ASPECTS OF ACCULTURATION OF A RUMANIAN PEASANT GROUP IN AN URBAN SITUATION

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By

JOHN DUMITRU

A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan State University of Agriculture and Applied Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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The final form of this thesis is the product of countless syntheses of both ideas and other cultural elements extending back to that homo sapien who made the first attempt to communicate an idea by making a few marks on the ground.

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Approved Charles R. Hoffer (CRH

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THESIS ABSTRACT

The thesis treats the subject of acculturation of a Rumanian peasant group to an urban situation. The investigation was conducted on the hypothesis that the group will be more advanced in its behavioral assimilation, i.e., adaptation of material cultural elements and behavior appropriate to them, than in its social structural assimilation to the social structure of the doner society.

The original members of the group under consideration immigrated to the United States in the early 1900 and presently form a closed parish in Detroit. A sample of one hundred, or approximately twenty per cent, heads of households was obtained from the total group. Forty of the hundred are first generation and sixty are second generation.

The techniques utilized in obtaining the information are threefold: participant observer, use of Rumanian and other pertinent literature, and the use of schedules.

The group's adaptation to the technological, social and religious systems was traced through time from 1910 to the present. The following aspects of the above systems were noted through time:

A. To measure the rate of behavioral assimilation.
   1. The occupational movement
   2. The residential movement of the group

B. To measure the rate of social structural assimilation.
   1. The friendship pattern of the group
   2. Voluntary associations to which the group belongs

3. The rate of inter-ethnic marriages.

4. The church affiliation and participation of the group

C. Lastly all of the above aspects were used to note the degree of subordination of the group to ascertain its overall degree of acculturation.

With respect to the residential movement initially the members congregated to a specific location in Detroit there to build a church and in general to recreate, to a certain extent, the conditions that existed in the Rumanian villages where they came from. After the Second World War the group began to disperse throughout Detroit and its suburbs to the extent that presently there are only about thirteen per cent in the colony. Similarly the group was over-represented in the low socio-economic areas. Presently the group is moving into average and higher socio-economic areas.

In their occupational movement it was found that initially the first generation became engaged as plain laborers in the heavy industries. This set the pattern for the group's adaptation to the occupational hierarchy. Thus presently most of the second generation males are engaged in specialized craft occupations. Through such occupations the group could accumulate the necessary capital to move into higher socio-economic areas. Recently, however, there has been a tendency for the group to move into other occupations as salesmen, clerks, managers and a few into the professional field.

The factors that seem to influence the group behavioral assimilation are mobility aspiration, the permissiveness of the dominant society, economic and educational mobility, inter-ethnic marriages and the opportunity offered the second generation to validate their acculturation.

With respect to the social structural assimilation of the group it was found that the group still chooses most of its best friends amongst themselves; that few belong to any other voluntary associations than those of the group or at best to other religious organizations as the Knights of Columbus; and that most of the group still frequent the new, centrally located church of the group. The exceptions are those second generation males and females that married out of the group.

The conclusions drawn from the study are: that the group is more advanced in its behavioral than in its social structural assimilation, that the degree of subordination is moderate, that the group is only partially acculturated, that this acculturation took place in terms of the cultural heritage of the group, that the mode of acculturation was a function of the group's skill and abilities and of the opportunities offered by the host society, and that time plays an important role in the process of acculturation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. The Concept of Acculturation

In order to define more precisely the meaning of the concept of acculturation, the Social Science Research Council appointed a committee to delimit the phenomena related to this concept. This committee put forth the following definition: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups."[1]

In the same memorandum the authors draw attention to the differences between the concepts of acculturation, culture change, assimilation and diffusion. Thus acculturation is only an aspect of culture change, whereas assimilation may be a phase of acculturation. Diffusion, though occuring in all instances of acculturation, does also occur in types of contact other than "first hand" as specified in the definition of acculturation. Thus diffusion may proceed through an intermediator between people who may never see each other. In this study, however, emphasis will be on the concepts of acculturation and assimilation. The study deals with the prolonged first hand contact between two different cultures.

The rate of acculturation and assimilation of the receiving group, according to Linton, is a function of the relative ease with which the

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[1]R. Redfield, R. Linton, M. J. Herskovits, "A Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, 1936, pp. 149-152.

foreign cultural elements can be perceived by the receiving group. Linton makes the following generalization: "In general, the more abstract the element the more difficult the transfer."[2] According to this statement it would logically follow that such elements as are present in the material culture of the donor group will be accepted first and at a more rapid rate by the receiving group in relation to cultural elements of the social organization of the donor group. These latter cultural elements, due to their higher degree of abstraction, will be perceived and understood with greater difficulty and therefore will be adopted later and at a slower rate.

The basic assumption of this study is that there are differential rates of assimilation on different levels of abstraction. In the present study the acculturation of the ethnic group is taken to mean its acquisition of the culture of the dominant group. According to Spiro, acculturation is "an exclusive function of the group's desire and capacity for acculturation"[3] and will, therefore, indicate the "mobility-aspiration"[4] of the group. Assimilation, on the other hand, will be taken to mean "the disappearance of group identity through non-differential association and exogomy."[5]

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[2]Ralph Linton, The Acculturation of Seven American Indian Tribes, New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940, p. 485.

[3]Melford E. Spiro, "The Acculturation of American Ethnic Groups," American Anthropologist, Vol. 57, 1955, p. 1240.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

However, the assimilation of the ethnic group is "a function of both dominant and ethnic group behaviour"[6] and will indicate the "mobility achievement"[7] of the group. For example, in order for assimilation to occur, the ethnic group must, on the one hand, have mobility aspirations or a desire to become assimilated, and, on the other, the dominant group must consent to the assimilation of the ethnic group. In other words the attitudes of the dominant group towards the ethnic group plays an important part in whether or not the group will be assimilated, even though it may be acculturated.

Thus on the one hand, in order for assimilation to occur the group must have a desire to become assimilated which will, in the final analysis, rest upon its ability to perceive the various cultural elements on their various levels of abstraction. It must also have the consent of the donor group, which, as we shall see, is in part a function of the physical and cultural proximity of the receiving group to those of the donor group. Both of these factors will influence the differential rates of assimilation of the receiving group on the behavioral and social structural levels. To distinguish between the differential rates, or processes, of assimilation the writer will employ the terms behavioral assimilation to denote mobility achievement in the realm of material cultural elements and the behaviour appropriate to such elements, and social structural assimilation to denote mobility achievement in the social organization of the donor society.

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

The factors most likely to function in the adaptation or rejection of a cultural element once perceived, according to Linton, are curiosity, a desire for novelty and advantage, a desire for prestige and finally the utility and compatibility of the element with the pre-existing culture. Furthermore, considering that the need for eliciting favorable responses from others is "an almost constant component"[8] of the aggregate of needs that motivates human behaviour, it seems plausible that the individual would be willing to adopt the form of a cultural element, even though he might not understand its meaning, as long as he receives the desired responses.

B. Purpose

The purpose of this study is to ascertain the extent of acculturation and assimilation of a Rumanian peasant group to an urban situation. In light of the basic principle set forth for this study, i.e., that there are differential rates of assimilation, the main hypothesis of the study will be that the group is more advanced in its behavioural assimilation than in its social structural assimilation. In other words, it would be expected that the group would have achieved a greater mobility in the material culture and the behaviour appropriate to it, than in the social structure of the donor society.

This differentiation is rather subtle, and sometimes hard to describe, considering that certain criteria seem to indicate both behavioral and structural assimilation. For example, the residential

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[8]Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality, New York, Appleton-Century Crafts, Inc., 1945, p. 91.

location of an ethnic group in a choice location among Yankees will reveal both mobility aspiration and achievement. The writer feels however, that the choice of the ethnic group to move to a given location and the permissiveness of the dominant group in allowing the ethnic group to do so does not demonstrate conclusively that the ethnic has lost his group identity, i.e., is assimilated.

This may mean simply that the ethnic group has accepted a different form of physical residence, but not the structural meaning of identifying exclusively with the social structure of the new neighborhood as cliques, clubs and churches.

This study will be concerned, therefore, with the following propositions:

1) To ascertain the extent of behavioral assimilation of the ethnic group under consideration.

2) To ascertain the extent of social structural assimilation of the group.

3) To note finally the overall extent of acculturation of the group by noting the extent of its subordination as will be outlined in the following section.

C. Method and Techniques

This study was carried out in Detroit, Michigan, where the members of the Rumanian ethnic group under consideration have congregated and are in the process of assimilation. Their pattern of adoptation through time is particularly revealing and lends itself well in demonstrating the differential process of assimilation. The original members of the group came from a rural-village type of community.

Warner defines community as denoting "a number of people sharing certain interests, sentiments, behaviour, and objects in common by virtue of belonging to a social group."[9] Within each such community one can distinguish three types of social behaviour, — the technical, the social, and the religious. These types of behaviour are, in the final analysis, adaptive in nature. Thus through the "technical system" one adapts to the natural environment, through the "social system" to other individuals and through the "religious system" to the unknown supernatural world around him.[10]

Moreover a community also has a social organization that is composed of various social structures. Warner defines a social structure as "a system of formal and informal groupings by which the social behaviour (involved in the technological, social and religious systems) of individuals is regulated."[11] Implicit or explicit within the rules recognized by members of a society as controlling the interaction of individuals and their various relations are obligations, duties, rights and privileges.

Warner enumerates the following social structures within which subgroupings of individuals in the larger community takes place: 1) the family, 2) the association, 3) the clique, 4) the political organization or government, 5) the church, 6) economic institutions as the company,

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[9]Lloyd W. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, p. 16.

[10]Ibid., p. 21.

[11]Ibid., p. 14.

the factory and store, 7) castes and classes and 8) the age and sex groupings. All of these structures may or may not be present in a given society. Simpler societies, for example, organize their members into kinship groupings supplemented usually by age and sex division.

To ascertain the differential rates of behavioral and structural assimilation the major subdivisions of the behavioral aspects of the community as formulated by Warner will be used. These are the technological, social and religious systems. To measure the rate of behavioral assimilation the following categories of each aspect will be used: 1) within the technical system the occupational movement of the group will be noted; 2) for the social system the residential movement of the group will be described; 3) and for the religious system its various categories as the physical location of the church, the physical rearrangements that took place within the church and the methods of congregating will be noted and described.

On the other hand, the rate of social structural assimilation, which in the final analysis will reveal the extent of group identity, will be noted by the following criteria within the social and religious systems as follows: 1) within the social system the friendship patterns, the voluntary associations frequented and the rate of inter-ethnic marriages will be measured and described; 2) within the religious system the church affiliation and participation of the group will be noted.

As a final analysis the above criteria will be used to note the extent of acculturation of the group by measuring the degree of its subordination. It may be recalled that assimilation is a function of both the dominant and ethnic group behaviour. Warner uses the following

criteria for rating a particular group's degree of subordination: "1) freedom of residential choice, 2) freedom to marry out of one's own group, 3) amount of occupational restriction, 4) strength and attitudes of the host society which prevent social participation in such institutions as associations and cliques, and 5) the amount of vertical mobility permitted in the host society for members of the ethnic or racial group."[12] Considering that the dominant group's behaviour is conditioned by the degree of proximity of the physical and cultural aspects of the receiving group to the donor group Warner proceeds to form a racial and cultural continuum. Those ethnics that are most like the "old Americans," who are typified as being light caucasoids, speak English and are Protestants, are at one end, and the Negroes and all negroid mixtures who do not speak English and are non-Christians are at the other end of the continuum. In effect there are five "racial types" each with five other "cultural types."[13] Those that are most like the "old Americans" will be the least subordinated, whereas those least like the "old Americans" will be the most subordinated.

In light of this short presentation of Warner's conceptual schema and the elaborate indices formed by him, the writer places the Rumanian ethnic group as being racially between the light and dark caucasoids, and culturally as being Catholics who speak an Indo-European language. According to this classification the subordination

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[12] W. L. Warner and L. Srole, The Social System of American Ethnic Groups, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1945, p. 289.

[13] Ibid., see Table 6, p. 288.

of the group should be slight to moderate, on a scale that runs from very slight through slight, moderate, great and to very great.

The present composition of the group is as follows. There are about 450 names on the Priest's mailing list. This number comprises all the known descendants of the original group and therefore includes both families and single persons of the first, second and third generations. According to the Priest, of this 450, about 280 are present subscribers to the ethnic church. Of this 280 number, 180 are families and the remaining 100 are single persons. In terms of generations 115 are first generation, 100 second generation and 65 third generation.

In order to achieve a fair representativeness of the process of the group's acculturation through time, the writer selected all the first generation families that met the following criteria: 1) that one or both of the original family unit (actual peasant immigrants) should be living (this was done in order to receive information of the original culture and the contact situation); 2) that these original families should have offspring who in turn also have children. It was hoped that through this procedure some third generation descendants that are married and unknown to the Priest would be found on a basis approaching at least random selection.

Through the above procedure the final sample consisted of the following proportions: 40 families of the first generation, 60 families of second generation and 5 families of third generation. In view of the small proportion of third generation families, the writer decided to limit the sample to the first and second generations which is a total of 100 families.

The techniques utilized in obtaining the information pertinent to the study are threefold. The first and the most important was participant observer technique. This process has been enhanced by the fact that the writer was born in the original Rumanian colony and has personal acquaintance with most of the parishioners, including the priest who plays an important role in the group's persistence. Furthermore the writer also lived in a small Rumanian village (much the same as the villages from which most of group came from) for fourteen years, where he has acquired many valuable insights into both the material aspects of a peasant group as well as the subjective values and attitudes of such a group. Due to these factors and the fact that the writer also speaks the Rumanian language, he readily gained the confidence of the people, especially that of the first generation who cannot speak the English language fluently.

The second source of information was from the literature pertaining to the cultural and historical background of the group. Here again the knowledge of the Rumanian language proved useful because the writer could read material written in Rumanian that is not available otherwise.

The third technique is the use of schedules. In the schedule the following information was secured: (1) a brief family history of the head of household; (2) the residential movement of the same (this was done for the first generation from the time of arrival to present and for the second generation from the time of marriage to the present); (3) the occupation of the same, for the first generation from the time of arrival to the present and for the second generation from the time of first permanent job to the present; (4) the income of the respondent through time; (5) the educational status of the respondent; (6) the

voluntary association to which the respondent belongs; (7) the friendship pattern of the respondent; (8) the church affiliation of the respondent; and (9) interethnic marriages. In addition, the writer encouraged the respondent, during the interview, to talk freely. This gave the writer an indication of the respondent's degree of identification with the Rumanian group.[14]

The assembled data is presented and summarized in table form with the aid of indices, percentages and total numbers. Considering that the whole universe was used there was no need to run tests of significance of difference because such differences as were found are real differences.

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[14]See appendix for copy of schedule.

CHAPTER II

CULTURAL BACKGROUND AND CONTACT SITUATION

A. Ethnic Background

The Rumanian parish under consideration has the title "St. John the Baptist Rumanian Greek Catholic Church." All of the founders of this parish were peasants from the small and isolated villages of the northwestern corner of Transylvania. These people were once part of a society which approximates Redfield's ideal type of "folk society."[15] As he stated, "This type is ideal, a mental construction. No known society precisely corresponds with it, but the societies which have been the chief interests of the anthropologist most closely approximate it."[16]

In order to better understand the processes of adaptation of this group it would be well to enumerate briefly the characteristics of such societies and their "view of the good life," as put forth by Redfield. The folk societies are small. In such a society, exemplified by the village, there are no more people than can know each other well, i.e., not only as a person but his geneology, temperament, values and tastes. The writer recalls that while living in such a village this knowledge extended even to the smallest child.

Such a society is an isolated society and therefore has little communication with the outside world. What communication there is, takes place usually through contact with the priest, teacher or tax collector.

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[15] R. Redfield, "The Folk Society," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 52, No. 4 (January 1947), pp. 293-308.

[16] Ibid., p. 294.

These are what Redfield calls the "intermediators" between the local or "little" tradition and the wider or "great" tradition.

There is much likeness in both belief and knowledge among the members of a folk society. As Redfield put it: "what one man knows and believes is the same as what all men know and believe."[17] This situation gives the members a strong sense of belonging together. "Communicating intimately with each other, each has a strong claim on the sympathies of the other."[18] Such members think of themselves as "we" as against all others who are viewed as "they."

Behaviour in such societies is traditional, spontaneous, uncritical and personal. Relationships, for example are not entered into on the basis of utility alone. "One does not deal impersonally (thing - fashion) with any other participant in the little world of that society."[19] In such a society the familial group is the unit of action. According to Redfield "the folk society may be thought of as composed of families rather than of individuals. It is the familial groups that act and are acted upon."[20]

Furthermore, a folk society is a sacred society. The folkways and mores rule supreme. To question them is to doubt them and this is frowned upon. Thus the "value of every traditional act or object or institution is, something which the members of the society are not disposed

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[17] Ibid., p. 297.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid., p. 301.

[20] Ibid., p. 303.

to call into question; and should the value be called into question, the doing so is resented."[21]

In addition to the above folk characteristics, the following peasant characteristics seem to be pertinent to the group in question. In his typology of peasantry, Redfield would include all those societies which use agricultural pursuits as "a livelihood and a way of life, not a business for profit."[22] Thus the peasant is in effective control of a piece of land to which he has long been attached by ties of tradition and sentiment. "The land and he are parts of one thing, one old established body of relationships."[23] Peasant societies are also characterized by having a status relationship with an elite of the manor, town or city. In this respect the peasant seems to depend upon guidance from above especially in the "moral sphere."

Furthermore, Redfield views the peasants as "the rural dimension of old civilizations."[24] To this effect he quotes Kroeber who says that "Peasants are definitely rural - yet live in relation to market towns; they form a class segment of a larger population which usually contains urban centers, sometimes metropolitan capitals. They constitute part-societies with part-cultures."[25]

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[21] Ibid.

[22] R. Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture, The University of Chicago Press, 1956, p. 27.

[23] Ibid., p. 28.

[24] Ibid., p. 29.

[25] Ibid., pp. 29-30.

In closing this characterization it seems pertinent to add what Redfield considers to be the "peasant view of the good life" or his cluster of values. These are as follows: "An intense attachment to native soil; a reverent disposition toward habitat and ancestral ways; a restraint on individual self-seeking in favor of family and community; a certain suspiciousness, mixed with appreciation, of town life; a sober and earthy ethic."[26]

An appropriate summarizing concept that would encompass and lend a directive quality to all the above enumerated characteristics and values seems to be David Riesman's concept of "tradition directed." Tradition, through the folkways and mores, seem to be intertwined in all the activities of the members of such a society, and due to the sacred outlook the traditional modes of action are not questioned.

The above abstract characteristics tell to a certain extent of the temperament and values of the group under consideration. Next the writer will endeavor to describe a few patterns of behaviour that are common in the many villages from which these immigrants came. To do this the writer will relay in great part on his personal knowledge of the mode of life in the village where he has lived while in Rumania as well as from Rumanian literature dealing with the subject.[27]

Such villages may be pictured situated along rivers and amongst rolling hills at the foot of the Carpathian mountains. The number of individuals in such a village will seldom exceed 500, including children.

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[26] Ibid., p. 140.

[27] A.D. Xenopol, Istoria Romanilor din Dacia Triana, Colectia "Carpati," Madrid, 1953, IV Volumes.

In each village there are from 6 to 10 individuals who own from 20 to 50 acres of land. These are the people who are in position to hire other folk and who are involved in governing the affairs of the village. The bulk of the people own from five to ten acres. A few own less than five.

This land is used primarily in the production of such agricultural crops as corn, wheat, oats, potatoes and some vegetables. The tools used are simple plows, carts, harrows, sickles, scythes, forks and rakes. Most of the work is done by hand with different tasks being assigned to different members of the household according to age, sex and ability.

When one looks over such a village from the top of adjoining hills the layout pattern may be easily discerned. The houses, made white by white-wash, line along the dirt roads with each yard usually enclosed with a wooden fence. In each yard may be seen, in addition to the house, a small barn, chicken and hog pens, a large container for storing cornstalks and the well designated by a shadoof, a type of contrivance to draw the water. Each of the structures have thatched roofs made of straw, although lately shingles have been introduced. The standard house has three rooms. The mid-room is used as a general storage place, and one of the remaining two is used as the guest room where the best clothes and bedding, blankets and pillows are kept. The other room is used, especially during the winter, for cooking, eating and sleeping.

The usual animals owned by each household are two oxen or cows, one to five hogs, one to ten sheep (whose milk is used to make cheese) and a few hens, ducks and geese.

The streets converge to the center of the village where the church and the village square may be found. The church, with its tall steeple, dominates the whole village. The square serves as the central location for dances and council meetings. Closeby the church, usually on a small elevation, stands the village cemetery. On the outskirts of the village, within a radius of two to three miles lies the checkered land patterns to which the villagers travel to work during the day. This land is put to use according to its productivity. The most fertile soil is used to produce the staple crops as wheat, corn and oats. Hilly land is reserved for small vineyards. There is usually a large portion of less productive land reserved for pasture where the communal sheep herd and hogs are tended. Within this layout there is also a forest which provides the only fuel used by the peasants.

Though the conjugal family is the functional family unit, there is a tendency for the grandparent to exercise authority over his immediate descendants. This is especially true in the relationship of father and son. This seems to be aided by the fact that the newly-wed receives land only at the discretion of the groom's parents and the wife's dowry. (Buying land is extremely difficult). The only certain amount of land that the couple can count on as their own is that received by the bride as a dowry which is clearly stipulated before marriage. Though descent is bilateral there are clear cut unilateral relationships. Thus the person belongs simultaneously to two definite groups approximating a clan structure; that of his father and of his mother. Sometimes, depending on congeniality, a person may associate only with one of the groups.

The father is the central authority in the family and upon his death this authority is transferred to the oldest male who also inherits the parental household. The other property is usually divided equally, although the father may bequeath his belongings to any of his offspring. To the father also are relegated the duties that involve hard work such as plowing, the care of animals, cutting wood and work involved in lifting heavy loads. He is the one also who introduces his young sons to these tasks. The labor of such youngsters is highly valued due to the limited source of power available.

The men are also involved in governing the village which has an elected mayor and secretary. In the church the men occupy the front part of the church while relegating the back of the church to the women. At the table the whole family waits until the father sits down to lead the family in prayer before anyone can eat. Most of the old men of the village are respected and their advice sought. Some become the butt of jokes and misdeeds of little children and young folk.

The wife on the other hand is in charge of the household. She cooks the meals, makes the bread, cares for poultry and hogs, spins, weaves and makes most of the household clothes. Similarly it is her duty to initiate her daughter to these tasks both as a training process and to increase the productive power of the household. The mother is also in charge of the babies and small children. When the children are about two to five years old the responsibility to care for them is usually transferred to the girls that are about eight to twelve years old. When the whole family, for example, is out in the fields cultivating corn only the small children with their care-takers remain

behind in the village. The children have the freedom to move freely through the roads, empty lots and barns. There is little danger to leave the children alone for there are no autos or other mechanical devices that could harm them. The old folks also take a hand in organizing the activities of the children by telling them stories and sometimes by admonishing and punishing them.[28]

There are many tasks in which the whole family as father, mother, boys and girls participate in as a group. This is done for example in the cultivation of corn, gathering of the hay, and harvesting of corn, wheat, oats, potatoes, etc. During such group activities the father assumes the directing of the group and assignment of individual tasks.

The productive, social and religious activities and the very attitudes of the villagers have a yearly cycle that follows a set rhythm and pattern. Thus in the area of production there are definite tasks to be accomplished and in the religious sphere there are prescribed holydays with their periods of expectation, preparation and ritual celebration. The former two aspects in turn condition the social activity that one can indulge in during the different periods of the year.

The spring starts around the Easter Holydays which to many signals the "coming of life" of the earth again just as Christ has come back to life. Easter follows a long and mournful period of fast during which the social and productive activities are at a low ebb. During this

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[28]Ion Creanga, Amintirie din Copilarie (Childhood Memoriei) Editura Tineretului, Bucuresti, 1952.

period there are no weddings, dances or feasts of any kind. The usual round of life involves activity that consumes the least energy. Beans, corn meal, potatoes, milk and bread constitutes the main diet. As Easter approaches with the imminent coming of spring, the blossoming of flowers and the fields coming alive with green, activity increases also. There is a noticeable intensity of expectancy. The housewives begin to clean and white-wash their houses, the children can play again in the fields and the men repair the fences and tools for spring work.

During the week immediately preceding Easter activity increases even more. The housewives bake "colaci", a traditional Easter bread, color eggs, and in general prepare foods that involve meat - a commodity that is scarce during this particular period of the year.

During the last three days of the week the village participates in religious services enacting, especially, the burial of Christ. This is done on Friday night when men carry an improvized casket around the church with the priest and cantor singing and the congregation following, each person carrying a flickering little candle in his hand.

Saturday the last touches are added to the clothing to be worn on Sunday, the children are washed and the village waits. . . . At the approach of dawn people in small groups begin to file toward the church. The first call of the bells had been sounded. With the second and third call a greater group assembles and then the Easter services start with a short ceremony at the door of the church. Then the priest opens the doors with a dramatic proclamation that "Christ has risen!" This is the moment people have been waiting for. They turn toward each other

with the joyful greeting "Crist has risen" and receive the assurance "Truthfully he has."

After the service the people partake of small pieces of bread immersed in wine which must be taken before anybody can eat meat. During the rest of the day the people gather in the village square where they play games of cracking eggs and parade their new and colorful clothes. There is no dancing on Easter Sunday. However, the next two days are filled with dancing and feasting. Thus there are a total of three days of celebration for Easter just as there is for Christmas.

Following these holydays the plowing and seedings of the fields is the most important activity. The oxen is the most widely used animal for traction. They are trained to pull the cart and plow in pairs. The plow is so constructed that if one ox follows the previous furrow the plow will cut the following one. The author has seen children as young as six years plow in the fields. Usually, however, this is a man's job.

First the field is plowed, then the seed, as corn or oats, is sown by hand. Next the field is leveled with a harrow which also covers the seeds. Once the crops begin to grow they are continually tended. For example, a corn field is spaded at least twice a year to both space the individual stalks and to cut the weeds. Fields of wheat and oats are similarly cultivated by hand. A group of individuals go through the fields systematically and pull out the obnoxious weeds. This is usually done by a group of teenagers under the supervision of an adult.

In the interim, while the crops are growing and are being tended, there are religious holydays during which the whole village makes religious processions to the various wooden crosses on the outskirts of the village. As the procession moves slowly through the village,

the priest and cantor lead the whole congregation in singing. Once at the cross a tub of water is brought out, groups of young men and women rush out in the fields to bring bundles of green wheat which are braided into circular forms. Some are put in the tub of water, other on the cross and the rest are carried about by individuals. The priest proceeds to bless the water and prays for rain or dryer weather, as the case may be. He then sprinkles the now Holy water towards the four cardinal points and subsequently baptizes each individual by sprinkling Holy water on their head with a sprig as they file by kissing a small wooden crucifix held by the priest.

August is the month most looked forward to. (The syllable "gust" of August is interpreted as designating the month, Augustus notwithstanding, when new foods are "gustate," i.e., tasted). By this time food reserves are at the lowest point and the new vegetables, sweet corn, potatoes and wheat to make "new bread" are anxiously awaited. During this period the wheat and oats are harvested with a sickle. The wheat is tied into large bundles to facilitate handling. This operation is done either by individual families or a group of families working together at each others plots successively. Large estate owners contract a "claca" which is a group of 15 to 25 young folk under the direction of a leader. The leader in turn contracts a small band of gypsy musicians to entertain the group both during work and after. Thus as the group is working their way through the fields, they sometimes work and sing, sometimes the gypsies follow them playing different arias, and sometimes the whole group stops work to join in a fast "Hora."

During the summer months almost every Sunday there are dances in the village square. To start the proceedings, those that hired the gypsies leave the gypsies' quarters, which are usually on the outskirts of the village. On the way the young men walk along with arms around each other's shoulders, singing and calling out "chiuturi" or sayings about girls and the amorous life. Meanwhile the gypsies play a tune to fit what the youths are saying. This general singing and the gypsies' violins is easily heard over the entire village giving the signal that there will be a dance and that it is on its way.

As the party moves along other youngsters join in, girls acknowledge the boys by supplying them with flowers for their hats and parents come to the gates to warch the proceedings. Once the party is in the square people begin to congregate to form informal groupings around the dance place, to visit, gossip and generally to be a part of and to witness the interaction taking place. The older people merely sit around on chairs, or improvised seats made by fallen logs while the young folk, both married and single, join in the dance and merry-making. Children, too, intermingle with the crowd, sometimes playing their own games and sometimes imitating the adults in their dancing.

During the dance the girls form a semi-circle around the "dance floor" and for each dance the boys call upon different girls by calling their names out loud. Intermittently the dancing stops and the whole group join in singing with arms locked around each other and swaying in rhythm with the song.

The most frequent dances are the "invirtita," hora, and one where the men dance by themselves in a circle under the direction of a leader.

In the "invirtita" a couple may follow a slow step sidewise or it may turn round and round with fast steps in one direction, then reverse and go in the other direction. In the hora the whole group joins hands to form a circle that goes round and round forming a twirl of red, blue, green and other colorful laces, skirts and ruffled shirts as if floating on the fiery wings of the gypsy's melody that goes faster and faster. In other versions of the hora the circle moves slower with a couple in the middle. The couple interchange at the command of a caller with the boy choosing a different girl from the circle and the girl choosing a boy, alternately. Sometimes there is only one person in the circle with a pillow. He, or she, may choose any other person out of the circle and they both kneel on the pillow and kiss to the accompaniment of the calls of the group and the squeeks of the violin.

During the fall months activity increases with the necessity of harvesting the various crops. All of this is done by hand. For example the corn husks are individually picked and put in a small basket. When this is full, it is carried to the cart which is improvised to take a large quantity. Next the cart is taken home with the oxen and there the corn is put in the middle of the yard or in barns. The next step is husking. This is done usually at night when groups of neighbors and relatives gather and there in the quiet of the night, to the tune of husking stalks and the soft droll of a voice relating the ancient ballads of devils, giants, kings and fairies, the work is slowly done.

Fall comes to a close with the harvesting of potatoes, beans, flax, cornstalks and hay. One of the most pleasant tasks, however, is that of

harvesting the grapes out of which wine is made. Preparations are made for the ensuing winter by limited canning, storing potatoes in the ground and putting vasts amount of cabbage in crocks to sour. From now on the diet will consist of only dry staples with no fresh vegetables at all. Preparations are also made to begin fattening the Christmas hog with pumpkins and second-grade corn stalks.

With the first snow fall activities almost come to a stop and the people look forward to the winter round of holidays, night work-parties and weddings. The most permanent feature of the winter months is the "sezatore" or work parties where the girls congregate consecutively to each others houses to spin the wool and flax. Out of these are made shirts, coats and pants. At these parties one would have a hard time discerning whether the objective was work or merely frolicking.[29] There is a constant stream of youths coming and going who are making the rounds of the various parties. While there they play various tricks on the girls, tell stories, dance and sing. A favorite game is to watch the spindles of the girls who might drop them either by accident or design. The youth that comes up with it is entitled to a kiss from the girl. Sometimes the lights are turned low purposefully so that everyone may be accomodated.

Otherwise the most important work during the winter months is to provide wood for fuel, to care for the animals, make ropes for various uses and repair tools. Whereas in the summer it is the duty of young girls and old women to gather dry wood for fuel, and carry it home on

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[29]Mihail Lungianu, Claca si Robot, Editura Librariei and Comp., Societate Anonima, Bucuresti, 1921, pp. 20-41.

their backs, during the winter the men engage in cutting the wood and carry it home by sleds drawn by oxen. Many also take the opportunity of the work lull to carry out onto the land the manure, gathered and prepared, as a fertilizer. Winter is also the period when the children are most easily dispensed from work and therefore allowed to attend school.

One of the most favored winter periods is the Christmas holidays. Just as the Easter holidays, Christmas is also preceeded by a period of fasting and preparation.[30] Immediately preceeding Christmas there is a rash of hog slaughtering. Once the hog is dead, the hair is removed by burning. Next the hog is dissected, the intestines cleaned and used for sausages, and the whole carcass is sectioned and hung in the attic to be smoked. This provides the main meat staple for the winter months.

During this period housewives again clean the house, bake "colaci" and prepare for festivities. One of the most recurrent themes cited in the literature is that of extreme reliance of the peasant on various forms of magic to attain given ends. Pomfil, for example, mentions the following beliefs, amongst others, that are practiced during the day before Christmas:[31] In relation to health some peasants put nuts and a horse shoe in the water out of which they drink so as to be as strong as iron. Also in order not to contract a fever, fish is eaten on this day. One should not lend anything out of the house on this

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[30]Tudor Pamfile, Craciunul (Christmas), Librariile Socec si Comp. si C. Sfetea, Bucuresti, 1914, p. 1.

[31]Ibid., pp. 21-34.

day because all the good luck will leave the house with it. Similarly to preserve good luck one must close the gates himself when a stranger calls during the day.

Also on the day before Christmas, in order to prevent the hail from destroying the crops one should kneel by the table before the meal and call the hail to come - if it does not come at the call it has no right to come at any other time either. Similarly to obtain many crops the wife should prepare the day's dinner by using samples of each crop. The women should not work at sewing on this day for if they do, worms will destroy a great part of cherries and prunes.

In relation to poultry, women rise early Christmas Eve morning, get a bunch of straws from the hog pen and sit on them in the house so that the chickens will sit well on their eggs during the summer. The chickens are also fed from a special container so that they will lay many eggs. The house is swept during the day but the dust may not be thrown out so that the cows will not get sick.

In order to make the less productive fruit trees produce more during the next year the husband similates the act of cutting them with an axe, but the wife implores him not to cut them. This is supposed to induce the tree to produce more.

In order that the household will be more productive during the next year the husband goes around and touches all tools as cart, plow, scythe, spades, etc., while the wife sews a little, spins a little, and does other small tasks.

Lastly the wife leaves overnight some food on the table so that those that have died in the past may feast. These are but a few of the prohibitions and obligations mentioned.

The youngsters prepare for Christmas by forming groups to go caroling or to enact a short play of Christ's Birth and Herod's role in the drama. Other teenagers prepare to go "cu steaua." This means to improvise a star on which pictures of Christ's Birth are pasted sometimes at random and sometimes in a definite pattern. A small bell is attached to the star to accompany the youngsters caroling. Usually the smaller children collect small doughnuts and sweets and the older children receive small amounts of money. The young folk go caroling after midnight when the small children have finished. After caroling at the window the party is invited in the house where they are served drinks and food. The Christmas holidays also last for three days during which there is much merry-making in terms of dancing, singing, visiting, eating and drinking.

The period immediately after Christmas is considered the wedding season for there is little work to do and food is still plentiful. Thus the winter season is the period of the year when there is much social and religious interaction.

B. The Contact Situation

Redfield does not characterize the urbanized society as he has done for the folk society. It is to be understood to be the antithesis of such a society. In other words an urban society is not small, isolated, homogenous and is not characterized by solidarity. Furthermore, the secular and impersonal prevails over the sacred and personal of the folk society. The urban society is too large for persons to know each other intimately and too complex for each person to be aware of all the

cultural elements. An integrated culture does not exist and community members are subjected to competing value orientations. Societywide norms are weak and unclear.

Turning now specifically to the members of the group, it was found that most of them came to the United States between the years 1905 and 1914. A majority of these individuals came alone, from different villages at the initiative of some relative, friend or merely from hearsay. The motivation to come to the United States was mostly to augment their financial situation at home in Rumania. For example, 80% of all those interviewed had as their goal to come here, "make some money and go back to buy more land." Though all were either landowners or sons of landowners, the amount of land owned was very small, varying between 2 to 10 hectars. (1 hectar = $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres) Having lived on the land, most of these people had no special training other than the ability, as one put it, "to use my hands and back."

Thus one may imagine these unskilled laborers trickling one by one onto the shore of the "new world," with their own baggage of traditions, and with high hopes of increasing quickly their remunerative situation and then returning back to the families and their loved ones. In other words, they were not interested in the new situation per se, for its own sake. If they could have reached their goal in other ways they would have done so. The new situation was looked upon as a means to an end, and the end was to be able to acquire more land at "home."

Thus it may be seen that the contact took place not between two groups, but rather between a single individual, or a few individuals, and the total donor society.

One of the most outstanding phenomena of the contact situation was the diversity of both the material and non-material cultural elements of the donor group and receiving group. This was made apparent from the characterization of the folk and urban societies. Furthermore, the contact was a case in which the receiving group came to the habitat of the donor group. This phenomena differs from those situations of acculturation in which the donor culture-carriers go to the habitat of the receiving group.

During the original contact the group seems not to have encountered too much discrimination. Nor was the group singled out to be designated or labeled by the donor group in any particular manner. This might be due to the relatively small number of Rumanian immigrants. For example, they have not received any nick-name as some of the other nationalities. The only nick-name occasionally directed towards the group is that of "Hunky" which, ironically, identifies the Hungarians with whom the Rumanians, especially while in Europe, are at odds, to say the least.

Originally most of the members of the group settled in the Eastern states where they became involved in heavy industries, working as coal miners, quarry and railroad workers, and factory laborers, as will be shown in subsequent chapters.

Thus it may be seen that the individuals who came to form the group did not face unusually difficult situations during the original contact.

CHAPTER III

RESIDENTIAL MOVEMENT

A. Ethnic Residential Background

Every society places emphasis upon some of its social structures which serve as an integrative force for the total society. Such structures, according to Warner, are fundamental structures which, "integrate the other structures into a social unity in much the same way that the skeleton provides a framework or scaffolding on which the flesh parts of a body are placed."[32]

In a folk society, such as the one that the group under consideration came from, the structures most emphasized are the family and the church. As stated earlier, in a folk society the family is considered the unit of action and not the individual. Sanders, in his Balkan Village,[33] calls such a society a "familistic" society. His characterization of such a society is as follows: "in a familistic society, whether it is in the Balkans or China, life is largely customary and traditional. Individualism is discouraged because of the crisis that the unusual person creates in the daily routine. People prefer a dead uniformity, or a leveling of the best towards the mediocre. The family plays the leveling part in this task of moulding the individual into the accepted pattern. From childhood to old age the kinship group brings pressure to bear upon any nonconformist, since the family as a whole loses

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[33]Irwin Sanders, Balkan Village, The University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1949.

prestige in the community if a member gets out of hand. The family, too, is the chief training ground for the young, and parents cannot blithely transfer any responsibility of this sort to an outside agency such as the church or the school. Village opinion holds the parents accountable. Furthermore, economic life is centered about the family. Since family members grow or make for themselves most of the things they need, they depend only to a minor degree upon stores, factories, and other commercial agencies. The family is the productive, distributive, and consumptive unit. This is one reason why village families can weather so many wars and so many depressions: they can satisfy most of their immediate wants at home."[34]

As was shown this is also the case of the group under consideration. Though there is much interaction between families, the conjugal family is still the functional unit. The father is the central authority with definite duties of carrying out heavier tasks of production, taking care of the animals and initiating the children to these tasks. The wife on the other hand is charged with housework, meals and clothing and helping with minor tasks of harvesting. All of these aspects imply a high degree of economic self sufficiency and group identity.

The church, through the priest, also plays a major role in the life of the peasant. Sanders points out that all family events call for the blessing of the religious intermediary, that many households have their own shrines, that there is considerable emphasis upon observing the forms of the religion and that the prevailing religion usually has a monopoly in its field.

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[34] Ibid., p. 144.

Similarly the extent to which the church and religious holydays govern the activities of Rumanian villagers has been noted. Nicolai Iorga, a Rumanian historian, maintains that the main directive idea of the Rumanians is the "Christian doctrine" and the "dogma of faith."[35]

In addition to the two structures mentioned, his attachment to the land and the sense of group belonging and participation pervades the life of the peasant. Warner states that "An event affecting the individual was also the affair of the entire group, and an event affecting the group was at once the affair of every individual."[36]

In such villages the ecological base with which the individual identified was a plot of land that has been worked and handed down for generations by his forebearers. This plot of land was generally close to the village and the owners would commute to and fro to cultivate it. The houses in the village are clustered in terms of family relatedness whereby the individuals are in constant and close interaction. Cooperation is high in such a setting. The individual family units congregate successively to each others homes to execute a given task as a group taking only one day instead of each person working on his individual project for a week.

Through such activities, through the overwhelming cohesiveness lent the family through mutual interdependence, and through the unity added to the entire village as a whole by the church, the individual became deeply identified with his place of residence.

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[35]Nicolai Iorga, Istoria Romanilor din Dhipuri si Icoane, Romuri, Criava, Rumania, 1913, p. 119.

[36]Warner, Social System of American Ethnic Groups, p. 31.

B. Formation of Colony

Upon questioning the original immigrants as to their reason for coming to the United States, 80% or 32 persons out of 40, declared to make some money and go back. This response is a manifestation that the economic system of their own culture was not functioning to the members expectations. The fact that most of the respondents came with the idea of going back also indicated that there was no dissatisfaction with the social or the religious system of the "old country." By coming individually and settling originally in diverse States also shows their unawareness of having to encounter a totally different social system, possibly because of their limited mobility and acquaintance with other social systems. However, once here, and faced with a different, if not impersonal situation they soon came to learn that their social needs were not satisfied and that such needs were just as important as their biological needs. More than one person retold of the loneliness, the lack of response, and the emptiness they experienced upon their arrival.

One person remembered that he felt so bad that if there had been continuous land between the two continents he would have walked back. The wife of a respondent (and wives seem to be such good interjectors!) took delight in relating how her husband had returned to Rumania after only three weeks of stay. "We just could not believe our eyes" she said, "when we saw him standing there in the doorway . . . and my father had even borrowed the money to send him to America!" Such behavior seems to emphasize the degree to which each person in their former community social system had his status and role to play, those of rights and duties, of privileges and obligation.

Upon saving some money, and therefore in improving their economic situation, they began to show interest in improving their social life by becoming mobile, and by associating with one another. One person recalled how after working for a few years in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, he decided to move west. He came to Columbus, Ohio but could not find a job there. In the train station, ready to return to Pennsylvania, he decided to try Detroit instead for he vaguely remembered that some of his Rumanian friends were working there. Once in Detroit he asked the taxi driver to take him "where there are some Rumanians." The driver took him to a district called Franklin, the first Rumanian colony located by the Detroit River and today designated as Tract 503. Once in the district he began to walk the streets asking bypassers if they knew certain persons by given names. He thus did, indeed, find his friends, was housed by them and through them got a job in a factory. Subsequently he sent for his family and became a member of the parish which has continued to the present day.

This short narrative parallels very closely the way that most of the members of the parish filtered towards Detroit after a temporary stop in some of the eastern coastal states. The writer was told that in the first colony the Rumanians did not differentiate amongst themselves to any extent. The fact that they were Rumanians was the only prerequisite. Gradually, however, they began to differentiate amongst themselves in terms of religious affiliations. The most predominant religious groups were the Greek Orthodox and the Greek Catholics. Some of the Catholics were working at the Ford Highland Park Plant and commuted back and forth to Franklin. Gradually, a few of the Greek

catholics began to settle by the Ford Plant in company-made houses. This original collection of people in 1910 constituted the genesis of the Rumanian parish under consideration that lasted for about thirty years in that particular location. The primary reason for moving to the location was to be close to work. Those that moved later said they moved to be close to work and to be near friends and church.

Thus most Rumanians first converged indiscriminately in a particular location in Detroit, usually where there were other Rumanians, there to become differentiated and moved to different areas to recreate, once again a residential situation that paralleled their former habitat: the village. Most of the households that located in the colony were in Tract 572. However, eventually there were others that located in the adjoining tracts.[37]

The focal point in the colony was the church, the symbol that had united them as families back in their own villages. To describe the interplay and influence in the new habitat of the social structures deemed important in their former habitat, it is fitting to allow one of the members of the group to tell of these events as he saw them when recollecting the history of the colony. His remarks were printed in a bulletin put out for the dedication of the new church in a new location on September 4, 1955. He says, and I translate freely: "Gradually the houses of the faithful began to replace the woods around the Church, forming a true Rumanian settlement between the streets of Dequindre, Six Mile and Nevada. In fact on the streets of

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[37]These are Tracts 571, 604, 606, 607, 608 and 912. Thus the descriptive term "colony" will refer to all these tracts as a unit. (See maps in appendix.)

of Greely, Riopelle and Orleans the Rumanian language was spoken, danced to, and sung as on the streets of any of the hundreds of small villages left by these meritorious people far in their mother country. And here, as in the country, the soul of this settlement was nothing else than the Church -- the source of nourishment for the soul and truly the source of Christian and Rumanian education. The proof of this truth is the generation grown in the years preceding the Second World War, who speak and understand the Rumanian language the same as their parents, and now with the realization of the last act (the new church to which each family donated $1,000) have made their duty so generously. From the stories told by both the young and the old those years seem to be the happiest years of the life of the parish of St. John the Baptist."

The most important and influential role in the new community was that of the priest; that familiar figure of both authority and source of knowledge and direction. On Sundays, from his high pulpit, he spoke to the congregation of the familiar parables, of the hereafter and methods to lead the good life. The priest became active also in perpetuating the Rumanian language, customs and national holidays. Thus he formed Saturday classes for children where the children were taught to read and write Rumanian and also learn about the cultural background of the group. For Rumanian national holidays he trained the young children in short plays, national dances and songs.

Most of the men of the parish worked at the Ford Plant in Highland Park as laborers so after work there was little to say or do about their jobs. Instead, they congregated at nearby Rumanian bars where they reminisced of Rumania and sang the old songs.

The men also became involved in governing the church. Here the respective offices of president, secretary, treasurer, were alternately occupied by different members of the parish. There were also work-parties for the maintenance of the church and rectory and their respective yards. At these parties the men worked while the women were busy making "placinta," a Rumanian pastry, and distributing the food and drinks. The men also reestablished their former privilege of occupying the front of the church while relegating the back of the church to the women. Thus the men managed to retain most of the authority they had in the old country.

The women, on the other hand, were in charge of household duties and children. Many of them, however, also took jobs in small shops leaving the small children with the older children in charge. Most of the women's social activities revolved around the church. Here they formed different clubs that were assigned such duties as cleaning the church, supplying flowers for the altar and washing the various linens used by the church. The women were also in charge of preparing the food of the many communal dinners held in the basement of the church. For such occasions they prepared the customary Rumanian dishes as stuffed cabbage, chicken and chicken soup. At such occasions the women cooked the food and the young girls served it to the parishioners.

There was much community interaction during important religious holydays as well as Rumanian national holidays. Thus during Christmas many of the old rituals were observed. Many of the parishioners bought fattened hogs to slaughter and to perpare as they did in the villages. The children as well as the young folk and older people went

caroling in the same sequence as is usual in Rumania. Many of the men took off from work for the prescribed three days of celebration during which the colony joined in dancing, singing and in general re-enacting their former cultural pattern appropriate for the occasion.

During national holidays there were again general meetings in the nearby hall where orators spoke, the children presented short plays, the group sang the national songs and wore national costumes.

To complete the picture the role of the family and community was reestablished in controlling and censuring the children and younger set. Thus any older person had the right to admonish and punish any child who did not conform to expected patterns of behaviour. The children were taken regularly to church where they were exposed to the ancient beliefs and doctrines. Community cooperation was also re-established. When someone needed help he merely made it known and a group of friends would be on hand. He, of course, reciprocated in time.

Thus the group was making a simultaneous adaptation, in a new situation, to the economic, social and religious systems. In the economic sphere, during that early period of 1915 to 1925 most of the members of the colony worked at the Ford Plant which was within walking distance. As long as economic conditions were favorable and they reported to work, they got their weekly paychecks with which to buy the necessities of life. In the social and religious systems most of the former statuses and roles with their respective rights, duties, privileges and obligations were restored.

This, then was the answer of the group to the impersonality of the city. Though they came to the United States one by one in different

periods of time and settled in different areas initially, their former cultural heritage served both as an attractive force and a model through which, and around which, they reorganized their lives in a new situation.

C. The Colony Dissolved

During and immediately after the Second World War the colony underwent disorganization to the extent that there are now less than one fifth of the former residents in the area. This movement out of the area was rapid and dramatic. There was hardly any pattern to the movement, although there are a few individuals who moved to a given area, but not necessarily on the same street. The Priest put it aptly when he said that "they are as scattered throughout Detroit as is the corn flour of the blind beggar." He was using a Rumanian expression which signifies random and unorganized distribution. To this fact the writer can amply testify, aside from other evidence presented here-in, by the distances and areas covered in search of individual households for interviewing in connection with the survey. Many times it was necessary to travel from one end of Detroit to another in order to see, for example, two brothers located at the extremes of the city. In order to meet this new situation the priest had decided to build a new church, centrally located for the access of all the members of the group that were now dispersed.

The informant formerly quoted, attributes this dispersion to the war and puts it thusly: "The last war has caused fundamental changes in the social structure of the population around the old church. Only a few families have remained around it; the rest have scattered over

the whole region of the North, Northwest and Northeast. As the right answer to this grave situation, Father George Pop, with the majority of the parishioners, has fixed for themselves, as a holy duty, to raise a new home of obeisance to God."

In order to bring out some of the factors operative in its mobility achievement, the total group interviewed in this study has been divided into the following categories:

I "P" to signify all the persons who were born in Rumania and who subsequently came to the United States

a) "P-1" are those persons who came to the United States after they were 18 years old

b) "P-2" are those who came before they were 18 years old

II "F-1,m" to signify second generation males that were born in the United States

a) "In-group" are those who married Rumanian females

b) "Out-group" are those who married non-Rumanian females

III "F-1,f" to signify second generation females born in the United States

a) "In-group" are those who married Rumanian males

b) "Out-group" are those who married non-Rumanian males

Table 1 shows the relative concentration of households of the sample in the colony during different periods of time. This table may be read both horizontally for each generation and vertically to contrast the generations. Thus during the years 1920 to 1940 almost 90% of all the first generation households lived within the boundaries of the colony. During the war the number began to decline until at present there are about 22 out of 100 left in the area. There was a more drastic decrease for the F-1 males, however, in the same period

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN AND OUTSIDE OF THE COLONY IN DIFFERENT PERIODS OF TIME

Generation	Time Period				
	1910-19	1920-29	1930-39	1940-49	1950-56
First Generation					
Number in colony					
P-1	12	24	26	15	6
P-2	0	5	7	5	3
Both	12	29	33	20	9
Total number	22	34	37	39	40
% in colony	54	85	89	52	22
Second Generation Males					
Number in colony					
F-1 In-group*	--	--	6	5	2
F-1 Out-group*	--	--	6	3	1
Both	--	--	12	8	3
Total number	--	--	15	25	34
% in colony	--	--	80	32	7
Second Generation Females					
Number in colony					
F-1 In-group*	--	--	0	2	1
F-1 Out-group*	--	--	2	1	0
Both	--	--	2	3	1
Total number	--	--	2	25	26
% in colony	--	--	100	12	3
Total Group					
In colony	12	29	47	31	13
Total number	22	34	54	89	100
% in colony	54	85	89	34	13

* See p. 41 for explanation of symbols. These meanings will be carried through all tables.

of time. It can be seen that from 80% in the thirties the number dropped to about 7% during the present time. In the case of the first generation females there is even a more drastic shift. From 100% of the sample in the area during the thirties, there are presently only about 3% in the area. As to the total group it may be seen that there are presently only 13% residing in the area. In reading the table horizontally it may be noted that presently the first generation is still in the majority in the colony with the second generation males second and the second generation females the least. The pace for the movement out of the area seems to have been set by the second generation females, especially those that married persons of other ethnic background.

Table 2 will demonstrate the rate of movement into new areas by generations. The term new area refers to areas in which no other members of the colony have resided in proviously.

In this table it is of interest to note that as early as 1930-39 the first generation P-2, or those that came to the U.S. before they were 18 years old, began to leave the colony. In 1940-49 it may be seen that the second generation females who married out-group led the way into new areas with 63%. It seems that the non-Rumanian wives of the second generation males also influenced their movement into new areas for in 1940-49, 46% of them moved into new areas as opposed to 30% of those who married Rumanian girls. In 1950-56 the second generation females that married non-Rumanians still lead in "breaking the ground" with 75%. Thus it seems that inter-ethnic marriages does play a leading role in the acculturation of this ethnic group. This

TABLE 2

MOVEMENT OF HOUSEHOLDS BY GENERATIONS INTO NEW AREAS* BY DIFFERENT PERIODS OF TIME

Generation	Time Period			
	1920-29	1930-39	1940-49	1950-56
P-1				
Total number	27	28	28	28
% in new area	0	7	39	25
P-2				
Total number	7	9	11	12
% in new area	42	55	45	50
F-1 Male In-Group				
Total number	--	7	10	13
% in new area	--	13	30	46
F-1 Male Out-Group				
Total number	--	8	15	21
% in new area	--	12	46	47
F-1 Female In-Group				
Total number	--	0	6	6
% in new area	--	0	16	66
F-1 Female Out-Group				
Total number	--	2	19	20
% in new area	--	0	63	75
Total Group				
Total number	34	54	89	100
% in new area	8	16	43	58

* New Areas signifies areas in which no other member of the group has lived in previously.

same relationship seems to hold when the movement outside the city of Detroit is classified by generations, as the next table will show. As for the total group it may be seen that the movement into new areas has been consecutively higher each period to the present when it reached 58%.

In Table 3 both the males and females that married persons of other ethnic background lead percentage-wise in crossing the city limits. On the other hand the percentage is very low for those that married Rumanians and for the first generation as a group. Of interest is the fact that

TABLE 3

MOVEMENT BY GENERATIONS IN DIFFERENT PERIODS OF TIME ACROSS CITY LIMITS OF DETROIT

Generation	Time Period 1940-49	1950-56
P-1 and P-2		
Total number	39	40
% outside limits	2	12
F-1 Male In-group		
Total number	10	13
% outside limits	0	23
F-1 Male Out-group		
Total number	15	21
% outside limits	26	48
F-1 Female In-group		
Total number	6	6
% outside limits	0	16
F-1 Female Out-group		
Total number	19	20
% outside limits	5	50
Total Group		
Total number	89	100
% outside limits	7	29

during 1950-56, 29% of the total group crossed the city limits which would indicate that 23 of the 58% moving into new areas had done so in the past six years.

Table 4 is a summary of the present distribution of the group. From this table it may be seen that:

1) The final distribution of the first generation P-1 and P-2, is rather uniformally distributed into the three designated areas: namely, in the colony in Detroit and outside Detroit.

2) There is also a resemblance of movement between the second generation males and females that married within the group. This

TABLE 4

PRESENT (1956) DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS OF THE TWO GENERATIONS

Generation	Total Number	Area			
		In colony	In Detroit	Outside Detroit	Totals
		- - - - - - - Per cent - - - - - - -			
P-1	28	21	69	10	100
P-2	12	25	59	16	100
F-1 Males In-Group	13	15	62	23	100
F-1 Males Out-Group	21	4	48	48	100
F-1 Females In-Group	6	16	68	16	100
F-1 Females Out-Group	20	0	50	50	100
Total Group	100	13	58	29	100

group seems to be more conservative by locating mostly within the city limits of Detroit.

3) Males and females of the second generation that married outside the group seem to have also achieved approximately the same final distribution into the three designated areas. This is the group that moved farthest from the colony out into the suburbs of Detroit. As regards the total group, a majority still resides within the city limits of Detroit.

The last analysis concerned with the residential movement of the group will pertain to their movement into areas of higher socio-economic status. In 1940 the city of Detroit was divided by the Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit into three

areas: 1) Areas of Above Average and High Social Economic Level, 2) Areas of Average Social Economic Level and 3) Areas of Below Average and Low Socio-economic Level.[38] These divisions were based on ranking of the following combined data: rent, occupational status, and educational attainment. The writer presents the distribution of the group through time on the assumption that the socio-economic areas have not altered greatly before or after 1940.[39]

Table 5 shows the composition of the various groups that were in the respective areas during the last two decades. In 1940-49 it may be noted that of the 32 that lived in the Above Average area the males and females that married in an out-group lead with 22% and 25% respectively. Total second generation also lead over total first generation with 57% and 43% respectively. In 1950-56 the same proportions hold for the out-group. However, presently total second generation are even farther ahead than the total first generation with 66% and 34% respectively. In the below average area during the two decades the persons who married in-group and the first generation are in the majority.

Table 6 is a summary of the group's movement through time with respect to the socio-economic areas. During the first three decades the total group seems to be overly represented in the below average areas. Thus beginning with 1910-19 to 1939 the percentages for this area are 90%, 96%, and 82% respectively. However, during the last

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[38]Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit, Research Department, Administrative and Planning Areas in Metropolitan Detroit, 1940, p. 11.

[39]Maps depicting the movement of the group by decades beginning with 1910 to the present may be found in the appendix.

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF EACH GENERATION IN TERMS OF THE RESPECTIVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS OF DETROIT FROM 1940 TO 1956

Area	Total Number	F-1 Males In-Group	F-1 Males Out-Group	F-1 Females In-Group	F-1 Females Out-Group	Total F-1	Total P	Total Group
		Per Cent						
Above Average								
1940-49	32	7	22	3	25	57	43	32
1950-56	55	13	24	7	22	66	34	55
Average								
1940-49	9	0	44	0	33	77	23	9
1950-56	21	24	24	4	19	75	25	21
Below Average								
1940-49	43	16	7	9	16	48	52	43
1950-56	24	9	4	13	13	39	61	24

two decades the picture has changed. With the movement out of the colony the percentages for the total group dropped to 52% in 1940-49 and to 24% in 1950-56. In the meantime, while the percentages in the below average area were decreasing, the percentages in the average area and above average area were increasing. Thus beginning with 1910 by decades to the present the following increases are apparent for the total group in above average areas: 10%, 6%, 18%, 38% and presently 55% in these areas. Whereas in 1940-49 the distribution for below average, average, and above average areas were 52%, 10% and 38% respectively, presently the distribution is 24%, 21% and 55% respectively.

These figures point to the following conclusions:

1) The group has a strong mobility aspiration, or desire to become acculturated

TABLE 6

MOVEMENT OF THE GROUP, BY GENERATIONS, FROM 1910 TO 1956, WITHIN DESIGNATED SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS OF DETROIT

Year and Generation	Number	Socio-Economic Area		
		Above Average	Average	Below Average
		- - - - - - - - Per cent - - - - - - - - -		
1910-19				
Total P	19	10	—	90
1920-29				
Total P	32	6	—	96
1930-39				
Total P	40	20	—	80
Total F-1	15	13	—	87
Total group	55	18	—	82
1940-49				
Total P	38	40	5	55
Total F-1	46	39	16	45
Total group	84	38	10	52
1950-56				
Total P	40	48	15	37
Total F-1	60	60	25	15
Total group	100	55	21	24

2) The dominant group is permissive towards the group to become assimilated and

3) The group is becoming behaviorally assimilated with respect to the social system of the American society at large. More specifically, the group has given up its physical group identity by consenting to reside dispersed rather than as a unit.

To the writer the whole phenomena of the formation and dispersion of the colony resembles the wave motions caused by a pebble dropped into a pond. The initial wave is the strongest reaction produced with the subsequent waves moving out and diminishing gradually with time

and distance traveled from the center. Thus, initially, due to the impact of culture contact between the differing cultures, the respective individuals reacted by forming the colony where they reestablished most of the cultural norms and patterns of behaviour congenial with their former cultural background. Gradually, with the passage of time, they, especially the second generation, began to move out farther and farther dispersing themselves more and more as they were doing so.

When asked directly for the reasons why they left the colony and why they went to their present location, the most common responses were as follows: "We want to better ourselves." "We have lived long enough in cramped houses and yards. We want more fresh air." "We want more room. We want larger lawns, more trees and better views." "We want to get away from Negroes." "We want better neighborhoods, better schools for our children." "We want better houses." "We want . . . to better ourselves."

Warner refers to such aspirations or forces as the "hierarchical attraction,"[40] that impels the ethnic group to move to areas that are higher in the socio-economic scale. That such forces were at work seems to be substantiated by the mobility aspiration and behavior of the total group. In light of this behavior it may be asserted with finality that the physical setup of the colony no longer exists and that the group is dispersed beyond any stage where it could be conceived of as a colony or settlement.

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[40]Warner, Social System of American Ethnic Groups, p. 49.

In addition to the reasons given by the group for moving, the data collected in "the field" seems to point to other factors also. In the first place it may be stated that the dispersion of the group demonstrates immediately that some of the former values, as group living, have been changed. Presently the situation is defined differently than it was by the majority in the past. In order for a person to define the situation differently and act in accordance with this definition implies both different past experiences and the acquisition of confidence to act within the norm of new situations. Initially this experience and a certain degree of confidence must have been acquired especially by the second generation, in its school, work and play contacts with other members of the dominant society. However, the maximum experience and confidence seems to have been acquired during the Second World War because 70% of the second generation respondents had served in the Armed Forces. In this situation they had the opportunity to test their ability to interact with the members of the dominant society in different circumstances and far away from the protective and permissive atmosphere of the colony. This is the process that Broom and Kitsuse calls "the validation of acculturation."[41] In addition, these young men had the opportunity to identify themselves with the American society. They, in reality, were "fighting for America," and became involved in circumstances that were highly symbolic. This experience gave them a sense of purpose and participation.

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[41]Leonard Broom and John I. Kitsuse, "The Validation of Acculturation: A Condition to Ethnic Assimilation," American Anthropologist, Vol. 57, 1955, pp. 44-49.

Thus one respondent recalled that he felt that he had a real sense of purpose in life when, as a bugler on a battleship, the "whole ship went to sleep and awoke to my taps and reveille!" Not only that but he was the bugler who signaled the raising of the first American flag in Tokyo. His whole being swelled with pride as he recalled the event and added "I will never forget that!" Another respondent recalled how, as a first aid man, he had to help the wounded, many times in the thick of battle.

Another important factor was the ability to accumulate capital during the war by both the men in service and those that were working in factories. As the priest stated "they used to work seven days a week from ten to fourteen hours a day." In so doing they accumulated much overtime pay which allowed them to save enough capital to use for down payments on houses in other higher socio-economic areas. Furthermore, the second generation youngsters began to move into mechanical trades such as electricians, tool and die makers and mechanics. In addition the older people were slowly advancing in somewhat better positions in the factory system after starting at the bottom as plain laborers. All this, in other words, adds up to economic mobility as Warner calls it. He states that "Residential mobility, partially at least, is contingent upon economic mobility and is almost an indispensable condition for social class mobility."[42]

A third factor facilitating mobility is the fact that the Rumanian population in Detroit as a whole is rather small numerically to be singled out as an important ethnic group. For example, in the

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[42]Warner and Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, p. 42-43.

census of 1950 there were 3,723 Rumanians listed as "Foreign Born Whites." This is merely .2% of the total population of Detroit which in 1950 was 1,623,452 as reported by the 1950 Population Census, Detroit, Michigan Census Tract Characteristics. In relation to the significance between the total membership of an ethnic group and its residential mobility Warner has this to say: "The smaller the number of such units (households) in an ethnic group, the less resistance it encounters and the greater is its possible mobility. The reaction of society to a social deviant such as the 'foreigner' and the 'alien' is generally sharp, but the intensity of the reaction is in direct proportion to the number of such deviants who invade the society."[43]

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[43] Ibid., p. 49.

CHAPTER IV

OCCUPATIONAL MOVEMENT

The former technical system of the group was so diverse from the one they had to adopt in the U.S. that most of them had to start at the bottom of the occupational ladder as plain laborers. This starting, or zero point, will serve as a bench mark from which the advance of the group may be measured and thus their mobility achievement in the technical system assessed.

A. The Economic Background of the Group

Most of the original immigrants that became members of the colony were agricultural workers who derived their subsistance by working small plots of land either as owners or tenants to large estate owners. A few were skilled workers such as carpenters, blacksmiths and tailors. In her studies of Rumanians Galitzi says: "That the immigration is primarily agricultural is evidenced by the figures referring to the whole period 1899-1927, according to which 0.4% of those declaring an occupation are professional men, 4.0% skilled workers, 6.6% of other occupations and 89% farm laborers and unskilled laborers."[44]

These were people that were used to working hard and long hours in the fields mostly with simple tools and bare hands. They produced almost all the goods they needed from fiber to food stuff and many of

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[44] Avaghi C. Galitzi, A Study of Assimilation Among the Rumanians in the United States, New York, Columbia University Press, 1929, p. 38.

the implements they used. Warner in his studies of American ethnic groups states that "the ethnics have their source in a simple economic system which is predominantly agricultural, organized around the productive and self-sufficient family unit, and marked by only a slight specialization of occupations and relatively little circulation of labor, money and goods."[45]

Such an economic system is in sharp contrast to the highly geared economic system they found in the U. S., with its "narrowly specialized economic structures and occupations, lack of family self-sufficiency, complex circulation of values, and relatively impersonal, contractual types of exchange relations."[46]

The economic factor was one of the important factors in inducing the respondents to immigrate to the U. S. There were in fact, two sets of forces at work: the lack of economic resources in Rumania that served as the pushing force and the economic abundance of the U. S. which served as the attractive force.

It seems that the Rumanian peasants learned about the economic resources of the U. S. from their Hungarian neighbors whose relatives were in the U. S., and from the publicity of steamship companies looking for customers. As stated before, their first plans were to merely come to the U. S. for a few years, make their little fortune and return back to their villages to buy more land. However, the First World War came during which they began to congregate in the colony

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[45]Warner and Srole, Social System of American Ethnic Groups, p. 55.

[46]Ibid.

and finally to build the church in 1917. Thus after the war, instead of returning back they began to send for their wives, fully reconciled to staying. "Why should I have left?" asked one respondent, "when I had a good paying job, a home as good as the 'boyar' (landowner) for whom I used to work at home, and when I was living with Rumanians in the same way I did at home." Apparently they were preparing for a long stay in the little community they had formed, unaware that other forces were soon to disrupt their ideal creation.

B. Occupational Achievement

Initially most of the first generation respondents got involved with coal mines, cement and quarry factories, foundries, cross-continental railways and general factory work. "With pick and shovel, with wheel-barrow and bare hands, that is the kind of job I got when I came here" was the answer of a respondent. Gradually, however, they began to become skilled, by experience, in operating certain machines such as punch presses, grinders and gear cutters. But that is as far as they went. Some, due to their high value for property, became proprietors of grocery stores, restaurants and other small establishments. The second generation, however, even though they are concentrated in the skilled craft category, are beginning to move out into other occupations.

In order to show the occupational movement of the group both percentages and an occupational status index are used. The basic features of the index are those devised by Warner in his studies of the ethnics of Yankee City. However, in order to be able to use some of the census data for comparisons some of the classes within categories

were rearranged. For example foremen are included by Warner in the II-B Management - aid category, whereas in the census they are included in the crafts category. The writer, therefore, includes them in the latter. Furthermore only those categories are used and compared that are pertinent to the group. Briefly, the most frequent classes included within the categories used are as follows: I-A Operative includes apprentices, furnacemen, mine operators and laborers, truck drivers and welders; I-B Craftsmen and Foremen includes carpenters, die setters, electricians, machinists, mechanics, millwrights and upholsterers; II-A Clerical and Sales includes shipping clerks and real estate agents; II-B Managers and Proprietors; III Professionals includes chemists, musicians, reporters, teachers and technical engineers. Each category is given a differential numerical value as follows: I-A, 1; I-B, 2; II-A, 3; II-B, 4; and III, 6. The index is arrived at by multiplying the absolute number in each category by the assigned value of the category and the summation of these products is then divided by the total employed population of the group. This quotient is a number between one and six, representing the relative position of the group in terms of its average advance from the basic occupational level. For example in Table 7 the advance by 1939 of 16 points since 1929 by the first generation indicates that in the interim the group has advanced an average of sixteen occupational steps for every hundred of their employed. Put another way this means that one individual in every 6 employed has moved on the average one level upward in the occupational hierarchy. This seems to be the largest increase for any decade to the present. Thus from 1939 to 1949 there

TABLE 7

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION AND STATUS INDICES OF THE FIRST AND SECOND GENERATIONS AND TOTAL GROUP BY DECADES

Generation	Number	Occupational Category					Index	Total Group Index
		Profess-ional	Managers and Proprietors	Clerks and Salesmen	Crafts	Oper-a-tive		
		- - - - - - - - Per Cent - - - - - - - -						
1910-19								
P-1*	28	0	4	4	8	84	1.39	1.39
1920-29								
P-1	35	0	0	7	23	70	1.34	1.34
1930-39								
P-1	38	0	3	3	37	57	1.50	1.63
F-1**	25	4	0	12	40	44	1.85	
1940-49								
P-1	37	0	8	3	43	46	1.91	2.09
F-1	38	8	3	10	49	30	2.18	
1950-56								
P-1	33	0	15	3	40	42	1.92	2.20
F-1	40	5	15	12	50	18	2.45	

* P-1 includes P-1 and P-2 in this table.
** F-1 includes males who married In-group and Out-group.

was an increase of six points and during 1950-56 only one point for the first generation. This tells of their rather stable position in operative and crafts categories.

The second generation during the 1930-39 decade achieved an index of 1.85 which is considerably above those of their parents during the same and preceding decades. By 1949 they advanced 33 levels or twice the largest increase of their parents. Presently they have an index of 2.45 or 27 points above the preceding decade. This advance was made in approximately half of a decade which would add up to 54 points for the present decade if the advance is at the same rate.

In looking at the individual categories it may be seen that the first generation is still concentrated within the operative and craft categories with about forty per cent in each or fully eighty per cent in both. It is of interest to note that the second generation is also concentrated within the same categories. However fifty per cent are in the skilled craft category. Practically all of these are tool and die makers and electricians. It seems that their fathers' occupational affiliation with factories has influenced their occupational movement also. Most of them attended trade schools where their parents worked such as Ford Motor Company.

The next concentration of both generations is found in the proprietor category - the first generation with fifteen per cent, the second with ten per cent and the total group with 12.3 per cent. This seems to reflect their still high value for property ownership. Of interest is also the fact that only as recently as 1950 the second generation began to move out into the other categories.

In Table 8 the respective generations and the total group are compared with "total Detroit employed," "native white of foreign or mixed parentage" and "foreigh born white." The first generation is 47 points below total Detroit and 37 below the foreign born white with which group it should be most comparable. The second generation has an index of 2.45 which compares favorably with the index of total Detroit and that of native white of foreign parentage with which group it should be comparable. This achievement seems to point out that eventually they will be assimilated throughout the technological system hierarchy of Detroit. However, in comparing the total group with total

TABLE 8

SUMMARY AND COMPARISON BY PER CENT AND STATUS INDICES OF PRESENT (1956) OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Grouping	Number	Occupational Class					Index
		Professional	Managers and Proprietors	Clerks and Salesmen	Crafts	Operative	
		Per Cent					
P-1	33	0	15	3	40	42	1.92
F-1	40	5	15	12	50	18	2.45
Total group	73	3	15	8	45	29	2.20
American husbands of Rumanian F-1 females	20	10	20	15	45	10	2.85
Total Detroit, 1950 Census*	551,688	8	10	15	21	31	2.39
Native white of foreign mixed parentage, Detroit, 1950 Census*	224,150	9	10	16	25	29	2.40
Foreign born white, Detroit, 1950 Census*	161,605	6	13	10	28	28	2.28

* Totals less than 100% because service workers and laborers are not included.

Detroit, the group is still 19 points below the Detroit aggregate. This seems to be due to the very low index attained by the first generation relative to the second generation.

The highest in the groups compared are the native American born husbands of Rumanian females with an index of 2.85. This seems to be related to their concentration in the skilled craft, clerical, managerial and professional categories. This group was not included within the total

Rumanian group considering that the main interest of the study is in the adaptation of the Rumanians as a group. This higher status index seems to denote acceptance of the group and an upward movement of the group.

C. Income of the Group

One important variable in the behavior of the group is the acquisition of income by males. As previously shown the first generation began as plain laborers in the heavy industries. Subsequently the second generation concentrated within the same industries, however they moved into skilled jobs with higher pay. Work, "hard work", seems still to be a virtue through which the men justify themself and insure their existence; to the individuals of the group, to subsist one must work, and to work is to work with one's hands, to manipulate visual objects. Furthermore, to make and save money and goods seems to be of primary interest of the group. Therefore there is a tendency for them to move into those occupations that "pay the most" and which offer the most security in terms of steady work and other benefits. Thus most of the jobs held by the group are unionized, secure jobs. As seen under occupations, 50% of the second generation are in the skilled crafts that are highly paid. This may be seen in Table 9 where the median income of each generation and the total group exceeds the median income of total Detroit and the other groups compared. Only the first generation concentrate in the same $3,000 to $3,999 category as the other groups compared do. The

TABLE 9

PRESENT INCOME OF THE GROUP--
COMPARED WITH TOTAL DETROIT

Grouping	Number	Annual Income				Median
		$2999 or less	$3000 to 4999	$5000 and over	Not Reported	
		---------Per Cent---------				
P-1	28	14	57	8	21	$3600
P-2	12	0	49	51	0	$5000
Total F-1	40	0	28	72	0	$6000
Total Group	80	5	40	47	8	$5000
Total Detroit	868,110	34	47	16	3	$3465
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage, Detroit	426,480	49	34	11	6	$2885
Foreign born white, Detroit	259,830	45	35	12	8	$3033

first generation, second generation and total group, however, concentrate in the $6,000 and above category 38%, 50% and 31% respectively.

It is primarily due to such high incomes that the group could afford to move lately into the above average socio-economic areas. In giving reasons for leaving the colony very few recognized this economic factor. However, to the writer, it seems a case of replacement rather than displacement. Thus the frugality of the group, its high regard for hard work, and desire for security contributed to its economic advancement which in turn became a factor in its dissolution.

D. Educational Attainment

Pertinent to the extent and type of mobility achievement in both the residential and occupational categories is the extent and type of educational advancement attained by the group. The group does value education per se — "education is good" type of outlook — without being aware of its disruptive effects upon the values of the group. To the group, education is especially valued when it aids in securing a "better job," i.e., higher pay. To deal with abstractions, with "ideas" still is the hardest thing for the group to do: for example, one of the most difficult tasks of the writer to cope with during interviews was to explain what "good" the information will do and what exactly does the writer "take and do" in school. This was especially true of the first generation.

That education is valued may be seen by the difference between the first and second generation medians of school years completed. Thus, in Table 10, P has 5.3 years and F-1 has 11 years of school completed. The second generation seems to concentrate in the high school category with very few going to college. Thus for total Detroit 11 per cent have completed one or more years of college, whereas only 3 per cent have done so in the total group. The other groups compared are also ahead of the group in the college category. Most of the second generation, upon partial or total completion of high school went into trade schools and thence into the higher paying craft jobs.

Thus the group seemed to have utilized the school system to advance in the trade and craft skills but not in the professional field.

TABLE 10

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT - COMPARED WITH OTHER GROUPS IN TOTAL DETROIT

Grouping	Number	Years of Schooling Completed				
		None	1 to 8 years	9-12 years	13 or more	Median years
		------Per cent------				
P	40	28	55	17	0	5.3
F-1	42	0	8	84	8	11.0
Total group	82	13	31	53	3	9.2
Total Detroit, 1950	1,143,670	2	42	44	12	9.9
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage, 1950 Detroit *	305,395	0	30	51	14	10.9
Foreign born white, 1950, Detroit*	201,870	5	52	28	8	8.5

* Totals less than 100% because not reported cases are not included.

By so doing they were able to acquire more valuable property and other material goods in accordance with the American culture.

In this chapter the mobility achievement of the group in relation to the technical system has been shown. The extent and type of adjustment affected in this category seems to have been dependent upon the skill potential and value orientations of the group. Having no special skills and no capital, the group started at the level of plain laborers in the industries that paid the most. These were the heavy and factory industries. Once established in these industries the group continued

to make adjustments in terms of the occupations found in them. Thus the second generation moved into the skilled crafts.

Education was utilized to advance in the same occupations. Though the educational attainment of the group is not as advanced as that of total Detroit, the median income of the group is higher than median income of the Detroit group. This seems to be due to the relative concentration of the group in the highly paid skilled craft occupations. Finally this economic increment became a factor in both the group's dissolution as well as its adaptation to the American culture at large.

CHAPTER V

CULTURAL PATTERNS AND SOCIAL ADAPTATION

According to the data already presented one may conclude that the group under consideration is in the third stage of acculturation, as viewed by Linton,[47] i.e., complete absorption of the minority group by the dominant group or complete assimilation. This may be deduced from the group's residential dispersion, gradual occupational differentiation, and the rate of inter-ethnic marriages. / In other words the group seems to becoming fast acculturated on the behavioral level of the technical and social systems of the donor society. Thus the group displays a high degree of mobility aspirations and the dominant group seems to permit it a moderate degree of mobility achievement at least on this behavioral level. It may be recalled that by the behavioral level is meant those elements that are easier to perceive such as the material culture elements of the donor group.

Thus by the fact that most of the respondents have moved into higher socio-economic areas implies the possession of certain material goods as "modern" houses with the appropriate furnishings as carpets, sofas, drapes, the latest automatic gadgets, good cars and garages. For example the writer does not recall any house of the respondents that did not have television, refrigerators, automatic heating systems, etc. The writer also noted a tendency for the second generation respondents to have in the basement the "recreation room" with a bar, card tables, shelves for books and a place for dancing. Many respondents took pride in showing to the writer the different gadgets,

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[47]Linton, The Acculturation of Seven American Indian Tribes, p. 519.

number and dimensions of rooms, and the different arrangements. One of the most descriptive terms used was the price of the items possessed. Such possessions also implies the acceptance of the proper behavior that goes with them; for example, having the proper drinks on hand, "even though I don't drink," and wearing the proper clothes for given social occasions such as going to church, weddings and dances.

The next question we shall be concerned with is whether or not the group is also abandoning their former social system or group identity in favor of the social system of the dominant group. Would it follow for example that, due to their renunciation of living together as a physical group, they would also renounce their group identity. To answer this question we shall take a look at the group's friendship pattern, their church affiliation and attendance and the voluntary associations to which they belong.

At this point it might be well to recall that the group's originators were once part of a society that was highly integrated in terms of offering objectives and purposes to the individual. Such a society, as we have seen, is a sacred society in which, according to Gillin "the whole culture is tied together, as it were, by a system of mental patterns, projective patterns in truth, which rationalize, explain and justify the overt aspects of the culture in terms of the relation of the people to the supernational."[48] The projective patterns mentioned create for the average individual an "unseen world" which is felt to be present all

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[48]John Gillin, The Ways of Man, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1948, p. 526.

about, operating according to given rules and which usually involves sanctions which are thought to be beyond the control of ordinary humans. Gillin puts it this way: "In a well-integrated 'sacred' culture the basic policies are not determined by human actions - they have already been settled in the unseen sphere which permeates all aspects of human life. Man's duty is to follow faithfully the patterns of the culture in order to keep in line with these fore-ordained directives, to escape the punishment which follows failure or deviation, and to receive the rewards which come either in this life or the next from activity consistent with the structure of the supernatural."[49]

It was such a social system that the group has recreated to a certain extent in their former colony in Detroit by re-establishing the various social roles, rights and duties of the priest, the sex and age categories. However, whereas in their former habitat the religious aspect permeated all their activities including the technological when the priest would bless the fields and pray for rain, in the new setting the religious aspect began to be restricted to only certain phases. For example the religious influence had nothing to do with the technical system and only partly with the educational system, for all children were attending public schools. Thus the result was that many individuals through their mobility aspiration, and through the permissiveness of the host society, began to feel caught in the middle, so to speak, between the integration offered

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[49] Ibid., p. 529.

by the colony and the attractive force of the American society at large.

Gillin gives two reasons why religion as an integrative force is not achievable in the American culture. "First, most of our religious and sacred culture consists of mental patterns which are not consistent with certain other large segments of the culture." He cites as an example the difficulty of linking the current religious concepts and the scientific-experimental method. "Second, the skeptical attitude and its associated pattern of having everything 'proved' are firmly imbedded aspects of the culture and are grossly inconsistent with the 'believing' attitude and the pattern of taking the unseen world on faith."[50] A third reason, as noted by the writer, seems to be the opposite means of achieving ends by a hierarchical religious system and a democratic system. As will be seen some of the respondents rebelled towards the authoritarian powers assumed by the priest on the ground that "in this country nobody can tell you what to do in your private life."

When the colony began to disintegrate some of its leading exponents began to be concerned with keeping its integrity in some form or other. One of the factors that facilitated their movement out of the colony was the willingness of the Negro population to buy the property in the area. The Negroes were willing, however, to buy the property long before 1940. In fact, it was learned that some of the parishioners proposed that the parish buy the houses from those

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[50] Ibid., p. 527.

Rumanians that wanted to move out and then resell them only to other Rumanians or at least to other whites. When the mass movement was obvious, another scheme was proposed whereby the parish would buy a large tract of land somewhere on the out-skirts of the city, to build houses and a church and then the whole colony to move there en masse. However, individuality prevailed for one by one the people began to move out, "even to spite one another," was the comment of a respondent. The wife of a respondent, when the subject was mentioned, became quite emotional as she said: "We just do not have the leadership! There is no one interested enough in all of us to lead us, to show us what we can do and where to go. Everybody now is on their own. Look at the Polacks how they are sticking together. Why? Because they have leadership!"

Amid the general disinterest, when everyone was going their own way, the priest began to take leadership. This is the way he related his activities and roles: "Here I was, standing and witnessing all this movement away from the Church. For awhile there I did not care. But when they began to go to other churches I began to take a stand. It was not only the distance that bothered them. They were complaining about the condition of the church, the small streets with no place to park and the general deterioration of the neighborhood. So I began to plead for some organization,for a new church somewhere centrally located. For about two years we argued and made decisions,but nothing happened. They all disagreed all the time. Even today they still disagree, especially the young and the old. That is when I decide to take matters in my own hands. I did not beg any more. I did not wait for committee decisions. I began to tell them what to do. I literally

took a whip in my hands and went to work on them. I sat down with a pencil and figured out the type of church we needed, the cost and so forth. I divided the cost by the number of families and at a meeting I just told them; 'Now look, good people, this and this is what we are going to do. How much does it cost? One thousand dollars on a family. You should have seen them! They jumped up and down and started to argue again. They could not believe me! But I stuck to it. After that I divided all the families into groups of ten, with those that were more inclined to participate together and those that were not, again together. Okay. Then I took the first or easiest group at hand. In each group also I started with the person that was most likely to give. Then when I went to the second I showed him the name of his friend who just gave. 'How are you going to refuse when your friend already gave?' I would ask him. And so on and on it went until I got all of them except for a few hard headed ones."

The writer spoke with some of these "hard headed ones" and was told by one of them that "in this country you don't tell anybody what to do. I do something because I want to do it and not because the priest tells me to." Changing his aggressive tone and coming closer to the writer, he continued, "I will tell you something, however, I cannot speak good English and I go to the neighborhood Catholic church for the last two years. I don't know what they are saying in English, I don't know what they say in Latin. So I don't go to confession either. That is for two years. I don't know what to do. Sometimes I feel I will give the thousand dollars and forget all about it. Two years without confession! You know, that is a long time!"

Thus in response to various cultural patterns, either submission to the higher authority "from above", or the sheer denial of a pattern practiced for years, the various members are still frequenting the group church.

The finished church and rectory at Woodward Avenue and Eight Mile Road cost a total of $360,000. Of this amount, $60,000 has been paid from the sale of the old church and the remaining $300,000 will be paid by the parishoners. Half has already been paid and the other half is pledged and the people are paying monthly installments.

In the end all of these procedures amount to group activity and group involvement, or, rather, group reinvolvement. The priest once told the writer, "You know, I am beginning to get donations and hear from people that I thought were dead or gone for good! And not only that, but even attendance in church is increasing. Why? There are two reasons. In the first place the new church is a beautiful building with parking space, something to be proud of. Now everybody likes to say that 'I contributed to that church.' They feel good to come into the parish house and see it furnished with the latest things. They don't feel they are walking into a hole anymore. Yes, they are proud. The other reason is that they do not live close together anymore where they could see each other every day. Now they live all over the city and the church is one place where many friends can see each other as a group on Sunday. So there are more people coming to church than when they were living close to the church."

In these passages the central role played by the priest may be seen by his assumption of the traditional role of directing his charge,

and the submission of the group to the recognized cultural patterns. In a period of general disorganization, the stand of such a person with endowed authority directed towards a group congenial to such direction seems to produce concrete results. For example, the descriptive term of "miracle" was heard by the writer many times in relation to the completion, the very physical presence, of the new church with its many modern features.

Furthermore, the priest seems to have recognized that the group, though dispersed, still maintain some of their former social relationships and that the church facilitates this attempt.

To make the church even more acceptable, especially to the younger generation, the priest instituted two masses, one during which the epistle, gospel and sermon and announcements are made in English. During the other mass the same are said in Rumanian. Furthermore, the seating arrangements have been changed so that the men and women may sit together wherever they please.

A. Church Affiliation

Let us now take a look at the church affiliation of the group by generations. In Table 11 it may be noted that for each generation, except for the females that married out of the group, the highest percentages are in the Group Church. The respective figures are 70%, 33%, 50% then 70% in the Roman Church: 35%, 92% for the first generation and 58% for the total group. These percentages would be even higher if to them were added the per cent that belong to both the Group

TABLE 11

CHURCH AFFILIATION - DISTRIBUTION OF EACH GENERATION TO THE VARIOUS CHURCH CATEGORIES

Grouping	Number	Church Affiliation			
		Group Church	Roman Catholic	Group & Roman Catholic Both	Other
		- - - - - - - - Per Cent - - - - - - - -			
Second Generation Males					
F-1 In-group	13	70	15	15	0
F-1 Out-group	21	33	19	29	19
Second Generation Females					
F-1 In-group	6	50	0	17	33
F-1 Out-group	20	10	70	10	10
Total Second Generation	60	35	33	18	14
Total First Generation	40	92	5	0	3
Total Group	100	58	22	11	9

and Roman Churches, considering that these percentages signify identity, even though partially, with the Group Church. For example if the 18% of the total second generation that identify with both churches were added to the 35% that identify exclusively with the Group Church, there would be 53% that still identify with the Group Church. Similarly for the total group; if 11% and 58% were added a total of 69% of the total group would still identify with the Group Church.

At the other extreme it may be noted that the lowest percentages are in the category Other Churches. This table also shows that the Roman Church is an institution which some members of the group utilize as a step towards assimilation. This is understandable considering

that the Group Church is a branch of the Roman Church. The lead again is taken by the females that married outside the group, who, significantly, seem to marry Roman Catholics in preference to other persons.

In Table 12 the degree of identity of each generation with the given church category may be noted. Thus 62% of the Group Church is made up by the first generation and the remaining 38% by the second generation. Of the second generation the males, especially those that married Rumanian females, identify strongly with the church. In looking at the Roman Church we find that fully 90% of those that chose it are of the second generation and of these 63% are females that married out of the group. Whereas only 18% of the males that married out of the group identify with the Roman Church, 54% of them identify with both the Roman and Group Churches showing a transitory period for that group. It is significant to note that none of the first generation identify with both churches, even though nine per cent of those that belong to the Roman Church are of the first generation.

From these tables it seems safe to assume that the group still identifies with the Group Church. By so doing they tend to cling to their former social and religious systems they had formed in the colony. As the priest said, "Now that they do not live together, the church is a place where they can meet for sure at least on Sundays." Thus through the religious system the group seems also to maintain their social system. The church, as a matter of fact, is not used only for religious services. In the basement of the church is a spacious hall in which the group has such social gatherings as communal dinners, showers, and club meetings. During communal dinners the women of the parish prepare

TABLE 12

CHURCH AFFILIATION - COMPOSITION BY GENERATIONS OF THE VARIOUS CHURCH CATEGORIES

Generation	Church Affiliation			
	Group Church	Roman Catholic	Group & Roman Catholic Both	Other
	---------- Per Cent ----------			
F-1 Male In-group	17	9	18	0
F-1 Male Out-group	11	18	54	44
F-1 Female In-group	5	0	9	22
F-1 Female Out-group	3	63	18	22
Total F-1	38	90	100	88
Total P-1	62	10	0	12
Total Number of Cases	58	22	11	9

the traditional Rumanian dinner of chicken soup, chicken and stuffed cabbage. At such a dinner the writer overheard one of the women in charge say, "Everybody was ready for some home-made chicken soup."

Furthermore, the rectory is used as a meeting place for the intelligentsia of the group to discuss such topics as the political and religious aspects of Rumania. This group is composed primarily of recent refugees who identify strongly with Rumania and its destiny. The priest naturally welcomes the group because through it he maintains a nucleus of aggressive personages who act as his agents in keeping the larger group informed and regulate its behavior. These are the persons who are active in forming church clubs, both social

and religious, in the church choir, in keeping the financial accounts of the church, and generally acting as channels of communication.

A good example of one of these persons is the present choir director who, though born in the United States, has lived in Rumania from age one to twenty-one. During his stay in Rumania he attended a lyceum where he became an accomplished violinist, and learned also to play the piano. He also learned to teach music. Upon returning to the United States in 1946, he promptly took over the choir from the lay person in charge, rewrote the liturgical music and has ever since been strongly identified with the church and its welfare. To put it differently, the church offers him the opportunity to organize his life in terms of the past. Thus one respondent recalled that he demands to be addressed to as "Professor," due to his former training and present position in the church hierarchy, even though his remunerative occupation on the "outside" is being a bank-teller.

The church also owns a park, "Transylvania," equipped with a pavillion for dancing, a kitchen for cooking, etc., where the group meets during the summer months to dance to Rumanian music, eat Rumanian foods, and generally interact with each other in the traditional manner. Another important aspect of the group's activities is that the children, even as babies, are exposed to the group's mode of interaction during dinners, dances and weddings. For example at the park or even in halls during wedding receptions, the children watch and imitate the dancing and singing of the group. At a wedding reception the writer witnessed a teenager turning around and around to the fast tune of a Rumanian hora with her little sister who could

barely walk yet. At these dances, as in Rumania, the old people sit around the dance floor - visiting, watching, approving and commenting on the dancers' abilities - while the younger folk dance and sing.

B. Friendship Patterns

In order to ascertain the group's friendship patterns, the writer asked each respondent to name the three closest friends with whom he interacts the most, regardless if he were Rumanian or American. The following tables summarize the responses of the group. In Table 13 the contrast may be noted between the second generation males and females that married in and out of the group. For example, of the males that married in-group 55% chose all three close friends from the group; the females chose 40%. Of the males that married out of the group 58% chose non-Rumanians as their friends, whereas 50% of the females chose one friend from the group. Looking at the Total Second Generation row, however, we find that only thirty per cent did not choose any Rumanians as their close friends. This implies that 70% still choose some of their friends amongst Rumanians. Similarly in the Total Group row; here we find that only 19% did not choose any Rumanians which implies that fully 81% still find some of their best friends amongst Rumanians. The first generation, especially, is prominantly identified with Rumanians as shown by the 92% that chose all three of their best friends from the group.

In Table 14 may be seen that 29% of those that chose all three best friends from the group are of the second generation with the rest made

TABLE 13

FRIENDSHIP PATTERN - DISTRIBUTION OF EACH GENERATION IN TERMS OF CHOICE OF RUMANIAN BEST FRIENDS

Generation	Number	Number of Best Friends			
		None	One	Two	Three
		------Per Cent------			
Second Generation Males					
F-1 In-group	13	7	7	31	55
F-1 Out-group	21	58	14	14	14
Second Generation Females					
F-1 In-group	6	0	34	17	40
F-1 Out-group	20	25	50	15	10
Total Second Generation	60	30	27	19	25
Total First Generation	40	3	0	5	92
Total Group	100	19	16	13	52

TABLE 14

FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS - NUMBER OF RUMANIAN BEST FRIENDS CHOSEN BY THE GIVEN GENERATIONS

Generation	Number of Best Friends			
	None	One	Two	Three
	------Per Cent------			
Second Generation Males				
F-1 In-group	6	7	32	13
F-1 Out-group	61	20	24	6
Second Generation Females				
F-1 In-group	0	13	8	6
F-1 Out-group	27	60	24	4
Total Second Generation	94	100	84	29
Total First Generation	6	0	16	73
Total Number of Cases	19	16	13	52

up by the first generation. However, the proportion increases in the two friends column in which 84% were chosen by the second generation. In the None column we find that the males and females that married out-group lead with 61% and 27% respectively.

In Table 15 it may be seen that of the males that married in-group 55% did not choose Americans as best friends, whereas of those that married out-group 58% chose all three best friends as Americans. Approximately the same proportions seem to hold for the second generation females. In F-1, the Total Second Generation we find that 30% chose all three best friends from Americans, with 25% choosing none. For the total group however, due to the overwhelming identity of the first generation with the group, 52% did not choose any Americans and only 19% chose all three best friends from Americans.

Table 16 shows that of those that chose all three best friends from Americans are the males and females that married out of the group. Similarly the same males and females that chose two such friends lead with 20% and 60% respectively. Of those that did not choose Americans 29% are second generation and 73% first generation.

These tables also seem to demonstrate that the group, though not living close together physically still interact mainly amongst themselves, maintaining their former social system, and only gradually becoming involved with the American social structure at large. This involvement is most pronounced through those that married outside of the group.

It seems that distance does not impair the relationships of friendship formed by the in-group. The writer has witnessed many instances

TABLE 15

FRIENDSHIP PATTERN - DISTRIBUTION OF EACH GENERATION IN TERMS OF CHOICE OF AMERICAN BEST FRIENDS

Generation	Number	Number of Best Friends			
		None	One	Two	Three
		------Per Cent------			
Second Generation Males					
F-1 In-group	13	55	31	7	7
F-1 Out-group	21	14	14	14	58
Second Generation Females					
F-1 In-group	6	40	17	34	0
F-1 Out-group	20	10	15	50	25
Total Second Generation	60	25	19	27	30
Total First Generation	40	92	5	0	3
Total Group	100	52	13	16	19

TABLE 16

FRIENDSHIP PATTERN - NUMBER OF AMERICAN BEST FRIENDS CHOSEN BY THE GIVEN GENERATIONS

Generation	Number of Best Friends			
	None	One	Two	Three
	------Per Cent------			
Second Generation Males				
F-1 In-group	13	32	7	6
F-1 Out-group	6	24	20	61
Second Generation Females				
F-1 In-group	6	18	13	0
F-1 Out-group	4	24	60	27
Total Second Generation	29	84	100	94
Total First Generation	73	16	0	6
Total Number of Cases	52	13	16	19

when the respondent either just got back or was just leaving to visit some friends clear across town. Thus one respondent cautioned the writer that he will not have too much time for the interview because he had to go to Grosse Pointe, some seventeen miles away, to help baptize the child of one of his Rumanian friends. The same respondent, though an engineer involved with higher social class persons in his daily routine, chose all of his friends amongst Rumanians with the comment that "sure I know them, and we get along, but we never got to be friends - you know how it is."

In another instance, while the writer was talking with the head of the household, the family was watching a group of Yugoslav folk dancers on television. Meanwhile the phone rang and the brother of the respondent called to tell them about the same program so they will not miss it. The respondent commented that "we always keep each other informed when there is something good on television."

Thus through the car, television and telephone the group seems to be able to keep in close contact and communication in spite of physical separateness. Through these conveniences the former personal interaction between the members seems to be maintained and facilitated. Through the phone they can converse at will and transmit urgent messages "like calling across the back yard fence," as one respondent put it. With the car there is no problem in traversing the distance that separates them. Even through television there seems to be a vicarious feeling involved in that "they too are watching the same thing with us."

C. Voluntary Associations

In relation to the tables on voluntary associations the numbers represent number of choices and not individuals, considering that one individual might have chosen all the given categories. In Table 17 it may be noted that the second generation males that married in-group have chosen the Group Church Clubs six times or 38% out of the total number of choices made by that group. Similarly for the Other Recreational Clubs, there were 38% choices for that group. Those that married out-group seem to emphasize the Other Clubs with 35% choices. This seems to be the case for the husbands of the Rumanian females as well as for the Total Second Generation. However, the first generation and the total group still place more emphasis upon the Group Church Clubs. Furthermore, if the per cent choices made by the total group of the Rumanian Associations were added to the Church Clubs, there would be a total of 49% choices for Rumanian recreational clubs. This seems to indicate that the group as a whole still identifies most with Rumanian associations through their voluntary choices.

In Table 18 it may be seen that of those that chose the group clubs 69% were first generation and 31% second generation choices. The same distributions seems to hold for Rumanian Association choices. However, an inverse relation obtains for the Knights of Columbus, a Roman Catholic organization. Of the 70% choices, 47 were made by those that married out-group. In looking at the Other Recreational Clubs, the second generation leads overwhelmingly in choices, with those married out-group again making the most choices. The second generation males that chose other recreational clubs, chose the following by actual

TABLE 17

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS - DISTRIBUTION OF EACH GENERATION IN TERMS OF NUMBER OF CHOICES OF THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES

Generation	Number	Voluntary Associations				
		Group Church Club	Rumanian Associations	Knights of Columbus	Other	None
		Per Cent				
Second Generation Male						
F-1 In-group	17	38	0	20	38	14
F-1 Out-group	26	11	15	23	35	16
Husband of Second Generation Females						
In-group	5	20	0	0	60	20
Total Second Generation	47	21	9	19	36	15
Total First Generation	45	48	20	10	6	18
Total Group	92	35	14	14	20	17

TABLE 18

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS - NUMBER OF TIME EACH CATEGORY WAS CHOSEN BY THE GIVEN GENERATIONS

Generation	Voluntary Associations				
	Group Church Club	Rumanian Associations	Knights of Columbus	Other	None
	Per Cent				
Second Generation Male					
F-1 In-group	18	0	23	32	13
F-1 Out-group	9	30	47	47	26
Husband of Second Generation Females					
In-group	3	0	0	17	6
Total Second Generation	31	30	70	96	45
Total First Generation	69	70	30	4	55
Total Number of Cases	33	13	13	18	15

counts: five are work or neighborhood bowling clubs, two Elks, two with VFW, two AMVETS, one with Lions Club, two neighborhood improvement associations, three shop clubs, one Boy Scouts, and one an engineering club.

From this distribution and the two tables it may be seen that the group's affiliation with the recreational or social clubs of the American social strucutre is rather limited. The group's association with Rumanian or at least religious structures, as the Knights of Columbus, seems to be more meaningful to them as evidenced by their choice in this direction.

Thus from the church affiliation, the friendship pattern and voluntary association it seems that the individuals still identify with the group and thus maintain their former social structure to a great extent. Even those that married out-group still identify themselves to a certain extent with the group. In some cases the "outsider" is brought into the system of the group and seems to enjoy the "unusual clannishness" of the group as one such person put it. Such closeness and interaction is both a surprise and pleasant experience to some that married within the group after being exposed to the more impersonal associations of the American society at large.

D. Extent of Acculturation

The last feature of the study is to note the overall degree of acculturation of the group. This was done by rating the categories used in the study on a scale with values from one to five. The sum of such rating is added and then divided by the number of categories used. The following degrees of subordination are assigned the numbers:

1) very slight, 2) slight, 3) moderate, 4) great, and 5) very great.

The light Caucasoids who are Protestants and speak English would get an index of one, and the non-Christian Negroes an index of five, thereby giving the first a rating of "very slight" and the latter a rating of "very great" subordination.

It may be recalled that the group was classified as being racially between the light and dark caucasoids and culturally as being Catholics who speak an Indo-European language. According to this classification the subordination of the group should be slight to moderate.

In light of the findings of the study the writer rates the categories used as follows:

1) Freedom of residential choice..... 2

2) Freedom to marry out of one's group..... 2

3) Amount of occupational restriction..... 3

4) The group's participation in the voluntary associations of the donor society..... 4

5) Extent of vertical mobility of the group..... 4

15

Dividing 15 by 5 an index of 3 is obtained which indicates that the degree of subordination of the group is moderate. This is somewhat below the expected slight to moderate which may be due to the group's strong social identity. Such a degree of subordination implies that the group is only partially acculturated and that it is still, therefore, in the process of becoming assimilated.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It may be recalled that the main hypothesis of this study is that the group will be more advanced in its behavioral assimilation than in its social structural assimilation. To demonstrate this proposition the residential, occupational and social adaptation of the group was presented.

With respect to the residential movement it was noted that the members of the group had initially arrived in the United States singly or at best in small groups. Their original residence was in the Eastern states. Gradually, lured by the economic opportunities offered in the automobile industry and in order to be with friends and acquaintances, the individuals began to congregate in a given location in Detroit in terms of religious affiliation. After a prolonged period of living as a group in this area, or colony, the members of the group are presently dispersed throughout the city of Detroit and its suburbs. The factors that seemed to influence this dispersion are the mobility aspiration of the group, the permissiveness of the dominant society, economic mobility and education, inter-ethnic marriages, and the opportunity offered the second generation to validate their acculturation during the Second World War.

In their occupational movement the first generation initially became engaged as plain laborers in the heavy industries. This was due to their lack of familiarity with any specialized skill required in a society that places great emphasis on mechanical processes. This

association, with heavy industries, however, seemed to have set the pattern through which the group was to adjust to the occupational hierarchy. It is thus that the second generation became heavily involved initially as apprentices and presently as workers in the tool and die maker, electrical and other skilled crafts occupations. By so doing, the group was able to capitalize on the high wages paid by such occupations and thus accumulate the necessary capital to move into higher socio-economic areas. Recently, however, there has been a tendency for the group to disperse into other occupational categories as salesmen, clerks, managers and a few into the professional field.

The social structural assimilation of the group was ascertained by the friendship patterns of the group, its church affiliation and voluntary associations. In each of these categories it was found that the individuals still have a strong group identity even though they do not live in physical proximity as they did in the colony.

The focal point of the group's social and religious activities in the colony was the church. The homes of the members were located in close proximity to each other and the church. In such a setting, and under the leadership of the priest many of the former rights and duties, privileges and obligations of the various age and sex groups were re-established. These norms of behavior were usually assigned in terms of the past cultural heritage of the group. Thus the priest still plays the role of guiding the group, being recognized as the spokesman of that unseen world which has preordained the correct patterns of behavior.

The men, beside being the major producers of income, also became involved in the governing of the church and in administering to the

group's welfare. The latter was done by instituting an insurance plan for the group to which the members contributed monthly. In case of disablement or death, the member in question received a given amount of money.

The women, on the other hand, were relegated to the household duties, the raising of children and the upkeep of the church. In the new centrally located church, many of these cultural patterns are still retained even though the group does not live in physical proximity.

In the friendship pattern it was found that the individuals still interact amongst themselves regardless of the distance that separate them. This interaction takes place during individual visits, church attendance, communal dinners, and picnics at the church-owned park.

The second generation males and females that married within the group have chosen more of their best friends from the group than have the males and females that married out-group. Nonetheless, even those that married out-group still associate with some Rumanians and they still attend church picnics and other communal gatherings.

As to voluntary associations, the group seems to be involved mostly with the group church clubs or other religious clubs as the Knights of Columbus.

The foregoing support the hypothesis that the group is more advanced in its behavioral than its social structural assimilation. Though they have accepted most of the material culture of the donor society, they still seem to cling to the traditional modes of interaction of the social and religious systems.

Lastly, by rating the various categories in the study, it was found that the degree of subordination of the group is moderate which would indicate that the group is still in the process of assimilation.

From the study it may be concluded that the group is only partially acculturated, that this acculturation took place in terms of the cultural heritage of the group, that the mode of acculturation was a function of the group's skill and abilities and of the opportunities offered by the host society, and that time is a factor that plays an important role in the process of acculturation. In the final stage of acculturation, which is assimilation, behavioral assimilation precedes social structural assimilation.

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APPENDIX

I. FAMILY HISTORY OF RESPONDENT.

Name_____, Address_____, Gener. ___

1)Year Born_____, 2)Location_____, 3) If Rumania:

a)Village_____, b)City_____, c)Last job_____,

d)Where_____, e)Duration_____. 4)Property holder

in Rumania?____, a)Land: No. of Hectars_____, b)Other (specify)_____,

c)Value_____, 5)Date arrives in U.S._____, 6)Ed._____, 7)Purpose

came to U.S._____, 8)Marriage date_____,

a)Location_____, 9)Data about spouse:a)Nationality

_____, b)Ed._____, c)Arrived in U.S.___,

10)Widdowed or divorced date_____, 11)Remarried date_____,

12)Data about second spouse: a)Nationality_____,

b)Ed._____, c)Arrived in U.S._____.

II RESPONDENT'S CHILDREN

Name	Born		Ed.	Date came U.S.	Reason left home	Date wed	Nationality of spouse	Present address	Present job	Died
	Date	Location								

III RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

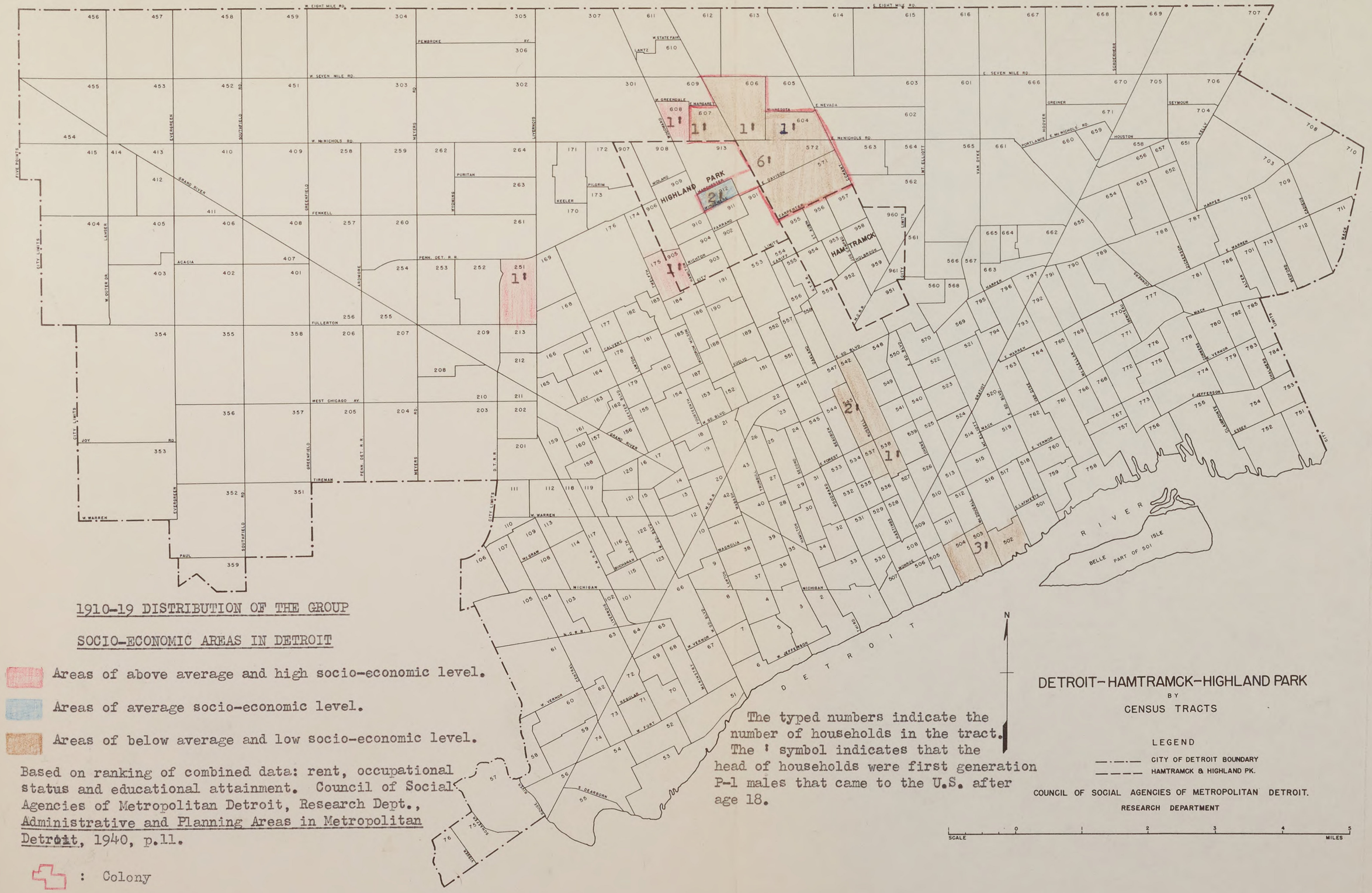
Address	Dates	Rent amt.	Own value	Reason for leaving		Type Residence			No. of people	Rel. to resp.	Comment
				Force Why	Will Why	Sing, fam. no. rms.	Mult. fam. no. rms.	APt. no. rms.			

IV OCCUPATIONAL AND INCOME HISTORY

Type of work	Dates	Wages or income	Employer	Location	Mode of Trans.	How was job obtained	Unemployed	
							Dates	Reasons

V VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION

Organization	Dates	Church		Non-Church	Position held	Attendence	Dues	Comments
		Sacred	Secular					



1910-19 DISTRIBUTION OF THE GROUP

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS IN DETROIT

Areas of above average and high socio-economic level.

Areas of average socio-economic level.

Areas of below average and low socio-economic level.

Based on ranking of combined data: rent, occupational status and educational attainment. Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit, Research Dept., Administrative and Planning Areas in Metropolitan Detroit, 1940, p.11.

: Colony

The typed numbers indicate the number of households in the tract. The ' symbol indicates that the head of households were first generation P-1 males that came to the U.S. after age 18.

DETROIT-HAMTRAMCK-HIGHLAND PARK

BY

CENSUS TRACTS

LEGEND

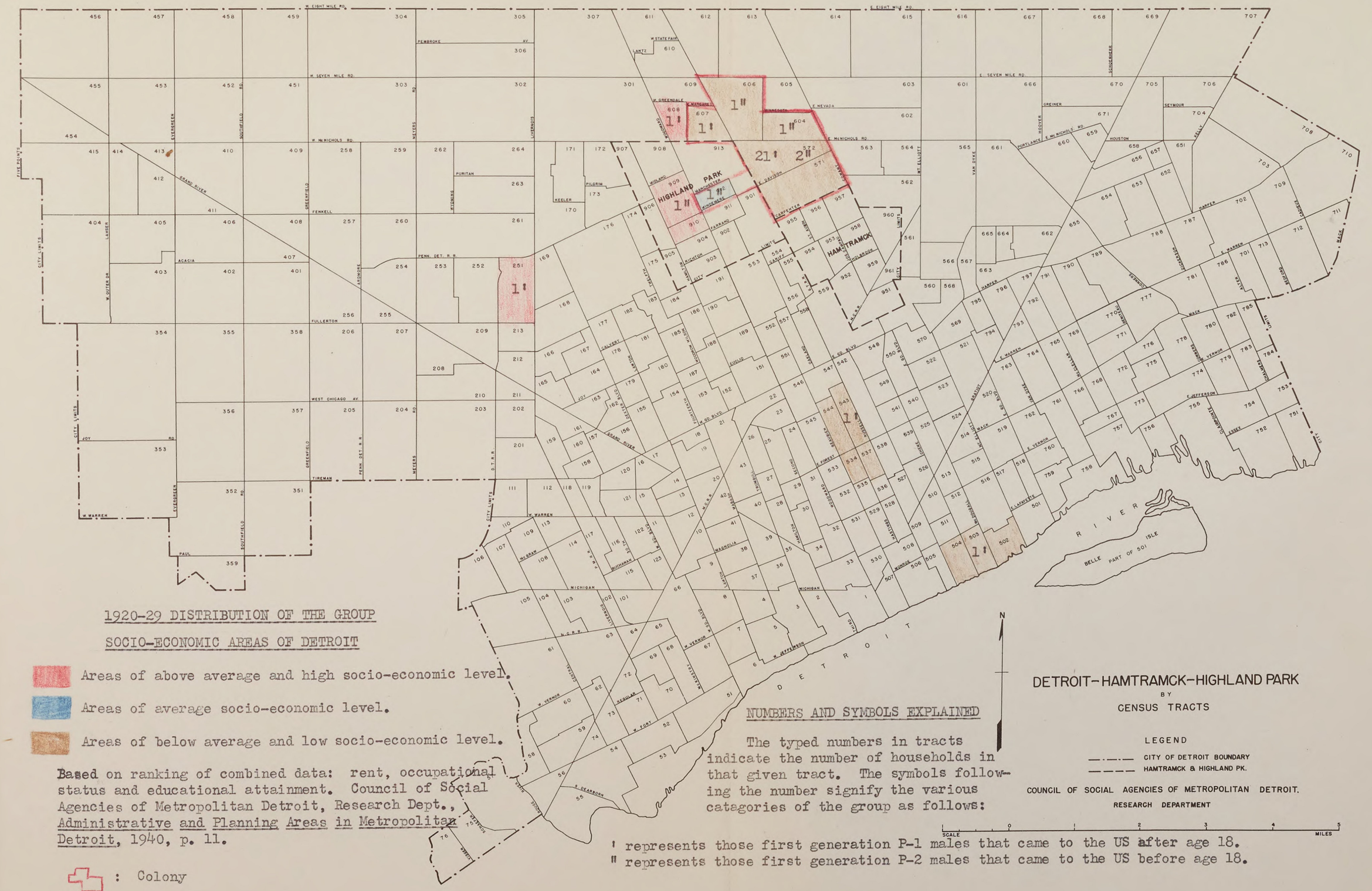
CITY OF DETROIT BOUNDARY

HAMTRAMCK & HIGHLAND PK.

COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES OF METROPOLITAN DETROIT.

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES



1920-29 DISTRIBUTION OF THE GROUP SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS OF DETROIT

Areas of above average and high socio-economic level.

Areas of average socio-economic level.

Areas of below average and low socio-economic level.

Based on ranking of combined data: rent, occupational status and educational attainment. Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit, Research Dept., Administrative and Planning Areas in Metropolitan Detroit, 1940, p. 11.

: Colony

NUMBERS AND SYMBOLS EXPLAINED

The typed numbers in tracts indicate the number of households in that given tract. The symbols following the number signify the various catagories of the group as follows:

' represents those first generation P-1 males that came to the US after age 18.

'' represents those first generation P-2 males that came to the US before age 18.

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RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

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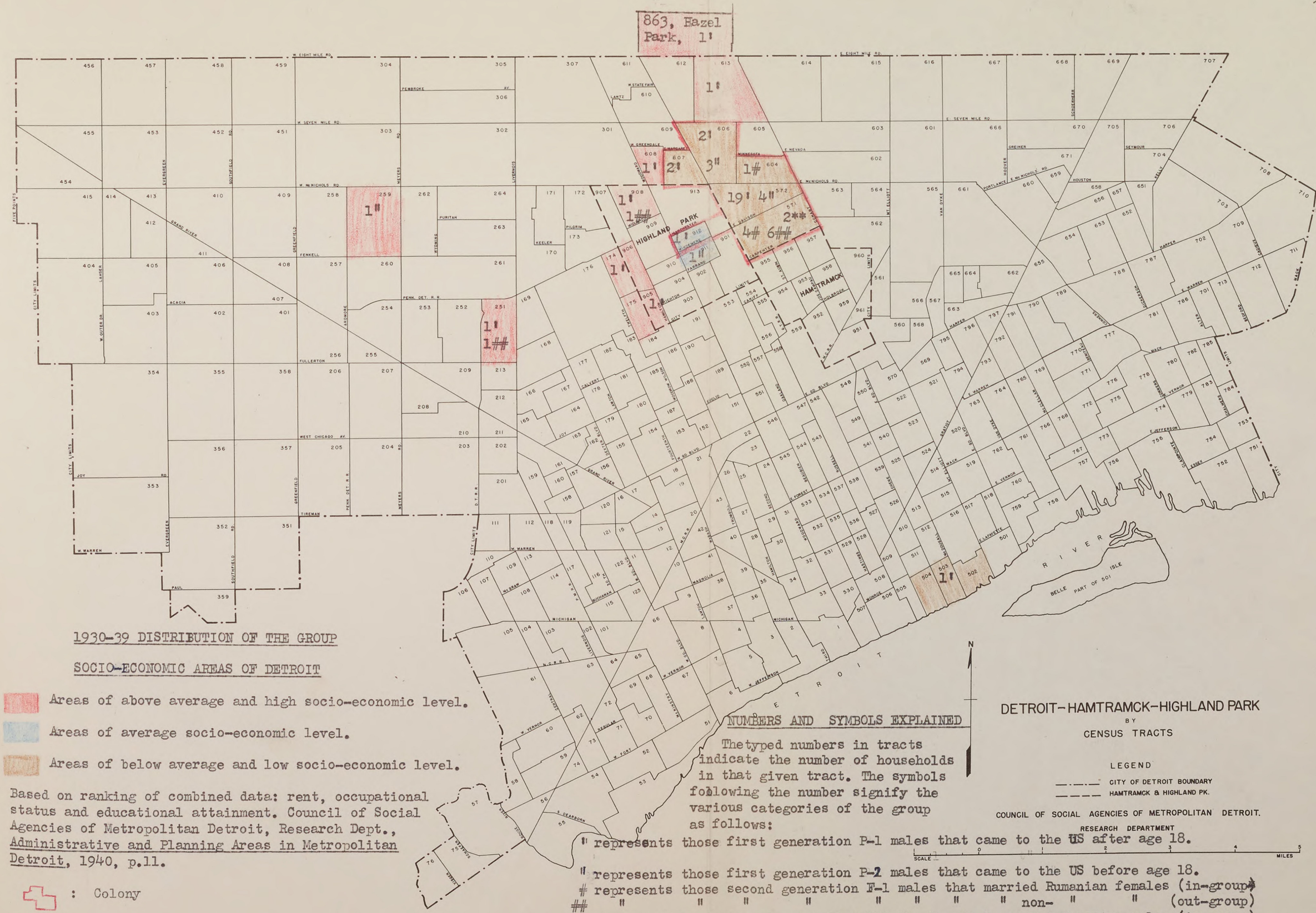

1930-39 DISTRIBUTION OF THE GROUP

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS OF DETROIT

Areas of above average and high socio-economic level.

Areas of average socio-economic level.

Areas of below average and low socio-economic level.

Based on ranking of combined data: rent, occupational status and educational attainment. Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit, Research Dept., Administrative and Planning Areas in Metropolitan Detroit, 1940, p.11.

: Colony

NUMBERS AND SYMBOLS EXPLAINED

The typed numbers in tracts indicate the number of households in that given tract. The symbols following the number signify the various categories of the group as follows:

' represents those first generation P-1 males that came to the US after age 18.

" represents those first generation P-2 males that came to the US before age 18.
represents those second generation F-1 males that married Rumanian females (in-group)
" " " " " " " " non- " " (out-group)
* represents those second generation F-1 females that married Rumanian males (in-group)
** represents " " " " " " " non- " " (out-group)

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SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES

926, Southfield TWP. 1##

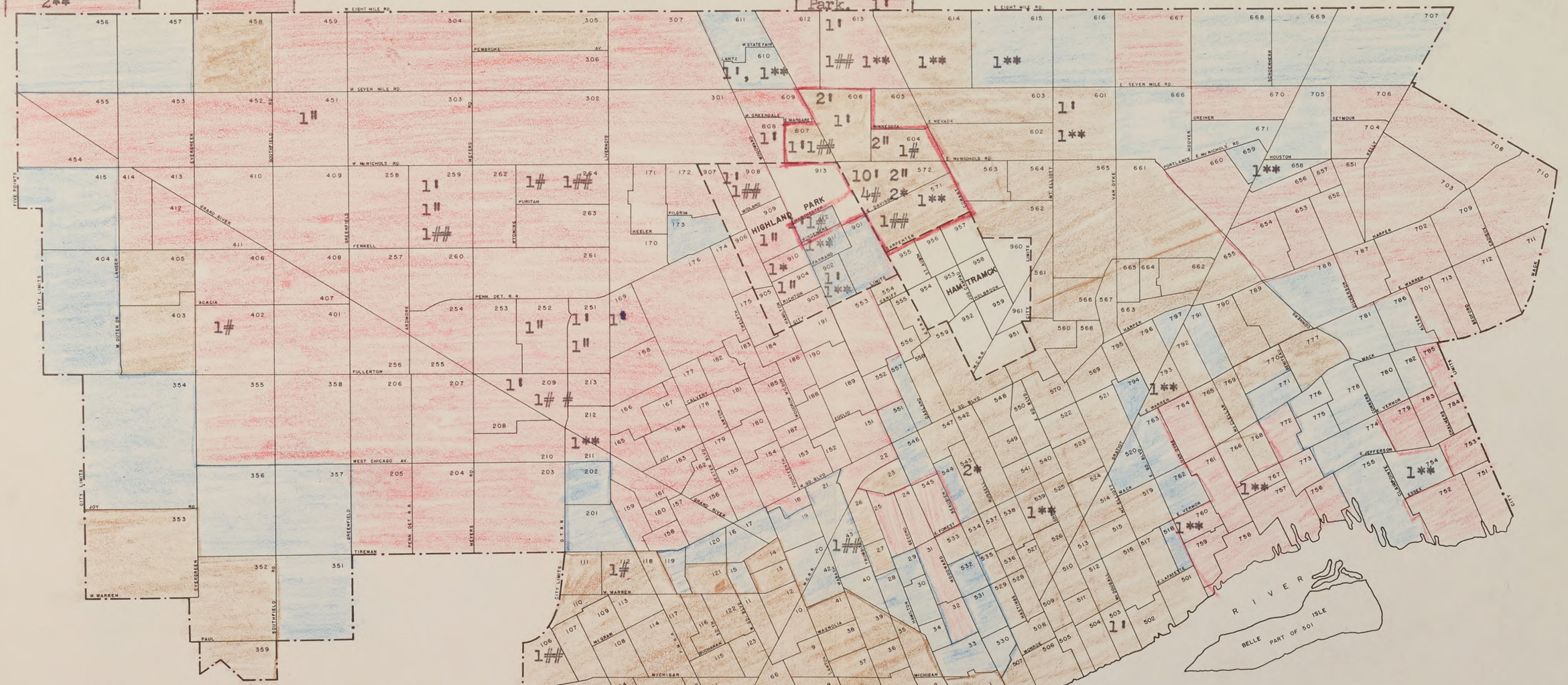
930, 1##

925, Livonia 2**

863A, Royal Oak 1', 1##

863, Hazel Park. 1'

888, Erin TWP. 1##



1940-49 DISTRIBUTION OF THE GROUP

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS OF DETROIT

Areas of above average and high socio-economic level.

Areas of average socio-economic level.

Areas of below average and low socio-economic level.

Based on ranking of combineddata: rent, occupational status and educational attainment. Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit, Research Dept., Administrative and Planning Areas in Metropolitan Detroit., 1940, p.11.

: Colony

NUMBERS AND SYMBOLS EXPLAINED

The typed numbers in tracts indicate the number of households in that given tract. The symbols following the number signify the various categories of the group as follows:

' represents those first generation P-1 males that came to the U.S. after age 18.
" represents those first generation P-2 males that came to the U.S. before age 18.
represents those second generation F-1 males that married Rumanian females (in-group)
" " " " " " " " non- " " (out-group)
* represents those second generation F-1 females that married Rumanian males (in-group)
** " " " " " " " " non- " " (out-group)

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RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES

927, 1##

925, Livonia 1##, 1**

868, Birmingham 1**, 1*

860, 1**

864, Clawson 1##

863A, Royal Oak 1", 2**, 5##

892, Warren TWP. 1", 1#

868 Rosville 1##

888, Erin TWP. 1##

852, Oak Park 1#

850, Ferendale 1'

853, Pleasant Ridge, 1#

863, Hazel Park, 1', 2**

884, E. Detroit 1'

878, Grosse Pt. Woods 1**

828, Dearborn 1**

815, Trenton TWP. 1**

HIGHLAND PARK

HAMTRAMCK

DETROIT

RIVER

BELLE ISLE

PART OF 501

PRESENT, 1956, DISTRIBUTION OF THE GROUP SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS OF DETROIT

Areas of above average and high socio-economic level.

Areas of average socio-economic level.

Areas of below average and low socio-economic level.

Based on ranking of combined data: rent, occupational status and educational attainment. Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit, Research Dept., Administrative and Planning Areas in Metropolitan Detroit, 1940, p. 11.

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NUMBERS AND SYMBOLS EXPLAINED

The typed numbers in tracts indicate the number of households in that given tract. The symbols following the number signify the various categories of the group as follows:

' represents those first generation P-1 males that came to the US after age 18.
" " " " " P-2 " " before " .
represents those second generation F-1 males that married Rumanian females (in-group)
" " " " " " " non- " " (out-group)
* represents those second generation F-1 females that married Rumanian males (in-group)
** " " " " " " " non- " " (out-group)

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DETROIT-HAMTRAMCK-HIGHLAND PARK
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RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

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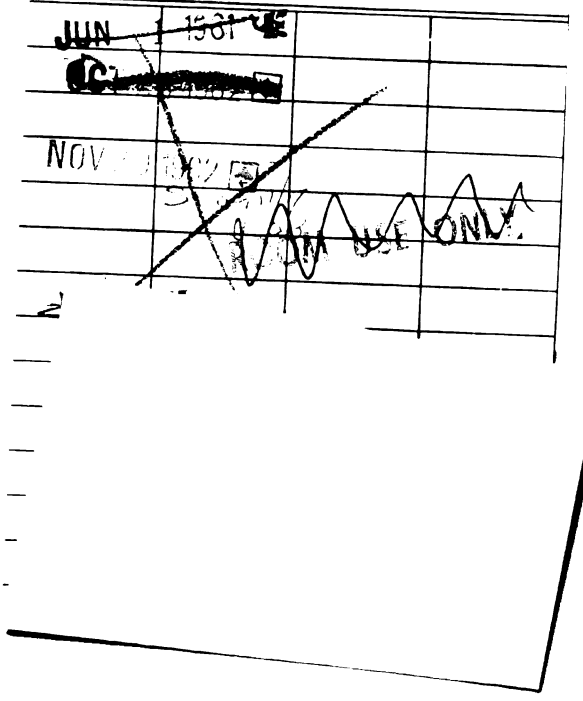
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