear, to the youngsters' rebelling and running away.

Another three cases of teen-agers offer further illustration of the ways parents try to cope with the problem of defining for them an area of freedom. Marisa Martinez, in spite of being 17 years old, cannot obtain permission to go

to her girl friends' parties. "Here they are too strict," she says. Lola Santos (15) also says: "They never let us go out. I only see my girl friends at school." Raquel Fuentes (17) has to ask her mother for permission if she wants to go out: "I have not come of age yet, as she says. But it depends on where I go to. If I am with my girl friends, and they take me back home, then I might stay out up to nine or ten o'clock." Mr. Rodriguez allows his son Roberto (16) to take his car and to visit his girl friend, but he must be back at 8 o'clock.

Separation of sexes, therefore, becomes greater with time as far as boundaries are concerned. Males are given much more freedom. Parents find dynamic, accommodative solutions to the problem of their male teen-ager's leisure. They seem, in contrast, generally to resort to withdrawal and uncompromising solutions when the female teen-agers are concerned. Attitudes like that of Mrs. Cabrera seem rather the exception. The success of the puritanically oriented Pentecostal churches in the area with the female teen-agers and their failure with the male youngsters seem to parallel the unequal child rearing practices that develop a more submissive teen-ager girl and a stronger, readier to rebel teen-age-boy. In other words, the parental task of pursuing continuity in the core values of traditional Puerto Rican child

rearing succeeds in a higher degree with the female than with the male children.

As it is mentioned in the chapter dealing with the family's view of school, the main reason behind the parents cautious and suspicious attitude toward the school is that it unavoidably becomes a meeting place of their children with children of "irresponsible" parents. Many of them are fellow Puerto Ricans, who have become infected by the corrupting influence of the mainland environment. These "irresponsible" parents are seen to have traded off their morally superior traditional values for whatever they have found appealing or fashionable in the receiving society. The children of such parents are viewed by "responsible parents" as "dangerous" classmates who pose a serious threat to the traditional ways and values by which these parents are trying to bring up their children. Peer-groups, therefore, should be cut down to the smallest possible number and should be together for only short periods of time. Only a few families feel confident enough to take a middle course; they try to follow the difficult path of allowing their children to increase their friendships while retaining close supervision of them. Ida Cabrera (13) and Roberto Rodriguez (16) have these kind of parents.

Setting up boundaries for the children's world of experience entails correlative limitation of the parents' patterns of behavior. Most of the Puerto Rican parents in the study group do not show interest in engaging in new relationships and remain within the circle of the extended family and/or a few friendships made through the work, neighborhood or from back home.

Friendships in the campos of Puerto Rico, where most grew up, developed slowly, throughout one's whole life. These friendships were often inherited from their own parents. Stability of residence was the rule in the countryside. Now in Islip stability is the exception. Working class families, most of them lower class, change constantly from a poor home to another poor home, yet a little better. Mr. Lopez and Mr. Cabrera own their homes, but they find them too small and they would buy larger homes as soon as possible. Proximity allows for a prolonged, testing of the values and customs of the prospective friends, but such proximity is a rarity in Islip. School classmates remain an unknown quantity for the parents who, therefore, must settle for neighborhood friends for their children under the conditions of close supervision and relative knowledge of the habits of the friends. Distrust remains a necessary protection against the inroads of the threatening environment. Such an attitude seems to persist

in the families that have themselves experienced a certain degree of failure, like the unwanted pregnancy of a High School girl. The persistence in the protective practices seems to imply the view that caution and protection were not stressed enough.

Children's roles

The parents' memories of their childhood, influence the shaping of their role expectations concerning their own children.[4] Many of the mothers in the study group started to give their own mother a substantial hand in the household when they were 7 or 8 years old. In some cases (Mrs. Carmona, Mrs. Lopez) they had to drop out of school for the same reason. Although the mothers like to compare their own hardships with the much easier life their children now have, they can only rejoice over not having to put such a heavy demand on their own children.

Every child, no matter what his age is, is supposed to follow parental advice and to show "respeto" to parents, grown ups, and to everybody. Oldest daughters are expected to assume most of the household chores and babysitting, especially when the mother is working. Younger daughters are supposed to help the mother and the older sisters and to take orders from them. Ida Cabrera says: "I let my mother rest. I take up the heaviest things for me, and I leave the easiest

things for Gloria. I assign the tasks." (Cf. Division of labor in each of the case studies). Boys have it easier in the Puerto Rican home. They are expected to contribute to a lesser degree. They may do such things as fixing their own beds, mopping the floors, helping their father to clean the yard, etc. Both boys and girls are expected to place things on their proper places, to do their home work, etc. When a grandmother or an aunt lives with the family (family Fuentes; family Rolon), the children are ready to take advantage of the situation and to stop pitching in. Most children have a much lighter task to contribute in Islip than they used to in Puerto Rico where some of them had to carry water, wood, because their homes lacked almost every comfort. Their role has become also easier through the family's reunion in the mainland. When the father was working on the mainland's farms, their mother had to rely more heavily on the cooperation of the children, especially if she was working outside the home (Mrs. Fuentes) and had to hold a tighter rein on them. Mrs. Santos and Mrs. Romano point to the softer attitude of their husbands in child discipline once the family got together in the mainland after years of separation.

Youngsters entering the labor force are also expected to help the parents to provide for the young brothers and to

buy their own "ropa y zapatos" (clothes and shoes, a sort of cliche expressive of the paucity of means of many migrant families back in Puerto Rico). Even when they get married, they are also expected to help the parents if they can afford it.

Children's role expectations of their parents

Children expect their parents to provide for their needs and wishes, to care for them and to give them advice and correction.

Sara Romano (11) says: "My father gives us everything we need and ask for." Jose Machuca (9) would like to have his father take him always, not just sometimes, along to the sport events he attends. Ana and Luisa Machuca (12, 11) want their parents to take them out more often, because they do not like being always at home.

"My mother is the best one (in the house). She always works for us, has our clothes ready, gives me a couple of dollars," says Pedro Garcia (18).

For Dorita Lopez (10), her father is good because he takes them to the movies and her mother is also good because she takes them to the store. "A good father gives us a lot of money," says Victor Lopez (13). "She buys gifts for us when we are good," says Clara Arroyo (12). "She buys me food and dresses," Gloria Cabrera (12) says, "and she takes me to the

places I want." About her father she says: "He takes us for dinner and to the beach."

Ana Machuca (12), is apparently motivated by jealousy of her small step-sister, who is the favorite of her father. She says: "The father should be more mature. He should not give everything that the kid wants."

Children expect their parents to have a caring, loving, and understanding attitude toward them. Care and love are inseparable, although love represents a peak in the experience of caring. Understanding means a kind of insight and wisdom that can de facto not always qualify a caring and loving person. But they often go together, and, then, they are reciprocally related.

The function of caring is identified by Pedro Garcia (18) as part of the mother's role: "The mother is even better than the father. The mother always takes more pains to help her child. Sometimes the father is bad and the mother is good." A bad mother, therefore, seems inconceivable in Pedro's experience.

Parents should treat the children good (Ana Machuca, 12; Esteban Garcia, 16); they should play with the kids (Ramon Rolon, 9); they should care about what happens to them (Maria Santos, 12); "they should be understanding, they

should not get angry over anything one does" (Yvette Santos, 13); they should let the children go out (Lola Santos, 15; Marisa Martinez, 17); they should help them with the homework (Clara Arroyo, 12).

"The mother should be like a friend; she should care about the progress of her children at school," says Lola Santos.

Guidance and discipline are also elements in the children's role expectations of their parents. Pedro Garcia (18) ascribes to the father's role the function of disciplining the children:

> The father has to make laws, lead the children through the right path. He should not push the son too far, because if you put too much pressure on him, he will leave. He should help the children if he can.

Parents should educate, train, and correct the children (Juan Garcia, 14); make the children respect them (Ida Cabrera, 13); they should teach them lessons when they are bad (Dorita Lopez, 10); they should give them advice (Raquel Fuentes, 17), and show them the right path (Maria Santos, 12); they should always try to attract and to persuade them (Marisa Martinez, 17).

SUMMARY

The migrants families strive for continuity in the

child rearing traditional principles, "respeto" and "humildad" being core values to inculcate.

The supervisory role is allocated to the mothers because they spend more hours with the children. Punishment is carried out either in the father's name or by the mother on her own authority whenever the father is absent or the mother occupies a dominant position in the family group due to her personal characteristics. Older children, especially older daughters, often receive delegated authority from their parents to run the household and to correct their younger brothers.

The most frequent expressions of the sentiment of love are: giving and receiving, using physical contact as a sign of affection, parents' dedicating plenty of their leisure time to their children and being afraid of losing their children's affection when they reach their teen years. Love is expected and given in those and other ways from the children even if it is not verbalized so often as "respeto."

The traditional child rearing pattern of strict separation of sexes seems to be subjected to important change among the migrants, the school being the most frequent meeting place for the sexes giving occasion to early heterosexual friendships. The situation, however, may not be very different from that in the urban areas of Puerto Rico.

Male teen-agers, however, are given considerably more freedom than teen females to visit with friends and just to be outside home.

Some parents adopt a rather flexible attitude toward their teen-agers out of fear of losing their affection by provoking them to run away from home to a more dangerous environment, and also in order to ensure continuity in essential family values. Some other, extreme traditionally oriented parents define very narrow limits even to their male teen-agers because they feel that a stress on supervision, entailing a restriction of their movements outside the home, will benefit the youngsters by counteracting the "unsound" atmosphere of school and peer-group.

A rise in the parental demands for their children to achieve seems to have taken place. There is widespread awareness of the importance of education for occupational advancement. Lack of knowledge of the specifics of schooling seems to reflect the fact that most parents have only an elementary education.

Boys are expected to contribute, though to a lesser degree than the girls, to the household chores. Children of both sexes have much lighter chores to perform in Islip than those they used to in Puerto Rico. Youngsters entering the

labor force are also expected to help the parents to provide for the younger brothers and to buy their own clothes and shoes.

Children expect that their parents will provide for their needs and wishes, that their parents care for them and give them advice and correction. They further expect from their parents a loving and understanding attitude toward them.

FOOTNOTES : CHAPTER IX

1. Sidney W. Mintz, "Puerto Rico: An Essay in the Definition of National Culture", 65.

2. Ibid. 66.

3. Melvin Tumin, with Arnold Feldman, 2nd ed. Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico (Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill, 1971), 80-95, 465-466.

4. There are many other factors at work shaping the children role, among them the roles of the non-Puerto Rican American children, sometimes neighbors and always classmates, and, through their constant exposure on the TV screen, becoming 'significant others' from whom behavior cues are taken.

CHAPTER X

WORK AND FAMILY GROUP

Introduction

Work place, school, and church stand out among the organizations of the host society most migrants relate to. We shall deal with these relations in the next three chapters. We shall however treat only slightly contacts with public welfare and private social agencies. The welfare issue is so complex that it would require a separate study. The reader will be able, however, to infer the nature of the migrant families' contact with the welfare and other social agencies from what is said about the family's contact with school and church.

Secondary communities are often capable of providing the migrant with the necessary support to successfully redefine or take on his new roles in the host society. In an earlier chapter the interrelation between family and work roles was examined in order to size up the impact of the

work organization on the family internal structure. In the next three chapters the focus will be on the analysis of the work, educational, and religious external family roles which are shaped both by the family and the respective organizations of the host society. However, granted the focus of this study, the view from the family is almost exclusively presented here.

The migrant tends to orient himself toward the organizations of the larger society in a way similar to that he used to in Puerto Rico, at least during the first stages of adaptation. Consequently, the migrant's effective participation and identification with these organizations will partly depend on the staff members of these organizations adopting an outreach orientation which implies some sort of accommodation in defining the organizational role expectations of the migrant.

The extent to which the migrant, transcending the primary group, maintains contact with these organizations, and the extent to which he changes his aspirations, values, and symbols, and identifies with those of the receiving society will be an index of the degree of the institutionalization of the migrant's roles (Eisenstadt, 1955). There are several possible ways in which the migrant may relate himself to the

receiving society. The first possibility is that the migrant will start to see himself the way the host society does. His expectations and those the host society has of him will start being compatible. The migrant will have become at least partly assimilated.

Another possibility is that the migrant might choose to maximize his contacts with both his kin network and the ethnic organizations offering him a readier understanding of his needs and maybe even opportunities for a certain degree of mobility within the ethnic social sub-structure. In so doing he limits the contacts with the organizations of the host society to a functionally desirable minimum, that is to the performance of universally required roles. The migrant family then will remain unassimilated. Its choice will result in as high a degree of structural and cultural pluralism as the sociocultural arrangements of the host society might allow.

A third possibility covers a broad range of sociocultural arrangements tending to get "the best of the both ways." The right proportion of contact and identification with the organizations of the host society is that which also allows for fostering ethnic solidarity. Such solidarity is seen as a structural requirement for achieving equal opportunity for the ethnic group members which is regarded as a good index of

assimilation to the host society.

Finding jobs

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, relatives and friends are invariably an effective agent for helping the migrant to find a job. Sometimes, arrangements for a job are made in a factory by a relative, as Mr. Rolon's father did for his son, prior to the migrant's arrival in the mainland. The first job for many of the migrants who come directly from Puerto Rico to Long Island and with no relatives or friends as bridgeheads on the mainland, was seasonal work on the farms, or landscaping. Those who have a relative or friend here are more likely to look for a factory job. They are ready to accept the first available factory job, even though some of the migrants would like to find a job that would give them the chance to learn a trade and operate machinery. Such jobs are rarely available to them; thus they have to settle for unskilled jobs that carry little chance for occupational advancement. Even this, however, represents an improvement over Puerto Rico. Mrs. Rolon says: "To get a factory job in Puerto Rico you needed recommendations, and, even so, you could not get it."

Present job satisfaction

Those migrants who work on a factory job for the first time usually find the work rhythm too accelerated; they were

used to a slower rhythm in their former non-factory jobs in Puerto Rico. Farm work in Puerto Rico, however, is regarded as much harder than any kind of work over here. Those who worked in Puerto Rican factories do not find any difference in the rhythm of work between the mainland and their native island. In both places they think it is excessive and in both places the bosses are "after you." Landscaping and small workshops work is considered easy: "Nobody pushes you."

Workers in the study group mention a variety of items affecting job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Some of the factors producing satisfaction are: the mindchallenging character of skilled work (Mr. Cabrera and Mr. Machuca, the only skilled workers in the study group); their chance for those with a trade, to leave a personal imprint in their work; the chance of gaining human experience by learning how to face the many problems that come up during the working hours ("You learn, among other things, how to defend yourself even without going to the union," says Mr. Rolon); the perfection of the task accomplished; the close adherence to the work pace and schedule in contrast with the common practice of wasting time talking in the restrooms and forming cliques (Mrs. Rolon); the recognition of the worker's good performance by the firm's chain of command and the consequent preferential status given to him rather than enjoying recognition within the workmates' cliques

(Mrs. Rolon); higher wages than those earned in Puerto Rico; in some firms and nursery work, the fact of not being pressured by the foremen (Mr. Romano, Felix Garcia); and comradeship among the Latin workers (Mrs. Fuentes).

Factory work attracts the high school students with its promise of money and of relative independence from parental control (Pedro Garcia). Work choice among boys seems to be motivated by individualistic, money-based considerations more so than among girls. This accords with the role expectation of the husband as main breadwinner and of the wife as homebody. Girls are more likely to mention humanitarian grounds as reasons for their choice of nursing, teaching, and child care careers.

Job dissatisfaction

Some of the factors making for job dissatisfaction are: the awareness of being exploited by the firm or, at least, not being paid as much as they feel that the work is worth; the fact that unskilled factory jobs rarely allow for any original contribution by the worker ("They do not want ideas," Mr. Rolon says); the changing of shifts at management's discretion; the chance of being laid off if one does not meet the production quota; discrimination against the "hispanos" in job promotion and other job opportunities; not learning anything on the job; a low level of wages some-

times made possible by the employment of illegal aliens and by the Puerto Rican workers' compassionate attitude of not reporting them to the authorities; the rhythm of work deemed to be excessive; the means-like or instrumental, rather than end-like or expressive conception of work (an interviewee alludes to this with a popular saying: "Work stays, but one passes away"); scarce chances of occupational advancement, etc.

Economic and occupational position

Jobs are scarcer, and worse paid in Puerto Rico than on the mainland. Mr. Cabrera mentions several friends who returned to Puerto Rico and found it difficult to get jobs there. Improving the economic situation of the family is the main reason to migrate and to stay on the mainland.

Some workers feel that both wages and treatment are better here than in Puerto Rico. Most workers feel they would need more English and schooling to get better jobs. Some of them, however, feel that discrimination is also a factor. Their chances for occupational advancement in their present jobs are very poor. They only expect economic improvement through the renegotiation of contract, seniority, and eventually through the assignment to a better paid, but still low-skilled job. Even foremen often have no prospects for further occupational advancement. In some factories the position of

supervisor is the highest position a Puerto Rican worker can hope to attain, but few do because seniority and being a non-Puerto Rican American are the main criteria for the position, according to some interviewees.

Some skilled workers (Mr. Cabrera, Mr. Machuca, Mr. Romano) hope to start their own small businesses some day and to buy a larger house than the one they own (Mr. Cabrera, Mr. Machuca).

Some migrants with technical skills cannot get appropriate jobs because of their inadequate English. Mrs. Rolon was a secretary in Puerto Rico, but had to resign herself to taking a factory job here. Mrs.Arroyo and Luz Rolon were nurse's aides in Puerto Rico, and now they do factory and household work respectively. Some other migrants know a trade, but cannot practice it because they need "a license which is difficult to obtain, and there is a lot of competition" (Mr. Rolon).

High job turnover, especially during the first years in the mainland, is often due to rising aspirations, to the desire for broader experience or to the lower status of the mainland job in contrast to the job in Puerto Rico. Mr. Rolon has had four jobs in 10 years, two of them in the last eight years. Through the Division of Employment Mr. Lopez got a second factory job which was much better paid than the first

one which he had got through a friend. Mr. Santos, after three years in his first job is going to take a second one in order to improve his economic and the general working conditions. His first job is physically too demanding, and he has been sick frequently as a result.

Lack of transportation severely limits the choice of jobs. Buses are frequently not available and the fares, too high. Mr. Moreno says: "As soon as I get a car, I will not resign myself to work for $2 an hour." "I had no car during the first fifteen months in the mainland," says Mr. Machuca who now has two of them. Felix Garcia says that he bought his first, used car two years after his arrival.

Paying a workmate a $5 weekly fare for a ride to work is a good solution for some, but it is not always feasible.

Foremen and bosses

Good workers who develop a positive rapport with the bosses are likely to be appointed foremen. Foremen do not belong to the union. They hardly have any hope for further occupational advancement either. They derive satisfaction, however, from their position of responsibility and from the high esteem they enjoy among the bosses. The mutual esteem can lead to an informal exchange of favors between foreman and management (Mr. Cabrera; Mr. Machuca). Advance payments on wages are easy to obtain, but the management asks in re-

turn for overtime when pressed by production demands. Such esteem sometimes burdens the foreman with additional feelings of responsibility so that he feels obliged to work even when he is sick. The one worker in the group with middle-class background takes sides with the management and views the union as unnecessary (Mr. Machuca).

Felix Garcia says he would not like to be a foreman: "You need more English and school. If I do not turn out to be a good one, they could lay me off after thirty days because the foreman has no union."

Workmates

Workmates generally confine any friendliness they develop to the job. They do not see much of each other outside of working hours, unless they are also neighbors.

Some workers, like Mrs. Rolon, place the friendship of the foreman and the esteem by the chain of command over that of the workmates' cliques.

Puerto Rican and other American workers generally get along well, but there are some cases of discrimination. Mrs. Fuentes says: "Americans do not get along with us or among themselves. There is no comradeship. If someone needs a part, the others do not share it with him. We are left out of everything. But the 'hispanos' help each other more."

In many firms Puerto Ricans and Latins are so numerous

within some departments, that contact with other American workers is superficial because Latins tend to stick together. Latin workmates are helpful in finding housing, and occasionally become friends.

Unions and shop stewards

Unions are helpful in case of suspensions. The strength of the unions and the benefits they provide, however, vary widely from one firm to another. Mrs. Arroyo says that the union in her factory is of no use.

Some workers enjoy the responsibility involved in the shop steward role although they do not get any material remuneration for performing it other than a Christmas gift. Mrs. Rolon, however, resigned the job overburdened by what she felt were unwarranted role expectations and demands by her fellow Latin workers. Mr. Machuca dismisses the unions as unnecessary although he once was laid off for trying to bring a union into a factory.

Impact of work on family life

The most difficult part of being a migrant farm worker -- a role which many of today's Puerto Rican industrial workers in Islip performed in the exploratory stage in Long Island, -- was the separation from the family on a seasonal or year long basis.

The work role is seen as an instrument to support the

family, that is as subservient to the family role. Promotion or occupational advancement at work, such as an increase in wages or an appointment to a foreman or shop steward position, enhances the breadwinner's self-esteem and his status and position of dominance in the family group; it thereby performs an expressive function. "By being foreman -- Mr. Santos says-- I show to my family that I have acted responsibly, that I have tried to go up." Mr. Cabrera is also a foreman in his factory. He says: "They appreciate me . . . The owner pays attention to me and sometimes comes to my house with his wife."[1]

The responsibilities of being a foreman in a factory put extra demands on the already thin joint family schedule. They often have to be ready to work overtime.

Some workers, like Mr. Rolon, keep reliving at home the problems they face in the factory. Mrs. Fuentes does not believe that her work has any important impact on her family life. But her critical remarks on the lack of comradeship of her American workmates and on the discrimination she feels is being practised against Puerto Ricans must surely contribute to her withdrawal and isolation during the week-ends.

Unequal benefits derived by husband and wife from their respective jobs give occasion for comparisons and competition for a dominant position in the family group (Cf. The Rolons).

Factory work, even if easy, when added to the task of

management of a household, creates an unbearable burden for some wives, especially those with demanding husbands. Mrs. Machuca, who feels under heavy pressure, is about to opt out of her factory job. "He [her husband] prefers that I stay home, so that when he returns from work I may be here and have the dinner ready," she says.

Mr. Machuca mentions the fact that he is a good provider as a reason for asserting his dominance. Most husbands prefer that their wives stay at home for the small children's sake.[2] The latent function of such a division of labor may be to preserve the male position of dominance in the family group. Earning money seems to be a mightier ground for justifying dominance than bringing up and taking care of a large sized family.

Since most husbands drive to work with the only car in the family, the wife remains relatively isolated from the institutions of the larger society; for the distances are long and the public transportation inadequate. Occasionally she may get a ride from a friend or from a social worker or a volunteer of a social agency.

Almost without exception, the male head of the family rejects the suggestion that an increase in wages or a promotion might have any effect upon his authority and position of dominance in the household. One, however, agreed that a

lay-off would certainly diminish his status in the family.

Work or other accidents rendering the victim spouse at least temporarily disabled sometimes have an obvious effect on the victim's status in the family group, although he may be reluctant to admit it.[3] Such a shift in family responsibility and authority shows up in attitudes of depression in the disabled parent and in greater assertiveness on the part of the spouse who has assumed more responsibility for running the household (Family Rolon). Insurance benefits payable to the disabled spouse are likely to modify again the sensitive balance of interlocking family roles.

When there is no father at home, the mother sometimes prefers to work, and she then gets only a small supplement from the welfare. Mrs. Fuentes' aim is to give a better education to her children. In Puerto Rico she was not able to work and to take care of the children. The school officials did not enforce attendance and the children played hooky. A relative or a neighbor often babysits for some pay, but when the mother returns home from the factory, she has still a heavy work load in the household.

The employment of married and unmarried children is often decisive in bringing together the family in the mainland. Felix Garcia, while working in a mainland factory, could afford, first, money remittances to his disabled father

to support the family in Puerto Rico, and, then, to buy the tickets and to send for his parents and brothers.

The parents expect their younger children to help them after graduating from High School, even if they get married. This expectation works toward accelerating the entry of the children into the labor force and precludes their undertaking further training or study, thus adding to the scarce inclination of most male youngsters to pursue such a study.[4]

Satisfaction with the job can make the time spent at work seem shorter than it really is; the time spent at home seems longer. This was the response of Mr. Lopez. In most of the other cases, however, such a satisfaction with the work situation was not expressed.

An increase in wages helps to foster family satisfaction with the community, particularly if this involves the acquisition of a house, no matter how poor it may be. An increase in wages also indirectly helps to affirm the family's will to stay in the mainland rather than to return to the native island to have to pay rent.

Wives just echo their husbands' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their jobs. Children often have an improved, optimistic perception of their father's job classification. Thanks to a process of identification, children are likely to aspire to reach the occupational level their father

also aspires for himself but expects no longer to achieve (Cf. The Lopez).

Some housewives babysit for children for a small amount and some others play hostesses for young Puerto Rican or Latin boarders whereby they are able to add to the family income and enhance their own status in the family.

Most of the interviewees deny any important influence of the work situation upon their family lives. The extent to which this is indeed so would require prolonged participant observation. Assuming that it is so--that the work situation has little influence upon their family lives-- it may well reflect the extreme compartmentalization that characterizes work and family in modern society. Such compartmentalization and the generally low status of the jobs migrants have to work at would help account for the alienation they express towards their work role and their instrumental view of its role in their life. In effect, the migrant worker is unable to maintain his self-esteem through work because of the very limited ego involvement that his unskilled job allows for. Obviously the higher the occupational category of the worker before migration (Mrs. Rolon was a secretary and Mr. Rolon a musician), the stronger the feeling of alienation from the work situation unless the worker counters it with other sources of gratification as in the case of Mrs. Rolon. It follows that

the family life tends to privatise itself because only there the working father can reaffirm his status of dominance accorded him by his native culture and engage in a dialogue with significant others.

The maximum impact of the job situation upon the family group is surely that exerted by the level of wages because of its immediate effect on the family standard of living and level of aspirations. Second to this is the fair treatment by foremen and bosses or the absence of abuse and discrimination. Third, is the friendly relationship with workmates and superiors. Fourth, is the willing performance of some sort of leadership role because of its engaging and challenging character; this outweighs any trouble that it might entail in its exercise.[5]

SUMMARY

Migrants are ready to accept the first available factory job, even though some of them would like to find a job that would give them the chance to learn a trade and operate machinery. Such jobs are rarely available to them; thus, they have to settle for unskilled jobs that carry little chance for occupational advancement.

Those migrants who work on a factory job for the first time usually find the work rhythm too accelerated; they were used to a slower rhythm in their former non-factory jobs in

Puerto Rico. Farm work in Puerto Rico, however, is regarded as much harder than any kind of work over here. Those who worked in Puerto Rican factories do not find any difference in the rhythm of work between the mainland and their native Island.

Some of the factors producing satisfaction with the job are: higher wages than those earned in Puerto Rico, the recognition of the worker's good performance by the firm's chain of command and the consequent preferential status given to him, comradeship among the Latin workers, and so forth. Some of the factors making for job dissatisfaction are: the awareness of being exploited by the firm or, at least, not being given the full value of his work; the fact that unskilled factory jobs rarely allow for any original contribution by the worker; discrimination against the "hispanos" in job promotion and other job opportunities; not learning anything on the job; and so forth.

Some workers feel that both wages and treatment are better here than in Puerto Rico. Most workers feel they would need more English and schooling to get better jobs. Some migrants with a trade or para-professional skills experience downward occupational mobility when coming to the mainland because of their inadequate English and other professional requirements.

Workmates generally confine any friendliness they develop to the job. They do not see much of each other outside of working hours. Puerto Rican and other American workers generally get along well, but there are some cases of discrimination. In many firms Puerto Ricans and Latins are so numerous within some departments, that contact with other American workers is superficial because Latins tend to stick together.

The work is seen as an instrument to support the family; that is, it is viewed as subservient to the family role. Promotion or occupational advancement at work enhances the breadwinner's self-esteem and his status in the family group; it thereby performs an expressive function.

Most husbands prefer that their wives stay at home for the small children's sake. The latent function of such a division of labor may be to preserve the male positions of dominance in the family group. When there is no father at home, the mother sometimes prefers to work, and she then gets only a supplement from the welfare.

The parents expect their younger children to help them after graduating from High School. This expectation works toward accelerating the entry of the children into the labor force and precludes their undertaking further training or study. At the same time factory work attracts the High School students

with its promise of money and of relative independence from parental control.

Most of the interviewees deny any important influence of the work situation upon their family lives. The migrant worker is rarely able to maintain his self-esteem through work because of the very limited ego involvement that his unskilled job allows for. The maximum impact of the job situation upon the family group is surely that exerted by the level of wages because of its immediate effect on the family standard of living and level of aspirations. Second to this is the fair treatment by foremen and bosses or the absence of abuse and discrimination. Third, is the friendly relationship with workmates and superiors. Fourth, is the willing performance of some sort of leadership role because of its engaging and challenging character.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER X

1. See in the chapter "Conjugal roles and division of labor" (pp. 16-20) about the interplay between work role and family role.

2. See the sections "Authority and Division of Labor" and "Work Role and Family Role" in chapter "Conjugal Roles and Division of Labor".

3. See the Rolons case study.

4. See "Family and School" on the aspirations of male and female students.

CHAPTER XI

FAMILY AND SCHOOL

Parents' view of school

The parents' attitude toward the schools is ambivalent. On one hand they see in the school an excellent chance for self-improvement and a necessary vehicle for social mobility. On the other hand, the school is a place where the children not always find committed teachers and where they are exposed to a "dangerous" and "poisoned" atmosphere likely to make shift away from the traditional values in which they were brought up, and to lead them astray.

Parents point to the positive and negative traits they discover in the Islip schools and compare them with the schools their children used to attend in their native island, and sometimes with the schools they themselves attended in their young years. (As shown in Chapter IV, most of the parents had only elementary schools in the rural areas where they grew up.)

Since the children who were interviewed attend more than ten different schools their opinions and evaluations as well as those of their parents reflect a wide variety of experience with administrators, teachers, guidance counselors, social workers, etc.

Parents feel that their children have more educational opportunities here than in Puerto Rico. As a consequence, educational and occupational aspirations and expectations have risen. They mention a range of features which make for a superior quality of the mainland's schools over those in the native island:

"When a teacher is absent, there is another person taking his place. In Puerto Rico, if the teacher is absent, they send the children home" (Mrs. Santos).

Most of the parents think that the Islip schools function well:

"They oblige the children to study more" (Mrs. Santos;

"Teachers show more interest here than over there" (Mr. Garcia).

They praise also the tighter control of attendance, the relative proximity of the schools, and the transportation facilities, better than in Puerto Rico (Mrs. Fuentes).

The main agents the parents identify as responsible

for the definitely improved scholastic situation in the Islip area are the bilingual teachers who are mostly Puerto Ricans and a few from Latin American countries. They comprise the majority of the teachers with whom contact is reported.

> 'When the girls had two Latin teachers, says Mrs. Santos, they used to call on us once in a while. They would tell us to help the children with the home work.

The Latin teachers' involvement in the physical well being of the family is also appreciated:

> When I first arrived, the schools would send to us food and clothes. The 'hispano' teacher would take us to the welfare because otherwise the children could not attend school . . . He would also write letters until we finally got this house (Mrs. Garcia).

Quite a few parents, however, are on balance in favor of the schools in Puerto Rico; they express displeasure with various features of the mainland school. For example, they disapprove of the organizational and the educational principles which characterize the teaching situation, and which express themselves in relatively low involvement of teachers with their pupils. They say that the children spend too few hours in the school; they do not get any homework; they get instead too many holidays:

> Two o'clock they are already on the street and have nothing to do. There should be some kind of school where they could learn something in the afternoon for at least a couple of hours (Mrs. Figueroa).

Other criticisms include: the relatively low demands made by the teachers on the children, abdication by the teachers of their authority, low level of interest by teachers here than in Puerto Rico, unreasonable punishment . . .

> (The education here is) extremely bad . . . If I compare it with Puerto Rico, I don't like the system that they pass the child (to the next grade) according to his age. . . . The teaching system over here is for the sajones (anglosaxons) who are different from us. We think differently. . . . Teaching here is very weak. They emphasize a lot of other things like trips, etc. (Mrs. Ruiz; Mr. Machuca).

> Sometimes they punish the boy at school just because they see him running (Mr. Ruiz). A teacher of the boy used to exasperate me because he would speak to me too rough. I forbade him to hit the boy because in Puerto Rico, if they hit, they see to it that the child may learn. They really care for the child . . . But there are people here who correct just out of abuse (Mrs. Ruiz).

A mother says that a teacher had severely beaten her ten year old boy.

> It was an experience for me that my son did not want to take advantage of the situation. The teacher wept in an interview with me and my son. He felt sorry for the teacher and did not want me to press charges against him so that he would not lose his job. He taught me a lesson because I was allowing myself be carried away by rage. He said to me: -You go to work to make a living, that is what he does, doesn't he?

The general school atmosphere is portrayed by many parents as one of disrespect, lack of discipline and vice.

> I blame (for the lack of respect) the education they get over here in the school. The teacher should treat the students in a strong way. Instead, they treat them very easy. I think they are afraid that the children will rebel against them.

Mrs. Diaz has a child in the Roman Catholic Parish School:

> In the Catholic school, she says, there is more teaching, more discipline, . . . there is no drug problem. There are fewer holidays, trips, psychologists, etc. There is little interest, however, in having hispanos students. The children do not like to go to the Catholic school because there is more discipline.[1]

Most of the parents mention as obstacles to communication with the school the fact that PTA meetings are in English and that most of the school mail is also in English.

The positive evaluation of the school seems to be related to some factors as the good academic performance of a child, the more frequent contacts with teachers and administrators, the maintaining of frequent contacts with the school in Puerto Rico prior to migration, the home calls of the Latin teachers, the children's satisfaction with their teachers, etc.

The families in the group that express the strongest criticism of the mainland school seem to be those that best preserve the traditional values irrespective of the length of their residence in the mainland. Their negative appraisal

seems to be related to a pessimistic view of the American principles of child rearing. Several of them offer as explanation for what they consider to be moral failure of the American school, the fact that irresponsible parents, both Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican do not take proper care of their children. They also complain that these parents indulge in criticism of the teachers and thereby deprive the teachers of their badly needed authority and respect to carry out their task. One of the parents also points to the teacher's abdication of responsibility by assimilating to the practice of the students such as wearing long hair, taking drugs, etc.

Children's view of school

The children's views of school also vary according to their different experiences in a wide range of schools, and to the variety of views and advice of their parents concerning education.

The teen-agers' attitude has a special relevance. When they arrived they had a hard time for two or three years because of their obvious disadvantage in English, and, for a shorter span of time, because of the lack of friends.

Pedro Garcia (18) likes the school in Puerto Rico better because over there he could "chat and fight more" than over here. A Latin guidance counselor has persuaded him to

go to college in Puerto Rico while working on a part-time basis because, according to the counselor, there are many chances for study over there. Raquel Fuentes (17) also likes the school better in her native island, though for very different reasons:

> I liked everything in the school there better than over here. Teachers were more attached to the children. In the recreation they would talk and play with us . . . Here we only hear about the History of Puerto Rico in the Spanish-American War.

Roberto Rodriguez (16) relates with satisfaction about the stages he has gone through since his arrival in Islip:

> I was nine years old when I came from the Island. I used to be afraid. They considered me a little 'jibaro' (peasant). But when I got to fifth grade, I got along . . . Then I joined the Latin club at school and I also joined a gang with a guy who came from the city. He asked for people who could fight. We would drink, get high, . . . Then I quit . . . I read 'I was a Black Panther' . . . I go to a lot of parties. I got junk, a few shots . . . I like having fun a lot, getting girls all around, fool around, hang around, . . . I'd like to stay sixteen all my life . . . . When I get a free period because I don't like class, I talk to my friends. The administrator would talk to me because I used to cut classes . . . School is good. I want to keep on studying. I hate it, but it is like the Literine commercial . . . I would like to go to college and be a Computer programmer. It is an easy job, you get paid good. It's a clean job.

The meager interest of the male teen-agers in school work seems to be related to the strong excitement and appeal

of their peer-group activities like sports, girls, pop music, parties, gangs, etc.; to the lack of models of academic achievement in the family, and to the strong incentive of getting a job so as to enjoy relative autonomy once they are sixteen years old.

Ida Cabrera, Nora Rolon, Gladys Ruiz, Dorita Lopez, and Maria Santos enjoy going to school and have very definite professional aspirations. The girls more intensive involvement in school may be explained, firstly, by the fact that the girls' experience is more confined than the boys' to the narrow boundaries set by their parents and, secondly, by the fact that the girls have more chances to identify with their Latin teachers, who often are females, than the boys who have contact with the fewer male Latin teachers.

Pedro Garcia, Raquel Fuentes, Roberto Rodriguez as well as other teen-agers included in the family life histories, agree in their determination to further their studies after High School, even if they are not especially enthusiastic about them, because they look primarily at the instrumental function of education; it will enable them to reach a better socioeconomic position, an attitude similar to that of their parents toward work.

All the students mention the greater attention they

get from the Latin bilingual teachers and guidance counselors than from other teachers especially so during the first years upon their arrival from Puerto Rico.

Not for every youngster are drugs an irresistible temptation. Family and church training seem to be at the source of Gladys Ruiz's attitude: "The American girls take drugs. Once they start with drugs, I and my girl friends stop going with them." "We, the hispanos, know better how to have a fiesta, music, . . . says Pedro Garcia. We know better how to talk. American youngsters use a lot of marijuana. They think it is the "in" thing to do."

Some discrimination is seen in the reasons and the greater frequency with which Puerto Rican students are sent to the office as compared to their other American classmates. There is no general pattern, however, of discrimination in the school administration itself. Students seem to hold individual teachers or administrators responsible for the occasional unequal treatment they receive.

> Some teachers don't like the Latin students. They always give them lower grades. Some kids get discouraged and think of dropping out. For some reason the Spanish kids are always in trouble in the office (Gladys Ruiz, 17).

Nora Rolon is a bright student. She says:

> My teacher does not treat me exactly the same as the others. He lets them do things like filling up papers he does not let me do. He treats the Puerto Ricans a little different.

Some students compare the discipline methods in the Islip schools with those used in the schools in Puerto Rico. Ana Martinez (16) and Luz Maldonado (15) point to the higher respect accorded the teachers in their schools in Puerto Rico. Several youngsters complain about restrictions to move freely around the school, such as needing a pass to go to the restrooms. This was unheard of in Puerto Rico. It seems that the higher respect commanded by the teachers in their native island allows for greater freedom whereas in the Islip schools the relative lack of respect and discipline makes necessary the imposition of tighter controls.

Younger children stress the fact that physical punishment is more frequent in Puerto Rico than here as a reason for liking the Islip schools. Suspensions seem, however, to be more frequent here. Younger children also point to the greater variety of games they enjoy in the Islip schools.

When comparing the parents' and children's views of the school, obvious value differences seem to recur concerning themes such as use of freedom and disciplinary methods. Parents complain about the excessive freedom allowed their children by the class schedule, about the insufficient school requirements, about the disrespect toward the teachers, and about the corrupt atmosphere of the high school.

By contrast, children complain about restrictions and about being sent too often to the office. However, they recognize that the teachers used stronger means of correction in Puerto Rico than they do here. Some parents, though, report some abusive physical punishment in the Islip schools.

Parents and children agree in highlighting the personal interest shown by the Latin bilingual teachers, as compared to some discrimination and lack of interest shown by quite a few non-Latin teachers.

Example and advice by parents, guidance by teachers and counselors, and the youngster' own experience and observation work toward the formation of the students' predominant "self-fulfillment attitude" leading to further study after graduation from high school. That is, they want jobs that appeal to them -- car mechanic, computer programmer, electricial, sports pro -- because they see them as instruments for self-realization. Other youngsters, however, would further their studies because "you get paid good" (Roberto Rodriguez, 16), and "in order to have money and do whatever I please" (Raquel Fuentes, 17) that which could be labeled as a "consumerist attitude." There are, especially among the girls and in some parents, examples of a more "altruistic attitude." Several girls would like to be

nurses to help the people.[2] Mrs. Machuca would like to have some preachers of the Word of God among her children.

The infrastructure of the rising educational aspirations

An improving socioeconomic situation seems to be a factor essential to the development of any moderate optimism about the family's chances for occupational advancement and for inter-generational mobility.[3]

The lessening of economic problems of the family, the availability of part-time jobs and a range of aids to the study make the remarkable difference with their prior situation in Puerto Rico.

Advice by teachers and guidance counselors and, in an especial way, by the Latin ones, fosters a new awareness and appreciation by the parents and students of the educational function. The professional aspirations, which in Puerto Rico were dampened by the low expectations of success, gain immediate strength here through the models of achievement of fellow Puerto Ricans residing for a longer time on the mainland.

Latin teachers on the mainland continue the Puerto Rican tradition of home visits on different occasions such as social work assistance, absences from school, academic or discipline problems, or simply conferring with the parents about their children's progress. These contacts are

more frequent during the first years of the children in the mainland school, when the family is first becoming acquainted with the new school system and the children need intensive help in English. On occasions bilingual teachers invite the Puerto Rican children to parties and games at their own homes. Sometimes they go to pick the parents up at their homes and give them a ride to vote for a Latin candidate for the School Board.

This is a personalized kind of contact among persons of the same or similar cultural background that makes the families feel somewhat at home. The Latin bilingual teacher acts as a link between the migrant family and a complex organization, and also as a bridge between two different cultures thereby easing the path of adaptation.

On the reverse side of the coin, since the bilingual teachers are few in number and are not even present in some schools, the regular bureaucratic machinery of the American school system comes into direct contact with the families relaying information and requirements that often seem unreasonable and beyond the grasp of most of the migrant families. For example, the Machucas complain over the practice of setting up appointments without taking into account their own working hours; most of the mail, meetings and conferences with the parents are in English which only a minority

of the migrant parents understand. Requesting the parents' presence at the school office for disciplinary reasons produces a frequent frustrating experience in part because of the language barrier, and in part because of the divergent standards of respect and discipline. The contacts of the migrant parents with the school teachers and administrators, other than the Latin ones, are rather superficial and perfunctory.

Two opposite cases of family-school relationships are the Garcia and the Cabrera, both of them recently arrived, but the Garcia parents from rural origin and of older age than the Cabreras who are of alien origin. The Garcia parents do not ask their teen-agers for their school reports because the youngsters do not like being asked about them, and also because the reports are beyond the parents' grasp since they had very few years of schooling. Mrs. Cabrera, who was already active in the school in Puerto Rico, picks up her children every day from school, and does not miss the chance to talk almost daily with the teachers about the children's progress and conduct.

The information that the parents receive from the teachers concerning their children's performance in school modifies the family patterns of child rearing; it introduces new elements of control as for example the punishment of children

for misbehaving or the rewarding of children for studying hard and for their scholastic achievement.[4] But, except for the first years on the mainland, in which the contact with Latin teachers, when available, is closer, it seems that the pattern of migrant family-school relationships does not reflect a strong impact of school on family life. The modified extended family, his own peer-group, and the mass media seem to be even more important agents of the socialization for the child and youth than the school. Most of what he brings back to the family interaction proceeds from these latter sources rather than from the teachers, counselors and school administrators.

The length of residence seems to have the effect of increasing the contacts with the school once the language and the acquaintance with the functioning of the mainland schools have improved. But such an increase in frequency of contacts is compatible with a critical, negative view of its operation, as the statements by Mr. and Mrs. Ruiz, and those by Mrs. Diaz and Mr. Machuca show this clearly.[5] The divergence in values seems to be the crucial standard to measure school performance and it often becomes lifelong in case of the first generation of migrants. Such tenacity of the traditional values in families as in the case of the Ruiz and the Diaz

families seems also related to their plans for return to Puerto Rico, even though this may involve leaving behind several married children on the mainland. The greater education of Mr. Machuca also must be an important factor explaining his sharp critiques.

Puerto Rican parents are not suspicious, as are the Italian West Enders Herbert J. Gans studied in "The Urban Villagers," who believe that "education will estrange the children from them and from the peer group society as well"[6] Their parents know they can count on their children's help if they turn out well. If they do not spur their children to go to College, it seems to be due to a realistic appraisal of the children's skills and inclinations. Economic pressures resulting in some instances from a very tight family budget can exert pressure on the high school graduates to take a job and so to be able to help their families, aside from the already mentioned incentive of enjoying greater autonomy. There are, however, important points of coincidence between both migrant groups. There is a considerable social distance between the Puerto Rican family and the school as there was in the case of the West Enders. Teachers and public school administrators complain about the little interest of the parents in the school achievement of their children. Parents with little formal schooling are not likely to show much

specific and sophisticated interest in school performance. In the Islip study group only Mr. Machuca and Mrs. Rolon have completed high school. At least seven parents did not complete elementary school (Mrs. Machuca, Mrs. Arroyo, Mrs. Lopez, Mrs. Santos, Mrs. Garcia, Mr. Garcia, Mrs. Romano). Most of the parents, however, show interest in their children's application to the school work as their best way to build a future for themselves.

The educational level of the study group, is therefore, well below that of the Puerto Rican population as a whole in the Islip area. Median years of school completed by Puerto Ricans of 25 years of age and over living in Suffold County are 10.5; for those living in Central Islip are, 11.0 years; for those living in Brentwood, 9.2 years. The educational level of the study group approximates, rather, that of the Puerto Ricans living in the city, for instance the median years of school completed by those living in New York County are 8.4. Their percentage of high school graduates there is 19.4; in Brentwood and Central Islip, it is 32.7 per cent and 42.9 per cent respectively.

The parental insistence in having their children take advantage of the educational opportunities open to them has been mentioned especially in the chapter on "Child rearing." The Latin teachers join them in a cooperative effort. When

putting the children through college is a family goal, anticipatory identification will provoke deference.[7] Otherwise, the social meaning of heightened dependency places the youngster at a bargaining disadvantage in the family. Mr. Garcia aspires to get Government help to put some of his children through college. Grandma Fuentes also expects that Government help and part-time jobs will allow her daughter Raquel to continue her studies. Parents cannot expect any financial help from their children in college. They expect, however, some alleviation of the family burden once the students get a part-time job and are able to buy their own "clothes and shoes." For a few of these families, college study is not a totally embraced family goal, partly because of the demands placed on the parents for financial assistance, recognizing that no help would come from the children themselves. For most of the families with younger children the family goal is just the graduation from high school, while college remains too far away in time and too unfamiliar to worry about in advance. The Rolon, however, are ready to renounce immediate gratifications, and to invest in planning for the college study of at least one of their children. Even when the social mobility of the child serves as a goal with which the family members can identify, the new values acquired by the youngster in college may arouse in time conflict within the

family.[8] However, such a situation is rare given the small percentage of youngsters from this migrant group who are to make it through college. Statistical data from a high school in the Islip area have been reported in another chapter [9] about the aspirations of the Spanish-surnamed Americans to go to college. Based on these data and on the figures of Puerto Rican enrollment in colleges for the Islip area, an estimated 20 per cent of the students included in the present study group are likely to complete some sort of college education.[10]

The school as a learning place for learning ethnicity

The Latin bilingual teachers are fully aware of the problems faced by their Latin students. Many of them think that the lack of a clear cultural identity is at their root. A Latin guidance counselor says:

> The Puerto Rican youth lacks a sense of belonging even when he was born here. They do not know anything about their culture. They lack self-esteem. Parents are not interested in the school. They have many problems. Most mothers work. Few of the students go to college. Most of the graduates just go to work. There are in this High School about 75 recently arrived students who know little English.

A teacher says:

> If they arrive when they are 14 years old, they realize a cultural vacuum in the school. We need more hispanos professionals in the classroom. There are only 8 in the High School.

A community leader born on the mainland from Puerto

Rican parents speaks in a similar vein:

> The youth feel ashamed of being Puerto Ricans. The United States Government is to blame for the identity problem. When you are in Puerto Rico you have two flags in the school and you have to say the pledge of allegiance in English. When you come to the United States, first you lose your mother's name.[11] You have only one flag in the school. They classify you: you are a Puerto Rican, instead of telling him: 'you are an American.' They categorize you as black, as a minority. They have no other choice but to accept it if they want to be in a special program. We are like a wounded, little finger: it gets struck all the time. What am I? And they try to identify themselves with the American blacks and wear Afros. The history being taught to them has an Anglosaxon bias. This is a rapacious, invader nation. A rebel nation that wants to preach submission . . . Americans introduce the Puerto Rican parents to the welfare system. We Puerto Ricans are not idiot people. If they give easy money, one renounces the family, the culture, . . . Women who had nothing like 'jibaritas' (pleasant women) now they have a home and all sort of appliances. The woman loses respect for her man because she does not need him to bring her the daily bread. . . . Many don't want to return to Puerto Rico even if they get paid for it. They should learn English. By allowing us to get the license in Spanish, etc. they keep us dependent. Here being bicultural is a drawback . . . .

As this comment shows, the identity problem has not spared this mainland born community leader.

Still another non-Puerto Rican Latin teacher says:

> The youngsters want to drop out and start working. Once they are sixteen they may do it if the parents sign the permission for their

> children dropping out. Most parents don't see the need for education. For them the sign of psychological maturity is just bringing home money. Most of them let the children do what they please. Latin culture should be taught, not however in order to foster a Puerto Rican individualism or nationalism, but to cultivate self-esteem. They should take pride in their work.

As this comment shows, the identity problem, although they experience its alleged disadvantages. The majority of the Latin teachers, however, seem to consider self-identification as a crucial issue with extremely serious academic implications. There seems to be a strong relationship between the need for self-identification and a positive self-concept as a requirement for academic achievement.[12]

> Not all Spanish-surnamed American high school students had problems of self-identification, (says Richard Greenspan)[13] A good number band together and express nationalistic feelings. These usually line up with Blacks.

Besides the important, though insufficient efforts made to impart a knowledge of Latin American culture through formal teaching, several teachers have organized a Latin club in the high school with a similar purpose. They perform shows, throw parties, etc. thereby strengthening their own cultural and ethnic self-identification while calling the other groups' attention to their traditions and values.

The school thus becomes today not only an institution where assimilation is consciously fostered and even pressed on the students as it used to be for the earlier immigrants,[14] but also a place where ethnic awareness can be learned to a moderate degree. As Fitzpatrick puts it:

> Recognition in recent years of the massive failure of the schools to educate the Puerto Ricans and other minority groups effectively, the growing insistence that the process of schooling be adapted to the cultural background of the Puerto Rican children, experiments in bilingual education, and the organization of community strength to cope with the problem have all affected the relationship of the Puerto Ricans to the school.[15]

More often than is the case in the city, Puerto Ricans in Islip tend to side with Blacks against Whites in the high school troubles and fracases. Social distance and residential patterns of segregation contribute to a frequent alignment of friendships along ethnic lines. Most Puerto Rican youth, even those born in the mainland, have only Puerto Rican intimate friends, although they consider many other non-Puerto Rican classmates as school friends. A few of the students have also intimate Black friends.

> The American girls make fun of the Puerto Ricans and I get mad. Then the teacher asks them to shut up . . . The American kids are mean to us, and we are not mean to them (Luisa Machuca, 11).

"Some Americans do not like Puerto Ricans; they tease them and tell them four letter words" (Edwin Fuentes, 12).

> I have a lot of boys, no boy friend, though. We go by groups with the church or on our own. Most of them were born in Puerto Rico. We go bowling or to some place . . . The American girls take drugs. As soon as they start with drugs, I and my girl friends stop going with them (Gladys Ruiz, 17).

"An American girl said to a Puerto Rican girl outside the classroom that the Puerto Ricans are born from dogs" (Nora Rolon, 12).

"Some kids of this street beat us up and call Puerto Ricans pork chops" (Clara Arroyo, 12).

"Americans and Puerto Ricans look different, but they are not different" (Rafael Burgos, 8).

> Here the morenos (Blacks) and the hispanos are brothers" (Pedro Garcia, 18). We only stick around with the colored people. I am allergic to the Americans. Sometimes big Puerto Rican boys say that we and the colored people are against white people (Francisco Lopez, 11).

"In the school I have more American than Latin friends. Outside the school it is the other way around" (Louis Santiago, 11).

> Puerto Ricans are always my friends. They do not fight me, they don't like to start fights. The White people hit me when I do nothing to them. I don't like the blacks because they fight me too (Annabel Carmona, 9).

In-group images and alliances seem to be decisively affected by the social distance and eventual prejudice the out-groups hold toward Puerto Ricans:

> In Puerto Rico one does not realize who is white and who is colored. White Americans are racist. Here you come to notice that. We, Puerto Ricans and Blacks get along better, may be because we both are minorities, because since they treat us the same, we see us each other the same (as equals) (Raquel Fuentes, 17).

SUMMARY

The parents' attitude toward the schools is ambivalent. On one hand they see in the school an excellent chance for self-improvement and a necessary vehicle for social mobility. On the other hand, the school is a place where the children not always find committed teachers and where they are exposed to a "dangerous" and "poisoned" atmosphere likely to make them shift away from the traditional values in which they were brought up, and to lead them astray.

Parents feel that their children have more educational opportunities here than in Puerto Rico. As a consequence, educational and occupational aspirations and expectations have risen.

The main agents the parents identify as responsible for the definitely improved scholastic situation in the Islip area are the Latin bilingual teachers. They comprise the majority of the teachers with whom contact is reported.

The positive evaluation of the school seems to be re-

lated to some factors as the good academic performance of a child, the more frequent contacts with teachers and administrators, the maintaining of frequent contacts with the school in Puerto Rico prior to migration, the home calls of the Latin teachers, the children's satisfaction with their teachers, etc.

The families in the group that express the strongest criticism of the mainland school seems to be those that best preserve the traditional values irrespective of the length of their residence on the mainland. Their negative appraisal seems to be related to a pessimistic view of the American principles of child rearing.

The meager interest of the male teen-agers in school work seems to be related to the strong excitement and appeal of their peer-group activities, to the lack of models of academic achievement in the family, and to the strong incentive of getting a job so as to enjoy a relative autonomy once they are sixteen years old.

The girls' more intensive involvement in school may be explained by the fact that the girls' experience is more confined than the boys' to the narrow boundaries set by their parents than the boys'.

Two main attitudes are discernible among the youngsters planning further study after graduation from high

school. Some have a "self-fulfillment attitude" while others take a "consumerist attitude."

All the students mention the greater attention they get from the Latin bilingual teachers and guidance counselors than from other teachers, especially so during the first years upon their arrival from Puerto Rico.

Advice by the teachers and guidance counselors and, in an especial way, by the Latin ones, fosters a new awareness and appreciation by the parents and students of the educational function. The professional aspirations, which in Puerto Rico were dampened by low expectations of success, gain immediate strength here through the models of achievement of fellow Puerto Ricans residing longer time on the mainland.

Latin teachers on the mainland continue the Puerto Rican tradition of home visits on different occasions such as social work assistance, absences from school, academic or discipline problems, or simply conferring with the parents about their children's progress. This is a personalized kind of contact among persons of the same or similar cultural background that makes the families feel somewhat at home. The Latin bilingual teacher acts as a link between the migrant family and a complex organization, and also as a bridge between two different cultures thereby easing the path of adaptation.

Except for the first years on the mainland, in which the contact with the Latin teachers, when available, is closer, it seems that the pattern of migrant family-school relationships does not reflect a strong impact of school on family life. The modified extended family, his own peer-group, and the mass-media seem to be even more important agents of the child and youth socialization than the school. Most of what he brings back to the family interaction proceeds from these latter sources rather than from the teachers, counselors and school administrators.

Students, generally speaking, are not able to articulate the identity problem, although they experience its alleged disadvantages. The majority of the Latin teachers, however, seem to consider self-identification as a crucial issue with extremely serious academic implications.

The school becomes today not only an institution where assimilation is consciously fostered and even pressed on the students, as it used to be, but also a place where ethnic awareness can be learned to a moderate degree.

More often than it is the case in the city, Puerto Ricans tend to side with Blacks against Whites in the high school troubles and fracases. Social distance and residential patterns of segregation contribute to a frequent alignment of friendships along ethnic lines. Most Puerto Rican

youth, even those born on the mainland, have only Puerto Rican intimate friends, although they consider many other non-Puerto Rican classmates as school friends. A few of the students have also intimate Black friends.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER XI

1. If only a handful of Puerto Rican families send their children to the Catholic schools in the Islip area, this is primarily due to the high cost of tuition, which is about $250 for one child and about $350 for two children; another reason is the mutual feeling of alienation that makes both the American mainstream parish priest, teaching nun, and lay parishioner fail to consider the Puerto Rican child as a prospective student; and finally, the average Puerto Rican family does not even contemplate the possibility of applying and being admitted to it.

2. More focused and specific interviewing would be required for a valid detection of divergent vocational attitudes insofar as a majority of the careers accessible to Puerto Rican students involving "altruistic attitudes" are closely linked to roles culturally allocated to the females in Western societies.

3. Cf. Chapter XIII, "Socioeconomic and sociocultural change."

4. Cf. Chapter XIII, "Socioeconomic and sociocultural change."

5. See "Parents' view of school" above.

6. Herbert J. Gans, "The Urban Villagers," 1962, 129.

7. Turner, 1970, 490.

8. Turner, 491.

9. Cf. Chapter XIII, "Socioeconomic and sociocultural change."

10. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Final Report PC (1)-C 34 New York, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), Table 113.

11. It refers to the Spanish custom of identifying a person through both the father's and the mother's last names.

12. James S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1966, No. OE-38001.

13. Richard Greenspan, Puerto Ricans on Long Island, New York: ASPIRA OF New York, Inc., 1971, 26.

14. Joseph P Fitzpatrick, Puerto Rican Americans Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971, 130.

15. Fitzpatrick, Ibidem, 130-31.

CHAPTER XII

THE MIGRANT RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND THE CHURCHES[1]

Introduction

The effect of migration on religious practice has been discussed by several sociologists who have studied migration in various countries. It will be useful to focus briefly on this discussion as a context for the study of the Puerto Rican religious experience in Islip

Decline in church attendance and church related activity

According to Le Bras (1955) the majority of the French peasants who settle in the urban centers or join the industrial labor force abandon their religious practice. Kerkhofs (1953) reports similar behavior about the Italian and Polish peasants working in the mines of Limburg. Pin (1967) thinks that such a change in behavior should not be attributed either to the influence of the large city or of industrial work. Then, he brings up American Roman Catholicism which is largely an urban-industrial phenomenon, to

prove his case. Instead he hypothesizes that the lack of preparation for and integration into the urban life may account for the fact of the decline in church attendance. He also points to the more dynamic character of city religious life than that of the rural areas in order to show that there is nothing specifically anti-religious about the city.[2]

Writing in the Durkheim and Redfield vein of interpreting the passage from a traditional to a modern society, Nelson and Clews (1973) describe the mechanism underlying the reduction in religious practice:

> Geographical mobility has the effect of breaking the control of the community over the individual. In a static society . . . religion is to be seen as a communal activity; men participate in religious activities because these are prescribed by the community. In such communities men tend to adhere to the traditional beliefs, which are inculcated by a commonly shared experience of socialization and maintained by mutual reinforcement processes.[3]

Pin (1967) identifies several factors which are of significance for this study. He distinguishes three conceptions about God's presence in the world, the first of which seems to predominate in the countryside, especially in the Catholic rural areas. God is conceived of as already present in the world and acting in it in the way men also act. As a consequence, God is seen as a power whose beneficent cooperation man is interested in assuring for himself.[4] Peas-

ants expect to be liberated by this power from cosmic evil like a drought or disease. Such a religious vision would be capable of sustaining regular religious practice especially when it is shared by the collectivity. Still more, such a practice cements group solidarity. Pin hypothesizes that the peasant who joins the industrial labor force and lives in an urbanized area is no longer in daily contact with the unpredictable natural forces and, thus, does not see the need for resorting to such a superior power. In consequence, he abandons his religious practice.

Pin's second hypothesis is a more thorough elaboration of the traditional Durkheim based hypothesis. The rural traditional social structure consists of concentric communities each of which on its own level, controls all the activities of each and every individual. Organized formal social control easily adds to this spontaneous social control entailing universal observance of the social norms. The urban social structure is very different. A new structure of specialized associations superimposes itself upon the concentric communities and is able to organize the individuals who thus avoid the control of the concentric communities. The plurality of ideologies and organizations forces the urbanite to make use of his freedom. The religious activity is just one among many others in the city that lack the sanction

of a norm or a custom. Therefore, the newcomers discontinue their religious practice because their psychological structure is not ready to choose freely to keep their religious observances. Obviously some of the newcomers may develop an autonomous personality through the process of their integration into the urban society, and then, be able to make a personal decision on those matters governed by custom.[5]

An important exception to the phenomenon of decline in church attendance among peasants who migrated to urban-industrial areas is the gradual transition from the custom-based to the freely elected religious activity. Such a gradual transition has been achieved through the purposeful organization of "replacement or substitute communities" to provide the newcomer with "a home away from home" where religious customs are preserved and a cultural continuity is established. Tomasi (1972) has studied in detail the phenomenon as regards the Italian ethnic church in the New York metropolitan area from 1880 to 1930. He concludes that

> organized life, collective entertainment and inter-group conflict often arose and developed in a socio-religious context. Italian immigrant church leadership, clerical and lay, functioned in a mediating role between the ethnic group and the total society, beginning with the established Catholic Church.[6]

<u>The Puerto Rican migrant families</u>

The study group includes five families with a past history of being practising Catholics. Even after migration they continued to maintain a certain level of religious practice although the frequency and degree of their involvement in church organizations diminished. The Romano parents still pray together every night with their daughters who are not yet in their teens. The Garcia parents say the rosary in private because their children, many of them teen-agers stopped joining them a long time ago, probably in Puerto Rico. The Lopez were practising Catholics and active members of parish societies in Puerto Rico. Now they attend church with their children, but they are no longer active in parish societies. Mr. Cabrera says he used to pray every day with his family in Puerto Rico. On Sundays he would go to the chapel. He was also a member of a parish society. "Here I hardly have attended church," he says. Mr. Moreno used to go with his parents to church in Puerto Rico. He also used to pray the rosary at home with the whole family. He says he does not go now to any church because he is living "in sin" with a woman; she is a divorcee and they cannot marry in the Catholic church. The Santos are practising Catholics. Although Mrs. Santos loves attending church she seldom does so because she lacks transportation and she has to babysit for her small children. The Rolon's religious practice has

declined as a result of personal differences that have developed between them and some Puerto Rican leaders in a parish society.

Two non-practising Catholic families have shifted over to the Pentecostal church. Another family from practising Catholic background, the Cabrera, seems to have partially shifted to the Pentecostal church because Mrs. Cabrera attends sometimes this church with some of her children, although she also goes to a Catholic church at times. Several non-practising Pentecostal families send their children to the Pentecostal church whenever someone gives them a ride.

Except for one case of "conversion" from nominal Catholicism to fervent Pentecostalism, there seems to be a moderate decline in church attendance and church related activity among the migrants.

Puerto Rican religiosity

As in other countries of long Catholic tradition, (Ireland, Poland, etc.), being a Catholic in Puerto Rico, as in Spain, was regarded as an integral component of the national culture. Many of the basic values of Puerto Rican society proceed from Catholicism: the veneration of Mary and motherhood, and the concept of a supernatural order among many others. Catholic ideology is less expressed as an aspect of religiosity than as an aspect of national character in which many Ca-

tholic values have become institutionalized.[7] Puerto Rican Catholicism is grounded on feelings of belonging to a country (pueblo) with a Catholic culture rather than on doctrinally orthodox beliefs. Such a gross affirmation holds especially for those who have been insufficiently socialized in the religious tenets: these persons are often, but not always, in the rural lower-class and in the proletarian urban class. These feelings of belonging are fostered by popular events and celebrations, like those of Christmas and Holy Week, and folk religious customs (saint cult, "rosarios cantados" or song of the rosary, etc.) and are compatible with a great ignorance of the major doctrinal features and tasks of the institutional Church.

Partly because of the subservient position of the Church under the Spanish rule,[8] and partly because of the inadequate numbers of clergy engaged in the missionary task, two types of Catholicism developed, namely the familiar or folk, which centered around the saint cult, and the institutional, which provided sacramental or ritual sanctions of the major events in the life cycle. Catholicism was also differentially practised among the social classes in the various areas of the Island. Whereas, according to Steward and associates (1956), it embraced all social classes in some areas

like "San Jose," a traditional coffee municipality, and "Nocora," a north coast sugarcane community, it was, however, closely identified with the upper classes in the south coast sugarcane plantation of "Canamelar." The habitual location of major churches and clergy in the major towns often made priests available to the rural people for official worship only once a week or even once a month in the "campo" (countryside's) chapel. The town church was visited only for the major festivities. Such a situation favored the development of the saint cult in the "campos" and also the psychological distance from the official center of worship and doctrine.[9]

Steward (1956) points also to the phenomenon of extreme proletarianization entailing individualization and disintegration of traditional patterns which accompanied the rapid industrialization of the south coast areas. Such phenomena were considered by Redfield (1941) major indicators of "secularization." According to Steward, the Pentecostal churches have grown up successfully in that area because their cult offers a new kind of integration which parallels the proletarian solidarity.[10] Baselga (1971) has found that

> in Municipios where change did occur, Protestants get their best results, while in Municipios where this change did not occur, the Catholic Church exercises almost exclusive dominion . . . . Socio-

> cultural changes most probably are the required condition in Puerto Rico that makes possible the progress of Protestantism.[11]

Although the small size of the present study group does not permit us to draw any conclusions, it seems that the families with deeper religious commitment moved from rural areas and that the families with lower degree of religious practice, including three mother based households, moved from highly urbanized areas or rural areas adjacent metropolitan centers with easy access to industrial jobs. The mothers in the families of orientation usually practised religion more than the fathers. All the parents in the families of orientation were at least nominal Catholics. One of the couples, however, got married in the Pentecostal Church.

Only one couple and a mother have intermittently been active on the mainland in some church related organization. At least four couples had been involved in similar activities in the Island.

Ritual and consequential dimension in the migrant religiosity

Loyalty to the organization of the Catholic Church on the mainland seems to be rather weak when measured by the frequency of reception of religious rites (sacraments), the extent of participation in church organizations, the level of financial contribution, the acquaintance with the priest

and ministers, the enrollment of children in the Parish Schools, etc. which are the standards often mentioned by priests and by the average American believer. However, all these indicators stand primarily for the ritual component of the religious commitment, and secondarily for the intellectual component. They would not be so apt to reveal how well or badly Puerto Rican migrants fare in the ideological, experiential and consequential components of the religious commitment if the five-dimensional definition of religiosity given by Glock and Stark (1965) is adopted.[12]

The socialization of the Puerto Rican people in the various dimensions of the Christian religious commitment has been insufficient and fragmentary. As a result, many of the religious values are lived without a clear conscience of their being rooted in the Catholic faith. Some parents value religion as a source of moral behavior. When many Puerto Rican parents, questioned about the relevance of their Church, answer that they send their children to the services, so that they may learn good examples and habits, then it is not easy to discern whether they regard moral conduct as the consequential component of religion or are interpreting religion just as natural ethics.

Mr. Cabrera says: "I like my children to be religious because that will change their behavior. They will follow

the straightest path."

Mrs. Rolon seems to be talking of the consequential dimension of true religiosity when she says:

> I think religion is important for the Puerto Rican families because in the present age we are living, if we don't have religion, I don't know where we are going to end up. This is especially true of the children who are growing up and need orientation, because the grown ups, 'moro viejo, mal cristiano' ('old moor, bad christian'). (With religion) there would be more understanding and more fear of doing, saying, and thinking certain things. When you do your prayers, one repents and raises up . . . When you withdraw, you make a habit out of your bad things . . . When I made the retreat, then I would offer to God my day of work.
>
> Religion helps you in every step, (says Mr. Machuca,) in the moral, spiritual, . . .It shapes up the person. I talk to the pastor. He has come here to spend the day with me. My family has been shaping up in a beneficial way in every respect. First of all it has become more serious, more respectful and considerate . . . . The doctrine, no matter the church, tries to eliminate the evil and to do the good.

Pedro Garcia prefers what he considers to be lax morals of the R. C. Church to the puritanical norms of the Pentecostal churches which forbid movies, dances, etc. Such a stern morality explains the meager impact of these churches on the Puerto Rican young male. Their impact is powerful, however, upon the Puerto Rican females. Their submissive domestic role and the strong fatherly vigilance

over daughters finds in the Pentecostal Church a supportive system (Minuchin, 1967) to which the family turns and embodies as "an integral part of the family system."

Other than as an agency helping to lead a moral life, R. C. Puerto Ricans think of the Church as a dispenser of certain rites closely associated with crucial moments in human life such as birth, age of reason, adolescence, maturity, severe illness, and death. In many cases Puerto Ricans ask for these rites to strengthen their feeling of belonging and loyalty to their own family and folk rather than to affirm their loyalty to an impersonal organization, the Church, whose social base they could identify in their home country with their village or "campo" (farm district) but they find it here elusive and impossible to visualize.

Children attend church more often than their parents, partly because the mothers remain at home babysitting, and partly because the parents find a convenient solution by entrusting their children to the attendant of the Pentecostal Church's van or to a relative who offers them a ride. Children's religious feelings and attitudes seem to reflect those of their parents. Only a few of the youth practise regularly, females more often than males. To search for the grasp children have of the religious teaching is a spe-

cialized undertaking requiring proper method and time. From the directly elicited answers it seems clear that children are most impressed by the churches' insistence that they avoid fights. An exceptional answer, reflecting his home's pious atmosphere is that of Jose Machuca, an intelligent nine-year old boy:

> If you don't serve God, you are on the devil's side, and, when you grow up, you start drinking,etc. I will never be on his side, that's for sure! Sometimes I talk to the pastor at his home. I go there with my parents . . . Church is important to get closer to God.

Roman Catholic children of practising and also often of non-practising parents get instructions for their first communion and confirmation but after that they usually stop receiving further religious instruction. In fact, no specific effort to reach out to the Puerto Rican teen-agers is made by the Catholic parishes in the area. The answer of an eighteen year old, Pedro Garcia, shows that his parents seem to have succeeded in passing on to their youngsters basic religious convictions and attitudes while having yielded to a liberalization of their habits as an unwanted but unavoidable consequence of life in the American mainland environment: "Religion is the most important thing in my family in Puerto Rico and here." His father is a good example of a person with deep seated religiosity:

> Religion is the main concern my family should have. It affects the way of life of the soul. We have to get reconciled and do what Jesus ordered us to do on this earth. If there is no religion, there is nothing. We would live much better if we all sought after God.

Mr. Garcia looks at religion as the main source of family harmony and unity:

> One has to be well married in the Catholic Church. I have always thought that if there is love and the same creed, everything goes all right. Marriage is like being the same person until God decides it, without any kind of unfaithfulness.

He confides all his wishes in prayer to God like returning to Puerto Rico and receiving the welfare assistance: "Let it be done like God wills it." Conformity with the will of God seems to be both a religious value and a stoic ethos frequent among Latin Christians.

The migrants' view of the Churches

The composite definition of the situation that will be offered will draw on the family interviews, conversations with priests, ministers, sisters and church lay leaders as well as on some recent newspaper reports. Whereas the informants in a position of leadership command a wide perspective and information, the majority of the members of the families under study are only aware of the existence of some religious and charitable services provided by the churches. It is just the researcher's guess (based on intense participant

observation) that a survey on the religious attitudes of the migrant families would turn out similar expectations to those which were advanced by the church leaders and a few of the most perceptive migrant respondants. It could also be possible that the migrants have grown accustomed to the rather passive bureaucratic approach of the American Catholic Church and have consequently lowered their expectations of a more dynamic, missionary attitude[13] toward the Latin community.

Mr. Cabrera talks about a Spanish-speaking American priest as a friend of the family because he baptized the babies. He has not gone to church, though, since he came to the mainland, and, according to his wife, it is unlikely he would go to the priest for advice now that their marriage is going through a period of crisis. The Garcias met the Spanish-speaking American priest on the occasion of the first communion of one of their children. Mr. Rolon goes to the same priest to ask for material help. As a result of some trouble with some Puerto Rican church lay leaders, Mrs. Rolon says:

> If I need now spiritual guidance, I give it to myself because I have lost the trust I used to have, even if I have not had any bad experience with the priests . . . My children have not yet made their first communion either.

Mr. Ruiz is a non-practising Catholic who has been on the mainland for more than fifteen years.

> In Puerto Rico the priests go visitng the families. Here they do not let themselves be seen much around. Also in Puerto Rico the sisters come to the house to take the children to the Catechism . . . . I don't like that they have bingo and dances. That is why my wife left the Catholic Church and is now in the Pentecostal Church. Many are changing over. The Pentecostal Church is the one that tries to help the family more. Most of our friends and relatives are now in it. They come from door to door, they visit. They go to the hospital. They help you to go to church with buses and cars.

Mr. Lopez, a practising Catholic, also says he has become cool because he dislikes bingo and dances in the Church. Mrs. Burgos and Mrs. Carmona send their children to the Pentecostal Church, although they were raised Catholic, because the church provides transportation. Pentecostal ministers gave Mrs. Burgos a ride to visit her husband in a far away hospital. Both Mrs. Carmona and Mrs. Burgos get various charitable and social work services from a Catholic social agency in the area. The Santos often have transportation problems to attend Sunday services in the Catholic church.

In a recent newspaper report C. Speranza[14] has interviewed mostly Latin Catholic lay leaders in the Islip area and in Suffolk County. Most of these leaders have been on the mainland longer than the migrant families under study. The following quotations express their expectations of the Cathōlic Church in the area, their frustrations for having

found the response well below their expectations, and their satisfaction with the current improvement of the situation at least in the parishes with large numbers of Spanish-speaking Catholics:

> Spanish-speaking Catholics need someone at the rectory they can turn to during the week as well as on Sunday . . . Simply, they say they need the daily services of a priest they can talk to whenever they feel the need.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Their respect for the clergy amounts almost to reverence, and to practising Spanish-speaking Catholics, the priest is much more than just an administrator of the sacraments. He is a friend, comforter and counselor --someone who shares their sorrow and their joy.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> But even more important, they say they yearn for priests who do not only speak Spanish, but who understand and sincerely respect their culture as well.
>
> 'Many people in the Church have sympathy, even sensitivity for us, but no real understanding,' says Mrs. Padilla. 'They have a patronizing attitude . . . They really feel that you're not their equal. They talk to you like a child' . . .
>
> Next to the need for more Spanish-speaking priests to work full time among Spanish-speaking Catholics, Hispanics most often mention the need for home visiting and religious education programs in Spanish for adults . . . .Someone from the Church, they insist, must reach out to the hundreds of Spanish-speaking Catholics who are too shy or too lacking in transportation to approach the parish themselves.[15]

Quite a few Spanish-speaking Catholics are reported as

feeling at home in their parishes. This happens mostly in parishes with heavy Spanish-speaking population that have been ministering their special needs for quite some time. Leading lay leaders of these parishes, however, remember having been treated for a long time "as second-class citizens."[16]

To sum up, Catholic Puerto Ricans, especially those in the Islip area moderately practising their faith, look at the American Catholic Church, first, as an agency able to dispense to them the same religious rites they used to receive in Puerto Rico at certain crucial moments in the life cycle such as birth, age of reason, adolescence, maturity, severe illness, and death; second, as a charitable agency that succors the needy and helps him in bureaucratic dealings with the public social agencies; third, as a social club of well-meaning middle-class Americans who enjoy organizing various social events; finally as a "business" thereby meaning a bureaucratic organization managing a variety of fund raising operations like bingo, dances, fashion shows, etc. These operations are seen as intended to support the Parish school, which is almost exclusively attended by non-Latin American children, and various charitable activities.

The Machucas and the Ruiz are fervent Pentecostals, except for Mr. Ruiz who is a non-practising Catholic whose positive appraisal of the Pentecostal church in the Islip

area has been reported above. The Machucas have developed strong friendships in their Pentecostal church. They visit their pastor and their pastor sometimes spends the whole evening with them at their home. The consequential element of their religious commitment seems pretty much in evidence in that religious convictions partly helped to avoid a marriage breakup a few years ago. Gladys Ruiz is a 17 years old girl who is a faithful Pentecostal. She enjoys going to church with her mother:

> I have all my trust in the Bible. Like the Ten Commandments. I follow them. When I have problems, I talk to God. If I can't get rid of the problem, I tell it to my girl friend or my mother.

Her mother says: "Pentecostal ministers are supposed to make one thousand home visits per year." She says she pays the tithes, a tenth of their family income to her Pentecostal church:

> I do not think of that, but of the health God gives me the whole week. The members in full communion pay the tithes, except for those on welfare. Last Sunday 237 people attended the services and more than one hundred dollars were collected. A body of officers and deacons decides with the minister whether a person is or not a member in full communion. Immoral people stop their bad actions. Even if it is not from heart, they change in order not to give the brothers occasion to reprimand him. It is very good to have a person telling you when you do wrong.

A fervent Catholic lay leader and a long-time resi-

dent of the community stresses the strong points of the Pentecostal churches as partly deriving from the autonomy of their all-Latin congregations, each with its own chapel:

> Pentecostals are like a family. They know each other, they help each other. It is true that they are few, but they collect much more money than we Catholics do. The Latins do not feel that they belong as a part of the Catholic community and this is why they don't contribute. The Latins do not resign themselves to a religion that consists just in going on Sundays to mass like the Americans do.

Latin Pentecostal and some Baptist churches are spreading all over the Islip area. Along two of the most important avenues are at least six new chapels with about two hundred members most of whom were former nominal Catholics. These churches stress Bible study, spontaneous prayer, worship. Religious services are held every evening for the different age and sex groups. On Sundays each devout member is expected to attend a morning and an evening service. Lay participation of the members in full communion is high. A body of elected officials cooperate with the minister in the government of the church and in the religious teaching. Some of these laymen receive an intensive training for three years in a nearby Biblical Institute which schedules two evening sessions per week. In some of the services laymen stand up to read Bible passages,

give witness about their religious experiences, and sing. Song and spontaneous prayer evoke enthusiastic participation. Latin beat gives a proper musical background, vibrant and sometimes even thunderous.

Fitzpatrick says that association with sects seems to be a first generation phenomenon in the city. He grounds his conclusion on his study on types of religious ceremony among first and second generation Puerto Rican marriages, and on a study by Poblete and O'Dea focusing on the quest for community by first generation Puerto Ricans.[17] It seems highly questionable that such finding concerning New York City Puerto Ricans would hold for the suburban Islip Puerto Ricans. There seems to be, by contrast, a growing second generation membership in the Pentecostal churches of the Islip area. These all-Latin churches seem to provide a more adequate environment than the almost all-American Catholic churches. They function as a cultural bridge between the Island and the mainland and thereby preserve the feeling of belonging. The quest for community may well also be a second generation phenomenon under conditions to be specified. Autonomy, zeal, and lay participation[18] seem to be among the major factors underlying the vitality of these churches. Autonomy spurs self-reliance and growth. The Pentecostal fervor grows even more intense through

the joint effort to build up their own modest chapels entirely at their own expense. But the major factor accounting for their success is "personalized institutional welcome" they offer to the Latin population: they reach out to them in their own homes, they offer them the opportunity to learn their roles of active Christians, and responsible parents and citizens through the Church's heavy stress on thrift, sober and even puritanical living, and to gain emotional support through the familiar atmosphere provided by ministers, officers, and brothers.

The "cursillistas"

Both spouses in one of the Catholic families in the study group are "cursillistas." Another couple mentions having been helped by a "cursillista" (who has been on the mainland for longer than twenty years) to prepare one of their children to make his first communion. The "cursillista" couple in the study group alludes to their activity in helping newly arrived immigrants in their dealings with the institutions of the host society.

The "cursillistas de Cristiandad" are a relatively large group of committed Catholic laymen in the area. They go through an intense group religious experience and receive a meager doctrinal training in a three-day "cursillo" (short course) held in a retreat house in the city, and, then, attend

weekly meetings in their local church. In these meetings the emphasis is on individual religious experience while a more thorough theological and biblical training and a focus on social action are often neglected. This group of active Catholic laymen act to a certain extent as bridge-men or intermediaries between the too formal, bureaucratic structures of the American Catholic Church and the Latin Catholic membership by providing in some cases a sort of personal, informal welcome to the newcomers, thus making up for the absence of a "personalized institutional welcome" on the part of the English-speaking clergy and parishioners. They represent an element of allegiance to the established Church; however, they are starting to develop a more critical attitude toward it. They want a greater degree of acceptance and larger role for the Spanish-speaking membership within the parish. In a specific way they are requesting the Diocese to invite more Spanish-speaking priests to Long Island.

They regard the number of those now working for the Spanish-speaking population on Long Island and in a specific way in Islip as quite inadequate to meet both the needs of the general Catholic membership and the needs of the "cursillistas," to further their religious training and to obtain guidance in their role of lay leaders of the Catholic Spanish-speaking community.[19]

The social consequences of religious alientation

Fitzpatrick[20] says that a strong identity and group solidarity is the best way to promote cultural and religious assimilation. The weakening of the bonds of the migrant community and the disintegration of its culture attending a forced integration bring about migrant life's disorganization whereby assimilation is ultimately retarded or even prevented by a permanent marginalization of the disorganized ethnic group. A church policy oriented to stress migrant group solidarity could have made, for instance, important contributions toward alleviating the severe impact of the drug problem upon the Puerto Rican youth not only in the City but also on Long Island. The conclusion of this researcher's intense participant observation is that church policy instead is oriented to pressure assimilation by ignoring the cultural characteristics of the Latin population.

The sociocultural consequences of the present alienation of large sectors of the Catholic Puerto Ricans from their church of origin and also from any other church --since only an important minority seem to have shifted over to the Pentecostal churches-- could be summarized as follows. These Puerto Ricans have been driven by their human world-building tendency as a collectivity to search for legitimations[21] other

than religious of their present life experiences and of the social order within which they live them on the mainland. As a consequence, they are taking up those legitimations from the all-pervasive American middle-class culture. "Significant others" for them are not only the members of the modified extended family and the friends, but also television portrayals of American families, the American factory boss, the Latin bilingual teacher, the social worker, the car mechanic, the TV and movie stars, the popular singers, the baseball pros, etc. Only the religious professionals, at least the Catholic priests, seem to be conspicuously absent. Religious legitimations, rather than being applied to everyday life, are just confined to a few moments in the life cycle that social custom still finds convenient to ritualize because no adequate legitimating substitutes to deal with the stunning significance of these moments have yet been found.

SUMMARY

Except for one case of "conversion" from nominal Catholicism to fervent Pentecostalism, there is a general decline in church-related activity among the migrant families. It seems that the families with deeper religious commitment moved from rural areas and that the families with lower degree of religious practice moved from highly urbanized areas

or rural areas adjacent metropolitan centers. All the parents in the families of orientation were at least nominal Catholics.

Some parents value religion as a source of moral behavior. Some parents express convictions and sentiments of complete submission to the will of God and trust in God, which can be regarded as indicators of a deep religious experience.

Loyalty to the organization of the Catholic Church on the mainland seems to be rather weak when measured by the frequency of participation in religious rites (sacraments), the extent of participation in church organizations, the level of financial contribution, the acquaintance with the priests and sisters, the enrollment of children in the Parish Schools, etc. which are the standards often mentioned by priests and by the average American believer. This low organizational loyalty is expressed in a feeling of mutual estrangement which can be explained in terms of the divergent characteristics of the Latin American and North American brands of Roman Catholicism, in terms of the ethnic and social class differences working toward the segregation of Puerto Ricans from mainstream Americans, and in terms of the church administrative policy regarding the pastoral care of the Latin Catholics on Long Island. Unlike other ethnic groups, Latin Catholics are not encouraged to keep alive during a period of transition their own religious traditions which would also result in group

solidarity and ease the stress of adaptation to the mainland society. Their religious needs of a different kind from those of the mainstream American Catholics are not met. Accordingly they are placed in a second-rank situation as shown, among other indicators by their having few priests (and these few working only on a part-time basis for them), by their minimal representation in the Parish Schools' enrollment when the school is the main parish operation as far as personnel and resources are concerned.

Puerto Ricans look at the Catholic Church on the mainland, first, as an agency able to dispense to them the same religious rites they used to receive in Puerto Rico at certain crucial moments in the life cycle; second, as a charitable agency that succors the needy and helps him in bureaucratic dealings with the public social agencies; third, as a social club of well-meaning middle-class Americans who enjoy organizing various social events; finally, as a "business" thereby meaning a bureaucratic organization managing a variety of fund raising operations like bingo, dances, fashion shows, etc. These operations are seen as intended to support the Parish school and various charitable activities.

Many Puerto Ricans asking for religious rites are unaware of the basic tenets of their religious denomination. They look at these rites more as signs that strengthen their

feelings of belonging and loyalty to their own family and folk than as signs of loyalty to an impersonal organization, the Church. While it was easy for them to identify the social base or "plausibility structure" of their beliefs back in Puerto Rico with their village or even with the Island's society, they find the social base of the American Catholic Church on the mainland elusive and foreign.

The three Spanish-speaking priests in the area, two of them Americans, minister both the American and the Latin Catholics, so that the more than ten thousand Latin Catholics in the township of Islip seldom have the chance to receive their home visits and still less to develop a familiar relationship with them. As a result, priests are seldom "significant others" for the migrant families. Most of the contacts with the priests are related to the preparation for the reception of a religious rite, to the request for material help, and to the request for guidance in conjugal problems.

Most of the practising Latin Catholics attend religious services in Spanish. Migrant Puerto Rican families, who arrived in the last fifteen years in the mainland, seem to require most of the charities and social services provided by a storefront and other Catholic organizations in the area. Some perceptive Catholics in the area point to the growing influence of the numerous Pentecostal and other Protestant

all-Latin churches, to the frequent home visits of the Pentecostal ministers, and to the generous financial contributions of the faithful members. There seems to be a growing second generation membership in the Pentecostal churches of the Islip area in contrast with the alleged first generation character of the phenomenon of the sects in New York City.

FOOTNOTES : CHAPTER XII

1. This chapter is based on data collected from the families interviews, from interviews with ten priests and ministers and three religious sisters in the Islip area, and from intense participation observation by the author in the Islip area and in some Nassau communities with substantial numbers of Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking migrants.

2. Emile Pin, "La religion y el transito de una civilizacion pre-industrial a una civilizacion industrial", in Herve Carrier y Emile Pin, Ensayos de Sociologia Religiosa (Madrid: Fomento Social, 1969), 126-145, at 128-132.

   See also Nelson and Clews' (1973) recent confirmation for Britain of the relation between geographical mobility and decline in church attendance. The differential commitment of the individual --in Britain to the local church and in the United States to a national religious community--is proposed to explain the contrasting patterns of migrant religious behavior in these two countries.

3. G. K. Nelson and R. A. Clews, "Geographical mobility and religious behavior", Sociological Review (new series), 21, Febr. 1973, 127-135.

4. In the second conception God is thought of as a Spirit, different from the world and outside the world, and only accessible through a flight from the world. In the third conception, God is regarded as a saving Will, namely as a Will to transform men and sharing with them a divine life and a will to build a new society grounded on love. (E Pin, "La religion y el transito . . .", 133-134).

5. See Pin, Ibid., 135-137. Church institutionalization -- we translate and summarize Pin's ideas-- can become dysfunctional insofar as attention focuses on religious observances rather than on the motivations and values underlying them. Institutionalization is defined as the process whereby a group adopts clearly defined rules, juridically recognized by the group members and verifiable by external criteria (Ibid., 143).

The continuation of religious observances in the passage from the traditional to the industrial society depends on the type of religious motivation maintaining such observances. The cosmological or biological religious motivations are the first ones in the history of mankind. The divinity's function is to provide an answer to the daily needs of the suppliants rather than to transform their moral existence. Traditional peasants have often this type of religious motivations which assume the first vision of God's presence in the world mentioned above. Pin terms this attitude "rural providentialism". Religions of eternal salvation provide an answer to men's anguish over their existence in the hereafter, the corresponding motivation coming in the history of the individual after the technical experience. The mystical motivation consists in the individual's readiness to do God's will, no matter how difficult the emprical verification of such motivation might be. The spontaneous or popular cultural motivation predominates in the pre-industrial societies where the custom imposes religious observances on the group members. The group considers the ritual content of the religious ceremonies less important than the fidelity to the custom itself in which the group continuity finds expression. The conscious cultural or socio-cultural motivation is that of those persons who see in religion an integrating institution of society and, therefore, a guarantee of the status quo. The individual's socio-religious motivation consists in the will to subject himself to the ordinances of a religious group different from the global society. Whereas some motivations like the cosmological or biological and popular cultural supporting the religious activities in the traditional society weaken in the passage to an industrial and technical society, other religious motivations like the motivation of eternal salvation, and the conscious cultural are more likely to survive, and the mystical and socio-religious motivations, seem invulnerable to socio-cultural change. The mystical motivation assumes the third vision of God's presence in the world mentioned above. (Emile Pin, "Las motivaciones religiosas y el transito de una sociedad pre-industrial a una sociedad industrial y tecnica", in Herve Carrier y Emile Pin, Ibid., 147-163).

6. Silvano M. Tomasi, "Assimilation and Religion: The Role of the Italian Ethnic Church in the New York Metropolitan Area, 1880-1930" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University, 1972), 445.

7. Sidney W. Mintz, "Puerto Rico: An Essay in the Definition of National Culture", in F. Cordasco and E. Bucchioni, eds., The Puerto Rican Experience (Totowa, N. J.: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1973), 79, reprinted from Status of Puerto Rico: Selected Background Studies for the United States-Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966, 380-434.

8. Julian H. Steward, ed., The People of Puerto Rico (Urbana-Champaigne, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 475.

9. Ibid., 216.

10. Ibid., 475-476.

11. Edward M. Baselga, "Cultural Change and Protestantism in Puerto Rico. 1945-1966" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1971), 298, 300.
    Baselga points, however, to the complexity of the phenomenon which invites further research: "If change in religion requires a cultural change, not any change of culture must imply a change in religion. In fact, the Catholic Church with better chances in the rural-farming than in the urban-industrial Municipios of Puerto Rico, shows a progressive trend in four of the five major cities of the Island. Is this fact suggesting that there are other major factors not included in this study, such as the charisma, or the internal dynamics of the Church, that can explain this unexpected phenomenon? Or is it implying that after a period of adaptation, the cultural change does not affect any more the religious attitude of the Catholics?" (Baselga, 298, 300).

12. Glock and Stark distinguish five dimensions in the religious commitment, namely ideological (faith), practical or ritualistic, experiential, intellectual, and consequential (effects of the religious adhesion).
    The available evidence in this study points to the existence of mystical, spontaneous or popular cultural, eternal salvation and socio-cultural religious motivations in that order of importance. Some traces of cosmological and socio religious motivations are also

12. discernible.

The weakness of the socioreligious motivation corresponds with what appears to be the major factor of the migrants' relative alienation from the Churches, namely the lack of identification with the established American suburban parishes. As Carrier says, in order that the faithful might feel themselves as members of the church, they need first a minimum of interaction with the religious group; they should identify themselves with the group to a certain extent; and they must feel that they are considered true members by the group (translated from Herve Carrier, "Psico-sociologia del vinculo de pertenancia a la Iglesia", in Herve Carrier y Emile Pin, Ibid., 197-215, at 209).

13. Ivan Vallier writes: "A missionary emphasis implies outreach --going to the people, making contact with them, teaching the faith and persuading them to join a religious fellowship" (Catholicism, Social Control and Modernization in Latin America, [Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970], 48).

14. Carol Speranza, "Long Island Spanish Catholics seek spiritual care", The Long Island Catholic, July 11, 1974, p. 5.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Renato Poblete and Thomas F. O'Dea, "Anomie and the Quest for Community: The Formation of Sects among Puerto Ricans in New York", American Catholic Sociological Review, 21 (Spring 1960), 18-36.

18. What I. Vallier (1970) says about the Latin American Catholics in contrast with Latin American Pentecostals -- "for more than four centuries, the 'ordinary member' was overlooked as a religious system resource" (p. 59) -- seems also to hold today for the Puerto Rican Catholics in Islip with the exception of the "cursillistas" to a limited extent.

19. Since the field work was completed the pastoral care of the Catholic Spanish-speaking population in the area has considerably improved through the work of a newly arrived Spanish-speaking priest. It shows in the greater Latin attendance at worship, in the higher Latin participation in the board of trustees of a church run social agency serving the area, in the strengthening of the Cursillo movement and, in a specific way, in the more intense involvement of the "cursillistas" in community affairs.

20. Fitzpatrick, Puerto Rican Americans, 22-43.

21. "Socialization seeks to ensure a continuing consensus concerning the most important features of the social world. Social control seeks to contain individual or group resistance within tolerable limits . . . . Legitimation is . . . . socially objectivated "knowledge" that serves to explain and justify the social order . . . . Most legitimation is pretheoretical in character." (Peter L. Berger, 1969, pp. 29-30).

CHAPTER XIII

SOCIOECONOMIC AND SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE

Introduction

This chapter focuses on selected types of changes that the migrant family experiences over time on the mainland. Some of these changes affect the increasing ability of the migrant to perform new and redefined roles in the host society. Available research data reveal ongoing processes of family change in economic conditions, patterns of behavior, attitudes, expectations, aspirations and value orientations resulting in or going along with feelings of satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction both with the transformed family relationships and with the new social environment. The implications which these changes may have for the reconceptualization of the term adaptation and for the ways in which the concept of adaptation may be similar to or different from the concept of assimilation, will be discussed in the next chapter.

Economic improvement

Eva E. Sandis has written: "Whereas occupationally, first generation Puerto Rican migrants in the United States

appear to exhibit more downward than upward mobility, their earnings in the United States appear to increase substantially."[1]

Both adult and young migrants in the present study group point to their remarkable improvement on the mainland upon their prior economic situation in Puerto Rico. They mention the conveniences and comforts they often enjoy for the first time in their lives. "Clara and Felipe had no shoes. Having a shirt or pants was something. Now I have not much, but I have. And my children, when they go out, they are well dressed" (Mrs. Arroyo). "Children have here a more comfortable life. They have not to load firewood, carry water, etc. ... Food is here better and more varied" (Mrs. Santos).

Among the many advantages they have found on the mainland, they mention more abundant and better paid jobs, better homes, more money, better health care, several television sets in the home, welfare payments, one or more cars, chances to save and thus to return to Puerto Rico, etc. They consider it the Government's responsibility to help migrants and poor people.

In appreciating their present relative comfort, the migrants recall the hardships they went through in Puerto Rico. Their own families of orientation were large sized and poor.[2] When the size of the mostly young families in the study group kept increasing, the mere maintenance of the same standard of living made the migration desirable if not

necessary. The migrants, therefore, feel moderately satisfied with their attainments. The attainments seem roughly to correspond to their level of expectations in coming. A progressive improvement of their living conditions just upon arrival seems to have generally taken place. The Romanos, for instance, first rented a basement; four years after their arrival they rented a house. Similar improvements in housing can be noted in the other families as the following comments indicate:

"I have my own home to pay in twenty-five years. I am also indebted with my car. I had here my first car" (Felix Garcia).

"In Puerto Rico I had no furniture, not even chairs. We had a house of wood and zinc, that belonged to an uncle of my husband. The only beautiful thing was the garden" (Mrs. Garcia).

The Machucas own their house, two cars, three television sets and all sorts of domestic appliances. Mr. Machuca says: "In five years in this country I think I have accomplished more than others do in fifteen years."[3]

The rise in wages helps to accelerate family satisfaction with the community often via the acquisition of a home, no matter how poor it may be. In contrast with this moderate satisfaction with life on the mainland, the migrants point to the need "to stretch the dollar", that is, to the financial strain due both to rising aspirations and to the rampant rate of inflation of the preceding years that has

blocked their fulfillment. "After being so many years in this country, I don't have any luxury because I live from my work", says Mrs. Rolon. Four out of the ten families in the study group own their own homes. The Romanos are saving to build their home in Puerto Rico. Mr. Machuca says he is also making some savings to be able to face eventual family problems. In almost every case, however, bedrooms are shared by at least two family members. Large sized families have to economize as much as they can in food, clothes, etc.

"In the first years my husband's wages were so low that we could not make ends meet, and we had to resort to the welfare" (Mrs. Cabrera). "Here in Islip the rent is very high, and there are a lot of bills to pay. It is a good place to bring up the children, though. There are many expenses, and it is too hard when just a single parent is working for a living" (Mrs. Santiago). "If I had the money, first I would buy for my children what they need; with the rest I would go browsing in the stores...I would like to make a trip to Puerto Rico" (Mrs. Burgos). "The cost of living is here much higher than in Puerto Rico." (Mrs. Martinez). Only very few migrants have trouble in finding work. If the economic situation is bad on the mainland, however, they then return to Puerto Rico. Mr. Rolon mentions a relative who returned to Puerto Rico after six months of fruitless search for a job.

The migrants are aware of the fact that the standard of living that prevails in their native island now is higher

than that which prevailed at the time of their migration, or when they were growing up in Puerto Rico: "When I was growing up, a refrigerator was considered a luxury", says Mrs. Rolon.

It seems to take at least five years for the migrant families to feel considerably better off than they were in Puerto Rico. The employment of both parents is seen necessary if savings are to be had with several children in the family.

Social mobility

In spite of their much improved economic position, migrants are also aware of their unchanged and sometimes lowered occupational and social position on the mainland. If intimate association is taken as an indicator of one's position in the social structure, then the migrants scarcely have been socially mobile so far; they maintain similar relationships and intimately associate with people of about the same social position as those with whom they used to associate in Puerto Rico.[4] Diminished participation in community organizations seems to be another factor accounting for the lack of upward mobility. The fact of taking up a job and withdrawing from welfare was considered by one of the informants (Mrs. Rolon) a sure indicator of her having reached a higher social position. Mrs. Santiago also thinks that her family has gone up socially "a little bit": "At least over here one can live like almost everybody else." Such a remark perhaps can be best interpreted when one takes into account

the widespread diffusion of middle-class status symbols in the mainland society, certainly much wider than it was in the Puerto Rico Mrs. Santiago left behind twenty years ago. Also, the perception that a lower-middle class member of the Puerto Rican subculture can obtain of the American class structure is very limited.[5]

Two of the husbands, Mr. Rolon and Mr. Machuca, feel that they have socially descended because they associated in Puerto Rico with people in higher social position, in accordance with their own former higher occupational level, than they do over here. Long working hours, attention to the children ("Children take time", says Mr. Rolon), and economic worries make it extremely difficult for many migrants to take evening courses as a way of gaining occupational mobility. Mr. Rolon, however, is always reading newspaper ads about vocational training courses. Mr. Lopez would like to become a car mechanic. But his English is poor and he does not see any chance for occupational advancement in his work.

Only the Romanos and Mr. Machuca have a middle-class background. From the families in the study group only the Machucas and the Rolons approximate the standard of living of the American middle-class. As the family life histories and the chapter on kin family network show, in neither case does this higher standard of living imply upward occupational mobility. Mr. Machuca and Mr. Rolon have, in fact, socially descended. Therefore, on this count no weakening of kinship solidarity can be expected in these three families as a con-

sequence of their economic improvement. Only that occupational mobility which includes "transformation of identity" -- like the one taking place between working or farm class and middle class -- has been found to effect such a weakening of kinship ties. The resocialization entailed by the process of adjustment is still in its beginning and is further moderated by the fact that, in the case of the Rolons and the Machucas, these families had been long exposed to urban industrial life in Puerto Rico. The Romano family's plans of temporary migration and short-term return to Puerto Rico obviously run counter to any eventual transformation of identity.[6]

Since the kin family network lacks the resources to improve the social status of the members of the nuclear families, it seems that the attitude of the Puerto Rican family toward the social mobility of its members approaches nearer to the individualistic American pattern of self-advancement than to the "family advancement" pattern of the Italian migrants from the first decades of the century. Those families were still enmeshed in the classical ethnic extended kin.[7]

Satisfaction and dissatisfaction

Besides improved work conditions and consequent rise in family income, which sometimes allows for buying a home, the migrants mention several other grounds for satisfaction with the new environment like the seasonal changes of climate, the quietness of the community, the advantages of being a United States citizen when looking for a job, the opportunities for the children in the educational and occupational

areas, the chances to play various sports, etc.

Some of the sources of dissatisfaction and frustration expressed by the migrants are internal to the family like the Arroyo's marriage breakdown. Such a family disruption affects the relationships of its members with the larger society and is also conducive to the displacement or projection of the family based frustration on the definitions of the situations concerning aspects of the larger society. Households with a single parent do less well in performing their instrumental, expressive, and instrumental-expressive functions.[8] Other sources of dissatisfaction and nostalgia are the absence of some or all the members of the "modified extended family," the pace of life ("I don't like it over here; life is too much of a hustle," says Mrs. Arroyo), poor or discriminatory work conditions (Mrs. Arroyo, Mrs. Fuentes), a dangerous neighborhood (Mrs. Arroyo), unconcerned attitude of her fellow Puerto Ricans and consequent isolation (Mrs. Burgos), temporary unemployment and isolation related to his lack of transportation, not being able to satisfy the aspirations of his family (Mr. Santos), etc.

According to a study of the satisfaction of migrants in Bogota, Colombia, with their personal living conditions,[9] those showing higher dissatisfaction are the ones with a slightly higher income and social situation than the other migrants. The reason is that they have higher standards partly because of their better living conditions, and partly

because they have the urban middle classes as reference groups. Such a finding does not seem to apply to the families in the present study proup because the Puerto Rican migrants have not been on the mainland long enough to become but minimally integrated into the host society. The Rolons and the Machucas are relatively satisfied with their attainments, which have placed them in the middle class, even if they aspire to do even better in the future. It seems that the migrants' reference groups are primarily their fellow Puerto Ricans, namely those of a similar socioeconomic status left behind in the Island, those who arrived in the mainland at different points in time -- in a special way those who are just a rung higher on the social ladder whose achievements the migrants are more likely to imitate in the near future --, and those who made it and returned to Puerto Rico.

"In five years in this country I think I have accomplished more than others do in fifteen years" (Mr. Machuca).

"The people I esteemed the most have returned to Puerto Rico ... Almost all of them have built up a home in Puerto Rico and have gone there" (Mrs. Arroyo).

Most of the migrants expect to satisfy in a moderate degree their aspirations, if not the highest, namely that of building a house in Puerto Rico and finding there a decent job, at least that of living on the mainland with a relative comfort and better occupational and educational chances for their children. No trace of disruptive conduct and political radicalism can be found in these migrants. They are satisfied

with their moderate achievements and also have other outlets for their frustrations, mainly the "modified extended kin" interaction and support.[10] Such a satisfaction, however, is also accompanied by some degree of grumbling about a variety of unpleasant circumstances. Mrs. Arroyo's and Mrs. Fuentes' complaints about their low wages seem to reflect the exploitative and discriminatory practices of some firms toward the unskilled labor. Mr. Cabrera's complaints about not being paid his worth for his skilled and responsible work as a foreman could rather be interpreted in terms of his longer urban experience and consequent self-assessed higher social status.[11]

The migrants do not feel either that status differences have increased or hardened.[12] On the contrary, the status symbols of the middle class have become widespread among the lower-middle class and working-class, and there is awareness of the fact that Dominicans and many illegal aliens are placed lower than the Puerto Ricans, namely at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder.[13]

Aspirations

The migrant families aspire to own a home, to make improvement in the home they own, to buy a better home, to build or buy a home in Puerto Rico, to have a car, to have a brand new car in order to avoid costly repairs, to have more appliances and comfort in the home, to have more and better clothes, to have a television console, etc.

Higher wages seem further to raise aspirations and expectations, as the Machuca and the Rolon cases show, and, thus, to spur the search for more rewarding jobs and even for independent work or small business undertaking.[14]

Parents aspire to provide their children's future with as much security as possible, like leaving them a home, so that they can have a more comfortable life. The parents' aspiration to live in Puerto Rico and to reunite with the members of the extended family living there, is conditioned by the achievement of a moderately comfortable economic position, which would include the ownership of a home. When parents and brothers live on the mainland, however, the aspiration is rather to please and take care of them.

Many migrants also express the wish for traveling to foreign countries, although they seldom expect ever to be able to do so.

Out of religious convictions and maybe out of a sober appraisal of their chances, some parents aspire to have just the necessary means to bring up their children, and say they are not anxious to have much money.

Some of the parents would like to speak English not only to increase their occupational chances, but also, a few of them say, in order to have American friends (Mrs. Santos, Mrs. Cabrera, Mrs. Rolon). They do not find the time, however, to attend any courses because of the long working hours either at the factory or at home. Mrs. Rolon likes to speak English with her children. Most of the children, however, speak English among themselves and Spanish to their parents.

Some of the younger migrant parents do not cast aside their occupational aspirations from their early years. Since their expectations to fulfill them are very low, they would like to see their children carry them out, and thus derive

a vicarious gratification through identification with their children's achievement. It is pretty generally the aspiration to get the children to have professional occupations:

"I would like that Felipe would study, so that he does not have to go to the factory, that is brute work. Working in a factory one earns a paltry nothing" (Mrs. Arroyo).

Earning good wages allows some families to sacrifice immediate gratifications and to invest in the part-time or full-time college study of a child. Mrs. Rolon has opened a special savings account with the view of putting her daughter Nora (12 years old) through college. Mr. Machuca would like to have his children become professionals and Jose Machuca (9) says he intends to go to college. "I tell them", Mr. Machuca says, "to study and take advantage of the opportunity. I am ready to work as much as I can to have them study so that they can live more comfortably." Sometimes children are expected, however, to help the parents once they start working at least by buying their own "shoes and clothes" (Mrs. Garcia). Mr. Garcia would like to get some Government assistance to put his children through College.

Some youngsters aspire just to finish High School and to start working in a factory so as to enjoy greater freedom and keep more in touch with their peers. Some others would like to study and have money "to do whatever I want to do" (Raquel Fuentes). Having a lot of fun, not having to assume responsibilities, getting a well-paid job are aspirations reflecting assimilation of the values of the American youth subculture. Finally, some others would like to learn a trade.

Children aspire to have a bike, a pet, a new pair of sneakers, a car, a horse, an individual television set, a swimming pool, a big house, a home in Puerto Rico, a trip to Puerto Rico to play in the countryside, etc. They would like to be rich, to become sport pros, a storekeeper, a service station man, a fireman, a detective, a social worker, etc. They would like to go to college, in accordance with parental wishes, or just to work in the same factory as their parents do. Both youngsters and children have a fascination with professional sports and car mechanics.[15]

Once the rise in aspirations is established, it remains to bring up some information regarding the children's educational chances. R. Greenspan[16] reports in a study carried out in one of the High Schools of the Islip area that 31.6% of the Spanish Surnamed Americans in contrast to 20.8% of the others planned to enter 2 year college, and 19.7% of the Spanish Surnamed Americans in contrast to 13.9% of the others planned to enter 4 year college. The data derive from the June 1970 graduating class. The scholastic averages of the Spanish Surnamed Americans, however, were significantly lower and "the fact that only 8% of the graduating class were Spanish Surnamed Americans -- compared to a total high school Spanish Surnamed American ethnicity of 13.4% -- reflects the higher drop out rate of the Spanish Surnamed Americans. The high school Spanish Surnamed American drop out rate in the same school year was 16%, in contrast to 11% for others." These data seem to indicate that the aspirations of the

Spanish Surnamed Americans regarding college study exceed their actual chances of academic success but reflect their parents' aspirations for intergenerational mobility, leaving aside the families' actual capability to put the children through college.

Expectations

Mrs. Arroyo is one of the three mothers of "attenuated" households maintaining the lowest expectations in the group. She thinks that under the present circumstances only a lottery prize would make it possible for her to build a home in Puerto Rico as most of her friends have already done. Mrs. Carmona and Mrs. Burgos, running the household in the absence of the father, feel hopelessly caught in the welfare net.

The other migrant families in the group tend to be moderately optimistic in the evaluation of their chances to fulfill their aspirations. Parents mostly expect just economic, not occupational advancement in their jobs. They believe that poor people can prove themselves by their own efforts, and get their children to become professionals provided that they show interest and talent. However, Mrs. Burgos says: "When you are on welfare, you lose hope of satisfying your aspirations of work, housing, etc." Most of the adults entrust to God both their expectations for improvement in the economic situation of the family and their hope for the social mobility of their children. They further qualify their wishes with their expression of their submission to the will of God.

"I have known many poor families in the city in Puerto

Rico that improved themselves and got their children scholarships in the University" (Mrs. Rolon).

"I think my children will have a better life than they have now. If they try to study and to work... If they know how to think of what they are going to do... Because... if the kids take a bad friend...alas! I trust in Christ that everything will be O.K." (Mrs. Santos).

The moderate optimism with which the parents look to the future is founded on their appreciation of the educational chances and on their decision to struggle and work hard so as to be able to help their children to study for as long as they can afford and as long as their children show interest in it.

"Nora says she is going to try hard, hard to get a scholarship to study. I have opened a savings account for her" (Mrs. Rolon).

"I tell them to study and take advantage of the opportunity. I am ready to work as much as I can to help them to study so that in the future they may have a more comfortable life" (Mr. Machuca).

Continuity and change in value-orientations

Abundant evidence shows that Gans'[17] emphasis on the divergence between aspirations and behavioral norms among the poor, as a result of the lack of opportunity, does not fully apply to any family in the present study group, not even to those receiving some welfare assistance. These welfare clients also work, unless they have babies to take care

of (Mrs. Carmona, Mrs. Burgos). The fact of having large sized families -- a practice of the traditional Puerto Rican culture -- and/or receiving bare survival checks, makes unlikely any saving in order to ensure the fulfillment of their aspirations.

There seem to be at work in the Islip families two value axes structuring most of the family interaction and thinking, first, "family group oriented personalism" that is, a form of individualism stressing the inner worth of the person as well as his concern about his "modified extended family," and, second, "self improvement and achievement drive." Although both axes could ideally reinforce each other, the duality reflects the cultural contrast and tension between the values of the post-industrial society and those embedded in the still partly tradition oriented Puerto Rican family. The interweaving of "personalism" and "familism" is evident in the parents' role expectations of the teachers. These expectations somehow parallel parental role expectations in the Puerto Rican society, including a deep concern for the individual which demands wholehearted dedication. School is seen as an extension of the family home. The family is the model after which all other relationships are patterned. They should include, therefore, "respeto", care, "humildad", etc. Raquel Fuentes says she loves her girl friend like a sister. Mrs. Garcia likes a lady friend "more than her own family". In default of close relatives, Mr. Lopez and Mrs. Cabrera were brought up by family friends.[18]

Although Jane Collier thinks that the Puerto Rican national culture is more "individual" - than "group-oriented," she points to the evidence that mutual aid prevails among the lower classes whereas the middle and upper classes are more individualistic.[19] The families in the study group are lower and lower-middle class with the exception of the Machucas and the Rolons. Modified extended family members, first, and, then, neighbors and other fellow Puerto Ricans practice widely all sorts of mutual aid as was evident in the chapter "First Links and Steps in the Path of Adaptation", in the chapter "Migrant kin family network", and in the family as a unit portraits.

"One could help (the needy) more in Puerto Rico than over here. I used to wash their clothes and roast their coffee" (Mrs. Santos).

"When I do not work, helping a fellow man makes me happy" (Mrs. Rolon).

"Anyone who appreciates me and the one who needs me are important for me... I pick families up, and take them to the church and to social agencies" (Mrs. Cabrera).

"Sometimes I help my friends in their garages over the weekend" (Mr. Cabrera).

"If I had money I would help many needy people. I have always been detached from money. Some people would say that I talk like that because I have no money. But I would be the same" (Mrs. Machuca).

"I have made here the acquaintance of three or four

Puerto Rican ladies for whom I have great regard. I have met them either because their husbands work with my husband or because we are neighbors. If they need anything I have...the same as if I need something from them. ... I would like to be able to help the poor, the church,... [But she has small children and no transportation]"(Mrs. Santos).

"I find the people there (in Puerto Rico) better than over here. They relate more to each other. Here people do not care for anyone else but for themselves. And that is not good" (Raquel Fuentes).

"They (the American workmates) do not get along either with us or among themselves. If someone needs a part they do not share it. There is no comradeship. We are left out of everything. The hispanos help each other more in the factory" (Mrs. Fuentes).

Mr. Machuca, however, speaking from a middle class perspective, thinks that an "individual" orientation prevails already in Puerto Rico:

"Puerto Rico has almost lost already the Spanish culture. The neighbor is not concerned any longer about helping his neighbor. It is almost like in New York City. Formerly one used to send a piece of meat to the neighbor. Now not any more. Now everything is self-interest. Everything is the dollar. The upsurge of interest in material things is so great that it leads the human being astray in a terrible way."

Mrs. Burgos, unlike Mr. Machuca, sees the change as

taking place on the mainland under the influence of the new environment:

"In Puerto Rico people help each other more. Here one is dying, and nobody shows up. Only a lady friend, who lives in a nearby town, and her husband left her. She does not work because she has a baby. She comes and helps me with the household work. She takes care of my children when I get sick. ... In this town there are many fellow villagers from Puerto Rico. Some of them were neighbors and would call on us. Here, when we meet, we say hello and that's it. Because one left many of them in the village a long time ago, and they are jealous. In this country the people change. If one sees or meets the husband or the wife... They change a lot. They are not the same people any longer when you meet them after two or three years. I don't, because when I meet someone, I greet him... This country makes the people... I don't know..."

Mrs. Burgos' frustration must be seen in the context of an attenuated household -- Mr. Burgos has been absent in a hospital for two years --; this example does not weaken the ample evidence of a "family group oriented personalism," which often extends to friends and neighbors, being obviously at work among the Puerto Rican families in the area.

The growing importance of the achievement drive and the possession of money, however, is well expressed in Mr. Machuca's statements and behavior, which also reflects in Jose Machuca (9) saying "I wish my father was rich", and in

the teenagers concern with well-paid jobs:

"I do not think that my family (mother and married sisters) has changed. Maybe in the way of living, they are better off here. But not in the way of thinking. Maybe I am now prouder, I like to dress well. My mother says I was not like that in Puerto Rico. I would like to study and have money to be able to do whatever I want to do. That is not good, right? Always thinking of money... But without money you cannot go through this life. I am not one of these people with spirit like my mother. I am different. Maybe I will change when I grow older" (Raquel Fuentes, 17).

"I wish I was rich" (Victor Lopez, 13).

"I would like to have a good job that would pay well to be able to live in Puerto Rico" (Esteban Garcia, 16).

"I would like to be a computer-programmer. It is clean and it is a well-paid job" (Roberto Rodriguez, 16).

Adults, especially older informants, however, profess the means-like value of money for them:

"Money is only a secondary value" (Mrs. Martinez).

"We, the poor, always the same. We will have our good time in heaven. ... Money corrupts" (Mr. Garcia).

"I have always been detached from money" (Mrs. Machuca).

Religious and stoical conformity can be used as an analgesic against failure and poverty. It is difficult to discern, however, whether behind the acceptance of failure lies a religious personal commitment or just a rationalization under the guise of religious belief and experience.

Mr. Machuca has managed to weld an intense achievement drive to an equally intense commitment to religious experience:

> I am an optimist. I hate pessimism. I always try never give up. I turned out like my father. In Puerto Rico they call 'pechu' (slang for strong-willed) the person who tries to make it without having any capital... But I do not harm anyone. I have never used anyone as a rung to pull myself up. On the contrary, I am a person who takes pleasure in helping someone.
>
> Some people are happy with working for wages. I aspire to have something more. I put always God first. The Lord gave me health and strength to bear with the difficulties.

The best evidence of the self-improvement and achievement value orientation is the very presence of these migrant families in Islip and their making conditional their plans to return to Puerto Rico upon a moderate economic success.

The value-orientation here called "family group oriented personalism" does not exclude a straightforward appreciation of the inner worth of Americans, who are thus evaluated according to either their positive relationship to the family group or to their representing patterns of preferred behavior which has probably or ideally become incorporated in the family group:

"Here there is more help than in Puerto Rico, more cooperation.... I have met very nice Americans. American husbands treat their wives much better than Puerto Rican husbands do" (Mrs. Carmona).

"I would like to speak English to make friends with

Americans. I find them to be better than the Puerto Ricans" (Mrs. Santos).

Outside family and friends, Latin bilingual teachers seem to be held in the highest regard because of the interest they show in the children's educational achievement and in the family well-being. They are also considered prospective occupational models for the children, especially the girls.

Both the importance accorded to the children's education and the consideration of the churches as a guarantee of ethical behavior point to a gradual change or, at least, to a displacement of the stress on the "family group oriented personalism" toward the values of family achievement and efficiency.

The chapter on child rearing focuses on the effort to achieve continuity of value-orientation. An accomodation through more flexible procedures of control also is often attempted, in accordance with the wider boundaries imposed by the youth subculture of the American peers and the powerful socialization carried out by the mass media.

SUMMARY

Migrant families experience change in economic conditions, patterns of behavior, attitudes, expectations, aspirations, and value orientations resulting in or going along with feelings of satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction both with the transformed family relationships and with the new social environment. Such feelings of satisfaction

reflect the migrant's increasing ability to perform their new and redefined roles in the host society.

Both adult and young migrants point to the remarkable improvement in their economic situation on the mainland. Four out of the ten families in the study group own their homes.

In spite of their much improved economic position, migrants are also aware of their unchanged and sometimes lowered occupational and social position on the mainland.

Other grounds for satisfaction with the new environment are: the quietness of the community, the advantages of being a United States citizen when looking for a job, the opportunities for the children in the educational and occupational areas, and so forth. Some of the sources of dissatisfaction and frustration are internal to the family and could be anticipated before migration such as marriage breakdowns. Households with a single parent do less well in performing their instrumental, expressive, and instrumental-expressive functions, and have the lowest expectations. Other sources of dissatisfaction are the absence of some of the members of the "modified extended family", the accelerated pace of life, the poor or discriminatory work conditions, not being able to satisfy the aspirations of the family, and so forth.

Most of the migrants expect to satisfy in a moderate degree their aspirations, if not the highest, namely that of building a house in Puerto Rico and finding there a decent

job, at least that of living on the mainland with a relative comfort and better educational and occupational chances for their children. The migrants' reference groups are mostly their fellow Puerto Ricans, namely those of a similar socio-economic status left behind in the native Island, those who arrived in the mainland at different points in time, and those who made it and returned to Puerto Rico.

Higher wages seem further to raise aspirations and expectations, and thus to spur the search for more rewarding jobs and even for independent work or small business undertaking. The parents' aspiration to live in Puerto Rico and to reunite with the members of the "modified extended family" living there is conditioned by the achievement of a moderately comfortable economic position, which would include the ownership of a home.

Parents' expectations of fulfilling the occupational aspirations of their younger years are very low. They would like instead to see their children carry them out; they therefore derive vicarious gratification through identification with their children's achievements. Some of the parents aspire to their children having professional occupations. Some others just leave it to the children to decide what they want to become, thereby reflecting a more sober assessment of their chances. Some youngsters aspire just to finish high school and to start working in a factory so as to enjoy greater freedom and keep more in touch with their peers. Some others would like to study as a means of attaining a better economic position.

There seem to be at work in the Islip migrant families two value axes which structure most of the family interaction and thinking: first, "family group oriented personalism." That is a form of individualism stressing the inner worth of the person as well as his concern about his "modified extended family", and, second, "self-improvement and achievement drive." Although both axes could ideally reinforce each other, the duality reflects the cultural contrast and tension between the values of the industrial society and those embedded in the still partly tradition-oriented Puerto Rican family.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER XIII

1. Eva E. Sandis, "Characteristics of Puerto Rican Migrants to and from, the United States," International Migration Review, vol. 4 (1970), 22-42.

2. See "The Families of Orientation" in Chapter IV.

3. A detailed record of the achievements of each family will be presented in the next chapter.

4. Edward O. Laumann (1966) writes:

> "In the Warner tradition, social class may be defined as the largest group of people whose members have intimate access to one another in terms of such social relationships as consanguineal and affinal kinship, friendghip, informal social groups and cliques, and common meighborhood" (p.3). "Objective social distance refers to the actually observed differential likelihood of having friend, neighbor or kin relations with persons of different occupational backgrounds" (p. 5). "Comparable occupational status appears to the individual to be the main factor in determining with whom he actually engages in a variety of social relationships" (p. 141).

Laumann finds that the tendency toward equal status contact is "differentially distributed by occupational category -- with the top and the bottom categories showing the greatest degree of equal status contact and the middle category the least" (p. 87).

5. James M. Beshers (1962) points to the limited awareness of status symbols in Warner and Lunt's (1941) class fours -- to which the majority of the non-Puerto Rican Islip population belongs --, and to the still more limited awareness of classes fives and sixes to which the Puerto Rican migrant families belong (pp. 136-139). Beshers also points to the diffusion of material status symbols in the American society and to the parental efforts to choose and manipulate status symbols in such a way that the boundaries are visible when one looks down upon them from above but remain invisible to a viewer from below. Such manipulation of symbols is intended to make sure that no boundaries exist to marry the daughters upwards while firm boundaries are set up in order to minimize the chances of having their daughters marrying downwards. Beshers' assumption is that "the mechanism for persistence of the stratification system depend upon the marriage patterns of a society" and that "all parents wish to have their daughters marry a mate higher in status" (pp. 127-132, at 128 and 129).

6. Cf. Mark Hutter, "Transformation of Identity, Social Mobility and Kinship Solidarity", Journal of Marriage and the Family, vol. 32, No. 1 (Febr. 1 70), 133-137.

7. Cf. N. Glazer and D. P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1963), 195-6.

8. Cf. "Extended kinship in the modern society," in chapter II.

9. J. C. Van Es and W. L. Flinn, "A Note on the Determinants of Satisfaction Among Urban Migrants in Bogota, Colombia," Inter-American Economic Affairs, 27 (Autumn 1973), 15-28.

10. Joan M. Nelson, Migrants, Urban Poverty and Instability in Developing Nations (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Center for International Affairs, 1969), 44-67.

11. J. H. Goldthorpe and D. Lockwood, "Affluence and the British Class Structure," The Sociological Review, vol. 11, July 1963, 48.

12. Ibid., 110.

13. Cf. "The Arroyos" case study.

14. Cf. chapter X, "Work and Family Group."

15. Cf. chapter IX, "Continuity and Change in Child Rearing" for further comment on occupational aspirations.

16. Richard Greenspan, Puerto Ricans on Long Island (New York: ASPIRA OF New York, Inc., 1971). (Mimeographed), 28-30.

17. H. J. Gans, "Culture and Class in the Study of Poverty: An Approach to Anti-Poverty Research," in D. P. Moynihan, ed., On Understanding Poverty (New York: Basic Books, 1968), 201-228.

18. See the next chapter for a detailed explanation and evidence on "personalism." See chapter VII, "The Migrant Kin Family Network," for evidence on "familism."

19. Cf. Sidney W. Mintz, "Puerto Rico: An Essay in the Definition of National Culture," 41-43.

CHAPTER XIV

THE DIFFERENT MEANINGS OF ADAPTATION: CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Introduction

This chapter 1) proposes a new definition of adaptation which is grounded on the research findings; 2) suggests varieties of adaptation based on one of the indicators of adaptation, namely the will to stay on the mainland; 3) discusses time as one of the factors affecting adaptation; 4) presents vignettes outlining the different paths of adaptation followed by each of the ten families in the study group; and 5) deals with some of the sources of tension between migrant orientation and institutional environment, and mechanisms that facilitate adaptation.

A new formal definition of adaptation

Much of the sociological and socio-psychological literature on migrant assimilation and adaptation is written from the vantage point of the receiving society, and it often involves comparisons between migrants and people born in the host society. Granted that such studies are necessary for the formulation of social policy regarding the progressive integration of the migrants into the larger society, such an

approach just gives one side of the picture of the process of migration and integration. Such a picture is even bound to remain sterile if studies focusing on the migrants' attitudes, aspirations and expectations are lacking.

> Immigrants--Lyle W. Shannon has written--, particularly minority group immigrants, perceive themselves, and their adjustment quite differently than do persons in the larger community. . . . We have hypothesized that what the immigrant expects to find will influence his evaluation of changes that have taken place and that the position from which the immigrant starts will influence his conception of how well he is doing. These hypotheses seem to be supported by our data.[1]

The last chapter has focused on some of the changes that the Puerto Rican family experienced on the mainland in economic conditions, patterns of behavior, attitudes, expectations, aspirations and value orientations resulting in or going along with feelings of satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction both with the transformed family relationships and with the new social environment. While some of these changes reflect an acceptance of American values, and are in this sense assimilative, some others represent an attempt to cope with a new environment or to protect traditional Puerto Rican values and, thus, could be termed adaptive.[2]

From the various operational definitions of adaptation examined in the review of Literature, those by Mills, Senior, and Goldsen (1950), and Lyle W. Shannon (1965), which include both a subjective and an objective dimension, seem to account best for the way the Islip families under study view their own handling of the new situation. Inspired by those definitions, we shall propose a new, simpler definition which

seems to adhere even closer to the research data. Positive or successful adaptation can be defined as a functional ability to perform new and redefined universal and particularistic roles[3] in various environments of the receiving society in such a way that is productive of a certain level of individual and family satisfaction which often results in a decision to stay. It is not the resulting feeling as such, but the fact that this feeling is grounded on behaviors and social relationships, which the actor and the family identify as satisfactory, that makes adaptation a psychosocial concept whose operational definition would include both social and psychological components.

Successful adaptation, therefore, is seen as intimately related to the total satisfaction resulting from all the changes the migrant family has gone through in the new environment. On the basis of the awareness of such a degree of satisfaction, and on the basis of the assessment of its objective chances and expectations in the host society, the family reaches a decision either to stay on the mainland or to return to the place of origin. Such a decision is often subjected to weighing and revision in the light of the changing satisfaction and of the changing assessment of the chances in the two places of residence acting as poles of attraction. This last trait is a crucial characteristic of Puerto Rican migrants: Puerto Ricans do not have to start from the premise of looking at the host society as their permanent home.

The definition of adaptation proposed here is fully

grounded on the research data and seems more consonant with the "definition of the situation" approach adopted in the present study. In the Mills, Senior, and Goldsen's definition, migrants' subjective evaluations are used not only to size up their own "psychic contentment" (by which they mean "not having troubles"), but also the objective dimension (called by the co-authors "inconspicuous functioning" by which they meant that authorities and professionals expect conspicuous strangers to adjust).[4] In the definition here advanced the point of view of the family, rather than the point of view of the authorities, is fully adopted insofar as the family's aspirations and expectations both in coming and at the present time are based on the family's assessment of objective elements such as socioeconomic status, educational chances, characteristics of the community, and so forth, and result in its decision to stay or to return.

The following variables among others appear to form part of or affect the process of adaptation to the new environment, namely socioeconomic status, including home ownership; occupational level of husband and wife; the fact of having friends born on the mainland; and active participation in voluntary associations and other institutions of the host society on the objective or external side; change in norms and values, rising aspirations and expectations, satisfaction with the various features of the receiving community and with its general life style, and will to stay on the mainland on the subjective side.

No exhaustive list of factors affecting adaptation is presented here. Peterson and Scheff (1965) set such a goal for themselves in reviewing the existing literature. They had to remark, however:

> By far the greatest number of acculturation studies try to isolate factors which will help predict what groups or what individuals within a group will become assimilated. Unfortunately, even the most rigorously systematic of these usually present only zero-order correlations, which makes it impossible to know whether or not the association persists when other major factors are controlled. Without this information no decision can be made as to whether the observed relationship is causal or whether the significant measure of association means that the so-called 'independent variable' is merely another indicator of assimilation.[5]

Granted the exploratory character of the present study, likewise no attempt will be made to ascertain the relative weight of the various contributing factors involved in the process of adaptation. The proposal is here made, however, that "satisfaction with the life conditions in the host community" be selected as a major indicator of adaptation in the sense previously declared, namely as a resultant of a relatively successful performance of the migrant's new and redefined roles in the receiving society. The "will to stay" on the mainland, when it is a "willing" or not merely an instrumental one or out of sheer financial need, can be regarded both as a resultant of a certain degree of satisfaction and adaptation to the host society and, in its turn, as an important factor affecting further adaptation.[6]

Varieties of adaptation according to the "will to stay"

Varieties of adaptation could be distinguished along

the different dimensions included in its operational definition. However, the will to stay on the mainland, insofar as it is grounded on a variety of reasons and motivations, seems to play an axial role as indicator when the evaluation of the extent of the migrant adjustment is concerned. Since nearly all the parents wish to return someday to Puerto Rico, it is obvious that this wish, as such, cannot be considered a sign of poor adaptation. The same could be said about the often expressed wish for being close to members of the extended family in Puerto Rico. An anxious urge to return at the earliest possible date, however, sould be considered a clear sign of lack of adaptation.

An enumeration of the reasons to remain on the mainland includes: sheer financial need; the achievement of a short or long-term family goal; the maintenance of positive relationships with family members, friends, significant others, and significant institutions (eventually work, school, church, social agencies, health services, welfare, etc.); general satisfaction with the life style of the community, with the income, possessions, home, and comfort enjoyed in the new environment.

Some of the social relationships just mentioned will produce individual and/or family satisfaction. Consequently, the will to stay will be either "undivided" or "divided", according to the agreement or, respectively, the disagreement among the family members as to the focal issue of an eventual return to the native Island. The bipolar categories, namely

"unanimous"-"discrepant" will respectively refer to the agreement or disagreement of one or more of the oldest children with either one of the parents with regard to an eventual return to Puerto Rico. The categories "exclusive"-"inclusive" stand for the will to live respectively in either one or in both of the two poles of attraction. "Willing" adaptation refers to the family who freely chooses to stay on the mainland. On the other hand, "instrumental" adaptation refers to the family who for economic reasons has no choice in the matter. The precarious character of "instrumental" adaptation forecasts a slow and difficult process of integration into the larger society. The "object-oriented" mode of behavior, which receives full explanation later on in the chapter together with its polar category the "person-oriented" mode of behavior, can be taken either as an indicator of adaptation or also as a factor affecting adaptation.

If the relation between adaptation and integration is adopted as criterion for classification, then two kinds of adaptation are discernible: the one that in time will lead to integration and assimilation into the mainstream of American society, and a second one that will eventually result in isolation or marginalization. "Will to stay vs. long for return", therefore, seems to work as a sort of ground variable underlying all the others affecting adaptation at every point in time.

Since nearly all the subjects in the present study

are first generation, the perspective to evaluate cases of the second kind of adaptation just mentioned is lacking. Only cues can be detected allowing a modest prediction of the outcome of the adaptive process. The self-isolating stance of some families (Cf. The Fuentes and the Garcias), which is often made possible by the close contact with members of the modified extended kin in the area, may lead to a prognosis of a type two adaptation, namely that one resulting in marginalization. On the contrary, a positive rapport with an institution, for instance the school, eventually based on the good scholastic performance of a child, can open up or strengthen the process of integration into the host society. The first type of adaptation, eventually leading to integration, is an open possibility certainly for the children. In a few cases, this type of adaptation is found in parents in spite of their nearly universal longing to return some day to Puerto Rico. The reason is that a successful adaptation implies such a level of cultural assimilation that an eventual re-adaptation to the native island after maybe twenty years of absence can become too hard to bear. The much faster adaptation and eventual integration of the migrants' children could also hold the parents back on the mainland just to enjoy the company and maybe the help of their offspring by then probably occupying a higher social position.

Main factors affecting adaptation

A few factors seem to contribute in a primary way to

family adaptation here defined as the migrant's functional ability to perform their new and redefined roles in the environments of the host society in such a way that is productive of a certain level of individual and family satisfaction. These factors are: 1) the Puerto Rican community in the area providing the migrant with a variety of reference groups; 2) the contact with relatives on the mainland, and, in a specific way, with those living in the area; 3) the "mejor ambiente", namely the improvement in their standard of living over that in Puerto Rico; 4) the "personalized institutional welcome" or personalized role performance by intermediaries, often staff members of educational and social service agencies, and churches, including the chance for the newcomers to contribute actively to the life of the respective institution or organization; 5) the individual's skills and resources such as a high school diploma or an energetic personality.

Another set of factors seems to contribute in a secondary way to the migrants' adaptation to the host society, namely the "will to stay"--in the sense already explained; the better educational opportunities; the migrants' past experiences in Puerto Rico used as criteria to appraise their mainland experience; the presence of the father in the family; home ownership; the relative quiet of the community; the season variation of the weather; the search for continuity in basic value orientations that provide the migrants with a self-confident identity; age at the time of arrival;

length of stay on the mainland; moderate social distance between migrants and members of the host society; job satisfaction; anticipatory socialization, partly accomplished through the exploratory stage before family migration; knowledge of English; object-oriented mode of behavior, and so forth.

The time factor

A Puerto Rican lady, social worker in the area of Islip, distinguishes three stages in the path of adaptation of her fellow countrymen to the mainland society:

> In the first stage, which can last about three years, some migrants get acquainted with the surroundings, with the neighbors, make some friends, that is, they introduce themselves, which in Puerto Rico was not necessary because everybody knows you. Some other migrants do not even introduce themselves and do not get acquainted with their neighbors. They keep writing to the family in Puerto Rico. It depends on families and individuals. Some people get adapted in two or three years, they learn English, get the drivers license, go to school... Some people are slower; it takes them five to ten years.
>
> Then it comes an intermediate or transitional process. They are undecided as to remaining or returning to Puerto Rico after three years. That is what it takes them to make their mind up. If they are doing well, they stay; if not, they return.
>
> Those who decide to stay after thinking it over, they start making a downpayment for a home, a car... Since the children have been already three years in the schools, they are going to lose one grade if they go back to Puerto Rico. It would be a pity to take them out.
>
> Then, later on, once they have decided to stay, they struggle against the circumstances, they try to overcome the obstacles, and find their place in society. May be they try to open a bodega (food store)...
>
> The three stages may take twenty-five years. If they win a lottery prize, it can go faster.

The families in the present study do not provide evidence to question the validity of such a temporal pattern of adaptation. Only a few slight references were collected about returnees to Puerto Rico. Some of them were pulled back to their island just after a few months on the mainland because of language difficulties and difficulty in finding jobs. It seems that the lack of proper preparations on the mainland before their arrival, normally made by relatives or friends, accounts for many rash returns.

All other circumstances being equal,[7] it seems only logical that the longer the time spent on the mainland the better and more abundant the job, the income, the home, the command of English, the feelings of being at home, the contacts with native urbanites, the acquaintance with the organizational procedures of the mainland institutions, etc. However, when compared, for instance, with the past experience of the migrant in Puerto Rico, or with the decisive help offered by relatives and friends already adapted to the mainland life, or with the absence of the father in the family, which often accounts for a process of difficult and unwilling adaptation based on sheer economic need, the time factor seems of secondary importance. As the not-too-infrequent case of the Ruiz family shows, even after eighteen years on the mainland adaptation may be just instrumental and, though long-time, temporary. That is to say, in view of a planned return to the island rather than of an eventual integration into the mainland society. The family's will to stay or to

TABLE 5
VARIETIES OF ADAPTATION

FAMILIES	+ Undivided - Divided	Unanimous Discrepant	Willing Instrumental	Exclusive Inclusive
Romano	+	+	-	-
Arroyo		+	-	+
Fuentes		-	+	+
García	-	-	x	+
Lopez	+	-	-	-
Santos	+	+	-	-
Carmona		-	+	-
Rolon	-	-	x	+
Machuca	+	+	x	+
Cabrera	+	-	+	+

Notes:

1) The categories "undivided-divided" refer to the parents' stance concerning the core issue of the "will to stay". See the text.

2) In case of both "divided" and "undivided" adaptation the symbol "x" means sharp division between the spouses in the respective item or quality. The positive and negative signs under the other categories stand either for the corresponding quality of the head of the family or for the situation resulting from the husband imposing his decision on his wife.

3) "Unanimous-discrepant" refers to the agreement or disagreement of one or more of the oldest children with either one of the parents concerning the eventual return to Puerto Rico.

4) See text and life histories for explanation of these types of adaptation. The positive sign for "exclusive" stands for either one of the two geographical points in question.

TABLE 6

SOME OF THE MAJOR
FACTORS AFFECTING ADAPTATION

FAMILIES	1 Non-Planning Early Return (Will to Stay)	2 Relatives in the area	3 Personalized institutional welcome	4 General satisfaction community	5 Quiet Community	6 Home Ownership	7 Object-oriented Person-oriented
Romano	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
Arroyo	+	+	x	-	-	-	-
Fuentes	+	+	x	-	-	-	-
Garcia	+	+	+	x	+	-	-
Lopez	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
Santos	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Carmona	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
Rolon	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Machuca	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Cabrera	+	-	+	+	+	+	+

TABLE 6 -Continued

NOTES: 1) + in columns 1 through 6 means that the factor is applicable to the family;
+ in column 3 means that at least one institution has welcomed the family in a personalized way;
+ in column 7 stands for "object-oriented;"
- means the absence of the factor in the family;
- in column 7 stands for "person-oriented;"
x means either ambivalent impact because the family, for instance, has been "welcomed in a personalized way" by some institutions but not by others, or, different impact on each one of the parents.

2) Factors like "economic improvement" and others obviously at work in every family have been left out of this table.

return is just as important a factor in explaining much of its adaptive behavior as is the length of time spent on the mainland. However, some degree of reciprocal causality surely exists between both factors which are mediated both through the value and goal structure of the respective families and through the economic situation of mainland and island at the moment of the respective decisions.

THE FAMILIES

This study did not aim at providing either an operational definition or an index of adaptation. However, in order to provide the reader with some helpful reference points, and at the risk of a certain degree of arbitrariness, we will present the ten families in the study group ranking them from less to more successful adaptation to the host society (see the Table "Some of the major factors affecting adaptation") and from less to more unanimous and willing family's decision to stay on mainland (see the Table "Varieties of adaptation"). Since both criteria do not always coincide, we will prefer the first one over the second in case of divergence between them. Those families showing a similar degree of adaptation are then ranked by alphabetic order.

The Romano Family (3 years in Islip)

The Romanos are among the very small minority of migrants arriving with very definite plans for an early return to Puerto Rico for good. Their immediate goal is to start building up a home next year in Puerto Rico with the savings

they have amassed in these few years in Islip, and, then, to leave after four more years on the mainland. The family's long-term goal is to establish a small business in Puerto Rico upon their return. The children just reflect the goals and aspirations of their parents. They also long for an early return to their Island.

The Romanos maintain good relationships with school, church, and work situation. They write often to their relatives in Puerto Rico. After having lived in a basement, they have rented now a spacious family home.

This is a case of temporary, undivided, instrumental adaptation. The relatively comfortable socioeconomic status of the families of orientation of both spouses as well as their strong organization and religious values count among the factors behind the successful, though temporary, adaptation.

The Arroyo Family (7 years on the mainland, 5 of them in Islip)

Mrs. Arroyo has her mother and several brothers and sisters on the mainland, but she has two of her children in Puerto Rico. Although she recognizes she is much better off than in Puerto Rico, she is not happy with her wages and job where she feels discriminated against. Her relationship with the school is positive thanks to the mediation of a Latin teacher. She considers their neighborhood unsafe. Her goal of getting a home in Puerto Rico seems to her out of reach, and only hopes for a lottery prize. Mother and children aspire to return to Puerto Rico.

The Arroyo family is a case of effective though unwilling adaptation to the mainland society. They remain here out of sheer economic need.

The Fuentes Family (less than 2 years in Islip)

The recent decision of the family to migrate to the mainland must surely influence its eventual will to remain here. It is no wonder that, if the children are still living with their minds, their dreams and their friends in Puerto Rico, they are ill-adapted to the new situation. The heavy traffic, in particular, seems to have narrowed the boundaries of their outdoor activity. Raquel, Mrs. Fuentes' teen-age sister, and her two nephews, Edwin and Jesus Fuentes, are anxious to return to Puerto Rico, but Raquel would like to first graduate from high school and attend at least a two-year college on the mainland.

Mrs. Fuentes enjoys the support of several sisters living in the area and in the city. She prefers the Islip schools to those of Puerto Rico because they compel the children to study and there is better control of the attendance. She is also satisfied with the higher standard of living her family enjoys here. While being assured that the children are being taken care of, the opportunity to work has been provided for her so far by Grandma Fuentes. Grandma is, though, determined to leave for Puerto Rico in the near future because she feels the mainland's climate does serious harm to her health.

The Fuentes are a case of effective, but discrepant

or non-unanimous adaptation. The family will effectively remain on the mainland because the family head of this attenuated family, Mrs. Fuentes, is sufficiently adapted to the new environment. The chance of giving her children a better education, rooted in the improved economic situation of the family, is the main reason for Mrs. Fuentes and her family's will to stay.

The Garcia Family (5 years in Islip)

Mr. Garcia is deeply depressed by the fact that, due to his disability, his family had no other choice than coming here to live from the welfare. His resigned, religious attitude and the satisfaction of seeing his family living modestly, but more comfortably than in Puerto Rico, makes up somehow for his low spirits. He and three of the children are anxious to return to Puerto Rico. The father, however, realistically thinks of the return just as of a dream. Pedro's plans to return in order to study and work part-time there seem feasible. A guidance counselor is encouraging him to do so. Pedro's adaptation to Islip seems positive, though temporary. He is "crazy" about returning to his island, but he recognizes having taken to Islip.

Family relationships, welfare, contacts with social agencies and church contribute to the satisfactory adaptation of some members of the family. Mrs. Garcia would like to remain on the mainland because she greatly appreciates the household commodities and comforts she never enjoyed in Puerto Rico.

The Garcia family is a case of divided adaptation because the family head remains on the mainland unwillingly, just out of sheer economic need. Pedro Garcia is temporary, bilocally adapted.

The Lopez Family (13 years in Islip)

Mr. Lopez likes the Islip community, although he would like to return to his country. He has good friends here, ready to give a hand if he lost his job. He bought the house they live in about one year ago, and he is thinking of buying a better one. Mrs. Lopez is happy about having her family living here in much better conditions than they used to in Puerto Rico. She was always poor. Now she has become used to Islip where Government, churches, friends, and social agencies have given her family a hand when necessary. It took Mrs. Lopez about seven years to get used to the community.

The Lopez children have good relationships with their teachers, expecially with a Latin one. Luisa is a member of a sports group; Roberto has "more than twenty friends" and "everybody" knows him. Although the children, except for the oldest one, were born here, they still aspire to live in Puerto Rico because they identify themselves with their father's aspiration.

The Lopez are a case of undivided, inclusive adaptation to the mainland society.

The Santos Family (3 years in Islip)

The remarkable improvement that the family has made in its standard of living since its arrival in the mainland

seems to outweigh in their view all the costs incurred in it by migrating; such costs include missing the frequent visiting with relatives (Mrs. Santos), having to speak English (Lola, Yvette, Maria Santos), always being encloistered home because her parents keep close watch on the teen girls (Lola), etc. The Santos parents and the oldest child concur also in their wish for returning to Puerto Rico in the unlikely event of a much improved economic situation there. They imply thereby a desire to maintain a standard of living similar to the one they enjoy now in Islip.

Mrs. Santos is particularly pleased with her spacious rented family home, which is much better than the family home in Puerto Rico. She also maintains satisfactory relationships with the Latin teachers, the church and some social agencies. The family is also in constant contact with a few relatives living in the area. Mr. Santos likes his position of responsibility as a foreman.

The Santos are a case of undivided, permanent adaptation the better "ambiente" (economic situation) being the primary reason for their satisfaction and will to stay on the mainland.

The Carmona Family (9 years on the mainland)

In the absence of husband and relatives, Mrs. Carmona has learned to combine her unpleasant role of welfare client with the more pleasant role of client of several other social agencies. She has become well acquainted with their procedures and has developed "personalized" relationships with some of the social workers.

She misses her grandmother and her oldest son living with the grandmother in Puerto Rico. Annabel relates positively with teachers, church people, and neighbor friends. Like her mother, she also longs for returning to Puerto Rico where she has most of her relatives.

Mrs. Carmona is aware of the impracticality of her longed for return because of the large size of her family and the prospect of not having either home or welfare benefits in Puerto Rico. On the other hand, she feels there is more cooperation and help on the mainland and she likes the American people.

The Carmona family is a case of instrumental-willing adaptation.

The Rolon Family (10 years in Islip)

It took the Rolon family five years, thanks to the combined wages of both spouses, to improve their economic position in a substantial way. They now own their home and plan several improvements in it.

Mrs. Rolon is delighted with the better jobs and comforts they have been able to get on the mainland in sharp contrast with the hardships they went through in Puerto Rico. In consequence, she rejects the idea of returning to the island. She aims at giving a professional education to her children. Luz Rolon, like her sister, would not like to return to Puerto Rico. Both of them would be willing, though, to retire there and live off Social Security.

Unlike his wife, Mr. Rolon longs to return to Puerto

Rico as early as possible. Although he is very attached to his parents, now Islip residents, he misses the friendships and the quiet atmosphere of his island. But, aside from the dominant position that Mrs. Rolon seems to have in the family, Mr. Rolon himself is ready to recognize that it would be impossible for him to bear the ecnomic burden of his family in Puerto Rico.

The scholastic achievements of Nora, and the close contact with Mrs. Rolon's mother and several brothers and sisters of both spouses are also important reasons for staying on the mainland. Ramon Rolon follows his father in his wish for living in Puerto Rico. His liking, however, is based solely on the memories of a nice vacation time spent in the island.

The Rolon family is a case of effective, though divided adaptation to the mainland. The impracticality of his longed-for return surely is a factor working toward keeping Mr. Rolon closer to the family social circle and isolating him from non-Puerto Rican members of the larger society.

The Machuca Family (6 years in Islip)

Both Machuca parents and their son Jose have made friends with people they met through the church. The Pentecostal Church gives them a strong sense of belonging and identity. Her church friends together with her relatives in Puerto Rico helped Mrs. Machuca to change her mind regarding her eventual return to Puerto Rico for health reasons. A difficult period of disagreement and conflict around the

subject of return had put the spouses on the brink of separation.

School is positively evaluated by the children in contrast with their parents, who have an ambiguous attitude in its regard, partly based on the poor performance of the two oldest children.

Both spouses are satisfied with their financial strides. They own their home, have two cars, and abundant domestic comforts that seem to help further to bind the family together. Only Luisa finds the setting boring because she is given little chance of visiting her girl friends.

Mr. Machuca and the children speak good English. Mr. Machuca is satisfied with his job, but he plans to set up his own small business in a non-distant future. He likes the quiet of the community. Mrs. Machuca also seems to have appropriated her husband's reasons for staying and, at least on the surface, the period of disagreement is over.

The Machucas are at the present time a case of undivided, permanent adaptation to the mainland society.

The Cabrera Family (5 years in Islip)

Mr. Cabrera has a good job and a lot of friends, many of them members, like him, of a sports club. He has got used to this country and would find it hard to adjust to Puerto Rico. His economic position has substantially improved. Like Mr. Machuca, he loves the quiet around here, and plans to have his own small business in Long Island. He also has very good rapport with his American bosses in the factory.

Mrs. Cabrera has positive relationships with school, churches, social agencies, husband's friends, etc. She is happy about having her own home, though it is modest and too small. Her in-laws' visits from the island and the Cabreras' visits to them in the island also contribute to the family's unity and counteract other divisive forces.

The Cabreras are a case of undivided, inclusive adaptation to the mainland. The longing for a return to Puerto Rico, shared by the mother and most of the children, adds a bit of excitement rather than anxiety to the family's satisfaction with its present life. The children have spent several vacations in the island and love both Puerto Rico and Islip. They are happy in their schools, and are members of churches and sports groups.

Other factors affecting adaptation

We turn now to the discussion of various sources of tension between migrant orientation and institutional environment, and of various mechanisms that facilitate adaptation.

a) "Institutional welcome" and personalism

Puerto Rican migrants first look to their relatives for help in their first steps on the path of adaptation to the new environment. Then, they expect, as United States citizens, to receive Government assistance, if they have no other choice. They also know that the churches will help them to solve some of their more pressing problems like clothing their children, furnishing their living quarters, etc. Other private social agencies will provide them with a

range of health, social and educational services. Their pride prevents the interviewees from being too explicit about the help obtained from these agencies. Aside from the schools, the firm and the church are about the only formal organizations in which the migrants actively participate. Since the political weight of the Puerto Rican minority in the area is slim -- the highest elected position attained by Puerto Ricans in the area is that of member of one of the School Boards -- there is an understandable lack of interest among the migrants in the political process. They do not even join any of the various recreational and social Latin clubs in the area whose leaders and members are almost exclusively oldtimers. The newly arrived are, if anything, just the beneficiaries of some of the services that these associations offer to the Latin community.

An analysis of the migrants' contacts and evaluations of the formal organizations of the receiving society they are in contact with, reveals an attitudinal pattern consistent with the value orientation termed "family group-oriented personalism."[8] Most of the positive appraisals and criticisms of the schools, churches, firms, and social service agencies follow the standards of "personalism," which implies equality or symmetry in the performance of the dialogue roles inherent in symbolic communication, rather than criteria of efficiency implying instrumental rationalization.[9] Some examples are: Many families say they have received visits of the Latin teachers concerning the progress of the children in school,

discipline problems, and some kind of material assistance. Some children say they have attended parties and family meals at their Latin teachers' homes. A Latin teacher picks up members of the Latin club and gives them rides. In shaping their roles in such a way, these teachers seem to master "the means of construction necessary for the establishment of an ideal speech situation"[10] in which "unrestricted discussion" of the parents and children's opinions toward the school goes together with a mutual release of inhibitions; this leads to a freer mutual self-presentation and recognition in a climate of mutual respect and understanding. A few more examples in the same direction are: Mrs. Santos considers several Latin teachers as her friends. Mrs. Cabrera picks up her children from school so as to have a chance to talk to the Latin teachers, who sometimes invite her to have lunch with them. Latin Pentecostal ministers are said to take good care of the families and to visit them constantly at their homes. A Roman Catholic storefront, run by two American nuns, is said to lend many useful services to the Puerto Rican community by helping to find jobs, housing; tutoring in English on a domiciliary basis; providing clothing, shoes, furniture to the needy families; offering transportation; acting as a referral service in legal, counseling problems, etc. Some of the beneficiaries are invited by the agency to volunteer their services in different capacities. Pentecostal churches pick up the children and youth with cars and minibuses to ensure their attendance at the religious services.

However, quite often the staff of the institutions of the larger society exhibit an opposite kind of behavior in direct contrast with the above patterns. Such a behavior, rather than stressing the norms of equality inherent in symbolic communications, follow, instead, criteria of efficiency implying instrumental rationalization.[11] For example, Puerto Rican parents who approach a Catholic parish any time during the year asking for religious instruction for their children are asked to wait until the registration period because religious instruction is organized according to the patterns of a rigid scholastic bureaucracy rather than according to the patterns to which they were accustomed in Puerto Rico of a personalized teaching situation. A more flexible and person-oriented attitude would put heavier demands on the schedule of the religious personnel. This would lead, however, to a greater involvement of this personnel with the working class Puerto Rican and Latin population which would eventually diminish the economic efficiency of the parish organization. Several parents say they cannot read most of the school mailings because they are written in English, and that they do not attend conferences and meetings with the teachers for the same reason. Raquel Fuentes and Ida Cabrera point to the scarce interest of the American teachers in the Puerto Rican children as compared with the more intense dedication to their students that teachers have in Puerto Rico. Parents tend to blame the lack of discipline on the teachers who follow their students' fashions in clothing, long hair, drug habits. Mr. and Mrs. Machuca complain

about the school administration's setting up appointments for them without any prior consultation. A Latin teacher says: "Parents feel very distant from school. They do not understand the school system. They have a very limited vision of the occupational opportunities after school graduation." Parents object to their children being punished by teachers who do not care for the children; not that they do not want that their children be punished, as a community leader, active in the educational field, says: "In Puerto Rico there is respeto in the school. The teacher gets the parents' authority, and, if needed, he beats up the children without having to fear the administration." Many parents, however, besides stressing "personalistic" values, praise the effectiveness of the Islip schools in compelling the children to study more than in Puerto Rico.

Roman Catholic priests seldom visit a family home because the institutionalized expectation says that priests should mainly concentrate their activity in the religious instruction of those faithful people attending religious services, or requesting counseling at the Rectory office. "Parents feel very estranged from the Roman Catholic catechetical program," says an American priest serving in the area. "We don't have anything in Spanish. Our program is very organized. Among the catechists there are no Spanish speaking people." [12]

Mrs. Carmona feels sick in the early morning of the day she has an appointment in the Welfare office. Mrs. Burgos says that some Latin clerks in the Welfare pretend that

they do not speak Spanish. She complains about not being able to make ends meet with her welfare checks.

Some of the working men and women, especially if in a position of responsibility, are aware of their being exploited or, at least, not being paid the full worth of their work. Foremen and factory bosses, here like in Puerto Rico, impose a rapid work pace because "they want production."

The available evidence shows, therefore, that a "personalistic" orientation on the part of some agencies or, at least, of some members in the staff adopting a diffuse rather than a specific, minimalist definition of their roles, predisposes the migrant to take an active role in the new society, and sometimes even in the very agency as volunteer. Such a result is obtained through the agency's echoing the "personalistic" value orientation of the immigrant consequently fostering his adaptation to the institutional environment. In other words, when the organization makes a first move toward the migrants, then the parents become more interested in the organizational goals and more active participants in it. They feel as though they have been given a realistic chance to contribute something of their own to the functioning of the institution, first of all by becoming dialogue partners. When viewed from the organizational side, such a type of linking mechanism has been called the "detached-worker approach."[13] Such an approach is interpreted by the newly arrived migrants as a sort of "institutional welcome" as most of the family life histories show. The distance

between the families and the institutions, which could be roughly summed up as a difference in value orientations -- "respeto," "care," and "personalism" versus "efficiency"-- is shortened and results in adaptation when a mutual value borrowing and exchange takes place between both dialogue partners.

Puerto Rican "family centered-personalism," as shown in the present study group, shows some resemblance to the "person-orientation" Gans found among the Italian-Americans of the Boston West End. Gans contrasts the person-orientation of his working-class subjects with the "object-orientation" proper to the middle class as follows:

> Person-orientation is based on a close association with the family circle and the peer group which the individual maintains all his life, and which is built into his personality structure. Middle-class people, on the other hand, choose from a wider range of people the individuals and groups with whom they spend their lives, remain somewhat more detached from them, and can even leave them for others without serious feelings of loss.[14]

In the G. H. Mead's conception, the "me," as differentiated from the "I," is created mainly out of activity carried out in secondary groups. Since the person-oriented individual leads his social life in family and peer group, he develops a monistic self, which makes it difficult for him to differentiate between his own and others' view of him. His "me" is based on how he feels others see him rather than on empirical observation of how others see him. The person-oriented West Ender, instead of seeking goals in organizational settings, reacts impulsively to the members of the

peer group he has known since childhood. As a consequence, he does not develop a self-image.[15] Gans traces this lack of self-image back to the person-oriented individual's child rearing. Since his parents never tried to see things from the child's point of view, the person-oriented individual is unable to see things from the others' perspective.

Unlike the West Enders, many of the Puerto Rican parents in the group are receptive to their children's wishes and try to expand the boundaries of their experience in correspondence to their respective ages, even if under close supervision because they suspect the American youth subculture and school atmosphere.[16]

Most individuals in the present study group are not so blindly attached to their family and peers as to be prevented from developing a self-image through their differential investment they make in performing their roles in the family group, work situation, church, school, sports and recreational activities. Their differential striving for object-goals seems to be more adequately explained by their respective economic position, their families' socioeconomic background, the number of years of school completed and skills acquired, than it possibly can by a mode of behavior or "propensity-to-act" eventually mediating a range of structural variables. Even if Mr. Santos does not stand out as particularly object-oriented in the Gans sense, he seems to have a definite self-image which includes his being a dependable breadwinner, a responsible foreman aware of the favorable

impact that his assumption of responsibility has on his family, his being the family head, his acting as student counselor for his children insofar as he encourages and compels them to get an education, and surely his being a member of a peer group that once in a while goes on a spree.

Puerto Ricans in the study group seem to be following an intermediate course between the person and the object-oriented modes of behavior, may be nearer to the former than to the latter. In other words, the "family group-oriented personalism" of these Puerto Rican families in Islip has a middle class connotation absent in the peer group society of the Italian-American West Enders.

Despite the predominant person-orientation of the study group, there are some signs of object-orientation in five of the families (Rolon, Cabrera, Machuca, Romano, and Lopez). Whether this is only a temporary phase or will develop into a more permanent orientation is not clear at this point. Gans states that this object-orientation refers to a phase of social mobility, and "many middle-class people 'settle down' and become more person-oriented again."[17]

b) Cultural and social democracy

Gans points to the West Enders' lack of understanding of the formal organization of bureaucratic government.[18] Then, he recognizes that West Enders only have the chance to experience the seamy side of city government, and that their interpretation usually fits the phenomena they observe. The conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that they have gained

insight into the informal workings of bureaucracy as far as they are concerned.

Puerto Ricans are also suspicious of school, welfare bureaucracy, systems of production and promotion in their firms, "church business" (bingo and a variety of fund raising procedures) because they see their results in disrespect, ignorance of their needs, discrimination, and estrangement. They come from a still partly traditional society where everybody knows everybody else, and where school, neighborhood, and many formal organizations are considered prolongation of the family home. They see the obvious advantages they enjoy on the mainland as a consequence both of their peculiar political status and of the affluence of this nation.

What Gans should conclude, when he stands for the functionality of their working-class subculture for the West Enders, is that cultural assimilation is a two-way process which, under the distorting influence of instrumental rationalization, can degenerate to a one-way process. Working-class subculture emerges, then, as an adaptation to the sociocultural, communicative distortion.

Since egalitarianism was a basic value within the Italian-American peer group society studied by Gans - "no one is permitted to dominate anyone else"[19] - the West Enders' demands for an adequate consideration of their needs, when faced with the destruction of their community, just reflected their basic orientation toward equality. If the outside middle and upper class society, however, is impermeable to the

value system of the low income community, a low degree of both cultural and social democracy in the total society is the outcome. As Gans acknowledges, the system of procedures followed in the planning of the redevelopment, relocation, and clearance of the West End was "intrinsically related to the country's economic and political structure, especially to the longstanding public policy of giving private enterprise a free hand in the profitable sectors of the housing market."[20]

The West Ender, Gans says, "has difficulty in comprehending the nature of administrative procedure, and the rules of bureaucratic government... He personalizes all of what are in part, at least, impersonal relationships."[21] But, in view of the vague and insufficient information on the redevelopment and relocation released by the city officials to the residents and local politicians,[22] a "critical theorist of society"[23] would probably point, however, not only, as Gans does, to "a prime case of social injustice,"[24] but also to the fact that such urban renewal procedures are indicative of a system of instrumental rationalization being at work. "Systems of instrumental action" proceed according to technical rules, and tend toward control of social change by using the standards of technical success and efficiency. A given system of values, however, is always at the root of any given strategies involved in the system, although, "in the new ideological consciousness the system <u>seems to</u> function according to structural constraints."[25] In the West End

case, the prospective higher economic return for the city and the redevelopers governed the action of the policy-maker officials and businessmen concerned. They avoided or repressed thereby that kind of symbolic communication which would have developed into an "ideal speech situation" between the concerned parties, not too different from that of the peer society. Maybe the framework of the systems of instrumental action in which the policy-makers operated can best explain that while Gans nearly discounts the role of personal morality in bureaucratic decisions,[26] he is ready to recognize, however, that the human and social costs of the whole operation hardly came into consideration.

The "structural constraints" tend to hide and even nullify the egalitarian value orientation according to which it is up to the party in possession of resources (money, capacity to develop a community leadership training program, survey studies on residents' needs, etc.) to share them in such a way that a dialogue can ensue. The communicative process fails because the party controlling the resources in fact is anxious not to share them with the party lacking them. The defective working of the two-way process of cultural borrowing and egalitarian symbolic communication should be properly labelled as insufficient cultural and social democracy.

Even if the situations involved are very different, some parallelism regarding the cultural contacts of the Puerto Rican minority in Islip could be drawn, namely that the Puerto

Rican parents' demands for more personal involvement and dedication on the part of the teachers, welfare clerks, priests, etc. are cultural items worthy to be considered and adopted by the American mainlanders, insofar as they include a deep insight into the functional requirements of the educational, social work and religious-pastoral function. The way most Latin teachers seem to perform their roles, namely in a far more diffuse way than a strict bureaucratic role definition would demand, provides the parents with an easy reference point and criterion for evaluation. Latin Pentecostal ministers, American Catholic nuns, Latin and bilingual American social workers are also used as evaluation standards of the respective functions of community caretaking.

Cultural receptivity or "institutional welcome" by the mainstream Americans seems to be, therefore, one of the strongest factors accelerating the adaptation of the immigrants to the new environment (Admittedly, there are only a few examples of this such as Mr. Cabrera's sportmates, Mr. Machuca's bosses, etc.) In the Islip area, Latin teachers come next, after the kin family members, in their importance as agents of adaptation and cultural assimilation because of their ability to smooth the transition from the familiar to the relatively unfamiliar culture. In doing so, they help to the extent that the cultural exchange between newcomers and long time residents extends to a vast range of sectors of activity, regulated by a certain norm of reciprocity.[27]

Among others, "bilingual education" is a prime example of cultural receptivity or "institutional welcome," especially when it includes bi-cultural teachers and bi-cultural treatment of subjects.

"Institutional welcome," however, is seldom a spontaneous event. Prejudice and institutional lack of receptivity have also awaited the new immigrant waves. The achievements of the bilingual teachers in the Islip area are the result of a struggle of more than ten years and must be seen in the context of nation wide legislative battles to improve the scholastic deficit of the Spanish-speaking minorities. Wherever the Latin community lacks the needed leadership, such a "bilingual" legislation is either ignored or minimally applied.[28]

c) Migrants and community leaders

Oscar Handlin[29] pointed to the lack of leadership among the New York City Puerto Ricans as the cause and result of the slowness of communal development. As it is commonly agreed, this could not but slow down their positive adaptation to the new society.[30]

> [The place of the leaders] was taken rather by interpreters - in the literal or figurative sense - characters who used their slightly larger knowledge of the wider society to mediate between it and the ethnic group, often in their own interest. Such men were too weak and too timid to initiate action; often they merely accepted the values of the dominant 'American' whites.[31]

The fact that an ethnic leadership for change and positive adaptation of the migrant community requires the dedi-

cation of the leaders to serve the felt needs of the migrants, - rather than an abdication of their specific set of values to excel over their fellow countrymen, - seems to be evidenced by the awareness and recognition given by the respondents to the Latin teachers, the Pentecostal pastors, and a few civic leaders. One of these civic leaders, Mrs. Diaz, says that "here being bicultural is a handicap." She is ready, though, to carry on helping her fellow Puerto Ricans and investing a great deal of her time on the boards of several civic organizations.

For the migrants some of the "cursillistas"[32] play a role of intermediaries with the highly hierarchized and bureaucratized American Catholic Church. This role, however, is predominantly of a religious kind, the stress being on the ritual and pietistic, charitable activity coming next, and civic and community-related issues being seldom a focus of concern for them. Pentecostal lay members of the governing boards play a similar role in their churches.

All these Puerto Rican "leaders" work toward having the newly-arrived keep a positive, self-confident image of themselves. By so doing, they foster some degree of cultural pluralism, which "seeks to assure all those who want to express their religious or other emotions <u>via</u> their own institutions and organizations that they will not be ridiculed or persecuted for being "different."[33]

The immigrant situation demands a continuous "role-taking." Since there are no ready made models or norms for

them to follow, they will take their cues from older migrants, especially relatives and friends, and, then, from these ethnic leaders or intermediaries so as to develop consistent and satisfactory patterns of behavior and to enjoy at least a minimum of functionality and acceptance by the receiving society.[34] Puerto Rican newcomers in the Islip area enjoy a range of services provided by several social agencies, and school systems of good quality, which embody some sort of bilingual education. Although their needs are often still inadequately served, it is fair to recognize that, generally speaking, social services offer to these migrants a kind of shortcut toward adaptation, when compared to the old waves of migration into the American mainland. However, among other institutions, the Roman Catholic Church, is failing the Latin Catholics by the high standards established by the same Church in dealing with former ethnic migrant groups. It is difficult, therefore, to strike a balance, which would allow us to compare this recent migration with those of earlier ethnic groups which found in religion, race, and common national origin much stronger foundations on which to establish and maintain their identity and from which progressively to assimilate into the mainstream of the American society.

SUMMARY

A new, simpler definition of adaptation is proposed here which seems closely to adhere to the research data. Successful adaptation is conceived of as a functional ability to perform new and redefined universal and particularistic

roles in the environments of the receiving society in such a way that is productive of a certain level of individual and family satisfaction which often results in a decision to stay. It is not the resulting feeling as such, but the fact that this feeling is grounded on social relationships, which the actor and the family identify as satisfactory, that makes adaptation a psychosocial concept whose operational definition would include both social and psychological components. On the basis of the awareness of such a degree of satisfaction and of the assessment of its objective chances and its expectations in the host society, the family reaches a decision either to stay on the mainland or to return to the place of origin. Such a decision is often subjected to weighing and revision. This trait is a crucial charasteristic of Puerto Rican migration to the United States mainland. The "will to stay" on the mainland, when it is "willing" or not merely an instrumental one cr out of sheer financial need, can be regarded both as a resultant of a certain degree of satisfaction and adaptation to the host society and, in its turn, as an important factor affecting further adaptation.

Varieties of adaptation could be distinguished along the different dimensions included in its operational definition. The will to stay on the mainland, however, insofar as it is grounded on a variety of reasons and motivations seems to play an axial role as indicator when the evaluation of the extent of the migrant adjustment is concerned. For example, the will to stay will be either "undivided" or "divided",

according to the agreement or, respectively, disagreement among the family members as to the focal issue of an eventual return to the native island. The "object-oriented" mode of behavior can be taken either as an indicator of adaptation or also as a factor affecting adaptation.

The following factors seem to contribute in a primary way to migrant family adaptation: 1) the Puerto Rican community in the area; 2) the contact with relatives in the area; 3) the "mejor ambiente," namely the improvement in their standard of living over that in Puerto Rico; 4) the "personalized institutional welcome" or personalized role performance by intermediaries; and 5) the individual's skills and resources.

The different time spans on the mainland going from one to fifteen years do not seem to make much difference as far as basic value orientations of the adults are concerned. The values, customs, and beliefs of the Puerto Rican community in the Islip area resemble in many ways those of the native island. There is a need for research focusing on the interplay of the factors time and will to stay in the context of the partly transformed value system of the family and of the current economic opportunities at the time of decision.

The value orientation here termed "family group-oriented personalism" seems pervasive in these families, and governs their positive and negative assessments of the institutions of the host society. Some criteria of efficiency, however, seem to guide also some migrant definition and appraisal of the situation. Further research should test the

eventual increase in the use of such criteria of efficiency as compared with the use of merely "personalistic" criteria as an indicator of cultural assimilation.

Migrants have a strong tendency toward personalizing bureaucratic roles by making them and expecting them to be defined in a more diffuse rather than in a minimalist or just specific way. A "personalization" of the work role seems to be a sure indicator of satisfaction with the attainments in the community, and, thus, of positive adaptation.

Most of the adult migrants in the group seem to follow an intermediate course between the person and the object-oriented modes of behavior, maybe nearer to the former than to the latter. A few of them, however, maybe approach nearer the object-oriented mode at least temporarily.

A "personalized institutional welcome" predisposes the migrant to take an active role in the new society, sometimes as a volunteer for the concerned institution or agency giving him such a "welcome," thereby accelerating his adaptation to the host society.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER XIV

1. Lyle W. Shannon, "Urban Adjustment and Its Relationship to the Social Antecedents of Immigrant Workers," International Review of Community Development, 13-14 (1965), 182, 184.

2. Some of the ways in which the concepts of assimilation and integration are used, as discussed in the Review of Literature, do not seem to fit the interpretation of the changes experienced by the Islip families. Firstly, the short span of time covered by the Islip study group only allows for a limited degree of cultural assimilation under the circumstances of heavy migrant concentration and kin chain migration. Integration or structural assimilation is a more useful concept when dealing with the second generation to which only very few of the children in the study group belong. Secondly, assimilation and integration are sometimes used in a loaded or ideological sense that implies "a rigid and ethnocentric conception of the integration process" (G. Baglioni, "Gli orientamenti negli studi sull'integrazione socio-culturale dell' immigrato," Revista Internazionale de Scienze Sociali, Anno LXX (1962), No. 3, No. 5, 220). However, Fichter (1957), among others, defines assimilation as a two-way process. Such a balanced conceptualization allows us to account for the migrant's active contributions to the host society (Cf. Chapter II, "The study of assimilation and adaptation"). Most of the current literature conceives of cultural assimilation or acculturation of migrants as a sort of continuous process. "Acculturation and assimilation are points on a continuum, extending from a point of maximum difference brtween people to one where . . . two groups are no longer distinguishable, . . ." (L. W. Shannon and M. Shannon, "The Assimilation of Migrants to Cities," in L. Schnore and H. Fagin, Urban Research and Policy Planning [Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1967], 49-75, at 52). The initial stage of this process is represented by the concept of adjustment or adaptation. Its well advanced state is represented by the concept of integration or structural assimilation. (Cf. Review of Literature, "The study of assimilation and adaptation"). However, a different conceptualization is possible, according to which adaptation means a sort of migrant functioning in the new environment which adds up to mere survival. Its opposite pole would be maladjustment or maladaptation rather than integration. In this view the adaptive mechanisms put the migrant in contact with the immediate environment of the migrant group and institutions, rather than with the institutions of the host society. Such conceptualization would fully

apply in a situation of perfect isolation of the migrant group from the larger institutional environment which seldom happens. Conceiving of such a purely adaptive situation entails a clear-cut distinction between adaptation and assimilation which is then understood as a unidirectional process. In most situations, however, the migrant group maintains some degree of contact with the institutions of the larger society, so that the migrant adaptive behavior is compatible with a degree of cultural assimilation. Assimilation is then fittingly conceived as a two-way process as in Fichter (1957, p. 229). On the one hand, as shown in the last chapter, the migrant adopts a variety of behavioral patterns and values of the host society while keeping most of his traditional values and playing various particularistic roles. On the other hand, the migrant is also able, through his particularistic behavior, to actively contribute to and influence the groupings and institutions of the larger society to a degree that depends on the size of the migrant group, the consistency of its values with those of the dominant culture and on many other circumstances. In other words, adaptive mechanisms often have assimilative consequences. As shown in the Review of Literature, Italian ethnic parishes in the New York area served as bridges which put in contact Italian immigrants with the larger American Roman Catholic Church thereby introducing them into the institutional environment of the larger society. Similarly Latin bilingual teachers are not only helping Latin students to partly preserve their cultural identity upon their arrival in the United States, but at the same time they are introducing them and their parents to the operation and values of the American public school system and mainstream society. Latin bilingual teachers in Islip, for instance, seem extremely influential upon the rising educational aspirations of the Puerto Rican families. In default of such adaptive mechanisms, at least first generation migrants are often unable to maintain direct, meaningful contacts with the institutions of the larger society, but rather remain secluded or segregated within their migrant primary and secondary groupings. This view is shared by E. V. Stonequist when he writes: "The average immigrant does not become fully assimilated but he makes a workable adjustment... The immigrant community's culture gradually changes and provides him with a cultural framework. His children and grandchildren may further his adjustment...." ("The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict," in E. W. Burgess and D. J. Bogue, eds., Contributions to Urban Sociology [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964], 334). The marginal migrant is the one who is both maladjusted to the migrant group and

rejected by the larger society because he is still insufficiently assimilated to it and because of ethnocentric and racial prejudices.

3. See chapter VII on universal and particularistic roles.

4. Mills, Senior, Goldsen define adaptation as "psychic contentment and inconspicuous functioning." The authors term the first component of their definition "subjective" insofar as it refers to the migrants' expressed feelings. They term the second component "objective" insofar as it refers to the expectations that the authorities and professionals of the host society have of the migrants who are the subjects of the study. "Objectively, and from the standpoint of society, adjustment can have only a formal meaning: to adjust is to function inconspicuously." (The Puerto Rican Journey [New York: Harper and Bros., 1950], 140). However, when it comes to making such a concept operational, both the subjective and the objective components are defined according to objective criteria and assumptions, that is according to the point of view of the host society. The authors assume: "Both difficulty with English and trouble with the authorities and agencies probably cause psychic discontent." (Ibid., 142) Authorities expect strangers to adjust so as to function inconspicuously by speaking English and not resorting to relief and other public agencies. In contrast the techniques they use to measure both the subjective and the objective components are of the subjective kind, namely self-rating or self-evaluation answers by the migrants to questions posed by the interviewer. We think that both components -- "psychic contentment" and "inconspicuous functioning" -- somewhat reflect the ethnocentric view of assimilation. In fact the authors refer to adaptation as "an adjustment to the general norms of the society". (Ibid., 139) Methodologically, our contention is that it is more valid and consistent to use self-rating or self-assessment procedures to size up the point of view of the family, as we have done in our study, than to size up the point of view of the authorities (especially when this is inferred from migrants' reports).

5. C. L. Peterson, and Th. J. Scheff, "Theory, Method, and Findings in the Study of Acculturation," International Review of Community Development, 13-14 (1965), 159.

6. The analysis of the data reveals that only in a very few cases the migrant family arrives in the mainland with very definite plans for an early return to Puerto Rico as soon as they make enough money to buy a home over there. Nearly all adults, however, keep some hope for returning some day to their island to buy their own home and perhaps to establish a small business.

Only a few of the migrants find it so difficult having to stay on the mainland that their anxiety may introduce in their family a source of relative divisiveness ("divided" families), although sheer economic need holds them back on the mainland. Families are generally undivided in their realistic appraisal of the chances for return under the jointly agreed upon conditions for return. Nearly all the parents have discovered that return is not that easy, and have been able to return to their island just for occasional visits. They see the fulfilment of their aspirations to return as taking place in a distant, indefinite date. In some cases the improvement of the family's economic position only adds up to its mere survival, and thus the outlook of an eventual return to the island is so dim, that the parents comfort themselves with the idea of going there "to die."

7. Cf. George C. Myers and George Masnick, "The Migration Experience of New York Puerto Ricans: A perspective on Return," International Migration Review, Spring, 1968, 80-90.

8. Cf. Chapter XIII, "Socioeconomic and sociocultural change." Personalism is here defined, in the light of the critical theory of society, as the value stressing symbolic communication and understanding between individuals and groups, and is seen as logically irreducible to the value of efficiency implying manipulation and instrumental rationalization. J. Habermas says that "in order to participate in normal discourse, the speaker must have -- in addition to his linguistic competence -- basic qualifications of speech and of symbolic interaction (role-behavior) at his disposal, which we may call communicative competence" ("Toward a Theory of Communicative Competence," in H. P. Dreitzel, ed., Recent Sociology No. 2_ New York: [The Macmillan Company, 1970], 115-148, at 138). According to Habermas, in a situation of pure inter-subjectivity or unhindered symbolic communication, social action would be controlled by the motives in exact correspondence with the intention of the actor-speaker. Asymmetries in the performance of the dialogue roles induced by the social structure actually deform such an ideal speech situation (Ibid., 144-146). Puerto Ricans in the study strive for mastering the means necessary to establish this ideal speech situation and attempt to disregard and oppose the empirical limitations imposed by the social structure. In simpler words, they place high value on dignity, personal worth, and equality.

9. Cf. J. Habermas, Ibid., and Trent Schroyer, "Toward a Critical Theory for Advanced Insustrial Society," in H. P. Dreitzel, op. cit., 210-234.

10. J. Habermas, op. cit., 144.

11. By instrumental rationalization Habermas understands the control of the systems of symbolic interaction by those of instrumental action. Communicative action or symbolic interaction is governed by binding consensual norms. Instrumental action, however, is governed by technical rules based on empirical knowledge. It is not interested in the maintenance of inter-subjectivity of mutual understanding and communication without domination, but in the expansion of technical control. It is not interested in achieving an ideal of "good life," but in solving technical problems. Authority structures often hide self-serving interests of the de facto political and economic power behind the technocratic facade and the "pressure of structural constraints" (T. Schroyer, op. cit., 219).

12. A few months after the field work for the present study was completed, a Spanish priest started a catechetical program in Spanish for the first time.

13. "In this procedure professionals from the bureaucratic organization go into the 'home' of the primary group and develop an informal relationship with the family they seek to convert to organizational goals . . . We would argue that in order to reach very distant families -- those organized in primary groups and holding views antithetical to education -- it is necessary to establish a primary-group type of relation with them. Only after the communicator has been accepted as a trusted member of the group can the school's views make an impact on the family" (Eugene Litwak and Henry J. Meyer, "The School and the Family: Linking Organizations and External Primary Groups," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld et al., The Uses of Sociology [New York: Basic Books, 1967], 533, 537).

14. Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press, 1962), 259.

15. In this and further paragraphs a resume of Gans' application of Meadian concepts to his case study is presented here. Cf. H. J. Gans, op. cit., 98-102. Cf. Anselm Strauss, ed., The Social Psychology of George Herbert Mead (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956). When Gans says that the West-Ender does not develop a self-image, he is using this concept with reference to a special conceptual framework. In a more current terminology we would say that the self-image of the West-Ender is inadequate insofar as it is pervaded by immediate and familiar emotions while it lacks the perspective provided by detached members of secondary groups.

16. Cf. especially the families Cabrera, Garcia, Lopez, and Roberto Rodriguez in the Chapter "Continuity and Change in Child Rearing and Children's Role-Expectations of Their Parents."

17. H. J. Gans, op. cit., 258.

18. Gans, op. cit., 163-169.

19. Ibidem, 85.

20. Gans, op. cit., 327.

21. Gans, op. cit., 95.

22. Gans, op. cit., 290, 291, 297, 325.

23. Cf. Jurgen Habermas, op. cit. Cf. Trent Schroyer, op. cit.

24. Gans, op. cit., 307.

25. Trent Schroyer, op. cit., 229.

26. Gans, op. cit., 165.

27. In this context it would be worthy of further research the extent to which a "norm of reciprocity" presides over the reciprocal exchange and contribution between immigrants and receiving society, so that the limited opportunity, for instance, for social mobility offered by this receiving society would at least partly explain the very limited readiness and even the reluctance to give up traditional values and patterns of behavior. The eventual functioning of such a "norm of reciprocity, however, would be studied first, in the case of the Puerto Rican migration, in the island itself where the diffusion of American culture grows ever more intense. There is a remarkable contrast, however, between Seda Bonilla's (1970) pessimism about the island and Gordon's (Assimilation, p. 76) appraisal of the rate of cultural assimilation of the Puerto Ricans on the mainland.

28. A locality in Northern Nassau County with which the researcher is well acquainted, is a case to the point. The School Board has managed first not to allocate federal earmarked funds to the specific educational priorities of the Spanish-speaking and other minorities for which those funds were appropriated. Later on, under some short-lived community pressure, when some sort of bilingual program had at last to be started, the Board

has chosen to hire non-Latin American teachers, more or less fully bilingual, rather than Latin bilingual teachers who could better identify with the Spanish-speaking students and stand for their needs.

29. O. Handlin, The Newcomers (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1962), 112.

30. Cf. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, Puerto Rican Americans (Englewood Cliffs, J.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 32-33.

31. O. Handlin, op. cit., 112.

32. Cf. Chapter XII, "The migrant religious experience and the churches" on the "cursillistas," Members of a lay Catholic movement.

33. "For those who wish to assimilate, there should be no artificial barriers placed in their way; for those who wish to maintain ethnic integrity, their efforts should be met with tolerance and appreciation . . . Democracy demands that the human personality in its course of development should be allowed to proceed without artificial forces or barricades, so long as this development does not violate the safety and reasonable rights of others. In this way the nation will achieve, at least for a long time to come, a desirable 'unity in diversity'" (Gordon Allport, quoted in C. Senior and William S. Bernard, op. cit., 6-7).

34. Clarence Senior and William S. Bernard, eds., Toward Cultural Democracy (New York: Associated Educational Services Corporation, 1968), 6-7.

CHAPTER XV

THE TEN MIGRANT FAMILIES

Introduction

The family case studies or "whole family" portraits have been put together by combining the data from the focused interviews of the individual family members. These data have been then elaborated and interpreted after the Hess and Handel framework for the study of the family "as a unit," and the role-theory and symbolic interactionist approach of Ralph H. Turner.

Not each one of the five processes Hess and Handel described to comprehend the network of family interaction has been equally highlighted in each of the case studies presented here. It would have been an extremely long and sometimes impossible task. While one of those five processes seems to be more evidently at work in one of the families -- for instance, the self-conscious expansion of boundaries of experience in the Garcia family -- , a different process stands out in another family, like the strong tension between "separateness" and "connectedness" among the Cabreras. Even if these two different processes are always present in

every family, their different salience in the two mentioned families had to be reflected in the composition of the respective case studies. Similar illustrations could be offered about the rest of the family processes. We present these families in the order which has been explained and justified in Chapter XIV.

THE ROMANO: A CASE OF TEMPORARY MIGRATION AND ADAPTATION

The Romanos follow the general pattern of migration from Puerto Rico to Long Island. Single men or husbands come first, work on the farms, try different jobs, find livable quarters, and, then, when the occasion is favorable, they "send to get" the family.

"Aqui hay mas ambiente:" over here there are more chances, more convenience, more comfort, better economic opportunity - all this is included in that short, stereotyped answer. In spite of the frank recognition, many families long for an early return to their island, though not all of them, of course. In a specific way, the less fortunate of them do not see any chances over there. They want to satisfy what they look at as basic, reachable needs over here: running water, electricity, neighboring schools, etc.

Many came before the great Puerto Rican economic push of the last ten years. They then compare their current situation over here with a past situation that no longer exists quite the same in their island.

Unemployment here is softened to a great extent by the welfare checks. As a consequence, the most deprived and the less skilled are the most likely to come and try and stay for good. The less deprived, when they come, bring plans for improving their economic lot and then for returning to their island.

They keep together for generations unless college or success in a small business or intermarriage in a few cases

come to erode the widespread network of extended family and fellow Puerto Rican relationships.

The Romano family was not that deprived. On both sides the parents enjoyed a moderate income. But, both were large families. The Romano's quest is not for survival, but for a happy welding of the large family intimacy and support and the moderate comforts of the American life in its lower middle class version.

The Romanos, though, are among the very small minority arriving with very definite plans for an early return to Puerto Rico for good. But even in the less fortunate the hope exists, in most cases, for returning there some day, at least "to die."

A ground pattern of family continuity: the extended and often large family

The Romanos proceed from large close-knit, modest, non-poor families and, like many other families with similar traits, they try to further close family relationships, including continuing traditional child-rearing ideals.

The only difference as to the ideals in upbringing is seen in the material and educational facilities enjoyed by today's children that certainly are looked at in a positive light. These improved chances, however, do not seem to have altered the basic value orientation of the family upbringing.

Separateness and connectedness

The migration of the whole family resolved the tension produced by the half a year separation during seven years.

The temporary loss of the extended family was compensated by the reunion of the nuclear family. There is nothing that could indicate an unnecessary delay in the reunion of the father with the mother and children in Islip. Strong identification and task-oriented bonds are evident. Nobody thinks of himself except in terms of the others. The girls feel much more attracted to and dependent on their parents than to each other. The two axes of the family unity are parents here and grandparents in Puerto Rico. The extended family and the fellow villagers, both from the island and their representatives here, overshadow and foster family unity like the warm atmosphere of a greenhouse.

Closeness, need for affection, playing and physical contact attest to the desire for reunion and the strong centripetal forces keeping the Romanos together.

"She is happy because I am happy." "She is almost always happy." "The girls are happier. They love me more all the time since we are together." "To be happy with them." All these answers speak of the current development of crescive bonds in the form of shared experience and "we" feeling. The old identity bonds become intensified through the mutual involvement of each member of the family with the others. Also, incomplete actions like the saving for a house in Puerto Rico, and interlocking roles or division of tasks in the family bringing about a sense of responsibility are other forms of crescive bonds.

Congruence of images and division of labor

A measure of the separateness interplaying with the family connectedness is given by the differentiation of images and roles. Mr. and Mrs. Romano have very definite self and partner-images that, in spite of their divergence, they have worked out to a high degree of congruence and predictability of behavior. "I think I am more humble and quieter than she." "I have a quicker temper than he. I make my mind up sooner than he does. He thinks everything too much." They both agree that she is the one readier to save to build up a house and to give an education to the children. "He asks me for my opinion about anything he intends to do... He has improved. In Puerto Rico he liked more going around... He feels he works for them and takes care of them."

Mr. Romano is caustic when he makes a caricature of the American wife. He is thus strongly asserting the adherence to the traditional Latin role of the housewife even though Mrs. Romano has an enlarged domestic role since she also takes care of several boarders. She seems to agree basically to the same cultural pattern even though her comparison of the American and Puerto Rican husband is rather matter of fact. Affection toward her husband and task bonds would be the main considerations to work outside the home.

No doubt, strong identity and crescive bonds play down the mild disagreement hinted at when reference is made to the husband going out with friends.

The girls' self-images are not yet differentiated enough from those the parents hold of them. "I intend to remain with my parents." Parents and grandparents are the loving model from whom they take cues to behave and to wish for something, an early return to Puerto Rico in a specific way. Competition and sibling rivalry helps to sharpen Sara's and Petra's self-images. Petra recognizes that Sara likes to help a little more than she does and seems to be jealous of Sara having more girl friends at school. Petra seems to have a negative view of Julia who helps willingly at home according to Sara. Either Sara is working out an alignment with every member of the family to isolate Petra, or Petra shows hard feelings toward Julia, similar to those Sara shows toward her.

Their images, though, find a wide area of compatibility in the affection for parents and grandparents and in their longing for Puerto Rico.

Dominance and alignments

Sara aligns herself with her father. Mrs. Romano aligns herself with Julia and Petra and Mary. Perhaps she is a little closer to Petra whom she considers easiest to handle. Petra, in turn, feels closer to her mother.

Mr. Romano does not individualize the images of the girls enough. His relationship to them seems to be more global and affective than his wife's. This may be partly attributed to his long separation from the family. Even now, however, he spends much less time with the children than his

wife. But, when he does, he enjoys playing with them rather than get acquainted with their individual development or participate in their guidance or correction. "He spoils them," says his wife.

Even though Sara's answer to the question "Who is the head of the house?" was "Daddy," it seems likely that neither one of the parents has a clear dominant position in the family. Mrs. Romano's more resolute character and quick temper as well as the trends of her expressions, however, seem to indicate a slight advantage as far as dominance is concerned: "When he is home I let him do whatever he pleases." This points to the centrality of the mother in the communication network. Her constant presence at home, and her firm governing attitude, and her managerial aptitude allows her to take care of four boarders. Her role as hostess is a source of income for the family and, as a result, she draws, if compared with the relatively one-sided daily performance of her husband, a favorable balance. She seems to follow her mother's course who runs the husband's store besides being a housewife.

Boundary setting and communication with the larger society

The family is happily enclosed within its village subcultural circle of relationships in Islip. There is no reason to give up a single cultural trait when you do not get anything in exchange. Spontaneity and intergenerational continuity have the upper hand wherever there are no other allures offering reasonable alternatives, like higher occupational opportunity, higher social status, etc.

When no reachable enticements are offered, to be at home, to live where you were born, to be with your own people are forces too strong to resist. Traditional roles are accepted without discussion. Mrs. Romano does not feel her social position has been improved, nor any social boundaries crossed. She visits the same places and has the same friends. Mr. Romano thinks his social position has improved, most probably a result of a fairly recent increase in wages. His friendships and his occupational category have not changed so as to justify such an appraisal. He does feel more optimistic and self-confident however when he is asked about his prospects of fulfilling his aspirations and, in a specific way, his hopes for intergenerational social mobility. Therefore, the Romanos have settled for the same boundaries narrowly encircling the family world of experience as they were accustomed to in their village. Help is expected from relatives and friends, not from agencies of the larger society.

In keeping in touch with the familiar there is also a search for intensity and quality in the close-knit family relationships: parents and children being together and praying together. The peace and quietness are only briefly disturbed by some hot tempered talking by Mrs. Romano when her girls make a mess. She also would like to enlarge her motherly feelings and experience by having a male baby after her four girls. She misses her shopping at the village and her going to the Post Office, and, above all, her continuous

calling on her family. She does not drive a car, and the stores are very far away. Her vital space has narrowed considerably and she is not even able to go to church every Sunday because her husband is working.

There is no grumbling about the narrow traditional boundaries imposed on her when she grew up. The girls could not go out without their parents, and the boys had to be back before dark.

The Romano girls have in school a precarious extension of their home experience. Petra suffers because she has not been able to make new girl friends and she misses her friends in the island. Their games take place among themselves or with a neighbor Puerto Rican girl. Both the girls and the parents mention appreciatively a bilingual Puerto Rican teacher who has sometimes called on the home and has been instrumental in the parents participation in P.T.A. meetings. They did so also at the school in Puerto Rico.

The girls speak more Spanish than English at home after two years in Islip. Sara seems more successful than Petra in making friends. The two girls she mentions are both Puerto Rican.

Their bikes allow them a moderate extension of their customary environment to a few blocks. Their dreams of their grandparents and of Puerto Rico make up the rest.

Mr. Romano must miss his friends with whom he used to go around, according to his wife. He is happy that he has improved the quality of life for his family. He is sure of

being able to improve that quality even further when all of them return to Puerto Rico to live in their own house in five years time.

The constant presence of the four boarders who watch television with the family in the evening hours must surely somewhat hinder the family spontaneity and inhibit the girls in a particular way. There remain the two bedrooms as the only strictly family space where expression can be entirely free.

Involvement in community organizations requires, besides some educational training, a certain degree of identification with the local community. School is, for the Romanos, as important as church. Its operation, though, is seen as servicing and complementing the family upbringing, not as a community service fostering identification and demanding loyalty to the larger society. Church seems to have an impact upon the value orientation and expectations of the family and also upon its home ritual. Two of Mrs. Romano's sisters are nuns. Mr. Romano's parents were also exceptionally religious people. There is evidence, therefore, of the contribution that the homogeneity in values may have upon the Romano family harmony and cohesiveness. Because of its universal, not locally-bound specific goals, and the largely bureaucratic ethos of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, religion does not bring about in the Romanos any sign of loyalty to the local community. The fact that Mr. Romano has to work on Sundays and that they often miss church does not help either.

Work is viewed in an instrumental way. There is no prospect for occupational promotion nor are new skills acquired. A good pay, however, has made the life of the Romanos more comfortable, and, above all, allows them to save for building a house in Puerto Rico next year. The limits of the present work situation are transcended by Mr. Romano's aspiration of establishing a restaurant in Puerto Rico some day.

Communication is good at the family level and at family related activities like school and church. It is also good among the fellow workers. It does not exist, though, with the bosses at work or with the community organizations other than school and church. There is no communication with upper social classes. The residential patterns prevent the Puerto Rican and black American families predominant in the Romano neighborhood from mixing or even meeting the upper classes. There is no sign of bitter resentment among them because most of them seem to have improved their existences when they established themselves in this quiet area.

The aspirations for intergenerational mobility are moderate and the expectations are accordingly founded on self-reliance and realism. The Romano's families of orientation were lower middle class in Puerto Rico. But the children have to struggle not to sink into the lower class because of their families' large size.

The link that the boarders' experiences provide with the larger society has not been explored, but it must be

very likely the same as that established by Mr. Romano.

The nuclear family (or, vicariously, other relatives or fellow villagers) acts as a mediator or shock absorber between the individual migrant and the larger society. It is only inside this group that he can fully preserve his self-esteem and not feel alienated. The organizations of the larger society (work, social agencies, school, church, etc.) seldom provide him with primary group relationships to replace those from the home country. Friendship with fellow workers is generally restricted to the work schedule. Even if the worker, like Mr. Romano, points to his job satisfaction, his avowed lack of opportunities for promotion and learning new skills on one side, and his aspiration for establishing his own business, show at least a partial alienation from his work. The public school and, in a specific way, the teachers of the Bilingual Program, seem to be the most responsive and forthcoming organization agents and, therefore, the most capable to complement the support of the nuclear family to achieve a certain degree of adaptation to the new environment.

A theme: returning to the family and to the familiar environment

Each member of the Romano family expresses this recurrent longing for reunion with the grandparents and other members of the extended family in the familiar environment of the home village. They seem anxious to terminate their migratory period as soon as possible. Only in the village

and with its own people the full development of the identity and intimacy of the family seems possible. The saving and planning activities, the only steady friendship with fellow villagers longing and planning for a similar aim, everything, in a word, focuses on this pursuit and gives dynamism and hope to the Romano family.

The extreme answer given by Sara when asked what she would like to become when she grows up could be regarded as a sort of sub-theme: "Nothing but the family." There is little interest in the outside society. School visiting is seen as reinforcing family centeredness. It opens the door, however, to aspirations for intergenerational social mobility. The general pattern is one of avoidance of unfamiliar places and people. Much of what was said above about the boundary setting activity could be recalled here.

The tone or climate of family interaction

The very rational planning of the Romano family for an early return shows that its instrumental function tends ultimately to the achievement of full expression of feelings.

Love is a cultural pattern to which one is socialized depending on a favorable set of social relationships and, in its turn, setting in motion a bonding process. Large families seem more likely to develop a network of intrafamilial cooperative relationships because of the functional requirements posed by the demanding multiple child rearing process. The pattern of love is taught mainly by the example of the loving relationship between the parents and by admonition.

Both families of orientation seem to have successfully fostered a loving atmosphere. Religious values seem to have decisively contributed to it. The Romanos have successfully achieved continuity as to the loving tone of the family interaction. They also radiate self-reliance and optimism.

Love prevents conflict from developing although some disagreement as to child rearing between the parents appears in Mrs. Romano's answers as it has already been mentioned when the congruence of images was considered. Mrs. Romano's flexibility and tact are also helpful as far as avoidance of conflict is concerned.

Temporary adaptation

If Lyle W. Shannon's items in his index of adaptation are provisionally accepted, then the Romanos are a fairly well adapted family. Both parents show a reasonable satisfaction with respective jobs and with the community in which they live. The girls, however, just extol the advantages of being in Puerto Rico and do not seem particularly well adapted to the community. Sara, however, seems better adapted to school than Petra who hardly has made any friends. The Romano family is also well adapted to the suburban environment insofar as the total family income has substantially increased. The boarders must more than meet the house rent and the wages of the husband must be high since they can face the family expenses and also make substantial savings to start building a house in Puerto Rico next year. The conditions and possessions of the home are modest, extremely clean, and

the furniture seems brand new. Mr. Romano feels that his social position is higher than it was in Puerto Rico and this proves, though Mrs. Romano thinks it has not changed, that the material success has made him more self-reliant. His expectations in the short run (house in Puerto Rico) and in the long run (restaurant) are becoming closer and closer to his aspirations. This closeness excludes frustration and can be as good an indicator of adaptation as the job satisfaction mentioned by Lyle W. Shannon.

The increase of income is at the root of the general level of adaptation because almost every other item is dependent on it. In the case of the Romano family, in a specific way, adaptation to the receiving society is assuredly achieved, if of a temporary kind, once the goal of the migration is at hand: first, getting a better paid job; second, being thus able to save money to build a house in the home country.

The work place is the only organization of the larger society whose direct impact on the internal family structure, and, in a specific way, on the division of authority can easily be traced. Mr. Romano's role of main and successful money earner assures him of a dominant position in that particular sphere. The dominant position of Mrs. Romano in the child rearing and home economic spheres grant her an equally important role in the family, who strives not only for economic betterment, but also for togetherness, affection, and religious values.

THE ARROYO: THE EXTENDED FAMILY AND ITS FUNCTION OF SUPPORT AND ISOLATION

First links with the receiving society

Mrs. Arroyo is about 31 years old. Her parents were farm workers and raised in poverty their seven children in the farmlands of Puerto Rico. Mrs. Arroyo got married when she was 15, and has seven children: five of them from her first husband and two more from her second one. Her first husband came to the mainland around 1964. He worked in a factory in the city. Two years later, in 1966, he sent to get his wife and children. "We came," says Mrs. Arroyo, "because we had no home in Puerto Rico and because my husband used to drink a lot in Puerto Rico. He used to squander the money and fall in love and beat me up. But, he promised me he was going to behave here. So we came. I wanted that the two of us would work so as to save to buy a house in Puerto Rico. My sister Rafaela got the apartment in the city for us. One nearly always has the father or brothers or friends ... like when my sister Rafaela, who has her car and her comfort, helped my other sister with the children when she came from Puerto Rico until she could manage. Rafaela and her husband also helped me to move when I got this apartment. They came from the city...I got this apartment here about five years ago through a workmate who was living in here. And I got my job through a Puerto Rican friend whom I knew back in the island."

But Mrs. Arroyo's first husband did not change on the

mainland. He kept falling in love and wasting money. "I had to take the children to my mother in Puerto Rico and return in sorrow to the city where I worked at the same time two jobs in order to be able to pay the rent and send money to my mother," says Mrs. Arroyo. Then she goes on: "I and my husband separated after six months of living in the city. Since I had to be alone anyway, I was not going to support a man. I could not stand him any longer. He was never at home."

Alcohol, infidelity, "machismo"

Mrs. Arroyo says: "I confide my problems to my sister Juana or to my mother. I have great trust in my mother. She suffered a lot. My father fell in love with another woman. He left us when I was 12 years old. He came to the mainland. All he wants is to drink. He learned that from his parents. One of my sisters then had to start working as a house maid when she was 12 years old in a city in Puerto Rico. My mother had also to work." Besides her mother, Mrs. Arroyo has another sister who is also separated from her husband. Therefore, her life history allows her for a blunt generalization: "In Puerto Rico most of the husbands are like that. Their wives have problems with them. Few of them fulfill their obligations toward their children. The economic situation also helps. They have little spirit. They do not struggle for their children. In older times there were nice old men faithful to their families. Today's husbands couldn't care less. Just that they be able to eat".

On Sundays two married sisters from the city and the mother and another sister from Islip meet together at Mrs. Arroyo's house. She has no car and some of her sisters have one. Mr. Arroyo does not live at home. Maybe they separated or, rather, never married, even civilly, since he only visits Mrs. Arroyo regularly. Since Mrs. Arroyo is working and gets a small supplement from the Welfare for the five children from her first husband, she is not a likely Welfare "player" or abuser. She gets help, Mrs. Arroyo says, from Mr. Arroyo, the father of the two youngest children, but no help whatsoever from her first husband and father of the five oldest ones. Mrs. Arroyo also has a good friend in a Puerto Rican compadre, that is, the godfather in the baptism of one of the youngest children. He also lives in Islip and sometimes takes the Arroyo family out for a picnic or to the beach.

Family structure and processes

Mrs. Arroyo says: "We eat together Saturdays and Sundays. When I come home from work, I have to cook and I have to take care of the children's clothes for the next day. I have to supervise the homework. I have to bathe the children, etc. I end up exhausted." The children, in the absence of their father, (Felipe says: "I have no father"), have developed very strong identification bonds with their mother. Strong response bonds are also evident among each and every member of the family. For Felipe (9) the most important people are "my big brother and sisters who are in Puerto Rico and all my family." Clara (12) enjoys the togetherness

provided by family games like card playing. She aligns herself strongly with her mother: "My mother, that is what I like best in my family." And Felipe also reveals a similar identification when he says: "I am going to work in the factory where my mother works." Felipe confides his problems to his mother and sometimes to his grandmother who also lives in Islip. He would like to have one hundred dollars to buy something for his mother and for his whole family. He enjoys particularly that his mother brings them candy when they are good and that she helps them with their homework. Response bonds are evident in his image of a good nine year old boy and in his self-image coming close to the former one: He always helps his mother and his own family by "doing things they want him to do. I do that." Clara says she helps her mother "to do a lot of stuff." She is helped by her mother with her homework and she helps her brother with his own and she also cooks sometimes for him. The norm of reciprocity seems fully at work: "A good brother", Clara says, "must help her sister when she is in trouble because sometimes I help him with his homework." Clara confides her problems to her teen-ager aunt who often calls on the Arroyos and babysits her nephew and nieces frequently. The grandmother also comes and babysits regularly.

Although Felipe has a feeling of what a proper role allocation in a Puerto Rican home is, he cannot avoid sharing in the household chores since he is the only male at home. He says: "I don't like to clean up the house. I leave that

for my sister. I know how to fix the baby's milk, spaghetti, pancakes, coffee, soup, etc. Clara has taught me. I also watch her cooking." He also likes to play with his small sisters "teaching them things". Mrs. Arroyo says: "Clara helps me only to clean the kitchen, etc. Felipe helps me a little bit. He is a little bit lazy."

Occupational aspirations for her children seem to have risen in the mother's mind at least as far as Felipe is concerned: "I would like that Felipe could study, so that he would not have to go to a factory. It is brute work and you earn a miserable pay." Clara says her mother wants her to be a housewife. She wants to be a nurse.

Having a house in Puerto Rico and going to live there is a recurrent family theme that surely fosters and shows identification with the mother's goals and hopes.

Partial dissatisfaction and isolation from the larger society

The supportive role of members of the extended family makes for partial isolation from the institutions of the larger society. The services provided by these relatives have an economic value insofar as they permit Mrs. Arroyo to work. She can thereby avoid full disclosure of the family problems to the social agencies and a consequent full fledged contact and dependence on them. She says: "The Welfare gives me $125. I keep a very tight budget. I don't like to go there to bother the social workers. I like to work." Although Mrs. Arroyo sounds sincere, it would take a very subtle and risky probe in such a touchy subject to make sure that besides her

liking for work, such an arrangement as receiving just regular visits from Mr. Arroyo and his economic support plus the welfare supplement has been chosen as the best available combination of financial and intimate life rewards.

Some other benefits that the extended family provides are incommensurable from an economic point of view, though of the highest importance like confiding the problems to the grandmother, or to the sister, or to the aunt.

Mrs. Arroyo says that the "Neighborhood Community Center" helps the migrants a lot. She is not aware, however, of its full range of services that could benefit her family, so that she must have been just an occasional client of the center.

Mrs. Arroyo does not like living in the mainland. She finds life over here too agitated. For the children, living in the city for two years was even worse because they were not allowed to go out to play. Those years in the city were for Mrs. A. the worst of her life because of the family problems that led to her separation from her husband. "When I first arrived," she says, "I wanted to return right away. I saw run down buildings, garbage, ... Is this New York? I thought this was something of another world. But it is much uglier than Puerto Rico." Mrs. Arroyo gives the reason why she dislikes the neighborhood: "There are some Italian-American youngsters who live a few blocks from here and have chosen to park and loiter in front of our home. They often are half naked and teach dirty things to my children."

Clara says in a similar mood: "I hate it here. Teen-agers come and break the windows. They went upstairs and took away our money. The police came. Some teen-agers of this street beat us up and call us Puerto Rican pork chops." Like her mother and Felipe, she aspires to return to Puerto Rico: "I love it. I would like to live there. It was in the countryside. We would go to a big river nearby for a swim."

Child rearing takes into account both continuity in values and the threatening environment. Mrs. Arroyo says: "We were brought up always at home. We only had contact with our neighbors. I bring my children up in a not so strict a way as our parents did. But I am certainly strict. Because I do not let my children go out from my side without my permission, and only if it is appropriate. They must be indoors by six o'clock. They can play outdoors until that time." She takes Felipe out to help her with the shopping. But the lack of transportation sets further limitations to the childrens' activity. Felipe says, for instance: "My friend's father does not pick me up any longer to take me to the church as he used to." There are also financial boundaries to the family's participation in social events or organizations. Mrs. Arroyo says: "We have never attended a club either in Puerto Rico or over here. We could not afford good dresses. We used to attend just home parties." Felipe says: "Some of my friends are Cub Scouts, Marine Boys, etc. But you have to pay much and my mother does not want to."

The Arroyos' economic situation, however, has improved in this country. "My mother's brothers live better now. They have their cars and homes. We also have a better living here. Clara and Felipe had no shoes. Having a shirt or pants was something. Now I have not much, but I have. And my children, when they go out, they are well dressed."

Although Mrs. Arroyo's work role is partly responsible for such an improvement in the economic status of the family, it is also the main source of her dissatisfaction in the new environment. "The chances to find work is the only thing I like over here. You can get a job near your home," Mrs. Arroyo says. She gets a ride from a workmate, and she pays him $5 a week. She is not happy with the way she is treated at work: "You do not get a chance. They have no consideration. You may have a task and they take it away from you. There is a lot of discrimination against the Latins, even more than against the blacks. The wages are very low... A good boss we used to have was laid off for being too good. The union is worthless. The representative goes to the boss' office rather than to the workers." Mrs. Arroyo is aware of the unjust situation created in her factory by the hiring of illegal aliens poorly paid though working at a ratebusting pace. The Puerto Rican workers, however, would rather suffer the unjust situation than report the illegal aliens to the authorities.

Children getting into trouble or having learning difficulties seems to be the most frequent occasion for the

parents' contact with the school system. Clara had a problem of attention and concentration. Two Latin bilingual teachers called on the family home to discuss the matter with Mrs. Arroyo. On another occasion an American teacher hit Clara and took her to the principal. One of the Latin teachers told Mrs. Arroyo that if she got mixed up in the girl's problem, she would herself run into trouble. "She is a very good teacher, though," Mrs. Arroyo says. Clara and Felipe were guests at a party in the Latin teacher's home.

Mrs. Arroyo cannot attend the P.T.A. meetings because of the language barrier, the lack of transportation and the care of the small children.

Friendships and aspirations to return

Friends are all Puerto Ricans or Latins. It could not be otherwise if only because Mrs. Arroyo does not speak English. They play the role of intermediaries with the institutions of the larger society by helping the migrant family to find jobs, housing, etc., but also make for its partial isolation from the receiving society. Like the members of the extended family and other relatives, they provide services, for instance, interpretation and information which mitigates the need for learning English and for direct contact with Americans. Obviously in the rank of intimate relationships friends and/or neighbors come after the relatives, generally speaking, and before the workmates.

Most of the friends of the Arroyos, however, have already built up a house in Puerto Rico and have left to live

there. "Like a neighbor lady friend who used to help me a lot with the children," Mrs. Arroyo says. This nostalgia of the friends who returned to Puerto Rico adds to the other indicators of poor adaptation to the new environment after seven years in the mainland. Neighbors often turn into friends. Since most of the members of Mrs. Arroyo's family of orientation live in Buffalo or in the city, the neighbors and friends become even more significant in the life of the Arroyos.

Mrs. Arroyo is pessimistic as to the chances to save to buy a home in Puerto Rico and thus make the family's dream a reality. "The only way I see right now is the lottery. When I go shopping I always get a number," Mrs. Arroyo says.

Clara and Felipe's playmates are their cousins, who live on the same street, and three American friends who live across the street. They also have American friends at school. These American friends of the children do not have any significant impact either on changing the family group outlook regarding the neighborhood or in changing the family's basic uneasy position in the larger society.

It could be said, summing up, that the Arroyos' contacts with the larger society are reduced to the indispensible minimum. Work and school are the most obligatory and instrumental links through which the family satisfies its primary needs. Welfare and extended family, however, offer the complementary support without which a large sized family such as the Arroyos would barely survive. Lack of transportation, language command, and basic skills on one hand, and the strong

desire to return to Puerto Rico on the other, militate against achieving a fair level of adaptation, not to mention the negative aspects of work situation and neighborhood atmosphere. The Latin teacher's fear of running into trouble if she stands up for Clara before the school administration also points to a lack of institutional chances opened to the migrants not too different from that one already mentioned in the work situation. Institutional chances or opportunities and migrant's skill are the main factors for upward social mobility and adaptation. Extended family support and welfare fill up and complement as secondary factors.

THE FUENTES: APPREHENSION AND SELF-ISOLATION

The missing of a peer-group and widening boundaries

The Fuentes is a fatherless home. Edwin and Jesus are 12 and 10 years old respectively and are brothers just on the mother side. Their aspirations reveal identification with their mother. They both would like to do the same factory work as their mother does. Neither one shares, however, their mother's goals in coming to the mainland. The children's minds are still so deeply rooted in the cozy familiarity of their childhood days that they would like to return to Puerto Rico from where they came less than two years ago. They miss the more natural environment: the river, the good trees - as they evaluate them - the variety of animals, etc. But first of all, they miss the large number of friends and relatives with whom they used to be in close contact, and the greater freedom to roam around. Over here "there is too much traffic" the children repeat. The nearest outlet of the street where the Fuentes live is an important road with constant truck traffic.

Migrating was Mrs. Fuentes' decision. Her main motive was to be able both to work and to take care of the children while giving them a better education.

Edwin and Jesus seem to keep their friends in Puerto Rico as their main reference group. They are far from oriented toward achieving close friendship with the average American boys. The wild behavior of the Italian-American youngsters on the same street adds to the already negative appraisal

of the American classmates at school. A similar negative view of Americans is shared by Mrs. Fuentes when talking about her workmates: "They do not get along either with us or among themselves. There is no comradeship. We are left out of everything."

The Fuentes family isolates itself from Americans and also from Latin social activities. Mrs. Fuentes says: "I am a homebody. I do not like to go out, just from my work to my home and from home to work." As a sort of compensatory activity, Mrs. Fuentes reads romantic love stories over the weekend. The narrow boundaries of her present experience are thus expanded in her imagination. Such a practice seems to point to a basic inadaptation to the unfamiliar reality of the larger society.

Migration has been the determinant factor in changing primary relationships and self-image: "I have changed a lot in these last two years," says Mrs. Fuentes. "In Puerto Rico, after the separation I used to go out to dance because I had many friendships. Afterwards, one thinks more of the children, especially when I remained alone with them because my mother came here. Then, since I had no acquaintances here, I held out until I adapted myself to the habit of not going out." What Raquel, Mrs. Fuentes' teen-age sister, misses most are also her friends in Puerto Rico.

Nearly all the friends of Raquel and her nephews are Puerto Ricans. Mrs. Fuentes has made a friendship at work with a Puerto Rican lady who sometimes calls on her. By

chance they were also acquainted from Puerto Rico with some neighbors. Mrs. Fuentes trusts her problems to a much older Latin lady friend. She is also separated from her husband.

Out-group and threatening environment

Jesus says: "American boys do not behave with Puerto Rican boys. They don't like them. They form gangs to beat them up." Mrs. Fuentes hardly deals with Americans and she has harsh words for her American workmates (p. 451). Grandma Fuentes says: "The Italian and American boys used to get inside our house and start fights. In that plot over there, there used to be a gang that would get into a hut to smoke. At night you could hear the noise. It got burnt last week." Raquel, on her turn, gives a blunt account of what it is like being a Puerto Rican at school: "The American boys are less respectful than the Puerto Ricans toward the teachers and the girls. The Puerto Rican boys born here are almost about the same as the Americans unless their parents are strict. In Puerto Rico we do not realize who is white and who is brown or black. White Americans are racist. When one comes here, one realizes it. We Puerto Ricans and the American blacks get along better. It must be because both two are minorities. Since they treat us the same way, we see each other the same way. Two white kids beat a black this week and it was going to be a riot. Even the principal did not do anything because they are white. Everybody in the staff and in the Administration are white." Raquel, therefore, feels alienated from the American youth and society. "I find everything better in

Puerto Rico. The only problem there is finding work. If they could have a job and money, everybody would remain there. I find the people there better than over here. They relate more to each other. Here people do not care for anyone else but for themselves. And that is not good."

Division of labor

A high degree of family connectedness seems to operate as an equilibrating mechanism to make up for the family disorganization since first one father, then the other left the family about eight years ago. "What I like best," Mrs. Fuentes says, "is to be all together at home talking, fixing a meal, etc."

The story has repeated itself. Grandma Fuentes is also separated from her husband. Mrs. Fuentes says of her former husband: "When the children were younger he used to see them and to help us. Then, he has not wanted to see them any longer. He got married again. Men often only think of themselves instead of taking care of the wife and children."

The first link the Fuentes had in the mainland was a sister and a brother-in-law of Mrs. Fuentes. They call sometimes on them over the weekend because they live in a neighboring town. The Government, as they call the welfare, is as ready as the relatives, Mrs. Fuentes feels, to help the migrant families.

The Fuentes are a case of sequential migration involving four generations. The great grandmother lives in Trenton Grandma Fuentes lives with Mrs. Fuentes, her teen-age daughter,

Raquel, and her grandchildren Edwin and Jesus. Other daughters of Grandma Fuentes live in Brooklyn, Manhattan and Islip. Some of them have already teen-age children. The first link in the chain was a sister of Grandma Fuentes. She brought her father to the mainland when he was 60 years old. Grandma Fuentes says: "I came because my son and my teen-ager daughter have come here first and her sisters sent to her a ticket." For Mrs. Fuentes this is her third time in the mainland. But this time she thinks of staying here. She likes the quiet, and she is able both to work and to take care of the children. Although she does not mention it, this is possible thanks to Grandma Fuentes, her mother, and to Raquel, her teen-age sister. But neither the children nor the grandmother agree with Mrs. Fuentes' plans to stay. "I do not get used to this," Grandma Fuentes says. "I am here only out of need, because of my teen-ager daughter." She is anxious to leave this year. "Raquel likes it," she says. But, in fact, Raquel says she is also anxious to leave after she finishes her studies here. Such a resolute attitude in Grandma Fuentes seems to reveal the instability of the present cooperative arrangement of the Fuentes extended family in view of the educational chances of Raquel and her nephews Edwin and Jesus.

Grandma Fuentes thinks that Raquel could both work and study in Puerto Rico. Besides that, she feels that her poor health worsens further in the extreme temperatures of Islip. The lack of transportation only allows for a rather infrequent

contact with the rest of the married children in the metropolitan area, and even a more infrequent contact with her mother in Trenton. The fact that she does not mention the vicinity of the children as a pull factor retaining her in the mainland could be understood in the context of the frequency characterizing the two-way travels of the members of the family as Mrs. Fuentes own life history well shows. Having eight brothers and sisters in Puerto Rico also surely works as a pull factor that may be of the same intensity as that of the children remaining in the mainland. An eventual push factor could exist in a disagreement Grandma mentions regarding the way one of her married daughters, Mrs. Rivera, living in the same neighborhood and also separated from her husband, brings her children up. Grandma Fuentes babysits a baby of her daughter and this gives her the chance of a close contact with her and with her older children. "She does not know how to bring the children up. She wakes them up too late for the school. They have missed the bus today." It was to take care of this baby and to give Raquel a better education that Grandma came to the mainland. She came first to Islip five years ago to her married daughter's home. Then she went for a full year to Brooklyn to the house of another married daughter taking Raquel along with her. The apartment in Islip was too narrow for all of them. Then, when Mrs. Fuentes came from Puerto Rico, about two years ago, with her teen-age boys, Grandma Fuentes rejoined them in Islip. She used to live with Mrs. Fuentes' family in Puerto Rico, and

now they were back together. Mother and married children co-operating to offer a better educational chance to the teen-age girl is only one of the varied patterns of mutual help in the extended family easing the way to migration. Since the grandmother babysits the baby of her daughter, Mrs. Rivera, and also takes care of Edwin and Jesus during the early afternoon hours when they come from school, a sort of circularity of family service rather than a strict reciprocity seems to be at work. Raquel benefitted most from the support of her sister in Brooklyn and also from that of her sister in Islip, Mrs. Rivera. Now Grandma Fuentes helps Mrs. Rivera and Mrs. Fuentes. Of course, Raquel helped and still helps her sisters as much as she can. She expects to graduate next year from High School. "In Brooklyn I was dependent on my sister. I helped her with the household chores," she says.

Socioeconomic status and change in value orientation

Raquel describes the change that has taken place in her family as follows: "My family has changed because my sisters have got married and have finished their studies. They live on their own and better. We all live more comfortably." The remark about the completion of the studies applies, however, only to two of them. Mrs. Fuentes says that the economic situation of her family has improved a little over what it used to be in Puerto Rico. "Work is better here," she says. "You can rise higher up." Mrs. Fuentes' remarks reveal her general satisfaction with the life in the mainland: "Everything is better here. The children's education is better.

They have to study more. In Puerto Rico neither the Government nor the parents enforce the attendance to school." She also likes the climate for its variety. For Raquel the motive for her sister's (Mrs. Fuentes') migration was that she could not find a job in Puerto Rico.

Raquel would not accept the suggestion that her family may have changed in its basic values, but a rise in aspirations and a certain ambiguity as to her value orientation seems to reveal the impact of the migration: "I do not think that my family has changed." (This insistent search for continuity shows all along in the study group). "Maybe in the way of living, they are better off here. But not in the way of thinking. Maybe I am now prouder. I like to dress well. My mother says I was not like that in Puerto Rico. I would like to study and have money to be able to do whatever I want to do. That is not good, right? Always thinking of money... But without money you cannot go through this life. I am not one of these people with spirit like my mother. I am different. Maybe I will change when I grow older."

Raquel bases authority on economics when she says: "My sister, Mrs. Fuentes, is the head of the house because the house belongs to her. If I lived alone with my mother, then we would make the decisions together." This statement shows, together with other evidence, the strong alignment of Grandma and Raquel, and at the same time suggests an eventual push factor easing Grandma's decision to return. Mrs. Fuentes mentions her mother's character as a source of disagreement and

conflict: "I only wish that my mother were a little more understanding with me and the children. She starts a fight over a trifle I do." Mrs. Fuentes, according to Raquel, has the quickest temper in the family. Grandma Fuentes is always at home and obviously must tend, because of her respected role's formal definition, to go beyond the informally allocated role and thus to confuse her position of dominance in the family structure. Her daughter, Mrs. Fuentes, makes the decisions because she is the breadwinner at home. Grandma says: "I cannot work any longer because I have strong headaches and eye pain. I don't know how to take the bus and get off. In Brooklyn I got lost several times. And I don't want cause trouble to anyone." Her daughter completes the financial information: "The Government helped me because of the children. They kept helping me when I started working. They paid the rent. They helped also my mother for having my sister Raquel at school and she gets also her Social Security." Mrs. Fuentes agrees that her economic position has improved: "For me it has been a little easier to bear (than in Puerto Rico)." She thinks, however, that her social position has remained unchanged.

Family's view of school

Mrs. Fuentes and her teenage sister have opposing views of the school. In Puerto Rico attendance was not enforced and Edwin and Jesus used to play hookie. Schools in Islip keep tighter control and this has repercussions on the family's sense of security and on the chance for the mother to take up

a job. Also the mother's aspirations to give her children a better education are beginning to be fulfilled. She is optimistic as to the chances open to the poor.

Raquel went to school in Puerto Rico up to the sixth grade. She says: "I liked everything in the school better than over here. Teachers were more attached to the children. In the recreation they would talk and play with us...Some teachers treat the Puerto Ricans in a different way. A teacher in Brooklyn would not give us a chance. We had to know as much English as the other students."

Whereas Mrs. Fuentes stresses and praises the organizational control of the school for its good effects upon family life and long term aspirations for her children, Raquel emphasizes the different teachers' involvement or role performance. Maybe they are thus hinting at the respective strengths and weaknesses of both systems, eventually a better administration in the mainland and a more person-oriented role performance in Puerto Rico.

THE GARCIA: THE FAMILY AS AN ADAPTIVE MECHANISM

Motivation to migrate

The Garcias are a large-sized family of ten children of whom four are married and six live still in the family home. The parents and younger children came from Puerto Rico five years ago. The three oldest brothers had arrived two years earlier. Then they sent to get the rest of the family.

Felix, the eldest son, came to Islip because he could earn better wages here than in Puerto Rico. He came to the idea of migrating because his neighbors and a brother-in-law used to tell him about the mainland's better work conditions: "Everybody talks about New York, and one believes it is something good, but all that there is to it is that you earn a little more here." Mr. Garcia says he had to come to live here to benefit from the welfare because, as a result of an accident, he could not work any longer. "Even before the accident I needed much more than I earned," he adds. Pedro says it was his father who made the decision. They came, the 16 year old son says, looking for another future. Felix sums up the economic roots of the migration: "People who are well off in Puerto Rico cannot blame but themselves if they have problems when they come here."

Will to stay

Mr. and Mrs. Garcia have opposite feelings regarding an eventual return to their home country. So do the children. Felix, Pedro, and Esteban feel like their father: they are

anxious to return. Juan and Mrs. Garcia would like to stay. Mrs. Garcia has fallen in love with this country. She enumerates the many comforts for the housewife like easy shopping, electrodomestic appliances, etc., in contrast with the hardships she had to bear in her burdensome household in Puerto Rico. Juan would like to stay also because he feels that in Puerto Rico there are no jobs.

Mr. Garcia agrees that his family is better fed here, but the cold and damp weather is hurting him. Not being able to work, he feels uneasy and bored. He says: "I am always praying to God for good luck, if it is convenient for us, so as to be able to go to our own country. That is only logical, to live there the rest of my life. But this is like a dream, if it is convenient. Let it be like God wills it."

Pedro would also like to go to Puerto Rico to study and work because a Latin teacher has told him of the many opportunities there. "I am crazy about going there," he says. "The land where I was born. You live in another country, but you miss the traditions. Everything is different. You chat a lot more there... You go to San Juan, to Ponce... Winter here is bad. You get bored sometimes. The school is better here. You learn another language and when you return to Puerto Rico you can get a better job." Therefore, Pedro sees, the same as his father, adaptation to the mainland as just something temporary and a mere convenience to return and live better in their own country. He recognizes, however, having taken to Islip and that he would not like to move to any other

place in the mainland. At variance with his father, Pedro considers his plans to be feasible while Mr. Garcia considers his return and his family's as a dream.

Felix says that life became much more expensive two years after his arrival and he also would like to live in Puerto Rico. He is not sure that the rewards compensate for the sacrifices involved in migration.

First links

Mr. Garcia says that his son Felix brought them here. His brother-in-law sent to get Felix, helped him to find work, and lodged him in his house. Felix would pay him $20 a month. Then Felix and Maria, the eldest sister, did the same with their parents. Felix paid the rent of the first home his parents came to live in. He also got furniture, clothes, etc. Mrs. Garcia says that when they first arrived the schools and the church helped them with food and clothes. The Latin teacher took them to the welfare. They learned of the house they live in now from a fellow villager from Puerto Rico who became their neighbor in Islip.

Mr. Garcia thinks that English-speaking Puerto Rican families should be the ones helping the newly arrived Puerto Rican families. Pedro says that social workers from the social agencies and the teachers and students helping to learn English are the best help.

Change in family image

The Garcia family is changing and sees itself as changing. It has, first of all, attained a higher standard of

living. A greater freedom is allowed the children, surely corresponding to their ages, five years after migration. Access to higher educational opportunities is also now considered in the immediate future. Finally, the weakening of traditional family values is also suggested by the fact that the family no longer says the rosary as it used to in Puerto Rico.

Pedro's conduct exemplifies the cultural change that is taking place in such traits as attempting to bring home some American girls, going to a topless bar, riding to far away parks with girls, etc. The extent of this change must be relativized, of course, by the intervening coming of age since the arrival from Puerto Rico.

Strong family bonds have survived the inroads of the cultural changes. The family is a shock buffer, and, still in the new environment, the main provider of guidance and the main repository of values and security for identity development. "We have provided them with orientation and guidance, a sort of will they have to follow. If they go astray, we are not to blame," Mr. Garcia says. Except for Pedro whom everybody in the family seems to consider to be too much on the receiver side, all the members seem anxious to strike a balance in which the benefits they draw from the family are duly counterweighed by the services they provide. Parents expect to get help from their children as soon as they start working. Felix has long since responded to this expectation because he started working when his father suf-

fered an accident in Puerto Rico when he was 14.

Pedro, on the other hand, is more ready to recognize the services his mother renders to him and the family, and the couple of dollars he gets from her. This recognition sometimes takes the form of a physical sign of affection. Pedro also acknowledges the indulgence his father shows him: "He is very nice. He does not compel me to do anything." He also shares his parents' wishes to work and make a better life for himself. His other brother and sisters in Islip seem more willing to pitch in.

Mr. Garcia reasons the integration and mutuality of help in his family as follows: "We have the same system; marriage is the same person...until God determines it, without that we had had any "salidas" (adulteries)... Children, even when married, should keep us in mind if they have 'harinita' (money). For that you have to teach them. Children should stand for the parents because we give them existence 'through' God. They should not deny them in any reunion because they see them very emaciated while they sit at the large table."

Mrs. Garcia stresses the decisive influence of the parents' example upon the children's behavior: "The children go to well known places because their father has no bad habits. Since the girls see how I behave, they do the same. Sara likes to dance, but she is like myself: nothing that could hurt either herself or her husband. My children, thank God, flee from that. They do not cause me any problems.

They already know that I have never abandoned them and that I have gone through a lot of hardships for their sake." She also points to the fact that her children go in pairs: Pedro and Ernesto, Juan and Esteban, Carlos and Jose. Only Monserrate was more lonely. Such a staged alignment seems to concur to a more effective socialization in the family values. Pedro says that older brothers should give example to the younger ones.

The children seem to share to a certain extent their parents' moral principles. Mrs. Garcia says: "My children don't let me go to the house of a lady that has no husband, but that receives anyone."

Mrs. Garcia points to the changes operated in family life since the migration, although the older age of the children must surely account for most of them. She says: "In Puerto Rico they did not have the freedom they (the older ones) have here. They work at the factory, buy nice clothes, watch girls... In Puerto Rico they used to come home to eat.. ...The oldest ones go to their sister's house or to parties to their friends' houses. They play dominoes. Esteban stays in the home of a school friend. Neither their father nor myself can sleep." It seems that such a statement about the parents' inability to sleep - "I hear the young men coming in late in the night" - serves the purpose of a mild, only available control mechanism that works because it operates in the context of strong family bonds and love feelings. Mrs. Garcia says: "They do not make me suffer, thank God.

They don't drink much. Unlike other mothers with children who go away and use dope. When they come they say: 'Mommie, give me to eat!' They ask for the blessing when they come and when they go out... The only thing I say to them is: 'Be very careful!' I hear them coming in and going to bed."

Therefore, The Garcia parents seem to have lowered their child rearing standards since they are in this country. They are moderately permissive and take some risks. Monserrate's premature marriage seems to have been one of the consequences. They seem successful, however, in retaining their children's affection and in keeping a relatively orderly behavior of the older ones still living at home. They keep stricter discipline on Juan and Esteban and on the small ones. In fact, they could not do otherwise with Pedro, and presumably with Ernesto, ready to run away if pressured by home ordinances. He says: "I like the way we live. I can't complain about my parents and brothers. I do my part and they neither interfere in my life nor do I in theirs. Because living in a house where you are told: 'Don't come back late, don't do that'...I can't bear that."

Some special occasions like Christmas and Mother's Day bring the family togetherness to a climax. Mrs. Garcia says: "They are all here and bring gifts and I cook for them. I also give them presents." Mr. Garcia also says that his great satisfaction is "having all of them married and unmarried together at home once in a while like the Father's or the Mother's Day."

Such response bonds are in a particular way fostered by Mrs. Garcia's sensible and loving behavior. When asked about the way to deal with teen-agers, she says: "One has to deal with them affectionately. If one gets angry, more damage is done. It is better to talk to them. They reflect and they don't do what you dislike. If one starts with threats, then they lose their temper and run away. When they go out I ask them where are they going to. Since they are sensible, they go together."

The flaws Mrs. Garcia recognizes in her children are blamed on the pernicious influence of a son-in-law (Maria's husband) and of a daughter-in-law (Felix's wife). The main flaw she mentions is their relative disaffection, or rather cooling of affection in the case of Felix, since they got married.

All the members of the family agree as to the centrality of the mutual help as a basic family value. Even Pedro avows the satisfaction inherent in helping the family in any way. But he recognizes, as each of his brothers does, that he does not help anyone. Still more, in stressing his dislike to be told what to do, he is looking for a privileged status in the family structure whereby he accepts the family services and protection, but chooses a separate, non-contributing role. Religious values, however, seem to exert some degree of inner control on his constant flight from home. When asked about eventual influence of his church going upon his family life, he says: "Sometimes one is a

little bit too careless, and one restrains himself a little bit. Instead of arriving home and leaving right away, one spends more time with the family." Pedro says: "The most important thing about my family is religion here and already in Puerto Rico." Because of his extreme, independent position in the family, Pedro's statement points to the existence of an unwritten basic family consensus as to the relation between family unity and religious convictions, as well as to the demands on the individual's time posed by the family's striving for unity.

In a similar way Felix says that religion helps "not to behave badly, to live well, not to create problems at home." He likes to be with the members of his family and to play with the children. Going to church helps Juan to avoid fighting. He also likes being with the family and going out together to family dances, mostly to Felix's home.

Juan and Carlos go to the different errands along with their parents and interpret for them. Esteban aligns himself definitely with his father. He helps him to clean the yard. Mr. Garcia recognizes this alignment and resemblance in character. So does Mrs. Garcia. "Juan is very different from Dad," Esteban says. Mrs. Garcia says that Juan is more like her. The cleavage line seems to run between the pairs Ernesto-Pedro and Esteban-Juan with the small Carlos and Jose aligning themselves rather with Esteban-Juan. Mrs. Garcia says that Carlos is always with his father and Jose is always with her. The sharpest contrast in

characters seems to exist between Pedro and Esteban, as both of them recognize. Esteban is quiet, ready to help in the household chores. After him, Carlos and Jose are the ones who help more at home. "Pedro is the one with the quickest temper in the family," Esteban says.

In spite of their sibling rivalries, evident, for instance, in Carlos' criticism of Juan for not doing anything and bothering him, the older brothers odder sometimes the special privileges of their age to the younger ones. For instance, they will invite them to parties they throw in their homes or take them to baseball games or, like Pedro, take Esteban along to visit some girl friends. By doing so, they become, to a certain extent, significant others for their younger brothers in recognition of their protection and favors.

Mrs. Garcia is also dependent on her married children, Sara and Felix, because both offer her transportation. Mrs. Garcia complains though, that Felix does not help as often as he used to. Sara also runs her mother's household when she is sick. In turn, Mrs. Garcia babysits with Sara's baby during the week. On Sundays, Mrs. Garcia cooks for the whole family.

Ernesto, still single, factory worker, 20 years old, gives $20 to the father and $5 to his mother from his weekly wages. When he has a car he gives his mother a ride to the laundromat and other places.

The children are expected to take a job as soon as

possible. "Esteban," Mrs. Garcia says, "can get a part-time job (or a summer job) with a piece of paper from the school, so as to be able to pay for his clothes and shoes."

The sequence of events leading to the assumption of a more separate and autonomous role in the family structure seems to be as follows: reaching an age mature enough to take up a job - taking a job - buying his own clothes and shoes - being able to give some monthly or weekly contribution to the parents - being free to go out any time and come home late in the night.

Role allocation: service and authority

Although Mr. Garcia feels bored and depressed by his disability which has prevented him from working in the last thirteen years, he seems to keep the whole of his authority. This may be partly due to his calm character and a more demanding attitude in front of the children, but also due to the evident strength of the traditional values shared by both spouses. Mrs. Garcia has an extreme formulation of the husband position of dominance: "The priest says the same things as the judge. That you may not go downstairs without your husband's permission." Mr. Garcia says in exact correspondence: "If I tell my wife: 'This is like that', she has to follow me." Mrs. Garcia further stresses the same point: "Sometimes I go to my lady friend's house. But this one (her husband) does not get used to remain alone." In fact, Mrs. Garcia's claims for an area of autonomy are quite mild: "My husband, thank God, does not forbid me any dresses.

He doesn't drink or fight me either. He knows me for so long, that he knows I am always the same." Therefore, when Mr. Garcia affirms that he and his wife are pretty much alike he is thinking in terms of the commonly shared values that allocate him a dominant role in the family structure, rather than in terms of a characterial resemblance obviously non-existent. Mrs. Garcia says she never loses her temper. Though, she is "hot handed", she says, and she would hit anyone fighting her: "Ernesto talked me back once and I hit him with a stick." She likes a laugh, telling jokes, dancing, and singing.

A godmother brought Mrs. Garcia up and exploited her by loading on her shoulders most of the household chores of a large family. "I am always nervous," she says, "because I was brought up in such an excitement and pressure... I don't like to be lazy. I have remained the way I was brought up. If I go to some place, I help to do the dishes... I don't like soap-operas. I set out to do something like ironing..." Of her husband she says: "He sits down very quiet." Mr. Garcia has a gift for uninterrupted philosophizing in a moral-religious vein. "We, the poor, always the same. We will have our good time in heaven... Money corrupts... I don't need a dog. I defend my home with prayers. Just as the Lord says: 'If you had faith like a mustard seed...' Wherever you are, do like people do...if it suits you" meaning that corruption should not be imitated.

Mrs. Garcia lets her husband do the shopping because

she does not like it, but this also may be in consonance with her submissive role. She is the servant of the whole family, a loving and happy servant. "My mother is the best at home," Pedro says. "She cooks for us, she has the clothes ready, she gives me a couple of dollars."

Mr. Garcia is the head of the family, the decision-maker, and thus is liable to experience greater frustrations in dealing with the teen-agers and the sensitive boundary set for their activities.

THE LOPEZ: CONGRUENCE OF IMAGES AND DOMINANT MALE ROLE

Father image

Mr. Lopez sees himself as a responsible and respected father that tries to bring his children up in pretty much the same way he was reared, that is, in a traditional and stern way. He is aware, though, of the great changes that have occurred in child rearing much to his displeasure. Irresponsible parents, he feels, have a decisive role in bringing about such changes. "I have never neglected feeding my children unlike other fathers..."

Mr. Lopez has no doubts as to his ruling role in the family: "We have dinner together. We Latins wait until the head of the house arrives, and then everybody eats." He sees his work role and his family role as complementary. Still more, he seems to particularly enjoy his job. "At home the days become months for me. When at work time goes by very fast." In spite of these divergent feelings, Mr. Lopez stresses his responsible role performance without interruption. "I have the same affection both at home and at work. At work almost everybody likes me." He is also on very good terms with his bosses. He is happy with his wages and benefits, but he has no chance of occupational promotion or advancement through some sort of job training.

Mr. Lopez' first job, when he first came, single, to the mainland at the age of 18, was on the farms. Three years later he got married in Puerto Rico and migrated with his wife to Islip. Since then he has had two factory jobs. He

found his present job through the Division of Employment. He is the only Latin worker in the small factory. His wages allow him for some savings to face any eventual family mishap. He feels that his present job has given him, besides a better pay, more friends and more chances.

Mr. Lopez is optimistic and self-confident. "I solve my own problems." He conceives of his role as husband as one of being kind both when he leaves and comes back home, and as father as one of showing the children affection and respect and giving them good example. He would like the children to become like him.

Mrs. Lopez' image of her husband adds some traits that he left unmentioned. She says that she pays attention to and respects her husband as he deserves it. She mentions also that her husband used to drink and mistreat her as some Puerto Rican husbands do, but that he stopped. It is likely that such a change in habits might have been a consequence of his leaving a musical and theatrical group three years ago.

Mrs. Lopez recognizes that her husband has more authority and, therefore, she tells him anything important done by the children. "My wife does what I tell her to do. I have the last word."

Mother image

Mr. Lopez says he has an ideal wife. "I have no complaint." For him an ideal wife is one that is kind to her husband and has things ready on time. He is not so appreciative, however, of her mother role performance. "When I am

not home the children look like savages. When I am home they are models of good behavior. They don't respect their mother. All I need is just a rebuke, and that is enough."

"We reach an agreement," Mrs. Lopez says, referring to the way of handling the children, and pointing thereby to a dominant climate of harmony and avoidance of conflict.

Mrs. Lopez' character is not one that would compete for dominance. She says of herself rubricating it with a sweet laugh: "I have always been poor since I was born until now. Bendito!" Since she was 7 years old she carried part of the burden of the household. There were 15 brothers and sisters and the mother worked with the father on the farm land. She had to drop out of school in the first grade. Mrs. Lopez was brought up in such a strict way that she was not allowed even to go to the store. The most significant changes Mrs. Lopez has experienced are thus not so much the result of migration, as that of her marriage. Getting married meant a liberation for her. Just going shopping was for her an unknown joy. She was 16 when she got married, and they soon came over to the mainland. Both her family background and her own individual character made it fairly easy for her to play the role of the submissive wife and the self-forgetting mother. "I like doing everything, provided it is for the children's sake... I don't like going out to have fun. I only think of the children. That they might be calm... My husband has never liked my working outside the home because of the children. Sometimes one entrusts the children to a

babysitter and she does not take proper care of them." She adds that she could not work anyway because of a chronic disease and the excessive work at home. "They don't help me unless I get sick. Then he (Mr. Lopez) helps me. When the children come from school they just watch television."

"I have a lady friend who is like a second mother for me. She is the only person to whom I confide my problems." Such a statement, together with Mr. Lopez' affirmation that he likes to solve his own problems, points to a certain gap in trust and intimacy that should be understood in the context of Mr. Lopez' past habits.

Alignment with her children, and, in a particular way, with Dorita and Francisco, because she feels they resemble her, works as a sort of compensating mechanism for the performance of a submissive conjugal role. Further, Mrs. Lopez points to nearly all of her children as being happy, unlike herself and her older girl. Both of then have been sick for a long time.

There is wide compatibility between the images that the spouses hold respectively of each other and their own self-conceptions. Predictable behavior patterns pave the way to conduct geared toward harmony and avoidance of conflict. Mr. Lopez' references to his friends and sportive activities contrast with his hard to bear home staying. This points to the existence of a sharply "segregated conjugal role-relationship," namely that "in which husband and wife have a clear differentiation of tasks and a considerable

number of separate interests and activities" (Elizabeth Bott).

Children images

Mr. Lopez would like the children to become like him. He says that Dorita is the most interested and the best student in the family. Janet takes care of the dogs. Victor, the oldest son (13), is good in accepting reprimands. The youngest one, Israel, gives his father a kiss and asks for the blessing before going to bed.

Mr. Lopez likes to take the children along to different sportive activities to help them forget the bad influences they are exposed to in the school and on the street.

Janet says that Victor does not help around the house and that "Dorita does not like to help that much... Israel and Francisco help me sometimes." All the brothers coincide in pointing to Janet as the child helping most with the household chores. She seems willing to play that role. Curiously enough only the mother fails to mention the help her daughter lends her. Although Janet seems clearly to align herself with her mother, Mrs. Lopez likens her with her father and says of her: "She has no wit. She is neither affectionate nor unpleasant." Such a lack of reciprocation must surely have its impact on Janet's self-esteem, perhaps in the form of a further withdrawal and lower achievement at school. "Sometimes I am scared because Victor twists my hand... I would like to have money to give one half to my father and one half for my mother, so that they could buy

the things they need." Janet feels different from her brothers and sister because "they fight a lot... I am never angry. When they scream at me, I put my head down and go to my room ... They are all bad, all the three. Some people want to watch a picture, some people want to watch another picture... I see what they want to see." Therefore, Janet seems to take after her mother's submissive attitude. She would like to become a nurse to help sick people. She has a completely negative image of her older brother, Victor, but says the other three are sometimes good and sometimes bad.

Dorita agrees with Janet that Victor does not help around the house. But, unlike Janet, she says that he is sometimes good and sometimes bad. Dorita also aspires, like Janet, to buy things for her father and mother. The home climate is one of love which expresses itself in giving and receiving.

Dorita aligns herself with her mother with whom she trusts her problems. She says she sometimes helps to clean the house. She has an outgoing, witty personality (10 years old). She would like to be an actress, and the father of the house. "I'd use the gun if a burglar comes," she says acting out. She is aware of her father's dominant role in the family and of his former drinking habits. She appreciates her mother taking her to the store and her father taking her to the movies. She calls both of them "sweet." She is also appreciative of the household work Janet does. Her images of the other siblings are similar to those Janet holds.

Dorita is also aware of the disagreements between her father and mother regarding children discipline. She says that her father has a stronger hand.

Francisco's (11) statements attest to the general climate both of love and respect on one side, and of sibling quarreling on the other side. "I like my brothers more than any other people. Brothers like you a lot... I get mad with everybody (all his brothers included) except with grown ups ... Janet is the second oldest and I have to listen to her. She gets mad if I talk back to her." Respect for grown ups and older siblings works as a norm that makes possible an orderly hierarchy of family internal processes. Francisco reciprocates in aligning himself with his mother. He considers his father to be the head of the house and also the one with the quickest temper.

All the brothers and sisters seem fascinated with cars, bikes, and horses, which implies a partial identification with the father's fondness for sport and also an escape from the too narrow living quarters. Dorita and Victor also have aspirations to become rich thereby reflecting their father's aspirations for economic improvement and for the acquisition of a new, larger house.

Victor (13) says: "I go fishing with my father. My father lets me go to places like bowling, to the movies with my girl friend. Sometimes I have to be back 7 o'clock, sometimes 10 o'clock." Against all recognition by his siblings, Victor says that he does sometimes do the dishes.

He is proud of his passing grades at school and his school fights. He aligns himself with his father and has a clear conception of his own position in the hierarchy of talent and dominance among the siblings: "I learn more than Janet; Dorita is more intelligent than me. I am more intelligent than Israel (7)." To the question about who is the head of the house he answers: "My father, my mother and myself... Francisco is a good brother because everything I tell him, he does it for me.... Janet does not want to help me, so I don't help her either." Both siblings share a mutual negative image of each other except for the fact that Victor recognizes Janet as the one who helps their mother most. Victor seems to have a little bit of a big mouth and tends to become a boss of his brothers with little tact. "Sometimes all my brothers like to pick on me a lot. They start." Such a rivalry must surely be related to his having the quickest temper in the family. Sometimes he hits his sisters and says bad words to them, he acknowledges.

Victor would like to respond to his father's expectations by going to college and becoming a full-fledged electrician which was his father's own occupational aspiration. Mr. Lopez also aspired to become a professional actor and musician. Since he could not reach his goal, he aspires to having at least one of his children fulfilling his personal aspiration.

Connectedness, love, and family image

Family members try to align themselves with other

members more likely to help them in optimal role performance and who evoke the greatest personal gratification. Factors that seem to determine the choice are: the similitude of roles (Janet, mother; Victor, Father), and the complementariness of roles (Francisco, Victor: respectively service and protection; Mother, Dorita: illiteracy and school achievement, submissiveness and taste for dominance).

The frequent joint family dinner serves the purpose of further uniting the family members and stressing the dominance-submission relationship based both on culture and individual characteristics. Receiving and giving in return helps to develop a harmonious set of relationships and a network of feelings of affection. Dorita says: "When my parents are sick, I get medicine for them." What she likes best in the family is "the way my father and mother behave. ... They are sweet."

Parents' basic value orientation helps to shape that of their children. Mr. Lopez was very sick during his youth, and then he recovered. "As I suffered, I like to help those who suffer." He most enjoys taking the whole family out for a picnic. "Being all together and understanding each other" are for him the greatest satisfactions in family life.

For Mrs. Lopez, watching the children growing up is her main source of happiness. Janet, who aligns herself with her mother, but is not reciprocated in her choice, feels secure in middle in the family group. She enjoys when everybody sits at home mostly watching television.

Going to church often together adds to the homogeneity in values and helps the collective effort toward harmony.

THE SANTOS: THE MOTHER AS A FULL-TIME WORKER IN FAMILY CONNECTEDNESS

Connectedness and separateness

As several members of the family point out, weekends are occasions for lengthy family reunion. Activities such as cleaning the house and the yard, going shopping, doing the laundry, going to church, playing dominos, watching television, going to visit an aunt or, more frequently, receiving the visit of a brother, a sister-in-law, some nephews, all seems to foster connectedness. Mr. Santos' memory seems to fail him however, when he does not mention, as Mrs. Santos does, that he goes to visit his friends in the evening and returns late.

Moreover, Mrs. Santos knows that her husband sometimes is unfaithful to her. "I bear and tolerate it for the children's sake," she says. Mrs. Santos reacts to her husband's disorganizing behavior in a highly religious way: "When he stays overnight in a party and I remain always at home, I do not tell him anything." When she has a problem, she goes to God with it: "My problems are mine. I ask God to help me to solve them." Religious values help to keep the Santos family together. In fact, Mr. Santos is also a religious man, although his behavior does not always seem to be consistent with his beliefs. His father used to get the family together once a week to say the Rosary. He was not always able to attend church because they lived far away from town. Mr. Santos is aware of the moral influence of religion: "One

learns in the church. One sometimes refrains from bad thought and from doing undesirable things. One can draw near God. From childhood on, one must open his mind and start seeking the right way." In spite of Mr. Santos going on a spree once in a while, he spends most of his free time at home. He says, and it seems to be true: "I have become more of a homebody. When one is young one comes home a bit late. Now that one is married, one tries to be home on due time. As the children were coming along, I was sticking more to the home." (See Mr. Machuca's similar expressions).

"Unless he is drunken" (and this seems to be a rather infrequent event), "my husband is understanding," Mrs. Santos says. Her husband's image is thus quite compatible with the very positive image he holds of her: "My wife has behaved very well. A good wife must know to control the man and the home. She must understand, she must work toward union." Mrs. Santos does that.

Connectedness is also fostered by Mr. Santos' positive image of himself: "A good father knows how to bring his children up at home and how to treat well his wife to keep her happy." He says he would like the children to be like him because "I do not consider myself among the worst ones." A different matter, though, is the development of identity bonds between father and children. In fact, these bonds only reach some strength between Luis (8 years old) and his father. Lola does not provide any evidence to support her alignment with her father, although Mrs. Santos says she is

his favorite daughter. Certainly, Mr. Santos mentions Lola's superior school performance and docility. Mrs. Santos also says Lola is more understanding than the other children. If Lola does not mention her father's preference for her, it is likely that she rather aligns herself with her mother, perhaps because of her moral superiority. Her silence about any flaws in her father's conduct must probably be a case of family loyalty.

Mrs. Santos "separates" herself from the rest of her family only insofar as she sees herself as the most dedicated member of the family in caring for and taking care of everybody. She finishes her day exhausted. She "separates" herself from her daughters whom she considers less than enthusiastic in helping her, and from her husband who apparently sides with the daughters. Television seems to work more for separation than for connection. Mrs. Santos says that her daughters "are more enthusiastic in watching television than in the talk I could have with them." The girls, however reluctantly, help their mother and develop response bonds with her. The image that Mrs. Santos holds of herself is that of a mother in need of the recognition of her full-time devotion to her family, in need of physical signs of her children's affection, and in need of their help in taking care of the small ones and the household. These needs are not quite reflected in her children's behavior, but there is at least a considerable degree of congruence in their mother's images and consequent behavior.

Changes produced by migration have reshaped the fluid balance of "connectedness" and "separateness." For Mrs. Santos life has become more burdensome in contrast with her more joyful and relaxed existence in Puerto Rico, mainly due to the proximity of her relatives. But Mrs. Santos felt happier when she was able to bring her family from Puerto Rico or, rather, when her husband sent to get her and the children. After five years alone in the mainland, except for a few weeks visit every year to the island, Mr. Santos also felt happier about the family reunion.

But Mrs. Santos complains: "In Puerto Rico the girls helped me enough; here they don't. I was alone with them and they respected me much. Here the father, since they came so thin, did not want me to ask them to do anything. I have left them because it is better to leave them alone rather than to hit them severely." In the new environment and under their father's protection, the girls are asserting their independence to a moderate degree and the mother resents the loosening of the respect bonds.

The threatening environment, however, provides new occasions for inculcating submissive and respectful behavior. Narrow boundaries are fixed. The girls, except the eldest, are supposed to ask for permission to go out. Mrs. Santos says: "I heard on the radio that a bad man goes around... The children must be reprimanded, led through the right way, shown good example, that they treat well everybody and especially that they respect the parents, so that if any

friend on the street gives them a bad example, what the parents said to them might prevail."

If respect is the main educational principle to govern child rearing, love is present as a culturally learned sentiment. The cause and effect of much identity oriented interaction is seldom directly mentioned: "By hitting the children hard - Mrs. Santos says - the only thing you get is that they start thinking may be Daddy does not like me... In Puerto Rico a brother of mine had a 14 years old girl and since her mother treated her harshly, she left with her boy friend."

Though the most unlikely child to be strongly attached to her mother, and considered Mr. Santos' favorite daughter, Lola shows strong identification bonds with her mother: "Although I do not act like my mother, I think I am more like her than like my father." Lola trusts her problems to her. She says her mother is like a friend to her, that she is always concerned with her school achievement. She never gets angry, while her father sometimes gets angry over a trifle. She finds her mother, however, "too sentimental" and easily frightened. She finds her father too nervous and anguished about anything.

In an attempt to work out her individuality, Lola seems to imply that she keeps cool at variance with her parents. To the question whether parents should allow teenagers to go out, she answers in a sort of passive protestation that she has always lived in the same way, namely encloistered in her home.

Lola is quite explicit in saying she has several brothers too many and that "it's a riot." She is not very happy about being forced into a role she does not feel old enough to accept, namely that of "little mother." She says: "I would like to be there, happy, without worries..." but she "has to help" with the household chores and has to cope with "the riot." She shares a bedroom with a younger sister and, at 15, she feels the need for larger inner space and even physical isolation to further her social relationships from the core of a strong identity. Too many people are making demands too soon on her still weak identity and she reacts by "playing it cool" and detached. It is not surprising that she enjoys being outside the home and that she has many friends. A Latin bilingual teacher picks her up to go to the meetings of the School Latin Club. This seems to be an important step toward greater freedom and better adaptation to the larger society.

In the light of the previous remarks one can understand the imperfect coincidence of the self-image, ("I am lazy, I don't like to work in the chores, I don't read, etc."), and the image of understanding and docility held by her parents. Repression must also make for the ambiguity of the expression: "I was afraid of the teachers and shy in Puerto Rico, and I am still shy." Docility or indolence, if not sheer repression, can account for the fact that she finds everything equally important about her family, and that she is happy with everything like it is. She does not see

herself as having changed since the migration: "In Puerto Rico I was the same as I am here. I was fearful, shy... although I led a very poor life over there."

Lola is not always patient with her younger brothers and sisters. She recognizes getting angry with her small brothers when they jump on the bed. Yvette, her 13 year old sister, says that Lola has the quickest temper in the family and Maria, her 12 year old sister holds a similar opinion. Lola further asserts her individuality by making up her face and wearing pants, habits that the 13 and 12 year old sisters are not anxious to follow.

Adaptation to the larger society

Mr. Santos grew up in a poor family made up of 7 brothers and sisters. The father was a farm worker and the mother also helped with the crops. Mrs. Santos also grew up in a large family of 11 brothers and sisters. She was brought up by her grandparents, however, until she was 13, when her grandmother died. Grandparents frequently alleviate the burden of the large sized families in this way. Her father also was a workingman.

Mr. S. came to this country looking for a better "ambiente" (economic situation), "for a better fortune." He adds: "Since Puerto Rico is a United States of America territory, we have the chance to enter and leave, and look for the best." Mr. Santos went through an exploratory stage of five farm seasons in the United States mainland before making his mind up to migrate. Mrs. Santos, still single, also

came for a period of two years to babysit her cousin's children. Therefore, when she had to weigh the decision to migrate, she already knew that "this place was good." Mrs. Santos and the children joined Mr. Santos in Islip three years ago. For her, the main migration cost incurred was the loss of the family, especially her sisters, and neighbors who were all "like a family." A similar reason for an eventual return is given by Mr. Santos: "If the economic situation changed, I would like to live in Puerto Rico because I have there most of my family other than the children and a brother." Lola gives a different reason because she still experiences difficulties with the English language: "I would like to live in Puerto Rico because people speak Spanish. But here we live better. In Puerto Rico we have a poor life." Yvette (13) also prefers Islip: "Puerto Rico is very good, but here it is better. The house we used to live in was poor, bad." Maria (12), however, would like to live in San Juan. Luis (8) would like to live "both here and in Puerto Rico," although "Puerto Rico is a little better." He bases his preference on the different way children fight at school.

Job satisfaction is greater in Islip. Mr. Santos says: "In Puerto Rico the jobs are dirty, rough, badly paid. Here work is easier, you have more chances, you earn more." Mr. Santos is a foreman in his factory. He comments: "By being foreman I show to my family that I have acted responsibly, that I have tried to go up." Work has thus influenced

Mr. Santos' position of dominance in his family by giving him the chance to supplement his role as breadwinner with that of responsible achiever.

It seems that Mr. Santos feels he is more successful in his role as breadwinner than in those of husband and father. In highlighting his responsibility as a foreman he is more or less consciously trying to strike a balance with his segments of disorganized behavior that were mentioned by his wife. Mrs. Santos is a full-time mother, wife, and also a part-time babysitter for three small children who are brought to her every morning and picked up every evening when their mothers come from work.

Mr. Santos says about the improvement of his family socioeconomic situation: "Here we have a better economic situation, although there has been quite a deal of economic development in Puerto Rico... but only recently. What I find here less satisfactory is the high cost of life, high rent, higher electricity bills, higher income tax..." In a word, Mr. Santos agrees that his family's economic situation has improved, but not as much as he would like it to.

A rise in aspirations has taken place since the migration. "I am not satisfied with my wages," Mr. Santos says. "The work I do is worth more. There are people that earn more than I do without such responsibility." Also, the educational aspirations seem to be progressing at least intergenerationally. Mr. Santos says: "I compel them to learn more than my parents did because they had not attended school.

...I would like them to study a profession or a trade...the best for them." Life in the mainland, though, has not yet fulfilled Mr. Santos' expectations. "I lack still many things," he says. "I feel a little better, but not quite."

He expects his children will have a better life because "the country is advancing all the time. They are getting to know better places. Where I grew up the only thing I could see there were the coffee trees." His expectations, however, remain sober. When asked his opinion about the chances a poor man has to get ahead if he is ambitious and hardworking, his answer is: "It is likely. Maybe one out of a thousand."

His first link to the new community was a friend. "He brought me to Islip. First I lived in a room in a family home. Four years later I rented this house and I sent to get them (wife and children). A friend helped me to look for the house." A brother helped him with the money to bring the family. A Catholic Church agency helped with clothes. The Government (welfare) helped with the rent and Medicare.

School is one of the institutions through which the migrant family could be brought to a progressive participation in the life of the receiving society. Mr. Santos affirms the superiority of the Islip school system over the one that he knew in Puerto Rico. Mrs. Santos sees, in contrast to her husband, both the strong and the weak points of the Islip school system. In fact, she is the one, and

not her husband, that goes to the school and checks the children's reports. She is in touch with several bilingual teachers whom she regards as friends. She thinks they would easily get her a job in the school kitchen, if her husband allowed her to work outside home.

Mrs. Santos sees to it that her children attend church. She can attend only in the great feasts because of the small children. "I would enjoy being the whole day in the church. Sometimes it seems to me I do not find words, out of shyness, to talk to the priests... I like going to the church to help the poor. There are many people that need even more than we do. In Puerto Rico I could help better: washing their clothes, roasting the coffee, etc." As indicated, church participation becomes more difficult in the new environment even for a very religious person, like Mrs. Santos. This is partly due to the lack of transportation (when a friend can give a ride everybody goes to church), and partly due to a relative estrangement; priests seldom make home visits as Latin teachers and Pentecostal pastors do. Shyness is partly due to lack of familiarity. Mrs. Santos has sometimes been a client of a Catholic social agency. It is obvious that she would like to help, in turn, as a volunteer if the conditions for her participation existed. Again, the lack of transportation and babysitters are prohibitive. Other than the relatives, perhaps the Latin teachers are also, in this case, the most "significant others" among the agents of the institutions of the receiving society. After them,

priests, welfare workers, nurses, and workers of the Catholic social agency rank on a similar level of significance.

All the family friends are Latin. This is not surprising, considering their fairly recent arrival (three years since the family reunion) and the fact that neither of the parents speaks enough English. This is also why Mrs. Santos does not attend the P.T.A. meetings.

Yvette says that her father used to go to school to ask about Lola's report, but he does not go any longer. Perhaps the true reason is the one Mr. Santos gives, namely that he cannot go because of his work. Or, it may well be that the fact that Lola is his favorite daughter and the best student in the family accounts for the difference that Yvette (13) seems to resent.

Most of the primary relationships the Santos have are with members of the extended family and other relatives. A brother of Mr. Santos and a niece live in the family home. Mr. Santos' brother is about to bring his family from Puerto Rico as soon as he finds an apartment. The niece is a 20 year old unmarried girl who shares a bedroom with Socorro Santos, a nine year old girl. The Santos often receive calls from other relatives, like another unmarried brother of Mr. Santos, and some nephews who also live in the Islip area. Mrs. Santos longs for her relatives in Puerto Rico whom she was able to visit almost daily. Besides these family relationships, Mrs. Santos says she has four lady friends that she appreciates very much. "I got to know them because

their husbands work in the same factory as my husband does, and some of them also because they are neighbors. We help each other in anything we need." All of them are Latin, mostly Puerto Ricans. Although Lola has many girlfriends, she says she only meets them at school.

Boundaries are narrowly set mainly because of the lack of transportation. On Sundays they seldom go out because they have no car and also because the household chores are a heavy burden for such a large family. "If I could go out, I would like to go to the beach, and have more friendships," Mrs. Santos says. In Puerto Rico she had many more chances to visit relatives and friends. Now she has changed her habits and spends most of her time working at home for her family. Her deep sense of responsibility and the lack of car account for the change.

Mrs. Santos knows how to turn need into virtue. "I like to do everything. Everything has to be done... Children should be given as much as one can afford, no luxuries." And she adds that her large number of children prevents her from satisfying all their wishes. Upbringing principles help to set up boundaries otherwise marked by the sheer limitation of means. In other words, boundaries are recognized, accepted, and their meaning searched in depth.

THE CARMONA: A CASE OF FULL ECONOMIC AND AFFECTIVE DEPENDENCE

A case of fair adaptation without the benefit of the extended family

The Carmona family is an extreme case of dependence on social agencies and of positive feelings toward the new environment, even if at a very low level of income and comfort. Such an adaptation can be explained by the very negative experiences the Carmona family, particularly Mrs. Carmona, had to go through in Puerto Rico, and also as the result of a compensating tendency to make up for the absence of the closest relatives all of them left behind in Puerto Rico. The Carmonas are a fatherless home.

Mrs. Carmona was brought up by her grandmother because her mother died when she was still a baby. Her father and only sister live in Puerto Rico. Her life started as the baby of a broken marriage. Her father had abandoned her mother for another woman and her mother, according to Mrs. Carmona, died from the grief. "It has been the same with me," Mrs. Carmona says. "I say I am going to die the same way my mother died. My husband left me to go with another woman two years ago." Mr. and Mrs. Carmona started to live together just one week after they first met. He came first to the mainland, and after his wife had her first child, she also came to join him, and they got married right away. They got married in 1964. She had worked for two years in Puerto Rican factories. A Puerto Rican friend helped her to find a job in the mainland, but, after having her second child, she stopped working.

Unlike the Arroyo family, Mrs. Carmona has nobody to take care of her many children, namely six living here (and one more in Puerto Rico with the grandmother). Consequently she has to get most of the support from the welfare and something from the children's father.

Mrs. Carmona and her children are affectively dependent, first, on their closest relatives in Puerto Rico and Annabel - the oldest child in Islip - also on her absent father; second, on the good atmosphere Mrs. Carmona praises in the receiving society: "Here there is more help than in Puerto Rico, more cooperation... I have met very nice Americans. American husbands treat their wives much better than Puerto Rican husbands do." The remark may be objectively right, though it is evident that a projective mechanism of her aspirations and ideal images is at work.

Contact with the institutions of the larger society and phases in adaptation

Mrs. Carmona's feelings regarding the welfare are mixed. She needs it badly, and surely it is the main reason for her staying in the mainland. But, when she has an appointment at the office, "I feel sick from the early morning," she says. Often she has to keep in line for four or more hours and has to take along with her at least four of her six children living in the mainland, including the baby, if two of them are at school. I took Mrs. Carmona and her children to one of these appointments and thus I can understand her well founded apprehension.

Mrs. Carmona has a better rapport with social agencies of a private kind like PRONTO and HIP. The good rapport seems to be due to the emphasis on personal approach of these agencies. HIP, a health plan Mrs. Carmona enjoys as a welfare recipient, has several Latin bilingual social workers and offers rides to the health services. PRONTO is a store-front agency run by two fully dedicated American Catholic sisters with an abundance of Latin interpreters and volunteers. They also provide rides for different occasions, according to the availability of volunteers.

The search for housing reveals a pattern of progressive acquaintance with the functioning of the larger society, just one aspect in the definition of stages of adaptation. Puerto Rican friends helped the Carmonas to get their first home in the mainland. They found the second one with the help of the welfare social worker. Mrs. Carmona herself found the third, fourth, and fifth houses through Latin employees of real estate firms. In every case she had to have the houses approved by the welfare administration that pays for the rent. Fewer intermediaries are needed and a more direct client-agency relationship is established at every further stage. The lack of English, however, makes it impossible to advance in this way beyond the stage of addressing oneself to the eventually bilingual American employee. As already mentioned, Mrs. Carmona's evaluation of the American people and the receiving society is high, but her direct contact with it is very limited, given her poor English, her

lack of transportation, and the consequently instrumental character of her dealings with its institutions.

Although she supervises her children's homework, Mrs. Carmona has never gone to the school, "I can't because of the children," she says. A Latin bilingual teacher calls on her once in a while.

Aspirations

Mrs. Carmona dropped out of school in the ninth grade to work as a house maid. Later on, she worked in two factories. All through her childhood and adolescent age she experienced poverty and hardship. Therefore, a rise in aspirations since the time of arrival is evident when Mrs. Carmona says she would like the children to become teachers or lawyers. For the time being she is happy with the progress Annabel is making in reading.

Mrs. Carmona's main aspiration is to buy a house and return to Puerto Rico where she has her grandmother, her father, and six sisters, five of them from her father's second marriage. She feels lonely and despairing. She has nobody in the mainland except her sister-in-law, who, she says, "takes sides with her brother," Mr. Carmona. Under the present circumstances, however, Mrs. Carmona's aspirations to return are just a dream.

Having a car would help Mrs. Carmona to break somewhat her isolation and not to depend entirely on the rides the social agencies sometimes give her. She doubts, however, that the welfare would help her to get a car.

Annabel (9) shares her mother's aspirations to live in Puerto Rico because "all my friends are there," although, in fact, she just spent a vacation there five years ago. She expresses also the wish for having her grandmother and older brother coming here to live with them. She would like her mother to have a car, and last, but foremost for her, she badly wants her father back at home, unlike her mother. "My father is important for me," she says. "I can't sleep because I always think something is happening to him when he does not come to see us." She would like to become a mother and a teacher. She would like also to be a Girl Scout, but presumably the family's economic situation prevents it.

Marriage breakdown and escape from responsibility

Mr. Carmona was unemployed for four years because of an accident. One year ago he went back to work. The family was getting a welfare supplement, and when it was cut down, Mrs. Carmona says, her husband decided to leave. But Mrs. Carmona does not believe that that was the reason. "By that time," she says, "he had already relationships with that woman. He used to drink a lot. I had to suffer a lot with him. He got spoiled two or three years ago. He falls in love very easily."

Child rearing was another source of conflict. Both Mr. and Mrs. Carmona are hot tempered. "This is why we cannot live together," she says. She recognizes being harsher with the children than her husband. Now, Mr. Carmona wants to come back, but Mrs. Carmona does not like the idea. He visits

them once a month, and occasionally takes them shopping.

Unemployment, no matter what its causes are, can affect negatively the family life routine by presenting the worker with the problem of leisure time management. The frequence of disagreements and conflicts originated in opposing child rearing views and practices runs higher with the long hours of the father's unusual staying at home. Love and drinking ventures become stronger temptations.

Child rearing and continuity in value orientation

Mrs. Carmona draws inspiration and comfort in her troubles from remembering her grandmother. She suffers from being far from her. "When one falls in love, one does not accept advice," she says with regret for having gotten married. "My grandmother suffered a lot to bring us up. She worked as a housemaid and did laundry. If I suffer for my children's sake, she also suffered for our sake," Mrs. Carmona says. She and her sister were brought up very well by their grandmother, although in a strict, traditional way. "We were allowed to go out only with her or just close to the house. Now the kids are brought up in a freer atmosphere," says Mrs. Carmona. She herself cannot cope with the burden of her large sized family, not at least without the father's help. She screams at the children and hits them without measure and opportunity. Roberto (7) is a pretty wild boy and two more of his brothers are rather unruly. Mrs. Carmona's feelings of frustration do not help her either to rule harmoniously the home. The home interior is dirty and obviously neglected.

Mrs. Carmona is very conscious, however, of the dangers her children are exposed to at school and on the street: "I don't like them to learn bad things from other kids like talking bad. I like them to obey me and to respect the grownups... They respect more the father than me. But I am the one that punishes them more. He did not want that I hit the children so much," she says. The support of her grandmother and other relatives would give Mrs. Carmona not only the chance of having them babysit the children, but would also provide her with insights to better handle her child rearing role. Her interest in effectively transmitting the value-orientation she received from her grandmother is handicapped by unsuitable personal characteristics and by the absence of the father.

Friends and transportation

Annabel Carmona says that all her friends are Puerto Ricans. Unlike her mother, Annabel is not appreciative of Americans. "The white and the black people hit me when I do nothing to them," She says. She does not even know the other white non-Puerto Rican neighbors on the same street. Her best friend is Luisa Perez, a neighbor Puerto Rican girl of the same age. The Perez are a very orderly family, devout Pentecostals, that take the Carmona children along with them to the church. Mrs. Carmona says: "I also used to go to the same church until something horrible happened to me. A sister of that church went away with my husband." The fact that she still sends her children to that church gives evidence

of the strong influence that the neighbor Perez family has on Mrs. Carmona. She says she would rather go to the Roman Catholic church where her grandmother used to take her in Puerto Rico if someone gave her a ride. Such a statement shows the importance of transportation as an institutional chance for family adaptation to the new environment and even for family internal cohesiveness.

Mrs. Carmona shares her grief with another abandoned Puerto Rican wife and mother of eight children. They frequently call on each other. Mrs. Carmona is anxious to get a car to increase contacts like this and to gain a sense of relative independence.

THE ROLON: MOTHERS AND INTERGENERATIONAL CONTINUITY AND IMPROVEMENT

Work and position of dominance in the family group: images and roles

Mrs. Rolon feels fully frustrated: "I have lost entirely the responsibility for the home. I can't tell my husband: 'I fix you a meal' because of my arm accident." In my first introductory call on the Rolons, Mrs. Rolon ran the conversation and did not let her husband say a word. She is very conscious that she is better educated than he, and enjoys better social benefits in her firm than her husband does in his factory. She is energetic, outgoing, hot tempered. He is soft spoken and quiet, partly because that seems to be his habitual condition, and partly out of self-control. Nora, his oldest child (12), says: "When he gets mad, he almost blows the roof off." He sits long hours watching baseball on television without saying a word. He seldom gets excited.

Now, a recent car accident has disabled Mrs. Rolon and she is unable to perform her typing and key punching work. She is jobless and waiting for the resolution of her insurance claim. Her frustration seems to be partly derived from the sudden loss of one of the most important sources legitimating her obvious position of dominance in the family. Mrs. Rolon sounds deeply anxious to get her insurance benefits, which she expects to be very high, just as if this money were to modify again in her favor the sensitive balance of the interlocking family roles and positions of dominance.

Mrs. Rolon is, in fact, rebelling against the cultural norm that makes the husband the main breadwinner and absolute home ruler in the Puerto Rican subculture. Such a case of culturally deviant behavior does not seem to be a product of migration. It seems, rather, to be derived from personal characteristics and the higher degree of education. Mrs. Rolon also had a poorly paid secretarial job in Puerto Rico. There is no evidence of a character change in either one of the spouses that could be attributed to the impact of migration.

Nora is aware that her mother is the one running the show at home. She says: "My father does not give much command over here. My mother always has to tell my father what to do." Nora likes to go with her mother to the stores because neither one of them likes to stay at home the whole weekend, unlike Mr. Rolon.

Mrs. Rolon helps the children with their homework and disciplines them. Nora does not like her mother's bad temper, but she recognizes her own bad temper and mean character: "I am always hitting my brothers and sister." Her mother talks to her in English, evidence of her strong urge to achieve. Congruence in the images that each one has of the other and of himself helps to create a general atmosphere of harmony in spite of occasional disagreements.

Mr. Rolon has a very positive self-concept. He would like his wife to be like him, peaceful and "humilde" (an adjective that epitomizes Puerto Rican norms of morality).

But he considers himself happy, both as a single and, now, as a married man. Certainly the great change in his life was getting married and assuming responsibilities. He thinks of himself as morally superior to his wife. More "humilde" means, among other things, more understanding and patient. On the other hand, Mrs. Rolon points to her superior intelligence and strong character and dynamism. Both divergent sets of qualities can complement each other, but the process of mutual adjustment and harmonization has not been without friction. When asked about the qualities for an ideal husband and an ideal wife, she says: "Love, tolerance and good will. If my husband had not had them, he would have thrown me out already. I don't recommend myself. I am not even average. I like to boss around and I scream a lot."

Mr. Rolon also has a positive image of his wife ("She is generous"), even though shadowed by some criticisms like: "She is not very amicable with the neighbors." He considers himself successful in changing her hot tempered disposition: "I played it strong," he says. He describes the changes operated in his wife since they came from Puerto Rico. Now she has a more submissive, more cooperative attitude in helping him to solve his problems. Mr. Rolon must surely have in mind Mrs. Rolon's gainful employment until she had an accident. For Mr. Rolon his wife's main role, however, consists in taking care of the children. He sees his own role as that of worker and breadwinner. Therefore, although he

appreciates his wife's contribution to the family income, still he insists on the traditional, formal definition of the wife's role. In other words, he does not seem to be ready to grant his wife full recognition of her work role.

One of the subjects about which Mr. and Mrs. Rolon disagree is the eventual return to Puerto Rico. Mrs. Rolon still has fresh memories of her deprivations in Puerto Rico, and does not want to return to the island. She would go there just when she gets old to enjoy her pension and social security benefits. Mr. Rolon likes the quiet and the more relaxed life style of his native island, and he would enjoy, even more, meeting his friends from his orchestra. He misses his musical and social life. He recognizes, however, that life in Puerto Rico, although easy for him alone, would be impossible with the children. Therefore, the disagreement as to an eventual return to Puerto Rico is more a matter of aspiration than of realistic plans, and it is rooted in the divergent experiences of the Rolon spouses before getting married.

Mr. Rolon dislikes being pressured by his wife into buying something when they go shopping. He says, however: "I have always given my pay check for my wife to manage it. Very few husbands do it. I give her my whole paycheck. She is proner to save than I am. But right now we don't save anything because of her accident."

Two of the children take after their father, Ramon (9) and Ledis (7). They are peaceful and quiet. The other

two take after their mother. Nora (12) and Frankie (5) are hot tempered and dynamic. Ramon is fond of animals. His friends must avoid fights as he does. He likes Puerto Rico because he can ride on horses and enjoy the climate, but he would like to live in Islip because of his friends. He likes to be with his father, to work with him in the yard, and to listen to his jokes.

The extended family: continuity and improvement

Mr. and Mrs. Rolon's fathers brought about their respective families' disorganization and the breakdown of their marriages. Mr. and Mrs. Rolon's mothers, however, made up for the damage inflicted upon their families with a fully dedicated life of love and hard work for their children's sake.

Mr. Rolon is improving the life style of his family of orientation. His father first ruined the good economic situation of the family by getting involved with women; then, temporarily, he abandoned his family. Mr. Rolon is tightly bound to his mother and brothers who also live in town. He thinks of himself as a much more understanding and loving father than his own.

Mr. and Mrs. Rolon found in their mutual love and in the love of their mothers the sense of security they failed to get from their fathers. They learned to struggle in life from their mothers, and, even now, when they are experienced and strong, they still look to them for inspiration. Mr. Rolon also calls frequently on his father who has been re-

united with his family. The reason why the Rolons migrated here from Puerto Rico in 1963 was, according to Mr. Rolon, "that I needed badly my father and mother. They sent the tickets to us." Luz, a single sister of Mrs. Rolon who lives with the Rolon family, says, however, that the reason was that Mr. Rolon earned very little in his musical profession. Luz came when Mrs. Rolon had her third child. Later on four more married sisters of Mrs. Rolon also migrated to Islip from their native island. "People come here," says Mrs. Rolon, "because they want to look for 'ambiente', more reasonable wages. Because here the illiterate has a chance and the literate one too. In Puerto Rico the illiterate girl does not go beyond being a house maid. The only good thing about Puerto Rico is the warm weather and that it is beautiful. It is good for tourists. Unless you have your own business or an academic training. In that case you do not come here even for a visit."

Mr. Rolon's father found his son his first job in the same factory where he was working. Mr. Rolon has subsequently had three more jobs. Mr. Rolon's parents had been invited to migrate by a son-in-law that sent them the tickets. The migratory chain in the Rolon family has been as follows: Son-in-law - father-in-law - son - sister-in-law.

The first house the Rolons lived in was that of Mr. Rolon's father. But "my father and my wife did not get along, and I had to look for another house," says Mr. Rolon. "The first three years I was the only one working in the family."

Mrs. Rolon says that when they first came they got a supplement and medical card from the welfare. Three years later, she started working. "I liked being able to help my husband and not to have to report to anyone (welfare)," Mrs. Rolon says.

In the ten years since they arrived in Islip, the Rolons rented eight different apartments and houses, and, finally, bought the house in which they live three years ago. This house is located in a modest, but integrated neighborhood. That is, some white non-Puerto Rican families alternate with a majority of Latin families, mostly Puerto Rican. The first eight residences were located in a not too distant but poorer neighborhood where Puerto Ricans and American blacks are the only residents.

The Rolon's extended family includes Mrs. Rolon's mother who has a separate residence, but spends most of her time in the Rolon's home, and Mrs. Rolon's single sister, Luz, who lives with the Rolons. Luz takes care of most of the household chores and the cooking. Luz eats with the children. Mr. and Mrs. Rolon eat together. Luz also has an active role in the child rearing. Ledis (7) trusts her more than her own mother, of whom she is a little afraid. Nora, (12) however, does not help and obey her aunt, but only her mother. Luz is happy in Islip, and would like to go to Puerto Rico just for a vacation. In fact, she has done so twice since her arrival. Mrs. Rolon is very considerate of her single sister. She says: "I cannot go to a

movie and let the children in bed with my sister. It seems to me unfair to her, because she is single."

Four other married sisters of Mrs. Rolon live in neighboring towns and visit each other almost weekly. Mr. Rolon has, besides his parents, three married brothers in Islip and they visit each other weekly, meeting especially at their parents' home.

One of the four married sisters of Mrs. Rolon, Flora, and her husband spend almost every evening at the Rolon home with their two small children. In fact, Rafael, his brother-in-law, is Mr. Rolon's best friend. The two families spend most of their time together and thus make up a sort of twin-shaped extended family. Mrs. Rolon's mother presides symbolically over it and her daughter, Mrs. Rolon runs it to a certain extent, thanks to her wit, and to her undertaking and domineering character.

Mrs. Rolon shows a strong resentment when she talks about the miserly, strict, and even cruel way her father used to treat her mother and bring her and her sisters up. She brings up her own children, she says, in a completely different way.

"My father," says Mr. Rolon, "was very strict with us. My mother, however, put up with us. She just reprimanded us and we would obey her. We worship her. I never hit my children. I just rebuke them. I don't scream at them either. They are intelligent and they obey." He plans to take the children along to parties when they reach the

teen years instead of either forbidding them to go or letting them go on their own. Mr. and Mrs. Rolon agree on the general line to follow in child rearing, but Mrs. Rolon is more severe and more prone to resort to physical punishment. Nora points to the difference.

Mr. Rolon stopped playing in the orchestra as soon as his wife got jealous. He has also abstained from participating in several sport activities he enjoyed to be able to spend more time at home with the children.

Change in socioeconomic status and aspirations: adaptation to the receiving society

The hardships Mrs. Rolon went through in Puerto Rico make her doubly appreciate the jobs and comforts achieved here and thus reject the idea of an eventual return. The parents' aspirations have obviously risen since their arrival. Mrs. Rolon wants her children to become professionals. Nora says she would like to become a social worker. Mrs. Rolon says about herself: "I should have worked as a social worker of the welfare. I feel happy when I help someone and then he succeeds... I thought of going to evening school to become a bilingual secretary. But, since I had so much economic problem, I could not retain anything. I have very bad memory." Mr. Rolon would like Nora to become a social worker, Ledis a registered nurse, Frankie a musician, and Ramon a baseball player. The parents tend to aspire to the occupational achievements for their children that they could not, but vainly pursue, in their own lives. The Rolons bought

their house three years ago and now they plan improvements and enlargements on it. According to Mr. Rolon it took them about five years to raise their economic position substantially over that they had in Puerto Rico. Mrs. Rolon's accident has been an important setback, so that the planned house improvements will have to wait until the insurance payments, if substantial, or eventually a new, different job, bring the family situation back to normality.

Mr. Rolon is self-conscious of his musical skills that, if further cultivated, would place him in a much higher social position. When he was still playing in the orchestra, he used to meet, both in Puerto Rico and in the mainland, many of the most conspicuous representatives of the community. But he says that the children take a lot of time, and he feels they are worth the sacrifice. Since Mrs. Rolon says that her husband's musical profession did not let them make a good living in Puerto Rico, Mr. Rolon's renouncement of playing for the children's sake entails some rationalization. He also reads a lot of ads for job training programs, but he ends up relinquishing his hopes and merely projects his aspirations for professional promotion into his children's educational future. Nora's excellent performance at school is the first dividend Mr. Rolon is enjoying from his self-effacement as an artist.

Mr. Rolon shows displeasure with the fact that foremen and American factory bosses, both in Puerto Rico and in Islip, exert too much pressure and demand an excessive pace

in production. "They don't want any ideas," he says. Work must be simply carried out according to minute specifications.

Before her last key-punching job, Mrs. Rolon worked in a factory and was a shop stewardess. "I liked it because you can help your fellow workers. Latins were victims of a lot of injustices. They did not dare doing it with the blacks." An unclear perception of her shop steward role by some of her fellow Latin workers, however, was the occasion for turning a gratifying experience into an undesirable role: "I would not do it again. I had a bad experience with a Latin lady. They figured that, as a shop steward, I was supposed to help them with every problem like housing, welfare, etc. Since nobody gives them any orientation..." From her unpleasant experiences as a shop stewardess Mrs. Rolon seems to have drawn a good deal of feelings of social distance whereby she has been able to set herself apart and over her own ethnic in-group. "Because the hispano, especially we the Puerto Ricans are treacherous people with two faces. We are like the cat that closes its eyes when you feed it in order not to know who is feeding it, and then it opens its eyes to attack.... We, Puerto Ricans, don't like to assume any responsibilities. We don't know how to accept and recognize when we fail. We prefer to blame others for it. As far as being conformists, nobody goes ahead of us. I think that when someone wants something, he can get it. We rather choose lying to the welfare like racketeers when we have the husband home. We like traveling so much, going to Puerto

Rico that they may see how white we are and that we have put on weight. They don't think of saving, of having a home, of the future. There are people who don't want to work. There are women who need not having a man even if they have a lot of children from him. We relieve the man from his duties to the home. I would not do it. I would rather be alone in that case. There are women so stupid that they say that their husband left. Then the welfare money and the wages are for the husbands' obligations. And often it is not for real needs, but for cars, trips to Puerto Rico, fashionable clothes, celebrating Christmas... I have no luxury after so many years here, because I live from my work."

Work also reinforced Mrs. Rolon's self-esteem from another point of view. She became more aware of her superiority of character and intelligence: "My workmates felt they were bruter than I. They looked at me as at a goddess." Although Mrs. Rolon speaks fairly good English and is not very appreciative of her fellow Puerto Ricans, she hardly has any American friendship. Her visits are almost exclusively from the family and to the family plus a few fellow countrymen and workmates.

The Rolon family is more religious than Mr. Rolon's family of orientation. Mr. Rolon has a positive attitude toward his church. He attended a religious school as a child in Puerto Rico. When they came to Islip both spouses were active for a while in a parish association. They withdrew because of some personality rifts between them and

some of the association's lay leaders. Mr. Rolon, unlike his wife, does not mention this reason, but he rather gives his long work schedule as the reason. This fits his personal tendency to play down conflict. Mrs. Rolon used to go to church in Puerto Rico. They got some occasional financial help from an American bilingual priest in Islip. Now they go to church once in a while, but they keep helping newly arrived families from Puerto Rico to find jobs, housing, etc., and put them in contact with the social agencies or with the church.

Mrs. Rolon's sister, Luz, and her mother, once a client of a social agency, are now volunteers in the same agency. Many people go there as a first step to get on welfare. Religion has been and is an important family value. Church related activities put the Rolon family in contact with a good number of fellow Puerto Ricans.

The Rolon's attitude toward the schools is unusually cooperative. The parents go to the school to comment on the children's reports. Both parents go once in a while to the P.T.A. meetings and are able to understand enough. Mrs. Rolon says: "I used to help in the preparation of instructional materials in the Kindergarten together with another two mothers." She would like to save money, so that "the children could get an academic training and may not have to suffer like my husband and myself." Her own frustrated aspiration was to become a teacher of English in Puerto Rico, "but, since I knew that I had not a chance to go to college,

I did not study too much, just to become a secretary," she says.

Nora points to the prejudices and discrimination Puerto Rican kids are subject to in the school. Nora's academic success and award winning plus an occasional problem of discrimination have helped to intensify her parents' contact with the school.

Concluding remarks

The members of the extended family, especially the mothers, the moral and intellectual characteristics of the spouses, and the better economic conditions in the mainland have been the most important factors influencing the positive development of the conjugal relationship, in spite of the contrasting characters of the spouses. Religious values have an important place in the cultural heritage passed on by mothers, church associations, and school to the Rolon family. The children seem to identify with the many adults caring for them and have a wide choice for individual alignment, like that of Ledis with her aunt. The extended family is the main reference group. Work roles can be instrumentally performed, as in the case of Mr. Rolon. Or, as in the case of Mrs. Rolon's ebullient personality, such roles can also have an important expressive function. Lack of valued skills in the parents works toward projection of their own frustrated occupational aspirations into the children's future.

THE MACHUCA: ACHIEVEMENT DRIVE AND CHURCH AS A SUPPORTIVE SYSTEM

Motivation to migrate and adaptation

Mr. Machuca is a healthy, intelligent, and energetic man. His father was a small businessman in Puerto Rico. Mr. Machuca went to college for two years and then he operated his own small business in his native island. Then he suffered an accident and the chips were down. Now, after six years of struggle in the mainland, he boasts of having achieved as much as others do in twelve years. He is looking forward to establishing his own small business in Islip with the help of loans from the Small Business Administration. He seems to share the management's views in explaining why he is not a union member. He is happy with his work and wages, and he enjoys having a special relationship with the bosses whereby they exchange services.

The Machuca family arrived for the first time in this country in 1968. They returned to Puerto Rico around 1972 because of the arthritis affecting Mrs. Machuca, but Mr. Machuca did not like the situation in his home country.

He found his former neighborhood too crowded and noisy, and the economic prospects dim. In consequence, he decided to return to the mainland one month later, although his wife opposed the idea. Mr. Machuca's personal needs for success and independence took precedence over the family's need for integration and cohesiveness. He left for the mainland but his wife stayed in the Island. Later on, the advice of her aunts made Mrs. Machuca rejoin her husband

on the mainland. Mrs. Machuca's parents had separated when she was a child and she was then brought up by an aunt. Mr. Machuca's mother and three brothers living in Puerto Rico were not an effective pull factor to retain him in the Island. "We, the brothers, are very united when we live near to each other," says Mr. Machuca.

It seems that the strong purpose of economic betterment that Mr. Machuca brought to this country, as well as his firm family leadership make for fast adaptation to the new situation if measured in terms of personal satisfaction and upward social mobility.

Role differentiation and separateness as search for autonomy

Mr. Machuca asserts his role as main provider and expert in home economics up to the point that he does the shopping on Saturdays. Mrs. Machuca buys only the children's outfits. Mrs. Machuca will stop working in the near future because she cannot get over the obscenity and fun-making at the factory, and perhaps more so, because she finds a considerable strain in playing both roles, namely that of factory operator and housewife and mother.

Mr. Machuca has a very positive self-concept. In his set of beliefs about himself, God's image is included as an important source of his energy, health, and steadfastness in difficulties. He sees himself as a fighter and an optimist. When speaking of his wife, however, he mentions her cooking ability as her most positive trait. He does not share his financial problems with his wife because he thinks

himself much more qualified to work them out and solve them. He rationalizes the way he is looked upon by the rest of the family, namely as a severe ruler, by saying that he loves cleanliness, order and method, and cannot get along with the irresponsibility of today's youth.

Jose is a nine year old boy that dreams of becoming a policeman, and of meeting John Wayne and other Hollywood gunfighters. Having his own room and riding on his bike seem to be the only realistic ways of feeling somewhat independent. Jose has, like his father, a positive image of himself as being happy and strong. He tries at times to enlarge his freedom and disobeys his mother. He also defies the bossiness of his big sister Ana. He boasts of being a better interpreter in English for his mother than his sisters. Jose has a more trust-inspiring image of his mother than of his father, and aligns himself with her to the point of performing tasks traditionally attached to the females in the Puerto Rican home. Jose pointedly mentions the fact that his father does not always take him along to the sports events at Madison Square Garden and City Stadiums.

Luisa is an eleven year old girl who sees herself as a person nice to everybody, at variance with her mother who is bad to the people, she says. The trait Luisa appreciates best in her father is that he takes them out, although not as often as she would like. Luisa complains about her mother hitting them a lot, and about her father yelling at her sisters. Luisa talks over her problems with her sister Ana,

twelve years old, and also trusts Juanita, a neighbor friend of her same age. Neither Ana nor Luisa like to be at home. They do not find the home atmosphere happy enough. Luisa seems to be in the least favorable position. Ana enjoys privileges like going out more often than when she was younger. Ana also confides her problems to Luisa and her friends rather than to her mother. She says that her father, before coming to this country, used to be mean. For her his best aspect is that he sometimes buys things she likes. But Ana has the highest appreciation for her sister Luisa because "she cares about what I do." Ana does not identify with her parents either. Ana would like to become a teacher and Luisa would like to become a nurse. Mr. Machuca says that the two girls are doing poorly at school. Ana and Luisa are children of Mrs. Machuca's first marriage. They were one and two years old when their parents separated. Mr. Machuca has not been able to develop a deep affection toward them and, consequently, both girls remain somewhat aloof in their relationship with him.

Purita is the youngest child, the second of the marriage of Mr. and Mrs. Machuca and has taken to her father as both spouses recognize.

Jose and Purita thus enjoy greater affection with their parents and also show clear signs of being much more alert and intelligent than Ana and Luisa, their two big sisters from the mother's side. Since Mr. Machuca aligns herself with Jose and Mr. Machuca aligns himself with Purita,

Ana and Luisa have aligned themselves with each other. Both sisters are aware of the strong rule exerted by Mr. Machuca in the family affairs, and, in particular, of the fact that Mr. Machuca had the last word in deciding not to return to Puerto Rico against their mother's will.

Ana recognizes that Purita is the one who helps their mother more in the household chores because she likes it. She and Luisa also give a good hand. Jose also does. He likes to help his mother. Ana and Luisa help Jose with his homework. Mr. Machuca checks the homework, especially the math.

Luisa would like to live in Puerto Rico, contrary to her sister Ana. Luisa does not enjoy the same privileges of visiting friends as Ana does and gets very bored at home. She misses her relatives and friends in Puerto Rico.

Mrs. Machuca still has a taste for independence. She says she was happiest when she was working and could buy her own things and help her mother. She realizes she has a bad temper, but adds that Mr. Machuca has one as well. She trusts most in God, and secondly, a sister from church. When Purita was born, Mrs. Machuca relates, her husband's character changed greatly. She compares Puerto Rican and American husbands to disparage her husband's uncooperative role in household chores and child supervision.

Both spouses agree, however, about the convenience of Mrs. Machuca quitting her job at the factory and staying home. Mrs. Machuca maintains a positive image of her per-

formance as a housewife. She is also aware of her improvement in child rearing practices insofar as she does not punish the children harshly as often as she did. Mrs. Machuca contrasts the well-mannered behavior of her children outside home with their unruly and hot tempered behavior when at home, possibly as a reaction against a too rigid system of norms.

Mrs. Machuca's image of her husband has improved considerably under the influence of their growing interest in religion, but scars are still visible. She points to her husband's independence and to his sound home economics. It sounds like a critical remark.

Common religious values in the shift from conflict to harmony

Mr. Machuca seems to be an authoritarian personality who wants and demands things to be done at home on his own terms. His higher education, his fairly good English, his business-administrative skill, his complete dedication to the socioeconomic and religious improvement of his family validate his claim, he must think. It is likely, however, that his authoritarian traits might have contributed to the breakdown of two former marriages and to the severe crisis the present one went through.

The only associational activity of the Machuca family is its enthusiastic participation in the cult of the Pentecostal Church. Maturity and church attendance seem to have made Mr. Machuca a homebody, very much in contrast with his social habits from years back in Puerto Rico. He says he

trusts in God and counts on Him in all his undertakings. The Pentecostal Pastor has sometimes come to spend the day with them at home.

They got to know the church almost by chance. Four years ago, they were visiting a sick friend when four members of the Pentecostal Church arrived to pray for him. The Machucas invited them to hold a service in their home.

Since then, the religious values seem to have become as important for them, if not more, than their drive toward a higher standard of living. They started driving sixty miles on Saturdays and again sixty miles on Sundays to attend church. Friends are made almost exclusively through the church. The church, especially through the friendship with a couple of dedicated members, the Negrons, who have become "significant others" for the Machucas, acts as a "supportive system" and "integral part of the family system" by strengthening family bonds and giving totalizing meaning to the home, work, and other social experiences. The older age of the Negron spouses has also surely contributed to their playing quasi-parental roles with the Machuca spouses. Their friendship and advice have been determinant in helping the Machucas cope with the tensions and conflicts that Mrs. Machuca ascribes to the fact that she and her husband are "entirely different" except for the fact that both are hot tempered.

The friendship between the Negrons and the Machucas is a clear example of "personalized welcome" or person-oriented

role performance by church active members. Such a welcome, rather than the mere chance to attend or get religious and charitable services, which could be termed "organizational welcome", seems to make a remarkable difference in the behavior of the migrant family.

Since the Machucas have been in the church, conjugal conflict has disappeared. Before, they used to fight each other with harsh words. Now they solve their disagreements in a different way.

The quest for dominance has been tempered by religion and by the advice of relatives. Mrs. Machuca's relatives persuaded her to join her husband in Islip after she had refused to return to the mainland. Her bad health had worsened in Islip and she missed her mother and relatives very much. Mr. Machuca thinks of returning to his native island only after succeeding in Islip by opening his own business.

Now, Mrs. Machuca seems to have changed her mind and she prefers to live here. She seems to have borrowed her husband's motives to stay in the mainland, such as the quiet life so different from the lively and noisy Puerto Rican housing developments. She also mentions the higher standard of living as indicated by a home, two cars, etc. Health remains, though, as the only reason for returning to the native island.

Mr. Machuca stresses the positive moral influence of his religious commitment on every aspect of the family life. "All aspects have improved: respect, seriousness, considera-

tion..." Religious motivations also must have contributed to resolve the serious disagreement and eventual conflict developed regarding the choice of definitive residence in Islip rather than in Puerto Rico.

THE CABRERA: A CASE OF GOOD SOCIAL ADAPTATION AND POOR FAMILY INTEGRATION

Family of orientation

Mr. Cabrera was brought up in the countryside. His parents were both factory workers. They had four children and managed just to lead poor but happy lives. Mr. Cabrera completed his third year of High School. He grew up in the warm atmosphere of an extended family. His father's brothers, sisters, uncles and aunts all lived nearby, and made up a big family. All of them live in Puerto Rico. Mr. Cabrera's mother writes often to him. Both parents come every summer with their son, and Mr. Cabrera visits his parents in Puerto Rico every Christmas. Mr. Cabrera also has some relatives in the city. They come to visit him once in a while, but he never goes to the city.

Mrs. Cabrera says: "We have no family here."

Family image and connectedness

Mrs. Cabrera points to the loving atmosphere at home: "My children have everything: affection, love, respect. I could not enjoy the affection of my mother. She died when I was four. I had to struggle and suffer." She goes on: "In the evening I sit down with my husband and the children to play their games, to tell them stories of past times, jokes... I like to talk to them, give them advice, help them with their homework, talk to my husband when he arrives about the problems of the day."

In the last months, after the interviews were held, however, Mr. and Mrs. Cabrera have become cold toward each

other. Mr. Cabrera spends much more time than he used to outside home. Mrs. Cabrera looks sad and depressed.

"My children have got ahead very well since they came (5 years ago). They have learnt English very well. They are intelligent... On Saturdays and Sundays I take the children out." Mrs. Cabrera likes to travel with her husband and children. Luis (9) says: "We go skating and fishing, and to play baseball." On workdays the children have dinner with their mother because the father returns late from work. Luis says that his mother has dinner again with his father. On Saturdays and Sundays the whole family eats together.

Ida (13) is the only daughter from Mrs. Cabrera's first marriage. Her father died. She was brought up by an uncle and aunt. She attended a religious boarding school in Puerto Rico. Although she liked that school better than the public school she attends here, she is now happier living with her mother and brothers on the mother's side for the first time. "I call him daddy," she says referring to Mr. Cabrera, her step-father, "but I seldom talk to him."

"We help each other," says Ida referring to her brothers and sister. "Everybody has a lot of fun with the others. We are a joyful family." A few months after this interview was held, the depressed mood of Mrs. Cabrera seemed also to reflect on the more subdued mood of the children.

"We plan to go all of us this summer to Puerto Rico." After the summer I learned that only Gloria (12) spent her

holiday in Puerto Rico. The family cancelled its plans because the house needed some repairs and the money did not reach for both things. Maybe the conflict which developed between the spouses contributed to the cancellation.

Motivation to migrate and will to stay: Adaptation as satisfaction

Mrs. Cabrera feels happy in Islip: "It has taken ten years away from me. When I arrived, I was an old woman. I feel joyful now, like a child, proud of my children and my husband. I have visited the city and New Jersey, but the chances are better here. ... In the city you cannot live free like over here. Here life is quieter. Nobody bothers anybody."

Mrs. Cabrera mentions as grounds for her happiness "Having my own home, my husband having a good job with good benefits already for seven years; that this is a quiet place with good neighbors, that I can practice all kinds of sports with my husband and children, that my children have learnt English... Also I like the variety of weather. I have my friendships and relationships here. Here everything has turned out easy for me. There is nothing I don't like around here. Here we have our own home, and in Puerto Rico we have nothing." The recent conflict with her husband, in which a lady neighbor has played a certain role, has shown to Mrs. Cabrera the limitations of her neighborhood. Gloria also says that her parents sometimes worry because "they fear I could get killed. There are so many niggers around here..."

Even in a case of such a good adaptation to the new environment, the aspiration to an eventual late return to Puerto Rico persists. Mrs. Cabrera says: "I would like to build up a home in Puerto Rico for my husband and myself." Mr. Cabrera affirms his will to stay as follows: "One can make good money here. Once you have got accustomed to this country it is difficult to return. You are afraid of not finding a job. That is the experience of some friends of mine who have come back again. There are very few leaving for Puerto Rico."

Ida is very happy, having rejoined her family in Islip. Gloria, however, would like to return to Puerto Rico for her vacation and "never come back. I like it better in Puerto Rico. I have made several trips to see my grandparents. We came here for no reason, just because my father sent to get us." Luis (9) seems also to confuse wish with reality: "I think we are going to Puerto Rico next Christmas. We are going to buy a home and stay there for good." He would like to live in Puerto Rico "because there it is fun. There are horses, woods, bulls.... I remember some of the things." Angel (10) would like to live either in Puerto Rico or in Islip. He gives a reason for living in Puerto Rico: "I want to learn Spanish, and I want to learn how to write it."

Parents obviously have a more realistic assessment of the chances open to the family in both places, but even when they feel well adapted to the new society, they still keep some hope for returning, like Mrs. Cabrera, when the children grow up and emancipate themselves.

Luis says: "We came here because we did not have a house in Puerto Rico. We lived in the house of my uncle." Poverty seems to have been the Cabrera's main motive to migrate. Mrs. Cabrera says: "I would like to study and finish the training as a nurse. I never was able to study in Puerto Rico. We lived so poorly... My husband just earned $50 a week as a repairman, and we had already three children, and we had to pay the rent, the light, the water... We always were in debt with the stores. We never had a cent for pants, never got a car. All the things we had were very poor. One cannot get a job. We have improved a lot. We cannot save. He is always rebuking because he would like to save. We have good credit in all the stores though. We lived always in this house we bought. The Government helped my husband to pay for it." The house belonged to a friend of Mr. Cabrera, the same one who helped him to find his job. "The first two years my husband had very low wages," Mrs. Cabrera says. "We were two years on welfare. Then, they gave my husband a pay rise."

"I came here," Mr. Cabrera says, "asking for anything, begging. In Puerto Rico I had already enough children, and the money did not reach, we could not make ends meet...Life here is easier than in Puerto Rico and, at the same time, it is tighter than in Puerto Rico. Work is easier, but you have to stretch the dollar. In Puerto Rico the rent is not that high. Here you have a lot of bills of water, light... And things are now more expensive than when we first came. I like

to go fishing. In Puerto Rico I had no chance to go fishing. Now I am going to ask for a loan to repair the house by myself." The house is small. The two sisters sleep together. The boys too. Furniture looks shabby and run down.

Aspirations

Mrs. Cabrera says: "I have always liked that they may study something, that they have a good profession. But, I have never thought of anything in particular. Let it be what the destiny may have for them in store." Mrs. Cabrera is uncertain as to the future satisfaction of her aspirations: "Time will say it. Sometimes I think that my family will improve its economic situation; some other time I think it won't."

Mr. Cabrera, since he was young in Puerto Rico, aspired to become an electrical engineer. "I won't be able to become one any longer. What I would like to have is my own small business here in Long Island." Ida would like to attend school even on Saturdays to learn faster and become a secretary. "I have to learn English well, also Spanish and typing." She would also like to find a job like babysitting to help her mother. Gloria aspires to have a new house in Puerto Rico and a big car. Angel (10) would like to study football and war "because I like the guns... I would like to bomb German people because they don't like us." Luis (9) aspires to join the Boy Scouts, to work in his father's workshop, to have a bike and baseball clothes. In the meantime, both brothers have joined the Boy Scouts. Aspirations have

seemingly risen and are only moderated by the large size of the family. Building up a house in Puerto Rico and having the children become professionals are for Mrs. Cabrera her highest aspirations. Setting up his own small business is the highest aspiration of her husband.

Images and conflict

"My mother died when I was a child. We were eleven brothers and sisters. I was brought up by a good family," says Mrs. Cabrera. "I saw my father every day and my brothers every week. The lady was like a mother for me. When I was sixteen I dropped out of school to take care of my father. When I was seventeen, I went to live with a married man. One year later he died. I started to live with my husband when I was twenty, but we did not get married... A good wife should wait on her husband, have everything ready for him, bear with his shameless behavior, etc. I do just that. Otherwise he would have gone away already. In Puerto Rico I was very nervous and I did not pay enough attention to the children because I was always trying to please my husband. But after having children one has to put the husband aside a little bit... A good father should play with the children, help them with their homework, learn about their school, listen to them, please them... I have no complaints about my husband. But he does not help me at home like the American husbands do. He has changed because in Puerto Rico he used to go out a lot with friends. Here he brings the friends home, some of them Puerto Ricans and some of them Americans, from the factory

and from the baseball club." In the months following the interview Mr Cabrera seems to have returned to his old habit and he spends a lot of time going around with his friends.

There is a first reaction to any question about the internal family problems tending to veil to the outsider the seamy side and to present only the optimistic, ideal picture of family life according to approved sociocultural standards. Mrs. Cabrera says: "We are a united family. My husband and myself reach an agreement. Each of us thinks and then we decide together the course to take."

Ida (13) has authority, delegated by her mother, to give orders and to discipline her small brothers. "Sometimes I order my brothers to do something and they don't do it," she says. "Well, Gloria does it, but the boys don't." Ida thinks that her step-father is the head of the house. Angel and Luis think that both parents are the head of the house. Luis says that his father selects the television channel when he is at home.

"I don't like to argue or fight in front of the children," Mrs. Cabrera says. "We have been thirteen years together. We have had problems, but we have always reached an agreement. We have got along very well." On a second visit about one month later, Mrs. Cabrera added new aspects to the story: "My husband was here alone for three years. I was suffering in Puerto Rico. He would send me $25 and I could not make the ends meet. I felt lonely and the children kept asking for him. I made my mind up, either I would rejoin

him here or I would leave him since he did not want to make any effort to bring me. If not him, then I would get another one. Then he sent to get me. He was waiting for me at the airport." "I don't agree to my husband talking too strong to the children. He reprimands them too severely or hits them. He has always done like that since they were born."

After having completed the interviews with Mrs. Cabrera and the children, I was not able to complete for a while the interview with Mr. Cabrera because a serious conflict between the spouses broke out. A neighbor Puerto Rican lady, according to Mrs. Cabrera, started gossiping about her. Mr. Cabrera heeded her, and blamed his wife for infidelity. In fact, he was coming home very late and often drunk. "He has spoiled himself already. There is nothing to be done," says Mrs. Cabrera. I met the Cabreras eight months later. Mrs. Cabrera looked saddened, very different from our first meeting when she looked lively and outgoing. She says that her husband is always with two Puerto Rican friends almost every weekend. The gossiping neighbor moved out of the neighborhood. Mrs. Cabrera says: "I only wish that she had moved out much earlier." Her husband and her father-in-law have paneled the house during the summer, but the old sofa has broken down completely.

"For me all my children are the same because I have to bear with all of them," says Mrs. Cabrera. "Ida is the child from my first husband who died. She likes her stepfather. She thinks very good things of him, but she has not

had the occasion to treat him. He reprimands her too much." Mrs. Cabrera aligns herself with Ida and Angel (10), while Gloria (12) and Luis (9) align themselves with their father. "I love Ida," says Mrs. Cabrera,"with sorrow (pena) because I did not bring her up. I like everything about her; her talking to me, her telling me her things. She loves me a lot, and if I suffer something, she suffers it with me."

Ida (13) is radiant. She does not wish anything. "I have a bridegroom, I have everything," she says. Having met her mother and brothers after being brought up in a boarding school is the main reason for her joy. "I like to be earnest at school. If one gives them too much trust, then they talk too much. I don't like the way many girls of my age behave, always fighting, talking bad..." Ida aligns herself with her mother: "She is a teen-ager. She likes to have fun with my girl friends." About her brother she says: "I and Angel help each other. Also Luis. Ricardo (6) is always playing. He talks dirty. He must learn it at school." About her parents she says: "They are almost always happy."

Gloria (12) is an ebullient, infantile girl. She says: "Angel and myself talk so much, we can't stop talking. Ida plays teacher with me when I tell her. Everybody says that my mother and Ida are sisters." Gloria likes that her parents take them out to places and let her go to the movies with her brothers and sister. She says that her mother is the one that disciplines the children and helps them with their homework.

Angel (10) says: "I help my mother to clean the house. Good brothers are always helping each other." He points to a significant difference between his parents: "My father goes to his friend's house. My mother stays in the house." Angel aligns himself with his mother.

Luis (9) resents Ida's zeal to keep order and impose her authority as oldest sister: "You can't even take an apple. She hits you. She works too hard." Luis aligns himself with his father: "Sometimes my father takes me along with him to the workshop. I work helping my father." "My favorite thing is helping everybody in the family and my friends."

Mr. Cabrera screams at Ida when we are talking because she is talking too loud in the contiguous kitchen. He comments in anger: "This oldest girl is not mine." Mr. Cabrera likes the quiet, practicing a variety of sports with his friends and sometimes with his children.

Division of labor

Mrs. Cabrera takes care of the children, the household chores, the cooking: "I like to take care of the children. This is why I have not taken up a job. My husband does not want to either. Nobody has taken care of my children, only me." Ida helps her mother with the children and with all the household chores. Gloria alternates with her in doing the dishes. "Everybody helps to clean the house," Mrs. Cabrera says. Ida says: "I let my mother rest. I take up the heaviest things for me, and I leave the easiest things

for Gloria. I assign the tasks." A few months after this interview, Mrs. Cabrera took a part-time factory job. When she is at work, Ida takes care of the children, especially of Ricardo and a baby. Angel says: "My mother helps me and I help her every day." Cooperation is an important value in the Cabrera family. Only Mr. Cabrera has been slow in repairing the house and does not take any part in the household chores.

In Puerto Rico one had to work harder," says Mr. Cabrera. "Here you have machines, transportation. I had no car in Puerto Rico. Today there are more cars over there because there is more opportunity." Mr. Cabrera is foreman in a workshop and is responsible for four workers under his command. "I like being a foreman, although sometimes one would rather like not to be it. I have a great deal of responsibility what kind of work to do because I don't get any specifications... A friend of mine found this job for me. I have always had the same job since I first arrived seven years ago. After two years I was appointed foreman." Mr. Cabrera says that he has no further chances of occupational promotion, and only a slight one of economic improvement: "I don't think we are being paid enough. I know the prices that the parts I make have on the market. It is a huge business."

Mr. Cabrera enjoys the responsibility of his job more than being at home with the family. "Even if," he says, "I have to work when I am sick... They appreciate me, and if I have a problem, I go directly to the owner, and the manager

does not like that. The owner pays attention to me and sometimes comes to my house with his wife."

Child rearing. Boundaries

When talking of her family of orientation Mrs. Cabrera says: "We used to obey. They would command us just with a look. Today the children never do what they are told to do. They do not respect. The friendships -- may be irresponsible parents are to blame for it... When I reprimand them, it hurts me more than them... I don't like that they have trouble with their friends, talk bad, fight, say lies, get things in a sneaky way, etc. If they talk back or fight, I punish them without television and I don't let them out for a week. I have them doing their work in their room. I have them on their knees." Talking about the way to handle teen-agers, she says: "I am going through that trial already. The parent should bear with them in everything that is good. If my 13 year old girl falls in love, I let her go on because he is a good, viceless boy. But if I notice they are mistaken, with bad friends, I do not let them go with them. One gets good results this way. They like entertainment, and I take them to the movies. I take all of them along if they have their little bridegroom." Although, according to Ida, her mother takes care of the children's correction, she is more understanding than her husband. Mr. Cabrera says: "Today's kids have less respect. I want to bring them up in exactly the same way I was brought up, without vices. They taught me the reality, how to behave."

Mr. Cabrera sees in religion an important factor helping the children to behave.

Ida criticizes the behavior of some classmates at school, like boys horseplaying with the girls, girls going each day with a different boy friend. Ida and Gloria are allowed to visit with their friends. Both sisters are always together at home and with their friends. Ida's boyfriend spends many hours at the Cabreras' and gives Mrs. Cabrera a hand in the household chores. Ida sees her step-father aligning himself with the boys and her mother with the girls.

Friends, solidarity, voluntary associations, adaptation

Mr. Cabrera has a good number of friends. The closest ones are three fellow Puerto Ricans whom he first met in Islip. But he also has a good number of American friends he has met through various sportive activities, and at the factory. He is an outgoing type, and enjoys talking and helping his friends over the weekend in their various jobs. "I belong to a baseball club and to a hunting club. A Puerto Rican friend introduced me to the clubs. In the club there are many more Americans than Puerto Ricans. I have made many friends through the clubs. I have friends who are lawyers and other professional people," says Mr. Cabrera proudly. "I like the quiet, to be upstate on the mountains with my friends. I take also the children along to the baseball, skating, bowling." In the factory, Mr. Cabrera has friends of different categories. First, the owner of the workshop. He sometimes even pays the Cabreras a visit with his wife,

surely because he appreciates his skill and responsible work as a foreman. Second, his fellow foremen, all of them Americans. Third, a few Puerto Rican workmates living in the same neighborhood. Mr. Cabrera enjoys maintaining social relationships, even if not of an intimate kind, with a circle of people far above his own economic position. This must be flattering, but it must also create a severe role strain when Mr. Cabrera returns to his narrow living quarters and to his large family.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Cabrera call the very different kind of relationships they maintain friendships without further nuance, even though the term "acquaintances" may be a more precise word to describe them. Mrs. Cabrera mentions as friends the Latin teachers of her children, the social workers of the welfare she has dealt with, and the American community workers with whom she has cooperated as a volunteer of a private social agency. Mr. Cabrera also mentions as a friend a Spanish-speaking American priest who helped his family in some occasions. Such an indiscriminate use of the word "friend" points to a tendency to personalize or turn into informal those functional, bureaucratic, impersonal relationships so pervasive in the life style of the technological society.

Mrs. Cabrera says that she has more friendships and relationships than in Puerto Rico. She meets her husband's friends at different sportive events.

The Cabrera children are taking after their parents

in their ability to relate empathically and account for numerous friends, and in their positive attitude toward non-Puerto Rican Americans. Angel (10) says he has "thousands of friends." Gloria trusts her problems, first to a girl friend, then to her mother and to Ida. Most of the Cabrera children's friends live nearby and were born in Islip of Puerto Rican parents. For Gloria and Angel there is no difference between Puerto Rican kids and other American kids. "I have three girl friends," Ida says, "that behave correctly, the way I like it."

"Anyone that esteems me and needs me is important to me," Mrs. Cabrera says. "We have to help the migrants to solve their problems, giving advice like I have been doing and other people have done to me. We have sent tickets, we have looked for jobs. Ten young men came that way. Then, they have got married or have brought here their families. When we first arrived, many people helped us. We got acquainted little by little with the neighbors." Mr. Cabrera says that when he first arrived, he lived with a Puerto Rican friend and his family for one year.

One of Mrs. Cabrera's aspirations is "being able to help my family and my husband's family: brothers-in-law, father-in-law, etc." Mr. Cabrera likes to help his friends over the weekend in their jobs and repairs.

All this points to the relevance of the value of cooperation and solidarity among the members of the Puerto Rican families, and also among the migrants arriving in the

mainland at different points in time. The same value is being fostered among the Cabrera children, but paradoxically, it seems on the verge of collapse between the spouses.

Mrs. Cabrera's interest in learning English is an indicator of her good adaptation to the larger society: "I teach my children Spanish, and they teach me English." She has tried several times to attend courses in English, but she has always had to discontinue attending because of the difficulty of finding a babysitter for the children, especially for the baby. Mr. Cabrera says: "My English is not perfect. I write a little, and I speak enough. In the Army I had a two-months course." Ida says that she still speaks more Spanish than English at home, unlike her brothers and sister.

The Cabreras seem to fare better in their relationships with the receiving society than in their own conjugal relationships. Mrs. Cabrera sometimes attends baseball and other games with her husband's friends and wives. But this has stopped in the last months since the conflict broke out, and Mr. Cabrera goes around more often with his friends.

Mrs. Cabrera has been helping for a while as volunteer of a private social agency after having benefited from it as a client. She would give rides and help the clients with various services whenever Ida was able to babysit the children. She also attends P.T.A. meetings, and helps at the school occasionally when there is a Latin fiesta. Sometimes she gives some people rides to the church. The church also occasionally helped her family. Her involvement in community

organizations is nothing new for Mrs. Cabrera. In Puerto Rico she was also active at the school and the church helping the poor children. But here she is taking part in more organizations than over there because, she says, "In Puerto Rico you can't join any association if you don't have completed the High School. They want to be more than you are. I just have two years of High School."

"My father was very religious," Mrs. Cabrera says. "He had images of saints all over, and he used to pray the rosary every night. We are Roman Catholics. I pray in the Bible with my children. Now my children are getting ready for the first communion. I like to go to God's temple. It is a chain that my father left me and I have to pass it on to my children. On Sundays we go to the church." Mrs. Cabrera, however, seems to divide her allegiance between the Roman Catholic Church and a Pentecostal church, because several of her children mention attending the latter with their mother.

There seems to be an evident decline in Mr. Cabrera's religiosity. "In Puerto Rico I used to pray every day with my children. I used to go every Sunday to church. Here I have never attended church. I don't know, I don't know.... In my time in Puerto Rico I was really religious. There was respect... Everything went well. In those days everybody was a Roman Catholic in Puerto Rico. We have an American priest friend of ours who speaks Spanish. He helped us to baptize the children. I like my children to be religious.

Their behavior will change. They teach them the way the most... and they will fear God."

School

Mrs. Cabrera takes the children every day to school and takes advantage of it to meet the teachers. Sometimes the teachers invite her to have lunch with them. She explains: "I go there because the children need it to keep on the right path, to follow good example, and to do their homework. I look at them through the door window. When they see me, they bite their nail, they get happy and point it to their friends. They say they like it. It is a good chance to show the teacher that one cares for the children. I had no mother to go to the school. My husband also goes with me to the P.T.A."

Mr. Cabrera, however, blames the teachers for the children's diminishing respect nowadays: "In my opinion it is due to the fact that at school teachers don't teach them due respect the way my teacher used to. Today's teacher follows the fashion: they think the same as the kids. I would not take it badly if a teacher punished my child."

Ida says she is learning English with the Latin bilingual teachers and she talks to them when she has some problem. Already in Puerto Rico she aspired to become a bilingual secretary. Now she is even stronger in her decision. She dislikes that her American teachers do not show much interest in the Puerto Rican kids: "The Puerto Rican teachers, though, do just the opposite." Luis points to some differential

treatment: "Some of the teachers are bad. They often threaten hitting me although I behave. They treat me worse than they treat the other American boys."

The connection between family life and school is particularly strong as the above mentioned activities show. Luis says: "My parents ask me if I fight, and if I did what the teacher said. I say the truth because otherwise my mother hits me. She would ask next day the teacher what I did. Several Latin teachers come home once in a while. My father says I do good work at school. My mother sometimes says that I get good marks, and sometimes bad ones." Angel says he likes everything at school.

Adaptation vs. family integration. Role conflict.

Individual characteristics and structural grounds seem to combine to bring about the marriage crisis the Cabreras are going through. Both spouses are outgoing personalities that enjoy getting involved in a variety of social organizations and fostering friendships. Taking proper care of six children - one of them a baby - puts demands on the Cabreras, and especially on Mrs. Cabrera's time, in direct opposition to the demands of the social activities. The too narrow living quarters have scarce appeal to keep the couple home for too long a time. The fact that the Cabreras own two cars works toward the strengthening of their social lives and of a segregated conjugal role-relationship, in Elizabeth Bott's terms. Some of the friends are common, but at least as many are friends of each of the spouses. There are no members of

the extended family living in the mainland who could surely work toward binding together the spouses, and would provide some babysitting that would free Mrs. Cabrera for the satisfaction of her individual needs. Mr. Cabrera's success at work and consequent job satisfaction and responsibility demand from him dedication and energy. The fact that Mrs. Cabrera got married at the age of seventeen surely limited her chances to widen her experience. Another source of strain can be seen in the relative friendship the Cabreras have with a few American couples on a higher economic bracket than theirs. Mr. Cabrera is obviously much more successful in his work role than in his father and husband roles whereas Mrs. Cabrera works hard at being successful both as mother and as a social activist. Her mother role satisfies her enormously, but she feels frustrated at her relative failure in her wife role, as measured against her husband's frequent absence from home over the weekends. She is also not able to participate as much as she would like in associational life especially of the charitable and educational type. Family sportive activities have been working as releasers of tension, but in the last months have slowed down and thus acted as signals of the crisis.

CHAPTER XVI

FAMILY AS A UNIT AND LARGER SOCIETY

Introduction

Throughout the study the basic focus has been on the whole family as the unit of analysis. This chapter will attempt to round out our task of relating the family as a unit to the society in which it is enmeshed and of which it is a part. An attempt is made to show, first, how the five processes and principles of organization of family interaction and interpersonal relationships postulated by Hess and Handel are at play in the family case studies; and, second, how these processes can be related to similar phenomena which have been described in the conceptual framework of role theory. The search for such correspondance and equivalences between the two conceptual frameworks is designed to widen the usefulness of the family as a unit of analysis through the development of an even more adequate array of conceptual referents for the description of the family's connections with the larger society.

Connectedness and Separateness

Since "man's self-production is always, and of neces-

sity, a social enterprise,"[1] the development of the self is inextricably linked to his role playing and role taking, which are a result of the reciprocal typifications involved in human interaction and, in a particular way, in the interaction with significant others,[2] as mediators of the natural and the human environment.

Ideally the individual goes through the different stages of identity formation[3] while establishing identification and task bonds with the family members, significant others, and members of different secondary groups in which he participates. The sentiment of love helps "to define the valued and acceptable terms of family relationships,"[4] welds "the spontaneous and responsible character of family relations," and contributes "toward the ordering and stabilization of attachments."[5]

The institutions of the larger society "are embodied in individual experience by means of roles."[6] The work role, the student role, the parental role, the churchgoer role, the sex role, the conjugal role, etc. should be analyzed in order to understand the family's efforts to achieve a satisfactory pattern of separateness and connectedness, one of the five ways whereby the family works out its character as a unit in Hess and Handel's framework.

The very fantasies and hopes of the self are not quite an autonomous realm. When Lola Santos and Marisa Martinez complain about their severely restricted freedom, it is just a symptom of the strain between their daughter and friend

roles, the latter one requiring their participation in parties and visiting their girl friends which they are seldom allowed to do. Mrs. Fuentes indulges herself in reading love stories and thus escapes for a while the discussion of child rearing matters with her mother, Grandma Fuentes,which often ends in disagreement. Mrs. Fuentes' greater indulgence with the children, in contrast with the rigid attitude of her mother, should be influenced by her unpleasant work day in the factory, by the fact that the family of five lives in a rented narrow apartment, by the dissatisfaction with the neighborhood, shared by all the members of the family, and by the fact that Grandma Fuentes always remains secluded in the narrow living quarters. However, she makes it possible for her daughter, Mrs. Fuentes, to enjoy a wider individual life space by taking up a factory job while she babysits for her grandchildren. Eventual identification bonds between mother and daughter are thus shaped by task oriented bonds being formed in the cooperative pursuit of a higher standard of living for the family. The Fuentes children strongly identify with their mother, one of them showing frequent physical signs of affection, and the other developing response and crescive bonds with his mother by reassuring her through his scholastic achievement that her hopes and "investment in the incomplete action"[7] of his education will not be in vain. Their friendships and games in the countryside of their island are still fresh in their fantasies. They manage thereby to set up for themselves an

individual life space apart from the adult world in which realistic appraisal of goals is foremost.

Love is a social sentiment, that is a feeling about a relationship which is identified in culturally shared terms.[8] Each family develops, though, its unique definition of love, against the background of the culturally shared terms. Ralph H. Turner has visualized the relationship between outside society and family love as follows:

> Love brings family behavior more firmly under control of agencies outside the family. Because love is verified by the evaluation of the community, love is demonstrated by conformity to community demands. The school official, the youth leader, the church official urge that parental support and participation in their programs are a necessary proof of the parent's love for his child.[9]

In this view, outside agencies claim competency to shape the interlocking family roles in a way that responsibility and spontaneity may combine in a socially acceptable version of family relationships.

The school is not very successful in controlling the family behavior of the Puerto Rican migrants in this study, the Latin teachers representing an exception to the seemingly general failure of the school to shape the Puerto Rican family in the image of the American middle class family. Love in the Puerto Rican migrant family seems to be still identified in terms of the island's culture. Since the school in Puerto Rico, no matter what its academic efficiency, was in far larger measure a prolongation of the family home, migrant parents in fact are feeding-back to the Islip schools, often

in subtle or implicit ways, their own definition of this social sentiment, which, in their view, should be shared by the teachers and administrators by giving more of their leisure time to their students and their families. "Personalized institutional welcome," therefore, would contribute to family connectedness, and could turn family interaction around the academic success or the discipline problems of a child into a central family concern or "theme."

The husband's peer-group is the counterpart of a segregated conjugal role-relationship, frequent in vast segments of the Puerto Rican lower class, but its relevance is somewhat reduced on the mainland because of the loss of many friends left behind in Puerto Rico, plus the fact that, as several husbands put it,"when one grows older and the children keep coming along, one becomes more of a homebody."

To sum up, the members of the migrant family are still working out a pattern of connectedness and separateness at least partially under the guidance of traditional values, customs and norms. Either the older age of the youngsters or their greater freedom, or both, contributed to the discontinuation of the family recitation of the rosary prayers in the Garcia's household. Now each parent says the rosary in private. Although Mr. and Mrs. Garcia stick to their role of traditional believers, they have dropped some of the organized religious activities which such a role included in Puerto Rico. They hold, however, to their roles of Christian spouses which have become stabilized both by value and

sentiment and by a working system of reciprocities. The system of role relationships has not turned to an unstable equilibrium as a result of Mr. Garcia's disability. "I have always thought that if there is love and the same creed, everything goes all right. Marriage is like being the same person...," says Mr. Garcia. The partial redefinition of the role of believers, as far as the church organized activity is concerned, has not had any important consequences upon the family system of roles. Pedro Garcia (18) says that religion has always been the most important thing in his family, and he is still at least an occasional practicing Catholic.

Ernesto Garcia (20) lives in his parent's household. He is a high school drop-out. Mr. Garcia says:

> I don't know why he dropped out of school. I think it is lack of capacity in certain children ... The only time I went to the school was when he had been playing hooky for almost two months. He used to go around with a close friend who also dropped out of school at the same time as he did... One should go to see the teachers but one has no transportation and I don't speak English.

Parental "understanding" and limited insight into the educational function on one hand, and insufficient outreach institutional effort on the other hand spell out the divergent value orientations of family and school. Such a divergence seems to work toward the relaxation of family connectedness. Teen-agers like Ernesto and Pedro find their individual life space in the interstices between the traditional parental culture and the institutional

demands of the school, for instance. The parental patterns of behavior reflecting sentiments of benevolence toward their teen-agers together with the teen-ager's search for free expression of themselves, work out a family "theme" which could be labeled "flexibility," that is a sort of tolerance and benevolence toward a variety of trends of separateness in order to preserve the basic family values working for connectedness.

Younger children who were brought up here have a narrow individual life space--the boundaries of their experience being more effectively defined by parents and school. They are, in consequence, more likely transmitters of the American culture to their families. They find, though, in their linquistic superiority, which allows them to act as interpreters for their parents and older brothers, and in their spontaneous familiarity with the mainstream culture, a space of individual autonomy which somehow sets them apart from the rest of the family. This shows, for example, in the fact that their friendships are not limited by the strict separation of sexes, which is traditional in the Puerto Rican culture. It also shows in their participation in mainstream American associations like the Boy Scouts, in their preference for television programs in English, etc. Carlos Garcia (10) says: "I go shopping with my mother because she does not speak English... I have talked to the American priest who speaks a little Spanish." Jose Machuca (9) boastfully says: "My mother doesn't know how to talk in English, and she needs

help, and that's me. I know more than my sisters (11, 12) how to talk in English." What Ramon Rolon (9) likes best about living in Islip is that "all my friends are here... I check my homework by myself -- he says. Sometimes my sister Nora (12) helps me." Both Carlos Garcia and Ramon Rolon have American boys from their streets as friends and visit with each other. Rafael Burgos (8) says: "I loved Doris, but my friend Pete took her away from me, and now I cannot have a girl friend. I told Pete to stop fighting so that we can both love Doris (9)." [10]

The presence of members of the kin family network in the area is of paramount importance both in keeping a traditional definition of love and, in some cases, in fostering harmony between the spouses, the resulting pattern of interaction being termed "modified extended family". The impact of the members of the modified extended family, however, can be almost as forceful when some of the most significant members remaining in Puerto Rico maintain communication with the relatives on the mainland mainly through periodical visits, letters, and phone calls (Cf. The Cabreras' and The Machucas' case studies).

The efforts to attain a satisfactory congruence of images

The presence or absence of the various factors affecting adaptation can spell either help or hindrance to the family's effort to make their images compatible through the exchange of suitable testimony.

Under the influence of her relatives in Puerto Rico,

Mrs. Machuca tried to convey a new, more submissive image of herself to her husband. Through the advice of his church friendships and own religious involvement, made possible by the "personalized institutional welcome" found in his denomination, Mr. Machuca has been also making an effort to redefine his husband role according to the ideal image of his faith stressing the value of equality, respect and love. Even if the adjustment seems to have been achieved mostly at Mrs. Machuca's expense, the spouses' present image of their own family as a permanent unit worked out through agreement and mutual understanding, has at least partly been grounded on the outside testimony now embodied in the flow of internal family communication.

At the same time, a factor of adaptation, like the "personalized institutional welcome" by the factory bosses, can be the occasion for incongruence of images eventually leading to conflict if the level of tolerance for such an incongruence is low.

Mr. Machuca's self-conception as an industrious, achievement-oriented man, based on his successful work role performance, conflicts with his wife's estimation. Mrs. Machuca sees him as an independent character, uncooperative with the household and child rearing burdens at the time she also had a factory job. Although Mrs. Machuca was certainly aware of her husband's positive self-conception, she would not invest the image with favorable affective significance. A sort of value conversion should ensue in order to develop

a new image capable to call out affective resonance and congruence.

The chapter "The Lopez: Congruence of Images and Dominant Male Role" further exemplifies this structuring process of the family as a unit. The section "Change in Family Image" in the chapter "The Garcia: The Family as an Adaptive Mechanism" is particularly relevant.

The development of central family concerns or themes

It has been shown above how the tension between the opposing forces working toward family connectedness and separateness evolve into the theme "flexibility" in the Garcia family. The redefinition of parental and filial roles gives thus occasion to the formation of "family themes".

The impact of a "family theme" upon the family structures can be best exemplified by the Machuca case study. The theme of religious conversion and commitment -- "I always put God before everything," says Mr. Machuca -- has penetrated so deeply into the family system that all the family processes have been affected by the developing family concern. "My family has been improving -- says Mr. Machuca -- in every aspect. It has gained more seriousness, respect, consideration..." The fact that individual goals like Mr. Machuca's satisfaction with the Islip community and his drive toward economic achievement have become also gradually shared by his wife seems to be partly due to their growing efforts toward accommodation and agreement favored by the religious theme.[11] Such efforts entail and result in a satisfactory congruence

of images and convergence of views. Marriage conflict is adjusted through the modification of role performance and role expectations by both partners. There are also clues of a more harmonious relationship between Mr. Machuca and his step-daughters. One of them says that her step-father used to be mean. A redefinition of the parental role seems to have taken place probably under the influence of the pervasive religious theme. Aspirations and expectations have been similarly affected. Mrs. Machuca would like that some of her children become preachers. Jose Machuca (9) says he wants to serve God and never be on the devil's side. Mrs. Machuca would like to help the needy if she had the means to do it.

A variety of family orientations to the world, of family ways of viewing reality and dealing with reality, and, in a specific way, the differential attitudes and involvement of the family members concerning the process of adaptation to the new society have been discussed all through the present study. Many of these orientations and outlooks are the central concerns of "themes" of a family. Many of them make the headings of the subchapters in the family life histories. The Carmonas strive for full economic and social dependence in their escape from isolation and emotional frustration. The Arroyos and the Fuentes orientate themselves toward isolation from the larger society in their search for security, counting on the "circular reciprocity" of help by the "modified extended family". The Romanos are in search

of the family and the familiar environment at a higher standard of living provided by their instrumental adaptation to the mainland society. The Lopez develop the theme of the importance of strong leadership in child rearing giving the father the chance to enlarge his responsibilities according to a traditional, if not pervasive, pattern from the native society. The Rolon strive toward intergenerational continuity in values together with material and moral improvement. The Santos seem to receive inspiration and rely on Mrs. Santos demanding role of full-time worker in promotion of family connectedness. The Cabreras' main concerns are a quest for the multiplication of their contacts with the outer society together with an increasing tension introduced by the strain between Mr. Cabrera's friend and father roles. The Garcias struggle to maintain continuity in basic values while showing increasing flexibility toward the teen-ager world. The Machucas are oriented toward achievement and autonomy while building their agreement on religious foundations.

The very family structure, therefore, can become a central family concern or theme. The disintegration of her family makes Annabel Carmona sleepless when thinking of her absent father. It also overcomes Mrs. Carmona with grief, but yet she is resolved not to receive her husband again. The tension between cooperation and dominance is also at the core of the family interaction of the Machucas and the Rolon. Nora Rolon is aware of her mother's dominant role in the family. Jose Machuca, identifying himself with his

father, also competes for dominance by "bossing around" his older sisters, who are overtly aware of the paternal rule in the family.

A family can develop several themes or concerns, with a discernible hierarchical structure, which embodies family orientations, values, and goals. Sometimes it is difficult to establish the actual hierarchy of themes. The theme of "achievement", for instance, seems as central in the Rolon family as the theme of "dominance versus cooperation", although their objects or foci have a different location. It seems that, ultimately, achievement is used as a tool, which Mrs. Rolon compounds with personal resources, to further dominance in the family.

Factors affecting adaptation can also become foci of family "themes". The Fuentes and Arroyo families look at their neighborhoods as a danger because of the constant traffic, and the vandalism of some youngsters down the street. Such a concern with the threatening character of the surroundings has become central in these families.

The factors affecting adaptation can give occasion to the development of family themes. For instance, the "personalized institutional welcome" provided by some Pentecostal pastors is the occasion for the Machuca family developing a style of interaction around the theme of understanding and agreement, in open contrast to that of dominance that formerly was in the foreground and still is a source of tension.

Some of the topics here dealt with under the terms

"aspirations", "expectations", "goals", etc. could equivalently be described as family "themes" because they include "modes of interaction developing into central family concerns". One of them, for example, refers to the alleviation of the economic burden falling on the parent's shoulders. The Garcia family expects the children to help the parents when they join the labor force or even earlier, when they take a part-time job or a summer job.

Establishing boundaries of the family's world of experience

To say that each member of the family alternatively gives green and red light to the emotional, volitonal, intellectual, and other activities of the other members and to his own means that the family's are not only interlocking roles, but that the concrete performance of each role is monitored by each and every member of the family, and, as a consequence, boundary setting affects role differentiation and allocation.

The concepts of role and boundaries can be usefully combined in the family as a unit framework. Roles are types of behaviors in the context of an objectified stock of knowledge containing reciprocal typifications of conduct.[12] The concept of boundaries spells out the limits to the differentiation of the individual personality, and to the intensity and the extensity of each of the activities involved in the role performance. The concept adds thus precision at a lower level of abstraction by specifying the format of the clustering of activities or roles. When the term boundaries is used

in broader sense, however, the analysis of the involved roles can, in its turn, add precision to the statement. Two examples will clarify the alternative complementary employment of two concepts. First: In the performance of his father role Mr. Santos has set up narrow boundaries to his emotional involvement. He enjoys playing with the two year old infant, he likes to know about the good progress Lola is making at school, but he does not go beyond that. Second: Mr. Cabrera has been able to associate in a friendly way with people in higher occupational positions by broadening the boundaries of his leisure activity, and has gained thus a higher "recreational status". As a result, he has come to look at his team mates as a reference group at least to a certain extent, thereby investing heavily, emotionally speaking, in his sportsman role and, seemingly, becoming increasingly dissatisfied with his earnings and family burdens (work and family roles).

The degree of differentiation of the individual personality of the family members is defined and monitored by the family itself, and takes place in the process of primary and secondary socialization whereby significant others first impose on him, and then, provide him with their own definitions of his situation, and he internalizes and "takes over" the world in which others already live.[13]

In the Puerto Rican traditional culture, the school, the neighborhood, and the community institutions in general are regarded as extensions of the family home. That suggests

a tendency to prolong the period of primary socialization, in which the boundaries of experience coincide with those of the family home. Such a tendency seems responsible for the individual becoming less capable to establish distance between his total self and its reality on the one hand, and the role-specific partial self and its reality on the other, and the ultimate reason being that the primary socialization takes place through "an emotionally charged identification of the child with his significant others".[14] Child rearing practices productive of child dependence, especially male, would eventually converge to compound the effect of the failure to prolong primary socialization beyond the limits of feasibility.

The teachers' success, however, will be measured by the extent to which they "bring home"[15] knowledge to the individual and "make subjectively plausible a continuity between the original and the new elements of knowledge",[16] or, for that matter, between the island and the mainland culture.

Finally, the child sets boundaries to the parents' emotional experience and evaluates it according to his own definition of the situation. A young child in the study group limited his mother's aggressivness and opposed her will to take vengeance on a teacher who had treated him unjustly (Cf. "Family and School").

Dealing with significant biosocial issues of family life

In the chapters "Continuity and change in child rearing"

and "Conjugal roles and division of labor" have been discussed many "family themes and images which impart meanings to sex, and age, and also to various other personal characteristics".[17] Patterns of alignment on which the family members line up with each other in fantasy and in action, and the psychological bases for such an alignment, including identification and bonding in general, have also been considered in the family life histories. Attention has been paid also to the exercise of parental authority and its delegation, including parental decisions on children's autonomy, and to some techniques of reward and punishment, and, in general to "the nature of parental stimulation"[18] to shape their children according to their own desire.

Some relevant examples should be given here to illustrate the what and how of the impact of institutions and groupings of the larger society upon the way families deal with such a range of biosocial issues, the assumption being that, after some time on the mainland, a certain degree of cultural assimilation should have taken place.

The combined influence of school atmosphere, children's peer groups, and mass-media on parental decisions regarding children's autonomy is mediated by the meanings the children impart to sex, age, friendship, and freedom as it shows in the remarks by parents and children. Pedro Garcia, for instance, exemplifies the fear expressed by many parents that their teen-agers, if pressured too much, would run away and their affection toward their parents would suffer irreparable

damage. He says: "I like the way we live. I can't complain about my parents and brothers. I do my part, and they neither interfere in my life nor do I in theirs. Because living in a house where you are told: 'Don't come back late, don't do that..' I can't bear that." (Cf. "Continuity and change in child rearing").

Unpleasant communication with school administrators or teachers, evaluated in the light of the children's definition of the situation, leads some parents to look at the school as permissive or half-heartedly committed, when set against the background of their own traditional child rearing principles.

Church teachings regarding youth morals and courtship also receive meaning in the context of the youth subculture. The Roman Catholic Church is good for Pedro Garcia because "it does not forbid anything" when compared with the puritanical Pentecostal Churches. He drives American girls to remote parks, but, he says: "I am not going steady with anyone. And if we let ourselves go, then the tragedy is there..." First communion and confirmation are interpreted by many parents as "rites de passage" whose meaning for the institutional church is watered down and even escapes them entirely.

Puerto Rican husbands do not particularly appreciate the image of the relative equality of the sexes they partly learn in the factory and in the public places. Their reaction often tends toward re-affirming male supremacy and caricaturing the American female.

The considerable opportunity to get part-time jobs

brings some financially hard-pressed parents to the idea of obtaining some help from their male children even before graduating from high school, especially during the summer vacation. It seems that the influence of female Latin teachers is an important factor to convey or reinforce the parental aspiration to have their daughters study nursing, secretarial, or even teaching careers.

This last example shows how the parents' role expectations of their children as to their contribution to the household budget can be affected by the institutional opportunities offered by the host society. It shows further on a more general level that the same institutional factors which give occasion to the family evolving central concerns or themes -- school, work, church, peer group, etc. -- are also the ones affecting other ongoing family processes.

The concept of role is the central, mediating device which embodies in the individual experience both the institutions of the society of origin -- still persisting in the language, customs, etc. of the migrant family -- and, although still in a limited and fragmentary way, also the institutions of the host society. Therefore, the detailed examination of the kin family roles, of the conjugal roles, of the parental and filial roles, of the work, school, and church roles, as pursued in the various chapters of this study, exemplifies the ways in which the family deals with biosocial issues under the influence of the institutions of the host society while progressively embodying these institutions in their

redefined family system of roles, and in the external role systems of the individual family members. The role is also a mediating concept to comprehend the family effort to attain a satisfactory congruence of images through the exchange of suitable testimony insofar as the self-image of a person evolves from the cumulative images of the cluster of roles.[19]

Propositions linking the structure of the family as a unit and its adaptation to the larger society

This section will attempt to contribute toward a framework encompassing the holistic study of the family and its relationships with the larger society. Elsewhere, it has been shown how the analysis of the roles reveals the dimensions of the embodiment of the institutions of the larger society in the family. An enumeration has also been made of the factors affecting migrant adaptation to the larger society and particular consideration has been given to those showing special relevance.[20] Here a different approach is attempted, namely the formulation of a set of propositions linking a unitary vision of the family ("theme", orientation, family structure) with one of the varieties of adaptation derived from the empirical data of this study. No statement concerning strict causality is intended. More focused research of the relations of the family as a unit with a single institutional sphere, for instance the work situation, would be required to refine the typologies and varieties here outlined. Then either techniques of multivariate analysis or the Glaser

and Strauss' (1967) "constant comparative method"[21] should be applied in order to formulate more valid propositions and build a "grounded theory" of the adaptation of the migrant family as a unit to the larger society.

Five types of propositions establishing sequential linkages between family as a unit and larger society are here presented as a sample of a much larger set which could be worked out by choosing to focus on the links between other kinds of unitary visions of the family (varieties of dialectic patterns of connectedness-separateness, for example) and the larger society.

1) A certain family structure is related to (or leads to) a certain variety of adaptation either directly or via the development of a family "theme."

Examples:

A highly connected social network in Puerto Rico contributes to an "instrumental" variety of adaptation (The Romanos).

A devaluated husband and father role contributes to an "instrumental" variety of adaptation (The Garcias).

The large size of the nuclear family contributes to an "instrumental" variety of adaptation.

An "attennuated" family in obvious economic need developes the theme of "self-help combined with kin and institutional support" ("combined help") contributing thereby to an "instrumental", "exclusive" variety of adaptation. (The Fuentes, The Arroyos).

An "attenuated" family develops the "full dependence" theme or orientation in the absence of kin family members in the area contributing thereby to an "object oriented" variety of adaptation (The Carmonas).

2) A certain variety of adaptation contributes to the development of (or is related to) a certain family structure either directly or via the development of a family "theme" or orientation.

Examples:

An "instrumental", "undivided" adaptation contributes to the development of a "joint conjugal role relationship" (The Romanos).

An "instrumental" adaptation contributes to the development of a family "theme" -- "flexibility" -- and leads to a more "democratic" structure of dominance in the family (The Garcias), at least when the "instrumental" adaptation is related to a devaluation of the father and husband roles.

3) A family "theme" is related to (or contributes to) a certain variety of adaptation either directly or through the operation of factors contributing to adaptation.

Examples:

The "theme" of "achievement" is related to an "object-oriented" adaptation (The Machucas).

The "theme" of "achievement" relates to an "object-oriented" adaptation via the prior attainment of a lower-middle class socioeconomic status (The Machucas).

The "theme" of achievement seems to be stronger in

those family members with more years of schooling evolving into a more intense "object-oriented" adaptation (Mrs. Rolon, Mr. Machuca).

The "theme" "full-dependence" is related to a "mixed" ("willing-instrumental") variety of adaptation (Mrs. Carmona).

The "theme" "continuity and flexibility" is related both to an "inclusive" and to a "divided" adaptation (respectively Mr. and Mrs. Lopez, Mr. and Mrs. Garcia).

4) A factor affecting adaptation leads to (or contributes to) a change in family structure.

Example:

"Visiting with kin" fosters the development of a "joint conjugal role relationship" (The Rolons).

5) A family "theme" or orientation leads to a change in family structure and ultimately to a certain variety of adaptation.

Examples:

The orientation toward "equalitarianism" brings about marital separation ("attenuated families") (The Carmonas, the Fuentes, the Arroyos).

The "theme "doing God's will" brings about a balance of power in the conjugal relation and a more "democratic" family power structure (The Machucas).

The "theme" "doing God's will" brings about equalitarian marriage power structure resulting in "undivided" adaptation (The Machucas).

Conclusion

A final theoretical and methodological remark to this chapter should be that in the present state of research and conceptual development one of the ways to make useful the Hess and Handel holistic framework in studying the relationships of the family with the larger society consists in the joint use -- both simultaneous and sequential -- of the available conceptual tools, namely those of the holistic framework and those provided by role theory and symbolic interactionism.

The next step in developing a new conceptual framework capable to embrace the relations of the family as a unit with the larger society would probably require a kind of research design similar to that of the present study but now focused on a single institutional sphere, for instance, the work situation. Such a narrow focus would permit the development of a typology of orientations of the family as a unit toward the work situation. Prolonged participant observation and focused interviewing of each family member would provide the data as to the family input into the work institution and the feedback into the family life.

SUMMARY

Family as a unit and larger society

The interplay between external and internal family systems of roles; the family's unique definition of love against the background of the culturally shared terms; the "personalized institutional welcome", influenced by the input and

feedback from the family's definition of love; and other factors affecting adaptation are among the major determinants of the family's effort to achieve a satisfactory pattern of separateness and connectedness, and of the family's effort to make their images compatible through the exchange of suitable testimony.

Central family concerns or "themes" coincide with or are involved in a variety of family orientations, for instance, toward "full dependence," "self-help," "isolation in search for security," " circular kin assistance," "family and familiar environment," "strong child rearing control," "continuity in values," "flexibility," etc.

The redefinition of internal and external family roles gives occasion to the formation of "family themes."

"Family themes" may have an important impact upon family structure and processes and, in a specific way, on the family's effort to achieve a satisfactory congruence of images.

The very family structure can become the object of a central family concern or "theme," for instance, the disintegration of the family, or the tension between cooperation and dominance.

A family can develop several "themes" or concerns embodying in a hierarchical structure family orientations, values and goals.

Various factors affecting migrant adaptation to the host society, for instance, job satisfaction, can also

become family "themes," or can give occasion to the development of family "themes."

The family's boundary setting activity coincides, at least partly, with the fact that individual role performance is monitored by each and every family member affecting thereby role differentiation and allocation.

The concept of "boundaries" can be spelled out as the limits to the differentiation of the individual personality and to the intensity and extensity of the activities involved in role performance. The concept adds thus precision at a lower level of abstraction by specifying the format of the clustering of activities or roles. When the term "boundaries" is used in a broader sense, however, the analysis of the involved roles can, in its turn, add precision to the statement so that the use of both concepts can be seen as complementary.

There is a tendency in the Puerto Rican traditional culture to prolong the period of primary socialization in which the boundaries of experience coincide with those of the family home.

The concept of role is the central, mediating device which embodies in the individual experience both the institutions of the society of origin, and, although still in a fragmentary way, also the institutions of the host society. Therefore, the detailed examination of the kin family roles, of the work role, etc. exemplifies the ways in which the family deals with biosocial issues under the influence of

the institutions of the host society while progressively embodying these institutions in their redefined family system of roles, and in the external role systems of the individual family members.

In the present state of research and conceptual development, one of the ways to make useful the Hess and Handel holistic framework in studying the relationships of the family with the larger society consists in the joint use -- both simultaneous and sequential -- of the available conceptual tools, namely those of the holistic framework and those provided by role theory and symbolic interactionism.

A sample set of five types of propositions linking a "unitary" vision of the family ("theme", orientation, family structure) with one of the varieties of adaptation derived from the empirical data is here offered as a pointer toward further research and theoretical development:

1) A certain family structure is related to a certain variety of adaptation either directly or via the development of a family "theme."

2) A certain variety of adaptation contributes to the development of a certain family structure either directly or via the development of a family "theme" or orientation.

3) A family "theme" is related to a certain variety of adaptation either directly or through the operation of factors contributing to adaptation.

4) A factor affecting adaptation leads to a change in family structure.

5) A family "theme" or orientation leads to a change in family structure and ultimately to a certain variety of adaptation.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER XVI

1. Berger, Peter L. and Luckmann, Thomas, The Social Construction of Reality (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1966). (The Anchor Books edition, 1967, is quoted here), 51.

2. Cf. Berger and Luckmann, Ibidem, 50.

3. Cf. Turner, Ralph H., op. cit., 376.

4. Turner, Ralph H., Ibidem, 240.

5. Turner, Ralph H., Ibidem, 232.

6. Berger and Luckmann, op. cit., 74.

7. Turner, Ralph H., op. cit., 80-81.

8. Turner, Ralph H., op. cit., 243.

9. Turner, Ralph H., Ibidem, 240.

10. See "Continuity and change in child rearing and children's role expectations of their parents."

11. Mrs. Machuca says that she would like "to improve and enlarge her home, and to set up some business. . ." She also says that "before, when we had a problem we would fight verbally each other. Now, since we are in the Church, we solve our things in a different way."

12. Cf. Berger and Luckmann, op. cit., 74.

13. Berger and Luckmann, Ibidem, 130.

14. Berger and Luckmann, Ibidem, 141.

15. Berger and Luckmann, Ibidem, 143.

16. Berger and Luckmann, Ibidem, 143.

17. Handel, G., op. cit., 23.

18. Handel, G., op. cit., 22.

19. Erving Goffman, Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1961), 87-88, cited by Rivka Weiss Bar-Yosef, "Desocialization and Resocialization: The Adjustment Process of Immigrants," International Migration Review 2:3, (Summer) 1968, p. 28.

20. See Chapter XIV, "The different meanings of adaptation: Contributing factors."

21. The "constant comparative method," which operates together with "theoretical sampling" -- a process of joint collection, coding, and analysis of data -- requires a lengthy comparison of groups and a progressive relation of the emergent categories and properties. "Theoretical sampling" lasts until the emergent categories have become relatively saturated, that is the new evidence repeats itself and does not shed any new light on the observed relation. Discovering "grounded theory" amounts to building hypotheses step by step, starting from mere hunches, without taking anything for granted.

CHAPTER XVII

SUMMARY

This study is an exploratory attempt to describe the process of adaptation of the Puerto Rican migrant family "as a unit" to the mainland suburban setting. All the families in the study group have been in the township of Islip for periods of time of different length ranging from one to fifteen years. In adopting the "family definition of the situation" the study has revealed the eventual impact of relevant institutions and social formations on the family structure and the meaning of adaptation for the concerned families. A concept of adaptation has been inductively derived that takes into account both subjective and objective aspects of the situation. The study has sought to make three contributions to the existing body of research, namely 1) to enlarge the framework within which migration is studied by social scientists by adopting the "whole family" framework; 2) to introduce a diachronic perspective by studying families at different points in time along the path of adaptation; 3) to deal with a group of Puerto Rican families that has chosen to migrate to a suburban area rather than to the city,

this type of Puerto Rican migration having been rarely under consideration.

Family case studies or "whole family" portraits were developed by combining the data from the focused interviews of the individual family members. These data were then elaborated and interpreted utilizing the Hess and Handel framework for the study of the family "as a unit," and the role-theory and symbolic interactionist approach of Ralph H. Turner.

Varieties of family structures are described in the chapters "The migrant kin family network," "Conjugal roles and division of labor" and "Continuity and change in child rearing and the children's role expectations of their parents."

Varieties of mechanisms linking the family with institutions of the host society are studied in the chapters "The first links and steps on the path of adaptation," "The migrant kin family network," "Work and family group," "Family and school," "The migrant religious experience and the churches," and "Family as a unit and larger society."

The changes involved in the migrant individual and family life, and the major factors which seem to account for them are summed up in the chapters "Socioeconomic and sociocultural change" and "The different meanings of adaptation: Contributing factors."

The main motives to migrate are the search for a better "ambiente" -- a higher standard of living and the

consequent better educational opportunities for the children--, and the reunion with family members already on the mainland especially parents or children. The universal long-term goal is to save up money in order to buy a home some day in Puerto Rico and return there to live. The subjective cost of migration is alleviated by the fact that the decision seldom is considered irreversible; by the frequent presence of relatives and friends, and by the abundance of fellow countrymen in the area of destination.

There is an exploratory stage in most cases of family migration, at least three types being discernible, namely "seasonal," "advanced party," and "single." The link person or intermediary often plays "agent," "host," and "supporter" for the newly arrived.

The kin family network provides the migrant nuclear family with support and assistance, and seems to be one of the most important factors affecting adaptation. In the absence of relatives, friends often replace them as confidants and sources of assistance.

Four kinds of kin situations and kin networks can be distinguished: 1) the "unilocated kin family network" where most of the kin of the nuclear family are on the mainland so that it can fully operate as a "modified extended family;" 2) the "bilocated kin family network" where the grandparents and most of the kin live in Puerto Rico, so that it can operate as a "modified extended family" only to a limited extent; 3) the "distant" kin family network which is prevented from

continuous interaction by sheer physical distance because no kin lives on the mainland; 4) the "remote" kin family network where both physical distance and a strained relationship seem to account for the very limited kin interaction.

A norm of fairness and reciprocity seems to regulate the kin assistance, the performance of work and other universal roles, and the decision to migrate and stay on the mainland. The trend toward the "personalization" of the work role seems to be rooted in the expressive, personal value orientation of the kin network. "Personalization" and ego involvement demand a reciprocal attitude on the part of the bosses and fellow workers, even if such an attitude does not always have economic consequences.

Conjugal roles and division of labor

The trend toward the reallocation of familial and occupational roles on the basis of skills and interests is just in its beginning in the present study group. Most of the changes in the traditional roles seem to have started in Puerto Rico before migration due to the exposure to Americanized patterns of life specially in the factory and urban areas. Traditional role definitions and allocation persist to a great extent, but the irresponsible and abusive aspects of the traditional male role, when assessed against the background of a modern, equalitarian conjugal role-relationship, are subject to a fast and intense erosion.

Lower social class membership and low degree of assimilation to the American middle-class culture seem at least

partly to account for the predominance of a segregated conjugal role relationship in most of the families in the study group.

Child rearing

The migrant families strive for continuity in the child rearing traditional principles, "respeto" and "humildad" being core values to inculcate. Love is expected and given even if it is not verbalized so often as "respeto."

Some parents adopt a rather flexible attitude toward their teen-agers out of fear of losing their affection by provoking them to run away from home to a more dangerous environment, and also in order to ensure continuity in essential family values. The traditional child rearing pattern of strict separation of sexes seems to be subjected to important change among the migrants. Male teen-agers, however, are given considerably more freedom than teen females to visit their friends and just to be outside home.

Widespread awareness of the importance of education for occupational and social advancement has raised the parental demands for their children to achieve.

Work and family group

Most of the interviewees deny any important influence of the work situation upon their family lives. The work role is seen as an instrument to support the family; that is, is viewed as subservient to the family role. Occupational advancement at work and an increase in wages enhance the breadwinner's self-esteem and his status in the family group; it

thereby performs expressive functions. Most of the migrants, however, do not see any chance of occupational advancement in their jobs.

The maximum impact of the work situation upon the family group is surely that exerted by the level of wages because of its immediate effect on the family standard of living and level of aspirations.

Family and school

The parents' attitude toward the schools is ambivalent. On one hand they see in the school an excellent chance for self-improvement and a necessary vehicle for social mobility. On the other hand, the school is a place where the children do not always find committed teachers and where they are exposed to a "dangerous" and "poisoned" atmosphere likely to make them shift away from the traditional values in which they were brought up, and to lead them astray.

Latin teachers on the mainland continue the Puerto Rican tradition of home visits on different occasions such as social work assistance, absences from school, academic or discipline problems, or simply conferring with the parents about their children's progress. This is a personalized kind of contact among persons of similar cultural background that makes the families feel at home. The Latin bilingual teacher acts as a link between the migrant family and a complex organization, and also as a bridge between two different cultures thereby easing the path of adaptation. Advice by the teachers and guidance counselors, especially by the

Latin ones, fosters a new awareness and appreciation by the parents and students of the educational function.

The migrant religious experience and the churches

There is a general decline in church related activity among the Catholic migrants. Most of the practising Latin Catholics attend religious services in Spanish. Some parents value religion as a source of moral behavior. In some cases, mystical or deep religious motivations underlie the ritual observances. In most cases the spontaneous or popular cultural motivations behind Puerto Rican religiosity seem to account for the decline in practice as a result of migration.

Most of the contacts of the migrants with the priests are related to the preparation for the reception of a religious rite or to the request for material help. A storefront, which is supported by several Catholic parishes in the area, provides a wide range of social services such as helping the migrants to find housing, jobs, etc., and tutoring them in English. Catholics do not feel quite at home in the American churches, however, because they can count only on priests working part-time for them, and because almost no religious education programs exist specifically addressed to their needs. Further, Catholic churches offer no chance for lay participation in decision-making and only a minimal chance for access of Latin children to the schools which are the major parish operations as far as personnel and resources invested in them.

All Latin Pentecostal churches in the area provide the

migrant with a more "personalized institutional welcome" than the Catholic churches do. Frequent home visiting by the ministers and active believers establish trust and familiar relationships. A variety of bilingual programs of religious education are offered. Lay participation in church governance and stress on self-support through generous contributions of the membership strengthen the feeling of belonging.

Socioeconomic and sociocultural change

Migrant family change in economic conditions, patterns of behavior, attitudes, expectations, aspirations, and value orientations result in or go along with feelings of satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction both with the transformed family relationships and with the new social environment. Such feelings of satisfaction reflect the migrant's increasing ability to perform their new and redefined roles in the host society.

In spite of their much improved economic position, migrants are also aware of their unchanged and sometimes lowered occupational and social position on the mainland. Grounds for satisfaction with the new environment are: The quietness of the community, the advantages of being a United States citizen when looking for a job, the opportunities for the children in the educational and occupational areas, and so forth. Most of the migrants expect to satisfy in a moderate degree their aspirations, if not the highest -- namely, that of building a house in Puerto Rico and finding there a decent job -- at least that of living on the mainland with a relative comfort and better educational and occupational chances for their children.

There seem to be at work in the Islip migrant families two value axes structuring most of the family interaction and thinking: first, "family group oriented personalism," that is a form of individualism stressing the inner worth of the person as well as his concern about his "modified extended family," and, second, "self-improvement and achievement drive." Although both axes could ideally reinforce each other, the duality reflects the cultural contrast and tension between the values of the industrial society and those embedded in the still partly tradition-oriented Puerto Rican family.

The different meanings of adaptation

A new, simpler definition of adaptation is proposed which seems closely to adhere to the research data. Successful adaptation is conceived of as a functional ability to perform new and redefined universal and particularistic roles in the receiving society in such a way that is productive of a certain level of individual and family satisfaction which often results in a decision to stay. The fact that such a decision is often subjected to weighing and revision is a crucial characteristic of Puerto Rican migration.

Varieties of adaptation could be distinguished along the different dimensions included in its operational definition. If the will to stay on the mainland is chosen as indicator and criterion, adaptation will be either "undivided" or "divided," according to the agreement or, respectively, disagreement among the family members as to the focal issue of an eventual return to the native island.

The following factors seem to contribute in a primary way to migrant family adaptation: 1) the Puerto Rican community in the area; 2) the contact with relatives in the area; 3) the "mejor ambiente," namely the improvement in their standard of living over that in Puerto Rico; 4) the "personalized institutional welcome" or personalized role performance by intermediaries; and 5) the individual's skills and resources. The different time spans on the mainland going from one to fifteen years do not seem to make much difference as far as basic value orientations of the adults are concerned.

Most of the adult migrants in the group seem to follow an intermediate course between the person and the object-oriented modes of behavior, maybe nearer to the former than to the latter. A tension between the familial-personalistic orientation and the orientation toward efficiency seems discernible.

Family as a unit and larger society

The interplay between external and internal family systems of roles and the various factors affecting adaptation are among the major determinants of the family's effort to achieve a satisfactory pattern of separateness and connectedness, and of the family's effort to make their images compatible through the exchange of suitable testimony.

"Family themes" may have an important impact upon family structure and processes. The various factors affecting adaptation and the very family structure can become the object of a central family concern or "theme."

The family's boundary setting activity coincides at least partly with the fact that individual role performance is monitored by each and every family member affecting thereby role differentiation and allocation.

The examination of the internal and external family roles exemplifies the ways in which the family deals with biosocial issues under the influence of the institutions of the host society while progressively embodying these institutions in their redefined family role systems.

One of the ways of making useful the Hess and Handel holistic framework in studying the relationships of the family with the larger society consists in the joint use of the available conceptual tools, namely those of the holistic framework and those provided by role theory and symbolic interactionism. Some examples of propositions linking the family structure "as a unit" and the larger society are given:

The "theme" "full-dependence" is related to a "mixed" ("willing and instrumental") variety of adaptation to the larger society.

A highly connected social network in Puerto Rico contributes to an "instrumental" variety of adaptation.

An "instrumental" adaptation contributes to the development of the family "theme" "flexibility" and leads to a more "democratic" structure of dominance at least when the "instrumental" adaptation is related to a devaluation of the father and husband roles.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW-GUIDES

The following interview-guides were elaborated in full detail to make sure that the various areas of concern were covered. Whenever the respondant was short of words, the guide was closely followed almost as if it were a questionnaire. Otherwise the respondant was given ample margin to talk freely about the subject area and many of the questions in the guide were consequently dropped.

The aim of the interview has already been specified in the sub-chapter "The Research Design". In general questions try to elicit the necessary information to gain a picture of the family "as a unit" such as shown in the five family processes described by Hess and Handel. In a specific way, information was drawn out focusing on the process of migration and providing the basis for a comparison between the Island's and the mainland's family experiences.

PARENTS' INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. <u>The family of orientation</u>

Tell me about the family you grew up in. What kind of person was your mother? Your father? Your brothers? To which members of the family were you closest? What was the family's economic situation? Who were the friends of your family?

What were your parents' ideas on child rearing? Is it different the way you bring up your children from the way you were brought up by your parents? In what ways?

What are the main differences between your parents' family and your own family? Have there always been such differences?

2. The family's daily life

What is an average weekday like in your family?

On Saturdays and Sundays? Would you prefer to do something else on Saturdays and Sundays?

How was an average week-day like in Puerto Rico? How has your average day changed since you have been here?

What about religion in your family? Start with your parents.

What do you like to do best with your family?

Most people don't like doing some things with the family. What things don't you enjoy doing with the family? Has it always been like this?

3. Associational life and "significant others"

To what organizations or associations do you belong?

How did you happen to join that association? When?

Are most members of that organization born in the United States? About what proportion?

About what proportion of the membership arrived in the United States at least ten years ago?

What organizacions did you previously belong to in the past years? And in Puerto Rico?

What do you think about your church? Is it important for you, for your family, for the other Puerto Rican families in the community? In what ways?

Are you able to talk easily with the pastors? Are most of the church members born in the United States?

Has your attendance at that community organization influenced your family life? In what ways?

Outside of your family, who are the people who are most important to you? How are they important?

4. Aspirations and hobbies

What kind of things would you like to do if you had the time and money?

Have you always wanted to do that? Since when? Did you have the same aspirations while in Puerto Rico?

What are your favorite readings? Did you read when you were in Puerto Rico? What kind of books?

Do you watch television often? What are your favorite programs?

5. Work situation and friendships

WIFE:

Tell me about your household work: what you like about it; what you don't like about it, etc.

HUSBAND AND WORKING WIFE

Tell me about your work: what you do, what you like about it; what you don't like about it; the hours, the conditions, etc.

Have you always felt like this? Since when? Did you feel differently if you were doing the same work in Puerto Rico?

In what ways does your present job compare with your job in Puerto Rico? With your other jobs in the United States?

Have you made any friends at work? Where were they born?

How long have they lived in the United States? Do you meet them outside of work?

What other friends do you have? Where were they born? How long have they been in the United States?

Would you rather work at something else? Why? Have you always wished to work at that? Since when?

Have you any chances for promotion in your work? Have you any chances for economic improvement in your work?

What does your wife (husband) think of your job? Has she (he) always thought like that? About other jobs you had here? In Puerto Rico?

How do you feel about your husband's (wife's) work? What would you prefer that he (she) do? Why? Have you always felt like that?

WIFE

What are your husband's views on you working outside the home? Has he always felt this way or have his views changed? Was it your own decision to stay at home?

WORKING WIFE AND HUSBAND

What do your children think of your job? Do they each have different opinions?

Does the union really mean something to you? Has the union been of any help to you so far? In what way?

In what ways has your family life changed since you took up your present job?

In what ways do you think your new job has helped you to make friends different from those you made at other jobs?

Have any of your workmates introduced you to any club, organization, church, etc?

SOMETIME WORKING WIFE AND HUSBAND

How did you feel about the first job you got in the United States?

What kind of job did you want to find when you first arrived in the United States? Were you optimistic about finding that type of job? Did you expect to find that job soon?

WORKING WIFE AND HUSBAND

What kind of people do you work with? (Spanish-speaking?)

Who is in charge in your work?

Do you have the responsibility of giving or passing orders to other workers? Do you like this responsibility? Would you like to be a foreman? Why? Why not?

Do you feel something should be different in your job? What? Have you any chances to have your views about your work heard?

What are your foreman and boss like?

Is your boss respectful to you? With your fellow workers? Is your boss generally reasonable in his demands?

If you are mistreated or exploited in your firm, are you able to fight back in some way? In what ways?

Are there any aspects of your job you enjoy more than being home with your family?

Do you feel like improving yourself in this type of work? Why? Why not? Do you now attend or plan to attend any training course in order to improve your skills at work? Do you plan to change jobs?

Do you think that the work you do and the way you behave at work has some influence upon the way you behave at home with your family? In what ways?

WORKING WIFE AND HUSBAND

Do you think your family life influences your work in any way? How?

Do you feel yourself accepted by the Americans you meet (IF WORKING) at work and elsewhere? (If NOT WORKING) in different places?

Do you feel discriminated against? In what ways?

6. Past and present socioeconomic status, aspirations, expectations, and satisfactions

Has your economic situation improved, remained about the same, or worsened since you arrived in this country? Why?

Some people say that authority in the family changes with a raise in pay. Was this so in your case? Was there any such change when you were laid off? When you climbed in an occupational category?

Who is more inclined to save money in the family? Are you in fact saving something? For what purpose?

During the next few years, do you expect the economic situation of your family to improve, stay the same, or become worse?

Who should help the migrants when they arrive from Puerto Rico?

Who is to blame for the problems of the migrants?

What are the organizations or institutions that help the migrants most?

How does your life here compare with your life in Puerto Rico? In what aspects is it more satisfactory than over there? In what aspects is it less satisfactory than over there?

Where would you like to live? Why? Have you always wished to live there? Since when?

What period of your life was the happiest? What period of your life was the hardest?

Are there things you would like to have and do that you can't? Have you always wanted these same things? For how long? When you were in Puerto Rico?

7. Self-image, family image, family's goals and wife's (husband's) image

In what ways are you different from the other people in the family? Have these differences always existed? Since when?

Do you ever lose your temper? Over what sort of things? At work? At home? Has it always been like this? Since when? Why?

With whom do you talk about your problems? Has it always been like that? Since when?

What would you say are the important things about your family? Have these always been important? Since when? In Puerto Rico?

How are the household duties divided up? Has it always been like that? Since when? In Puerto Rico?

What do you think are the greatest satisfactions of family life? What do you like best about your family? Has it always been like that? In Puerto Rico?

What things would you like different?

In what ways has your family changed since you arrived in this country? Is your family life more satisfying now or in the past? Why?

How has your life changed since you were married? When your first child was born? When your second child?

What have been the biggest surprises about your family? Greatest satisfactions? Biggest disappointments?

Do you have any plans for the future? How long have you had these plans?

Are there any difficulties you expect your family to face in the future? Is there anything that would make your family still happier?

What illnesses has each person in the family had?

WIFE

What about your husband? What qualities are necessary for an ideal husband and father?

What qualities are necessary for an ideal wife and mother?

How do you think you measure up? Have you always measured up like this? Where do you fall down? Has it always been like that?

How does your husband think you measure up?

How do you think the Puerto Rican husbands compare with the American husbands? Do you think that your husband is trying to imitate the American husbands? In what ways?

Has your husband changed since you first arrived in this country? What about you?

HUSBAND

What about your wife? What qualities are necessary for an ideal wife and mother?

What qualities are necessary for an ideal husband and father?

How do you think you measure up? Have you always measured up like this? Where do you fall down? Has it always been like that?

How does your wife think you measure up?

How do you think the Puerto Rican wives compare with the American wives? Do you think that your wife is trying to imitate the American wives? In what ways?

How has your wife changed since you first arrived in this country? What about you?

HUSBAND AND WIFE FROM NOW ON

8. Children's aspirations, schooling, and rearing.

What would you like the children to do when they grow up?

What do you think about the schools? How often do you visit the school? Are you able to talk easily with the teachers and administrators?

How do the schools in Puerto Rico compare with the schools in America?

Why do you visit the school? Why not? And your husband? Has your attendance at school meetings and your contacts with teachers influenced your family life? In what ways? Has your attendance at school influenced your participation in other community organizations? In what ways?

How has your treatment of your children changed since you first arrived in this country? Did you treat them any differently in Puerto Rico?

Do you help your children with their homework? Did you previously help them when you were in Puerto Rico?

What kind of behavior do you disapprove of in your children? Has this always been so?

What child do you think is easiest to handle? Has he always been like that?

What do you do if the children don't come home when they are supposed to? Would you have done the same in Puerto Rico?

What do you do if they talk back of fight? Have you always acted like this?

What methods of discipline do you use? Have you always used the same methods?

Is there anything about any of the children that you regard as a problem either now or in the past?

In what ways would you like the children to be like you and your husband (wife)?

In what ways are the children like you and your husband (wife)?

How should parents deal with teen-agers? Have you always felt like that? In Puerto Rico?

Who has most to do with disciplining the children? Has it always been like that?

What disagreements do you and your husband (wife) have over how the children should be handled? Has it always been like that? In Puerto Rico?

If you had a difference about how the children should be treated, who would win? Has it always been like that?

What characteristics about each one in the family do you like best?

9. Migration: motivations, expectations, achievements, and aspirations

FINALLY A FEW MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR COMING FROM PUERTO RICO AND YOUR FIRST STEPS IN THIS COUNTRY:

What were the main reasons why you decided to come to the United States?

Did you expect your family to face many difficulties when you first arrived in this country?

How did you arrive at the decision to come to live to this city and rent this type of apartment?

What are some of the things that surprised you when you came here?

Did you depend economically on some of your relatives or friends when you first arrived in the city?

Did you get any help from any association or from the State? What kind of help? For how long?

When did you attain economic independence?

What were your first wages or salary in the United States? How did you feel about these wages?

Do you feel at home here? How long did it take you to feel at home: what do you like most about living here? Has it always been like that? What do you like least? Has this always been so?

IF DISSATISFIED:

Do you think that your dissatisfaction with the life here is mainly due to dissatisfaction with your present work?

IF SATISFIED:

Do you think that your satisfaction with the life here is mainly due to satisfaction with your present work?

Has the life in the United States fulfilled your expectations? From the beginning or since when? In what ways?

Do you think your present social position is any better than it was in Puerto Rico? Since when? In what ways?

Do you expect you will be able to satisfy your aspirations concerning housing, residence, work (AND ANY OTHERS THE INTERVIEWEE HAS SHOWN)? In the near future? How?

Have you always felt this way about your chances for the future? Did you feel this way in Puerto Rico?

Do you think your children will have a better life than you have now?

Some say that a man born into a poor family will not get ahead even if he is ambitious and hard working. Do you think such a man will surely fail, probably fail, could well succeed, or will surely succeed? Have you always thought like that? When you were in Puerto Rico?

10. <u>Knowledge and use of English</u>

Do you speak English at home? With whom? What about your children? Has it always been like that? Since when? Are you studying English very hard? Since when?

CHILDREN INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. The family's daily life

Tell me about your family. What is an average weekday like in your family? On Saturdays and Sundays?

What was an average weekday like in Puerto Rico? How has your average day changed since you've been here?

How do you make plans for the weekend in your family? Would you prefer to do something else on Saturdays and Sundays? What do you do on vacation?

What do you like to do best with your family? Has it always been like this?

Are there things you don't enjoy doing with the family? Has it always been like this?

2. Associational life and "significant others"

What do you like to do best?

Do you have any clubs of your own? To what organizations do you belong? And in Puerto Rico?

How did you happen to join that association? When?

What about Religion in your family? Do you belong to any organizations in connection with the church?

Were most of the members of that organization born in the United States? About what proportion? About what proportion of the membership has lived in the United States for at least ten years?

Has your attendance at that community organization (or club) influenced your family life? In what ways?

Outside of your family, who are the people who are most important to you? How are they important?

To which organizations did you previously belong to in the past years? And in Puerto Rico?

3. Work situation, friendships, school, and church

Have you ever had a job?

IF YOUTH WORKS

Tell me about your work. What do you do? What are the hours, the conditions, etc? What do you like about it? What do you not like about it?

Have you always felt like this? Since when? Would you feel differently if you were doing the same work in Puerto Rico?

In what ways does your present job compare with your job in Puerto Rico? With your other jobs in the United States?

Have you made some friends where you work? Where were they born? For how long have they lived in the United States? Do you see them outside of work also?

WORKING AND NON-WORKING YOUTH

Who do you go around with? Where were they born? How long have they been in the United States? What kind of things do you do together?

WORKING YOUTH

Would you rather work at something else? Why? Have you always wished to work at that? Since when?

Have you any chances for promotion in your job? Have you any chances for economic improvement in your work?

What do your parents think of your work? Have they always thought like that? About other jobs you had here? In Puerto Rico?

What do your brothers think of your job? Have they always thought like that? About other jobs you had here? In Puerto Rico?

WORKING AND NON WORKING YOUTH

What do you think about your brothers' work? Have you always felt like that? About other jobs they had here? In Puerto Rico?

What things do you like best in school? What things do you like least in school?

Do you get along with the teachers and administrators? How are these schools different from those in Puerto Rico?

Do you feel yourself accepted by the Americans you meet at school? Do the teachers, administrators and American classmates treat you in the same way they treat the American boys and girls? In what ways?

NON WORKING YOUTH

Would you like to work outside home? Why? Why don't your parents want you to work? Has it always been like that? Since when?

WORKING YOUTH (Over ten years old)

Who should help the migrants when they arrive from Puerto Rico?

Who is to blame for the problems of the migrants?

IF YOUTH HAS A FULL TIME JOB, PROCEED WITH QUESTIONS CONCERNING WORK SITUATION AND FRIENDSHIPS FROM SECTION 5 FROM THE PARENTS' INTERVIEW GUIDE

How does your life here compare with your life in Puerto Rico? In what aspects is it more satisfactory here than over there? In what aspects is it less satisfactory here than over there?

Has your attendance to school had any effect upon your family life? In what ways?

What do you think about your church? Is it important for you? For your family? for the other Puerto Rican families in the community? In what ways?

Are you able to talk easily with the pastors? Are most of the church members born in the United States?

Has your attendance at church had any effect on your family life? Has anything you've learned in church helped you at home?

Have you made many friendships through the church?

4. Hobbies, household duties, aspirations

What are your favorite readings?

Do you watch TV often? Which are your favorite programs? Who selects the programs you watch?

Do you help around the house?

How are the household duties divided up? Has it always been like that? Since when? And in Puerto Rico?

SMALL CHILDREN

If you had three magic wishes, what would you wish for?

ALL EXCEPT SMALL CHILDREN

What kind of things would you like to do if you had lots of time and money? Have you always liked to do that? Since when? Did you have the same aspirations when you were in Puerto Rico?

Are there things you would like to have and do but can't? Have you always wanted these same things? Since when? Did you feel the same way in Puerto Rico?

What would you like to do when you grow up? Why? How much education would you want? What would you study?

Where would you like to live? Why? Have you always wished to live there? Since when?

5. Self-image, "significant others", parents' images, family image, siblings' images, child rearing

What period of your life was the happiest? What period of your life was the hardest?

Do you ever lose your temper? Over what sort of things? At home? At work?

With whom do you talk about your problems? Has it always been like that? Since when?

What is a good _ year old boy (girl) like?

How do you think you measure up? Have you always measured up like this? Where do you fail? Has it always been like this?

How were you when you were a small child? In what ways have you changed since then?

Do you think you are like your parents? Do you like to do the same things your mother and father do? In what ways do you act like your father? In what ways do you act like your mother?

In which ways would you like to be different?

In what ways are you different from the other people in the family? Have these differences always existed? Since when?

What would you say are the important things about your family? Have these things always been important things about your family? Since when? In Puerto Rico?

What are the greatest satisfactions in family life? What do you like best about your family? Has it always been like that? In Puerto Rico?

What things would you like a little bit different?

In what ways has your family changed since you arrived in this country? Is your family life more satisfying now or in the past? Why? Has your father changed? Your mother? Your brothers?

Do you have any plans for the future? How long have you had these plans?

Are there any difficulties you expect your family to face in the future?

Is there anything that would make your family still happier?

Who do you think has the quickest temper in the family?

Who do you think is the head of the house?

What kind of a person is your father? What kind of a person is your mother?

In what ways are they different?

What do you think a good mother is like?

What is a good father like?

How do you feel about your father's (mother's) job? How does your mother feel about your father's job? And he about hers?

What would you rather have your father do?

What are your father's views on your school work?

What are your mother's views on your school work?

What kind of a person is your brother (sister)?

Does he (she) help around the house?

In what ways are you like your brother? (sister)?

In what ways are you different from your brother? (sister)? Have these differences always existed? Since when?

What was your brother like as a small child?

In what ways has he (she) changed since then?

What does your brother tease you about?

When you fight, who usually wins?

What kind of things do you do that make him mad?

What makes a good brother? (sister)?

How do you think the Puerto Rican boys and girls compare with American boys and girls? Do you think your brother (sister) is trying to imitate the American boys (girls)?

What kind of things do you do that your parents disapprove of? What do they get angry about? What other things?

Who in your family acts more like your father? Like your mother? How is your brother like your father? In what ways is he like your mother?

What do your parents do if you don't come home when you are supposed to? Would they do the same thing in Puerto Rico?

What do your parents do if you talk back? What about if you fight? Have they always acted like that?

Do your parents worry about you? When? Why?

What methods of discipline do your parents use? Have they always used the same methods?

Who has the most to do with your discipline? Has it always been like that?

Has the way your parents treat you changed since you came from Puerto Rico?

Do your parents help you with your homework? Did they help you when you were in Puerto Rico?

What disagreements do your parents have over how you should be treated? Has it always been like that? In Puerto Rico?

In a disagreement over what you should do, which one of your parents would have the final word?

What does your brother (sister) do to make you mad?

What characteristics about each person of the family do you like best? Which do you like least?

What illnesses has each person in your family had?

6. Migration: motivations, expectations, satisfactions

Did you expect your family to face many difficulties when you first arrived in this country?

What were the main reasons why your family decided to come to the continental United States?

Do you feel at home here? How long did it take you to feel at home? What do you like most about living here? Have you always felt like that? What do you like least about living here. Has this always been so?

What are some of the things that surprised you when you came here?

WORKING YOUTH (If dissatisfied)

Do you think that your dissatisfaction with city life is due mainly to your dissatisfaction with your job?

(If Satisfied):
Do you think that your satisfaction with city life is due mainly with the fact that you are happy at your job?

Has life in the United States fulfilled your expectations? From the beginning or since when? In what ways?

7. Past and present socioeconomic status

Do you think that your family's present social position is better than when you were in Puerto Rico? In what ways? Since when?

8. Knowledge and use of English

Do you speak English at home? With Whom? Since when?

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