

1960

# A study of informal leadership among the Puerto Ricans in the South End

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

A STUDY OF INFORMAL LEADERSHIP  
AMONG THE PUERTO RICANS  
IN THE SOUTH END

A Thesis

Submitted by

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(B.A. in Sociology, Ohio University, 1958)

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for  
the Degree of Master of Science in Social Service

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

A mis padres, Vale y Enrique,  
como simbolo de mi eterna gratitud.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Background of the Study

The author was working in the United South End Settlements with the Puerto Rican community previous to her attempt to write this thesis. As a result of direct contact with this ethnic group she became interested in finding means by which help could be offered to this migrant group to facilitate their integration into the American community. After considering their needs the author thought over possible ways in which she could best make a contribution to the agency in which she was placed for her second year field placement. The United South End Settlements, through a grant obtained from the United Community Services, is conducting a demonstration and service program for the Puerto Ricans. This has been due to the agency's significant geographical position within the community where this migrant group is settling.

Through the community organization process the author has become aware of the significance of leadership in helping the migrant group to adjust to this new environment. It is through the informal leaders that a group can more effectively assimilate another culture.

The United South End Settlements, through generations, has been giving services to the immigrant groups such as Sirians, and Lebanese, to help them integrate into the community. The most recent migrant group in the South End community has been the Puerto Rican. This ethnic group differs from those previous ones in that they are American citizens with

full rights. The Puerto Ricans have been settling in the South End within an area that encircles several settlement houses run by the agency. This fact has been responsible for the United South End Settlements being assigned to develop the program for this ethnic group.

The Puerto Rican program is fairly new in this city. It started in June of 1959. The author, who is from Panama city and who speaks Spanish fluently, was in charge of starting this program. Her main duty was to become acquainted with the members of this group. It was also her responsibility to make referrals and to give direct family service whenever it was necessary. This project was supplemented by a recreational program conducted by Mr. Anduja which was supported by the agency. In August of the same year a director of the project was hired, who is the only staff member at the present. She was charged with gathering data about the Puerto Rican community's needs and making recommendations to the advisory committee. Because of the findings regarding the Puerto Rican's problems and needs it was felt by the advisory committee that the agency's program should continue for another year.

The author in her second year field placement was assigned to the community organization department of this agency under the supervision of Charles Fraggos, the Director of this department. She has been in charge of the "Puerto Rican Family Night" in which group work is offered to different age groups, namely, Puerto Rican Children's group, Puerto Rican Young Adult's group, and Puerto Rican Adult's group. Another assignment given to the worker was to bring the Puerto Rican members to the South End Planning Council. Through her work with the Puerto Rican community during the summer she was able to identify what she thought were good

potential leaders within this ethnic group. She was instrumental in bringing them to the Council meetings and in this way giving them recognition as residents in the community and at the same time involving them in the discussion of community affairs.

The author had read materials pertaining to Puerto Rican culture to widen her understanding of this minority group. In doing so she has not been able to find any written material about their leadership patterns. The author thinks that there has been lack of interest in studying leadership among the Puerto Rican migrants. This phenomena seems to have several explanations, among them that the Puerto Ricans who migrate have no leadership potentials and this statement has been expressed by Puerto Rican governmental authorities who have claimed that the people with leadership potentials tend to stay in the island. Another explanation for the lack of studies about Puerto Rican leadership is that most of the studies that have been made about them have been anthropological studies which have dealt with the culture as a whole rather than specific aspects of the culture such as leadership.

#### Purpose of the Study

The lack of leadership studies prompted the author to explore leadership patterns among the Puerto Ricans in the South End. The author feels that one of the responsibilities of the social worker working in a settlement house is to identify and develop leaders among the groups that form the community, Puerto Ricans in this case, and to help these key people to see their role in relation to other Puerto Ricans and to the larger community. The worker would locate those individuals who show signs of being able to assume responsibility of leadership. If the Puerto Rican

informal leaders are helped and brought to the settlement houses they can carry over their leadership skills into other group situations as they move into other groups besides the agency.

In general the author feels that a study such as this can be, in the future, a guide to social workers working with this ethnic group. In addition to this the study can help the social worker to use the informal leaders as a tool to help the Puerto Rican group move towards its goal of adjusting to this new environment. The informal leader can be a key person in helping the Puerto Rican community to integrate into the American way of life, if they are planning to live in this country. This study has great value to the United South End Settlements because this agency is working with this group. It will also supply relevant material to the agency in formulating further plans with the Puerto Ricans.

#### Method of Collecting Data

##### Selection of Sample

The sample of Puerto Ricans interviewed for this thesis was composed of twenty male heads of households. The questionnaire was written in Spanish and the interviews were also conducted in the same language. The selection of the sample was based on several criteria. The unit of study was a Puerto Rican family living in the South End. The male head of the household was interviewed because in this ethnic group, due to their cultural patterns, the man is more socially active than the woman, and therefore a better source of information. The members of the sample had lived in the community at least one year so as to be sure that they knew the community. Finally the families were chosen according to geographical position of their houses in the community. The author tried to have

families from different streets within the South End to get a more representative group of respondents.

There are two main religious affiliations among Puerto Ricans in the South End, namely Roman Catholics and Pentecostals. These two religious groups are divided into two separate entities. The author feels that the Pentecostal group represents about eight per cent of the total Puerto Rican population while the Roman Catholics represents the remainder. No census has been done of the Puerto Rican community in the South End.

The author felt that in order to get valid information about the leadership patterns in the Pentecostal group it was necessary to interview at least six families; therefore six Pentecostal and fourteen Roman Catholic families were interviewed.

The author gathered the names of the twenty families by contacting Miss Allyson Marks, Director of the Puerto Rican program for the United South End Settlements, and also Father Joseph Angeli of the Cardinal Cushing Center. The author was already familiar with several of these families because she had been working with them prior to her study. This fact made some of the interviews more meaningful and more valid because rapport had already been established and as a result the families were very cooperative.

In addition to the twenty families already mentioned, the author interviewed six leaders whose names she got from the original twenty respondents. She did this in order to gain additional first hand information about the leaders' personal traits as well as their social activity in the community. By asking each of the twenty men interviewed to list five names of people they thought were leaders in the South End Puerto

Rican community the author got nineteen names of potential leaders. Only six of these were interviewed due to the time element involved. In comparing the answers of the leaders with those of the non-leaders the study hopes to give the agency a picture of the Puerto Rican community's conception of leadership. It will also give the agency a frame of reference regarding recognized potential leaders within which to formulate programs for developing and making use of their potential.

#### Method of Interview

In making out the schedule the author kept these questions in mind.

1. Is leadership present in the South End among the Puerto Rican community, and if so what is the pattern? 2. What type of Puerto Rican person tends to emerge as a leader?

- a. Is it the Puerto Rican who is helpful to his other fellow Puerto Ricans in things such as interpreting, and guiding them in the American community?
- b. What personality traits does he possess?
- c. Is it the Puerto Rican who keeps Puerto Rican values or rather the one who identifies with American ways?
- d. Does it tend to be the Puerto Rican who is more educated?
- e. Does knowledge of the English language make for leadership?
- f. Does leadership emerge from among the Puerto Ricans who have higher incomes and living standards?

3. How much do the Puerto Rican Leaders participate in the community life?

In order to answer these questions the author designed a questionnaire which more or less covered these questions. The questionnaire was made in

Spanish and a copy of it is in the appendix. The author used two different questionnaires; one was used with the non-leaders and the second one was used with the leaders. In both questionnaires the main topics were: the individual's socio-economic characteristics and ideas about leadership which was the primary concern of the author when she undertook the study.

The author contacted the interviewees by visiting them at first hand. Usually the interviews were made at night or on Saturday or on Sunday afternoon; this was the case because this was the only time when they could be reached at home. In general they were very responsive and some of them offered help to the author in contacting other families. Another source of contact was the Puerto Rican Paradise Restaurant where many men gather to chat. Several interviews were conducted in this place which was found to be more convenient than many of the houses where children were jumping, crying or running around, or where cousins, grandmothers and other relatives were giving the answers and making the head of the household very nervous and anxious. In general the author feels that the Puerto Ricans interviewed and those who knew about the research study were very interested and today whenever they see the author they ask her questions about the study.

#### Limitations of the Study

The author feels that this study would have been more meaningful if she had interviewed all of the nineteen potential leaders whose names were given to her rather than only six potential leaders. Although the sample involved in the study is small it seems however, that due to the homogeneity of the responses to many of the questions it is safe to assume that the study is accurate and representative of the Puerto Rican community

in the South End. The lack of previous studies in this field was a limitation because the author did not have a frame of reference in which to base her study. During the discussion of leadership the author discovered that some of the respondents could not think in abstract terms in relation to leadership. This limitation means that the people have a somewhat vague concept of leadership which makes their responses in this area not too reliable because of the ambiguity involved.

## CHAPTER II

### LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL WORK

#### Literature

Today there is a growing interest in studying the phenomenon of leadership. Many writers from different disciplines have made studies to explore the dynamics involved in leadership.

Why are people in our society and in our time interested in leadership? First it may be noted that extensive and articulate concern with leadership is a phenomenon conditioned by modern democratic values.<sup>1</sup>

Our society is based upon democratic values. The leader is a key person in maintaining the democratic equilibrium in any society. That is why leadership has great significance to us, especially to group workers, and community workers who are concerned with facilitating the democratic process in groups. Social group work has its deepest roots in democracy.<sup>2</sup>

Leadership is a concern of many professions; its theoretical and practical ramifications extended into the varied fields of social psychology, personality, and applied psychology.<sup>3</sup> Many writers have attempted to define leadership and in this attempt two main theoretical concepts have come about. One theory holds that leadership is a result of inborn traits in the individual and the second explains leadership as a learned quality.

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<sup>1</sup>Alvin Gouldner, Studies on Leadership, p. 4.  
Harper and Brothers, New York, 1950.

<sup>2</sup>Alan Klein, Society-Democracy, William Morrow and Co., 1953, p. 28

<sup>3</sup>Thomas Coffin, "A three Component Theory of Leadership," The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, (January, 1944), p.63.

The theory which explains leadership as a composite of inborn traits in an individual has its roots,

....in the feudal conception of leadership which held that leadership skills were the distilled product of generations of rule. While potentially sharpened by study or experience, the feudal approach held that leaders "must possess the in-born instinct."<sup>4</sup>

The theory which explains leadership in terms of inborn instinct has been supported by Cowley,<sup>5</sup> and Halsey.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand the theory that explains leadership in terms of a learned ability,

....is typically a western European society belief which holds that leadership behavior may be learned, that one does not have to be "born to the purple in order to lead."<sup>7</sup>

One of the supporters of this concept is Kimball Young<sup>8</sup> who has stated that "trait" or "type" concept of leadership has no selective or predictive utility.

There are several writers who have tried to reconcile both concepts and Bogardus has been one of them. He has described leadership as follows: "Leadership is personality in action under group conditions."<sup>9</sup> Coffin<sup>10</sup> has said that leadership traits are relative to the situation and that

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<sup>4</sup>Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, p. 107-108.

<sup>5</sup>William Cowley, "Traits of Face to Face Leaders," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, vol. 26, (October, December, 1931), p. 304.

<sup>6</sup>George Halsey, How to be a Leader, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup>Alvin Gouldner, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>8</sup>Kimball Young, Social Psychology, p.p. 228-229.

<sup>9</sup>Emory Bogardus, Leaders and Leadership, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup>Thomas Coffin, op. cit., p.65.

the main problem is the discovery of characteristics, not of leadership traits in general, nor of types of leadership situations alone, but the functional relations between given traits and given situations.

Through the literature about leadership the author got the feeling that leadership is not only a personality and group phenomenon but also a social process which comes about due to interaction among members in a given group. This relationship may involve dominance and acceptance. Since social group work deals with groups it cannot overlook the value of leadership in helping the group move ahead to achieve goals. Social group work has tried to understand the process involved in leadership and in describing it Wilson and Ryland have said: Leadership is a natural phenomenon in group life, a dynamic process which emerges in the interaction of individuals one with another.<sup>11</sup>

There have also been different classifications of the different types of leaders. Bogardus for instance has classified the type of leaders as follows:

1. direct or indirect
2. autocratic, paternalistic, or democratic, and
3. specialist in leadership such as prophets.<sup>12</sup>

The different types of leaders that have been described by different authors can be merged into two main categories; first those leaders who are appointed from above such as governmental representatives or a group leader in an agency, and second the leaders that the group itself selects.

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<sup>11</sup> Gertrude Wilson and Gladys Ryland, Social Group Work Practice, p. 11.

<sup>12</sup> Emory Bogardus, op. cit., p. 6.

Whyte<sup>13</sup> has called them informal leaders while Grace Coyle<sup>14</sup> has described them as indigenous leaders. The indigenous leader or informal leader is our primary concern in this thesis. In this study the author decided to use the term "informal leaders" rather than "indigenous leaders" because she feels that the term indigenous leader is more appropriate to use for formal groups in an agency. In other words this term should be applied when there is a group and a professional or non-professional leader. The term "informal leaders" seems more adequate to this study because it applies to leaders that are scattered around the community who are not formally recognized by an agency. In other words they operate on their own, helping people rather than leading a group in the social group sense.

Although many studies have been done about leadership, very few have been done about leadership patterns in minority groups. Leadership experts are becoming more aware of the importance of studying the leaders in these groups. Studies on minority groups have been done by Norman Miller,<sup>15</sup> Oliver Cox,<sup>16</sup> William Whyte,<sup>17</sup> and Esther Goldfrank.<sup>18</sup> In studying these

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<sup>13</sup>William Foote Whyte, "Informal Leadership and Group Structure," Studies on Leadership, p. 104.

<sup>14</sup>Grace Coyle, Group Work with American Youth, p. 74.

<sup>15</sup>Norman Miller, "The Jewish Leadership of Lakeport," Studies on Leadership, p. 195

<sup>16</sup>Oliver Cox, "Leadership among Negroes in the United States," Studies on Leadership, p. 228.

<sup>17</sup>William F. Whyte, "Leadership in an Italian-American Community," Studies on Leadership, p. 272.

<sup>18</sup>Esther Goldfrank, "Irrigation Agriculture and Navaho Community Leaders," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, vol. 47, (November, 1947), pp. 262-277.

groups it has been found that in minority groups the leader may be responding to needs of the group. The type of leadership demanded from the leader may be directly related to the situation in which the group is living. In this sense leadership is a situationally defined capacity.

The primary group described by Eaton<sup>19</sup> into which category the Puerto Ricans seems to fall, has leaders who are likely to have frequent personal contact with those who are being led. These leaders must be able to get along with people, be friendly at close range, be responsive to their feelings and inspire them to common action. The minority leaders are placed in a situation in which conflicting demands may be exerted upon them, for instance support of Puerto Rican values versus American values.

The Puerto Rican group is nowadays one of the groups which is being widely studied, especially by anthropologists. However, in going through the literature about Puerto Rican studies the author could not find any study about leadership patterns which the author feels is very important for the social worker to understand in order to offer them an effective help in their task of integrating into the American society.

This study it is hoped, will be helpful as a tool to those working with Puerto Ricans in the South End.

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<sup>19</sup>Joseph Eaton, "Is Scientific Leadership Selection Possible?" Studies on Leadership, p. 619.

## CHAPTER III

### LA COMUNIDAD PUERTORRIQUENA DE SOUTH END

#### Introduction

This chapter about the Puerto Rican community in the South End was included to give a background of information for better understanding of the setting in which the study took place.

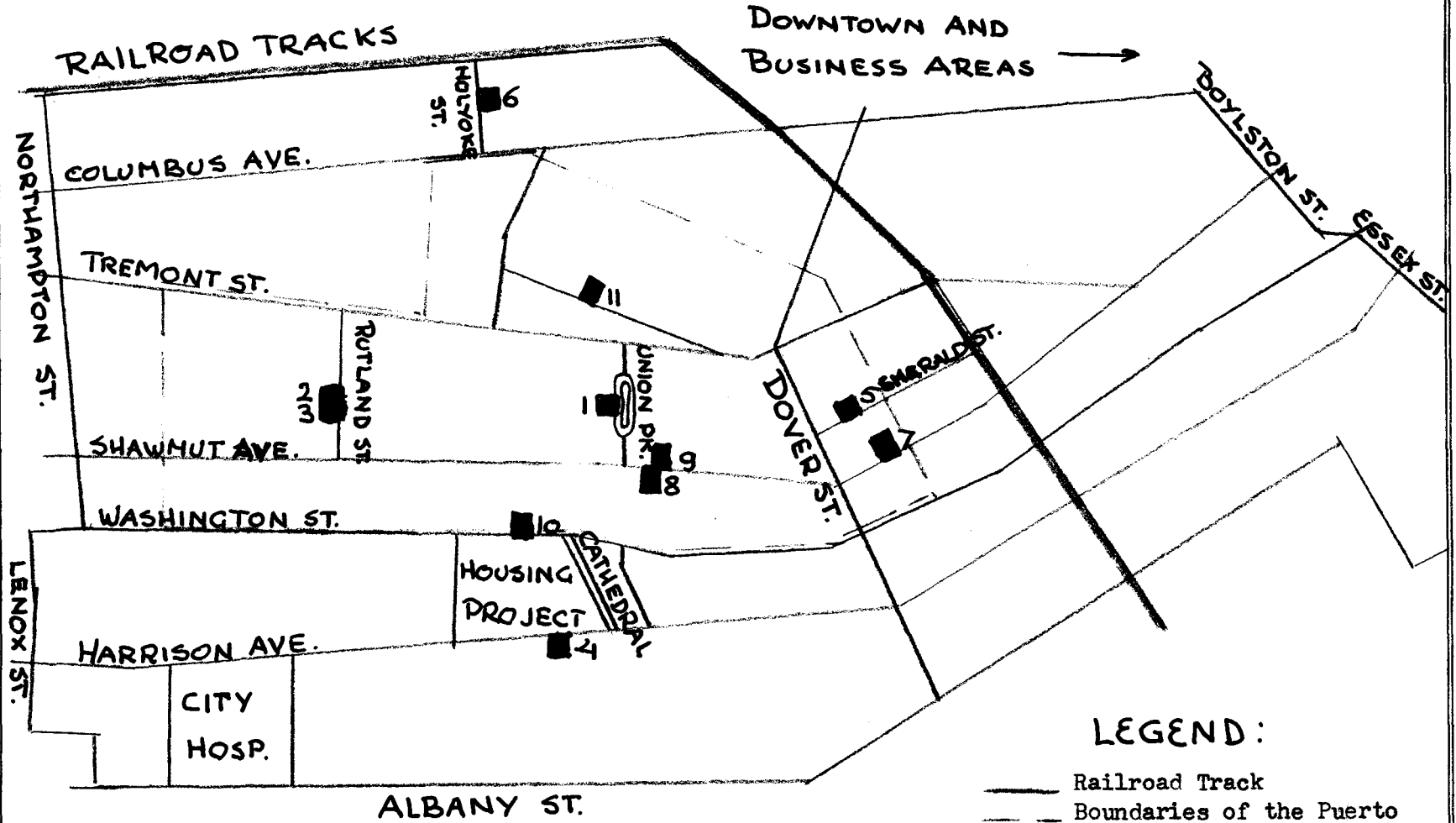
The migration of Puerto Ricans to the South End is fairly recent, seven years at the most. Due to its newness and to the lack of census data, no accurate account of the Puerto Rican population in this area can be given though Father Angeli from the Cardinal Cushing Center could account for approximately 2,400 individuals. The Puerto Ricans who live in the South End are concentrated mainly in an area enclosed by Massachusetts Avenue, Washington Street, Compton Street, and Tremont Street. Map No. 1 has been inserted to illustrate the area including those points of importance in the Puerto Rican community.

This migrant group, as other immigrant groups had done in the past, has concentrated in an area of transition which gives us a general idea of the type of housing that is available. Most of the houses inhabited by the Puerto Ricans are very old and deteriorated. One of the reasons for these conditions is the absentee landlords who do not want to invest money in an area where physical changes such as urban renewal are taking place continuously. The majority of the houses are made out of brick, and some of them still have ornaments which remain to give testimony of a wealthy past. The houses give a sensation of coldness and sadness which is magnified when one walks in and sees the dark halls. Many of these houses

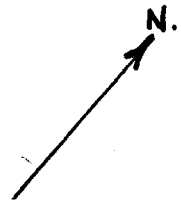
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On page 16 is shown a map "boundaries of the Puerto Rican Community  
Within the South End."

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Scale:  
1000' = 1"



**LEGEND:**

- Railroad Track
- - - Boundaries of the Puerto Rican Community with the South End
- 1-2-3 United South End Settlements
- 4-5-6
- 5 Lincoln House (U.S.E.S.)
- 7 Cardinal Cushing Center
- 8 Pentecostal Church
- 9 "La Plazita" store
- 10 Paradise Restaurant
- 11 The Caribbean Store

have broken windows and doors. It is not uncommon to find that these houses do not have heat during the winter.

The fact that the Puerto Rican families are rather small (2.3 average number of children in a family) is one of the reasons why one does not find them living as crowded as Puerto Rican families living in New York. The average Puerto Rican family in the South End lives in a two room plus kitchen apartment which contains a few pieces of furniture scattered around the rooms. Television sets are not uncommon in many of their apartments. Except for a few, the Puerto Rican apartments in general are very disorganized, dirty, and with a strong food smell which shows a lack of ability in good housekeeping.

#### Puerto Rican Racial Elements

Puerto Ricans, though regarded as whites, are actually a mixed race. The French, Italian, and Spanish elements have tended to mix with the descendants of the Indians originally found in Puerto Rico, and to this has been added, in many cases, a mixture of Negro traits, introduced from slaves on the Island. In some cases the races from the North of Europe have also mingled, so that today it is inaccurate to speak of the Puerto Ricans as a people of one blood. The characteristics of the people might be called a composite of the various racial elements which have entered into the formation of the native population.<sup>1</sup>

In the South End most of the Puerto Ricans belong to a mixed race

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<sup>1</sup>Fred K. Fleagel, Social Problems in Puerto Rico, p. 3.

which has produced two special types of Puerto Ricans, the "indio" which has copper skin and sometimes high cheekbones, and the grifo which has fair skin but kinky hair.<sup>2</sup> This racial factor in the South End has created problems for some Puerto Ricans who were considered whites in the Island and here are considered "colored." The author knows of two cases where Puerto Rican children were described as "colored" in a local hospital. The parents who are from a mixed race were very disturbed by this incident. Although the majority of the Puerto Ricans in the South End are of a mixed racial background, it is not unusual to find Puerto Ricans who are predominantly Negro or White.

#### The Jibaro

Some of the Puerto Ricans refer to themselves as "jibaros." Jibaro is a peasant, a tiller of the soil, a man whose life is not that of the town but who is characterized by dignity, hospitality, courageousness, and independence. According to Brameld<sup>3</sup> the "jibaro" is considered almost the ideal Puerto Rican personality. This word can be used in a derogatory manner as an insult or as a compliment to raise approval, especially in mass meetings. According to Brameld<sup>4</sup> the Jibaro is the official symbol of the Popular Democratic party in Puerto Rico which proves its strong psychological power over the masses. In the South End the author heard Puerto Rican leaders several times in meetings address the crowd with the

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<sup>2</sup>Rand, The Puerto Ricans, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup>Theodore Brameld, Remaking a Culture, p. 202.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 203.

phrase such as "de jibaro a jibaro," (from a countryman to another) referring to himself and to the group.

#### The Puerto Rican South End Residents

In the South End one finds that the average Puerto Rican family consists of four people. These families appear to live quiet, happy and contented lives. The parents display great affection for the children and for relatives even of a remote degree of relationship. There are many families that have adopted a child due to a cultural practice in which, in case of the death of parents, relatives usually adopt or take charge of the children and bring them up as carefully as they would their own.

Most of the Puerto Rican migrants in the South End are searching for employment opportunities, better standards of living, and for a secure future for their children. The Puerto Rican families living in the South End feel very positive about the community. They have migrated with the idea of making this city their own home. The fact that the South End offers them physical security seems to be one of the strongest motives in settling in this area. "I like Boston better than New York," Mrs. Rivera said, "Because the city is quiet, and there are no troubles in the neighborhood." "This is a good place to raise children," she added. "When I was in New York," she said, "I was always worrying about the criminal acts that were being committed every day in the neighborhood." The author heard similar comments from other migrants who had lived in New York previous to coming to Boston. Although they seemed aware of the physical security that the area offered them, they were also aware that New York had better resources to meet the Puerto Rican needs; yet, they preferred to stay in Boston because of the security that their

children have here.

In the South End, besides the families, one finds another group formed by single men. This group is divided into two sub-groups; one that is composed of those single men who are searching for jobs and who help their families back in Puerto Rico, the other formed of those single men who hang around the pool room and who are "vagos" (vagabonds) who do not want to work. This group of single men do not share the families' positive opinion about Boston. They feel that Boston lacks recreational facilities in contrast to New York where all kinds of recreational facilities such as pictures in Spanish, Spanish orchestras, dances, etc., are available for the Puerto Ricans.

One can see that these two variant points of view about living in Boston are due to each group's different outlook on life. The heads of the families have already chosen a marital status, and now they are concerned with supplying the best opportunities for their children. The single man, in contrast, who does not have any relatives and responsibilities here, often finds himself with nothing to do after working because of the lack of recreational facilities for them. This is one of the reasons why the single men in South End are less willing to stay in Boston than the families.

#### Recreational Activities in the South End

Although the South End does not have as many recreational facilities for the Puerto Ricans as are available in New York, there are some recreational activities such as dances, and group meetings which do take place more or less regularly. Most of the time the dances are sponsored by the Cardinal Cushing Center, and by the Puerto Rican Club which gives

most of its dances at 48 Rutland Street in one of the settlement houses from the United South End Settlements. At these dances Spanish music is played by "Tedy Gerra's combo," a group which has several Puerto Rican players.

For an occasion such as a dance the Puerto Ricans get dressed in their best outfits. The girls usually are over-dressed, wearing long earrings and lots of rhinestone jewelry. Their dresses are made out of shiny material which clashes with all the ornaments that they are wearing. Their favorite colors are light blue, aqua, and orange. No dark colors are used in a dance. Their hair is neatly combed and dressed with brilliantine. The young men are dressed neatly. They seemed to have absorbed the American way of dressing faster than any of the other members of this migrant group, even though they still wear long greasy hair. The older men have not learned about the new style, and they still wear long coats with unconventional combinations, and pointed shoes with slightly higher heels than the shoes worn by an average American. Padilla<sup>5</sup> has said that today, perhaps with the exception of American Negroes, Puerto Ricans are the most visible minority group in the city of New York. Padilla's idea seems to be supported here in Boston by the way in which the Puerto Ricans dress which makes them look different than the other neighbors.

The Puerto Rican dances are not only an affair for adults but also for children and even babies are present at these dances. One sees people

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<sup>5</sup>Elena Padilla, Up From Puerto Rico, p. 85.

of all ages dancing together. These dances look like a big family affair rather than a community dance. Most Puerto Ricans have a very good sense of rhythm, and it is worthwhile observing them dancing their favorite dances such as "plenas," cha-cha-chas, merengues, and boleros. The tropical rhythm seems to excite some of them who dance with exaggerated and suggestive gestures, and some of them appear as if they were going through a hysterical seizure. Some of them seem to lose control of themselves and do not seem to be conscious of what and how they are dancing. The author feels that perhaps this way of dancing is a mechanism by which some of the members of this ethnic group sublimate their sexual drive.

#### Puerto Ricans Religious Practice in the South End

There are two main religious groups among the Puerto Ricans living in the South End, namely the Pentecostals, which comprise the minority, and the Roman Catholics which are the majority. Each Church supplies its members with religious services in Spanish. The Catholic group, besides the church, has a center which offers the migrant group, regardless of religion, social services and information to help them adjust to this community. Puerto Ricans go to the Cardinal Cushing Center not only for help, but also to exchange impressions with "Rosita" (the secretary of Father O'Brien who is the Director of the Center) and to inform her about the latest events which have taken place in the community. Rosita seems to represent for this group a mother figure who nourishes them with emotional understanding.

The Holy Cross Cathedral offers in the chapel every Sunday at 10:15 A.M., a mass in Spanish which the Puerto Ricans attend. In the South End, unlike in Puerto Rico, church attendance does not seem to follow the

pattern mentioned by Brameld.<sup>6</sup> In Puerto Rico the services of the Catholic Church are attended regularly by a much larger proportion of women than men. Brameld says that one of the reasons for this behavior is the "machismo" tradition which is that it is unmasculine to be seen too often in church. Here in the South End, perhaps, the male feels that he has to be more active in order to help his fellow Puerto Ricans and since the church offers them organizations such as Saint Vincent De Paul, he has to participate more actively in church. In Puerto Rico, the church has only religious connotation whereas here in the South End, it has social as well as religious functions. The different organizations within the church give the Puerto Ricans opportunities to be with each other in a social atmosphere.

The Pentecostal group has two churches which hold services at least three nights a week. The services are conducted in Spanish by a Puerto Rican who is considered a leader by those who are members of this group. This group is rather small, but very strict in their religious practices. They do not smoke, drink, listen to music, or go to dances. They only live to praise the Lord. Whenever one comes in contact with a member of this group, he tends to prophesy and speak in a Biblical manner. It is not unusual to see a Pentecostal person walking on Shawmut Avenue carrying a musical instrument and a Bible. Although they do not believe in listening to music, they do use an instrument in their church services.

Religion seems to give the Puerto Ricans a strong sense of ego

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<sup>6</sup>Brameld, op. cit., p. 105.

identity. They seem to feel that everyone must belong to a religious group even though he does not actually practice the religious teachings. Religion in the South End seems to divide the Puerto Ricans into two parties. One of the ways in which a person can identify the religious parties is by observing the signs posted on the doors or inside of many houses. For instance, a Catholic family may have posted a sign on their door which reads "Amigo es Ud protestante, no nos hable de religion somos catolicos," (Friend, are you Protestant? Do not talk to us about religion, we are Catholics, thanks). In the Pentecostal home one may find posters saying things such as "Amigo, no fume aqui, somos buenos cristianos," (Friend, do not smoke here, we are good Christians.)

#### Other Puerto Rican Community Spots

Besides the church there are other places such as stores and restaurants which supply atmosphere for Puerto Rican identification. There are two Puerto Rican stores namely "La Plazita," and the "The Caribbean" where tropical food such as bananas, "yautias," boniato, "name", and other types of vegetables from the Island are available. This Puerto Rican food cannot be purchased in any American store. This seems to be one of the reasons why Puerto Ricans like the South End. In an emergency they can get credit in these stores. This is a fact which seems to be significant in their coming to buy there. Even though the Puerto Rican diet is nutritionally poor they still keep eating their traditional food which seems to be one of the strongest ties that keeps them close to the Island. In the stores the women get together and gossip about the current events happening in the neighborhood, and New York. Their statements are supported by the New York newspaper El Diario which is their only source of

current information. The store owners in the South End thus far have not emerged as leaders as happened in Padilla's Evansville.<sup>7</sup> One of the reasons seems to be the fact that the store owners do not stay in business very long. For instance "La Plazita" in less than six months had three owners, while "The Caribbean" has had three owners in less than eight months. According to the owners they usually have to give up the store because they have given too much credit without receiving any remuneration.

The Paradise Restaurant is the main dining place for the Puerto Ricans in the South End. It is mostly attended by single men who gather there to eat, to socialize, and to discuss the current events of the community, and the world. The restaurant has a "vellonera" (juke-box) which provides them with Spanish music, to which some of them dance singly. Puerto Rican girls are very seldom seen in this restaurant, but it is not uncommon to find American girls listening to the music and flirting with the Puerto Rican boys. This mixing has created many problems, for many Puerto Ricans have been accused of statutory rape. This seems to have created concern to the owner of the restaurant who posted a sign forbidding any type of amorous expression of affection in the restaurant.

#### Lincoln House

Lincoln House which is one of the United South End Settlement houses, is another resource in the community which offers the newcomer special services. This agency has a full time social worker who handles direct needs of the Puerto Ricans, and who also makes referrals. The social

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<sup>7</sup>Padilla, op. cit., p. 221.

worker speaks Spanish and seems to have great insight into the Puerto Rican culture and their problems. Puerto Ricans do not only come to this agency asking for help, but also for recreational activities held every week. These activities are under the leadership of the author.

## CHAPTER IV

### TWENTY NON-LEADERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

#### Social Characteristics

In this chapter the preliminary sample of twenty Puerto Rican families in the South End will be described in terms of its general social characteristics. The interview schedules were examined for information about age, number of children, length of time in the area, language, schooling and employment. In order that we may see if there is relationship between some of these factors such as length of time in the area and language, this is presented together in tabular form. We will first look at these general social characteristics and then we will turn our attention to the respondents' views about leadership.

The total group includes twenty male heads of households. Their ages ranged from twenty-three to fifty-seven and were distributed as shown in Table 1. This Table seems to indicate that the Puerto Ricans in this sample were young in general.

TABLE 1

#### AGE OF RESPONDENTS

Age in Years	Number of Respondents	Per cent of Total Respondents
23 - 27	6	30
28 - 32	6	30
33 - 37	1	05
38 - 42	1	05
43 - 47	5	25
48 - 52	0	0
53 - 57	<u>1</u>	<u>05</u>
Total	20	Total 100

Table 1 shows that six of the non-leaders were between the ages of twenty-three and twenty-seven and that six were between the ages of twenty-eight and thirty-two. If we add the two categories we will see that twelve out of the twenty respondents are between twenty-three and thirty-two which makes sixty per cent of the total sample.

The families are relatively young and small; forty-five per cent of the respondents have been married from one to four years while twenty-five per cent have been married from five to eight years. The other thirty per cent have been married from nine to twenty-four years. Fifteen per cent of the respondents have no children, sixty-five per cent have from one to three children, fifteen per cent have from four to seven children, and five per cent have from eight to eleven children. Although the families are young this does not necessarily mean that they are going to have many more children in future years, as Table 2 indicates.

TABLE 2  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED  
AND THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of Years Married	Number of Respondents	Number of Children						
		None	1	2	3	4	5	6+
1 - 3	7	2	3	1	0	1	0	0
4 - 6	4	0	3	0	1	0	0	0
7 - 9	4	0	0	2	1	0	1	0
10 - 12	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
13 - 15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16 - 18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19 - 21	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
22 - 24	<u>2</u>	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	20	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{1}$
Average: 2.3								

In order to make Table 2 easy to understand categories were set up under the category "number of children"; the figures represent the number of children that the non-leaders have.

Table 2 shows that three of the individuals who have been married from four to six years have only one child, while the other individual has three. Of those who had been married from seven to nine years, two have two children while one has three and the other individual has five. The individuals that have been married from ten to twelve years one has no children and the other has only two. Of the remaining three individuals that have been married from nineteen to twenty-four years, one has four children, another has two children and the last one has eleven children.

According to a study made by Stycos<sup>1</sup> in Puerto Rico, Puerto Ricans from low socio-economic status expressed the feeling that their ideal number of children is less than four. This study of the Puerto Ricans in the South End seems to show that this group is practicing what Stycos's and Hatt's studies found about Puerto Ricans' feelings about child bearing. Stycos found in his research that fifty-six per cent of men and sixty-three per cent of women felt that the ideal number of children was less than four. In Hatt's<sup>2</sup> study it was found that seventy-five per cent

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<sup>1</sup>J. Mayone Stycos, Familia y Fecundidad en Puerto Rico, pp. 163-164.

<sup>2</sup>P. K. Hatt, Background of Human Fertility in Puerto Rico, Table 37, p. 53.

of men and eighty per cent of women felt that the ideal number of children was less than four. This study seems to contradict our general stereotype of "big Puerto Rican families". It seems that the tendency nowadays in this ethnic group is to decrease the size of their families. According to Stycos<sup>3</sup> when they failed to keep the families small it was because the husband and wife's communication about sexual matters was blocked or did not exist due to cultural feelings about sex conversations. In other words, neither party knew how the other party felt about having children.

TABLE 3

MIGRATION OF THE TWENTY  
NON-LEADERS INTO THE AREA

Number of Years in Boston	Number of Families	Per cent of total
1 - 2	10	50
3 - 4	6	30
5 - 6	2	10
7 - 8	1	05
9 - 10	0	00
11 - 12	<u>1</u>	<u>05</u>
	Total 20	100

Table 3 indicates the length of time that the non-leaders have been in the area. Ten families which represent fifty per cent of the non-leaders have been here from one to two years, while six families, representing thirty per cent, have been here from three to four years. Over

<sup>3</sup>Stygos, op. cit., p. 171.

one-half of the families have been here for only two years at the most and thirty per cent for four years at the most. Ninety per cent of the individuals have not been here for more than six years. This table seems to show that the migration of the families into the area is fairly recent. It also shows that it has been increasing each year. Five per cent of the families have been here from seven to eight years, then the percentage was doubled for the next year having ten per cent migrating. Then the following year the migration was tripled (thirty per cent) and then in the last two years it was increased by twenty per cent. From this table one can speculate that this Puerto Rican community in the South End will grow in numbers during the years to come. This seems to be supported by the statement of Arthur Gernes<sup>4</sup> that since 1950 the trend of Puerto Rican migration has been to spread out from New York to other parts of the country. Table 3 also seems to support Mr. Perez (who is leader E), a Pentecostal pastor, who claimed to have been one of the first pioneers in the area, and responsible for starting this migration.

Seventy per cent of the non-leaders came from big cities out of which sixty-five per cent came from other cities in the United States. This shows that sixty-five per cent of the respondents have lived previously in other United States communities and that for most of them this is not their first exposure to the American way of life. However, this is their first attempt to adjust to this particular community, the South End.

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<sup>4</sup>Arthur Gernes, Implications of Puerto Rican Migration to the Continent outside New York City, p. 10.

This mobility seems to indicate that these Puerto Rican migrants are searching for the city which will offer them opportunities to achieve whatever goals they have in mind when they migrate to the continent.

In relation to schooling six of the non-leaders had had between three and four years of school. Four of the respondents had between five and six years while five of them had between seven and eight years of school. Eighty-five per cent had between three to eight years of schooling which shows that very few of the non-leaders had attended high school. It seems that schooling is not a main factor in the ability to speak English. Two of the three respondents who speak "good" English have had only four years of schooling while three respondents with eight years of schooling and one non-leader with eleven years of schooling speak it "moderate."

Although schooling does not seem to determine their ability to speak English, the length of time in United States seems to be an important factor as shown in Table 4. Table 4 represents the relationship between the number of years in the area and the ability to speak English. Under the ability to speak English four categories were set up: category "a" contains all those individuals in the sample who could speak "good" English. Category "b" represents those respondents who could speak English "moderate." Category "c" refers to those individuals who speak English "a little." Finally category "d" refers to the individuals who could not speak English at all.

Table 4 is shown on page 33.

Most of the respondents seem to hold non-skilled jobs. Sixty per cent were engaged in factory and restaurant jobs, while forty per cent were engaged in other non-skilled work in such industries as baking, shoe

manufacture and laundry work. In other words, none of the Puerto Ricans interviewed were engaged in skilled work. The average salary was \$55.00 per week, while the salary range was between \$40.00 and \$81.00.

TABLE 4

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LENGTH OF TIME IN THE UNITED STATES  
AND ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH

Number of Years in United States	Number of Respondents	Ability to Speak English				
		a	b	c	d	
1 - 2	5	0	2	2	1	
3 - 4	4	0	0	4	0	
5 - 6	3	0	2	1	0	
7 - 8	4	0	1	3	0	
9 - 10	1	0	1	0	0	
11 - 12	3	3	0	0	0	
	Total	20	3	6	10	1

"a" - "good"

"b" - "moderate"

"c" - "a little"

"c" - speaks no English at all

Non-Leaders Attitudes Towards the American Way of Life

This section of this chapter will discuss the Puerto Rican's opinion of the United States way of life and their likes and dislikes of the same. This question taps the Puerto Rican individual's own conception of the values of the culture into which he has migrated. The answers seem to indicate why this ethnic group has migrated to the United States.

One question asked the individuals was how much they like living here. In this question four categories were set up: "very much", "moderately well", "not very well" and "absolutely not". Fourteen individuals, which is equivalent to seventy per cent of the sample, replied that they like to live here "very much". The other six individuals like it "moderately well". The characteristics that these six had in common was that they dislike the climate, "it is too cold".

In addition, the respondents were asked to explain what they liked and disliked about living in the United States. It seems that one of their main reasons for liking the United States is that they find here better job opportunities. Ninety per cent of the respondents gave jobs as a main reason for liking this country. Fifteen per cent of the individuals felt that education was one of the favorable aspects of living here, while thirty per cent suggested the climate as a positive factor. Thirty per cent gave health facilities as an ideal reason for living in the United States and forty per cent of the non-leaders suggested good opportunities for earning money as a favorable factor in living here.

Thirty-five per cent of the respondents expressed dislike for Puerto Rico because it is too hot while thirty per cent preferred it for the same reason. Throughout the interviews the author got the impression that the Puerto Ricans feel loyal to Puerto Rico. This was expressed by fifty per cent of the individuals who said that they like Puerto Rico because it was their own land. Ten individuals expressed their wish to go back to Puerto Rico just for a visit, but never to live there permanently.

This section seems to show that once these Puerto Ricans come in contact with the American way of life they do not want to go back to Puerto

Rico. Even though the migrants have difficulty in adjusting to this new culture, they seem to absorb some of the positive values of this culture, otherwise they would not want to remain in this country.

Puerto Ricans' Use of Community Resources available in the Area

In the schedule there were questions which inquired about the Puerto Ricans' use of the community resources that are available in the area. Puerto Ricans come to this community unaware of the available services from which they can receive benefits. This applies to all of them whether they come straight from Puerto Rico or from other United States communities. The transition from living in Puerto Rico to living in the American social setting of the South End does not carry the character of continuity. As a result of this migration into a new sociocultural environment the psychological and social needs of the newcomers increase. This is because of the adjustment that they have to make and also because the Puerto Ricans are not ready to make the adjustment demanded by the American culture. When Puerto Rican newcomers arrive in the South End they find already established a set of social channels which help them to find ways of taking care of their various needs. These are mainly their Puerto Rican relatives or neighbors, but soon they find that this assistance is not enough. They are then likely to be referred by the Puerto Ricans to two agencies, namely "Centro del Cardenal Cushing" (Cardinal Cushing Center), and "Lincoln House", a settlement house from the United South End Settlements. These two agencies have set up special services for the Spanish speaking people. On their staffs they employ Spanish speaking people who are not only able to communicate with them, but are also able to understand them because of their insight into this particular

culture. This fact, therefore, makes these agencies far more efficient than any other in the services that they render to the newcomers.

The twenty individuals interviewed were asked what community resources they had used in some way or other. The results from this question have been tabulated in Table 5. The types of resources used were: hospitals, Court, Department of Welfare, other social agencies (referring to "Centro del Cardenal Cushing" and Lincoln House"), and landlords.

Table 5 is shown on page 36. This table shows the Puerto Ricans' use of community resources. Out of the twenty individuals interviewed only two did not use any community resources. The two characteristics that these two families had in common was the fact that they did not have children, and it was expressed by some of the non-leaders that children seem to be a very important reason for contacting some of the community resources. Both of these families had been here more than three years which shows that they probably know about the resources but have not had use for them.

Hospitals, which are mainly a source of health services, were used by sixty-five per cent of the individuals while sixty-five per cent went to other social agencies for guidance and information. The Department of Welfare had been used by fifty-three per cent of the non-leaders. Court, which is a highly specialized service, was used by only thirty per cent of the respondents. It seems that Court has a negative connotation for the Puerto Ricans in that they reacted negatively to it by saying "In my life I have not been in a Court. I am a good person". Landlords, who are also a non-specialized service, were used by twenty-five per cent of the non-leaders and this was in cases of emergency, especially for interpreting.

TABLE 5

## COMMUNITY RESOURCES USED BY THE PUERTO RICANS

Respondents	Hospitals	Court	Community Resources Department of Welfare	Other Social* Agencies	Landlords	Total
1	1	1	1	1	0	4
2	1	0	1	1	0	3
3	1	0	1	1	0	3
4	1	0	1	0	0	2
5	1	0	0	1	1	3
6	1	0	1	1	1	4
7	1	0	0	0	0	1
8	1	1	1	1	0	4
9	1	1	1	1	0	4
10	1	0	1	1	0	3
11	1	0	0	1	0	2
12	1	0	1	0	1	3
13	1	0	0	0	1	2
14	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	1	1	0	2
16	0	0	0	1	0	1
17	0	1	0	1	1	3
18	0	1	1	0	0	2
19	0	1	0	1	0	2
20	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	13	6	11	13	5	48
Per cent of total	65	30	55	65	25	

\*Cardinal Cushing Center  
Lincoln House

It is interesting to see that sixty-nine per cent of the non-leaders who used hospitals also used Lincoln House and Cardinal Cushing Center, and seventy-three per cent of the individuals who used the Department of Welfare also used these two social agencies. This seems to indicate that Lincoln House and the Cardinal Cushing Center are actually acting as mediators between the Puerto Rican community and the other community resources of the area.

In the open-ended question it was found that hospitals are mostly used to render service to Puerto Rican children with illness such as ear infection and stomach pain. The women ranked second in using hospital services, especially for maternity care, while men used them less often and then in cases of injury arising from accidents or fights (as stated by two respondents.)

In the open-ended question it was found that the sixty-five per cent who use "O.S.A." do so mainly for interpreting, advice, guidance and information. One of the respondents mentioned that he went to "Lincoln House" to have help in reading the milk formula for his new baby. "Lincoln House" was mentioned by ten individuals as an agency to which they went for help. Nine individuals mentioned the "Cardinal Cushing Center" as a place where they went for help.

The fifty-five per cent of the non-leaders who used the "Welfare Department" did so mainly for financial help. The nine individuals who used the "Welfare Department" emphasized that they only went to this agency when they did not have jobs. It seems that for a Puerto Rican to receive financial help when he is physically able to work, gives a bad reputation. In other words, they seemed to feel that a married man should supply food

for his family, otherwise he loses status in the community. Thus one individual emphasized that he did not ask for help, but rather his wife did. Another individual said that he went to the Department of Welfare asking for help, but they did not give it to him because he was married. It seems that because of the language barrier this person was not able to fully receive benefits from this agency. In my interview with him he could not elaborate on why the Welfare Department refused to give him help; however, this seemed to be due to the lack of communication between himself and the worker in the agency.

Twenty-five per cent of the individuals had contact with the Court due either to breaking car regulations, (for example: "I forgot to register my car," or, "I was driving without a licence"), or because of individual fights.

The schedule also had a question about the frequency with which the various community resources were used. Table 6 illustrates the frequency. Out of the twenty individuals, seven could not give an approximate number, but they gave the word "muchas" (many). The category 5+, which represents in many instances the frequency of twelve or more times, was chosen to represent the response "muchas" or many. In Table 6 the category "NR" refers to those individuals who did not respond to the question in regard to frequency because they could not remember how many times they had used the community sources.

Table 6 is shown on page 40.

TABLE 6  
 FREQUENCY OF USE OF COMMUNITY SERVICES

Community Service	Frequency of Use						NR	Total number of Families Using the Service
	0	1	2	3	4	5+		
Hospitals	7	3	1	0	0	9	0	13
Court	14	3	2	0	1	0	0	16
Welfare Department	8	8	0	0	0	1	2	11
O.S.A.	7	4	4	1	0	3	1	13
Landlords	13	4	0	0	0	0	1	15

Leadership as Seen by the Twenty Puerto Rican Non-Leaders

In this section of the thesis we are going to deal with the topic of leadership and its characteristics as explored with the twenty Puerto Ricans in the questionnaire. Leadership was explored because it is through leadership that the various members of a group are able to adjust to their new community and use its various community resources such as information, guidance and others.

In order to explore it fully the twenty Puerto Ricans were asked to give a description of leadership. This was done to get a perception of leadership as it is seen by the twenty individuals interviewed. Ten of Thomas Coffin's<sup>4</sup> leadership characteristics were presented in the schedule. The respondents were asked to read carefully the list of the characteristics and to choose the five most important which they were to rank from 1 to 5.

Table 7 gives a result of this question.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas Coffin, "A Three Component Theory of Leadership", Journal of Abnormal Psychology, vol. 29, (March, 1944) p.64.

TABLE 7  
LEADERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS AS SEEN BY  
THE NON-LEADERS

Leadership Characteristics	Order of Importance					Frequency of Mention	Sum of Ranks
	5	4	3	2	1		
Sense of responsibility	5	5	3	5	0	18	64
Social Responsibility	5	2	3	5	5	20	62
Intelligence	8	1	2	2	2	15	56
Friendliness	0	7	2	1	4	14	40
Moral Sense	1	2	5	1	2	11	32
Self-reliance	1	2	2	3	2	10	27
Imagination	0	1	2	2	2	7	16
Self-determination	0	0	0	2	3	5	7
Physical characteristics	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aggressive Personality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

There were six outstanding characteristics that the individual interviewed thought a leader should possess. These were the following: 1. sense of responsibility, 2. social responsibility, 3. intelligence, 4. friendliness, 5. moral sense and 6. self-reliance. Social responsibility was a characteristic that all the non-leaders thought that a leader should have. A sense of responsibility was a characteristic that ninety per cent of

the individuals felt that a leader should have. Intelligence was a characteristic that seventy-five per cent of the individuals thought that a leader should possess. Seventy per cent thought that a leader should be friendly. Moral sense and self-reliance were felt by approximately fifty per cent to be requirements for leadership. The last two types of traits, namely physical characteristics and aggressive personality, were not considered by the non-leaders as important characteristics of a leader. In ranking the characteristics according to importance the twenty Puerto Ricans indicated that the characteristic "sense of responsibility" ranked first, social responsibility second, intelligence third, friendliness fourth, moral sense fifth and self-reliance as sixth.

To clarify the Puerto Ricans' own conception of leadership, besides the ten characteristics presented to them, they were asked two additional questions about their conception of a leader. One question asked them to give their opinion of what is a leader, this was an abstract description, while the second question asked them more specifically why they thought that the five Puerto Rican persons named by them were leaders.

The first question regarding what is a leader was answered as follows: four of the individuals were unable to explain what a leader meant to them, sixty per cent described the leader as a political head, fifteen per cent said that they were appointed by the people and did not mention political affiliation, twenty-five per cent talked of a leader as being a helper, while fifteen per cent described the leader as an advisor. Each person gave more than one answer, therefore the percentage in this answer is only relative. The general impression obtained from their answers is that a leader in the abstract sense is a person of power who has a right to

execute any kind of demand. This political perception of leadership was one of the reasons why the individuals when they were asked to name five leaders in the community automatically named Mr. del Rio (Representative of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in Boston). It seems that for these Puerto Ricans it is very hard to think in abstract terms. They seem to see leadership as an already institutionalized office.

In the schedule the twenty respondents were asked to name five leaders in the community and in addition to this, they were asked to explain why they thought these five persons were leaders. All of the individuals interviewed were able to answer this question in contrast to the previous question where four individuals could not give an answer. Ninety-five per cent of the non-leaders said that these persons were leaders because they helped Puerto Ricans in need in such ways as interpreting, finding them jobs, lending them money, finding them housing, and taking them to the community services. The personal help rendered by the leaders to the respondents was a main factor in their answers. This conception of a leader as being a helper to the Puerto Rican community seems to tie in with the unanimous choice of "social responsibility" as a characteristic that a leader should have. The answers to this question show that the respondents were more able to describe leaders in relation to specific situations than they were in relation to the abstract concept.

## CHAPTER V

### THE LEADERS

In this chapter the informal leaders of the Puerto Rican community in the South End will be described. Each of the twenty Puerto Ricans in the original survey were asked to name five leaders. Nineteen leaders were mentioned, but only six were chosen to be interviewed due to lack of time on the part of the author. These six leaders were chosen according to three criteria: a. highest number of votes, b. religious affiliation and c. sex. These criteria were set up by the author of the thesis. The three men receiving the highest vote were Roman Catholics. These are leaders A, B. and C. Then leader D was chosen to be included because she was a woman and also because she was from the Roman Catholic group. Finally two men receiving the highest number of votes among the Pentecostal group were chosen to be interviewed and these are leaders E and F.

The leaders are listed in Table 8 according to the number of times they were mentioned with leaders A and B being those most frequently chosen by the twenty Puerto Ricans in the original survey.

TABLE 8  
THE LEADERS AS CHOSEN BY THE NON-LEADERS

Leaders	Sex	Religion	Number of Votes
A	Male	Roman Catholic	17
B	Male	" "	17
C	Male	" "	14
D	Female	" "	9
E	Male	Pentecostal	5
F	Male	"	4

### Leader's Social Characteristics

In this section we will start our discussion by talking about the leader's social characteristics. The age range of the leaders is from twenty-seven to forty-five. In general they appear to be a little older than the majority of the twenty non-leaders, where sixty per cent were between the ages of twenty-three and thirty-two.

TABLE 9

#### SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PUERTO RICAN LEADERS

Leader	Age	Number of Years Married	Number of Children
A	39	4	1
B	27	4	2
C	30	5	2
D	39	7	3
E	44	10	4
F	45	22	2

Table 9 was inserted to give a general view of the social characteristics of the leaders. In relation to the previous sample of twenty Puerto Ricans aside from the difference in age range, the leaders on the whole have been married longer. In relation to the number of children that both groups have there is no significant differences between the leaders and the twenty individuals in the larger sample.

The leaders in reference to number of years of schooling range from seven to fourteen with eight being the average which is slightly higher than the amount of schooling in the large sample where eighty-five per cent of the respondents had had between three and eight years of schooling. There does not seem to be a correlation between the number of years of

schooling and the leader's ability to speak English. Table 10 has been inserted to illustrate this point.

TABLE 10

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NUMBER OF YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES,  
SCHOOLING, AND ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH

Leader	Number of Years of Schooling	Ability to speak English	Years in the United States	Source of Migration
A	6	Moderate	5.0	New York
B	14	Good	2.8	Ponce (P.R.)
C	10	Moderate	10.0	New Bedford
D	9	Moderate	10.3	New York
E	7	Good	12.0	Mayaguez (P.R.)
F	7	Moderate	2.7	New York
Average:	8	Average	7	

Length of time in United States, as Table 10 shows, does not have significant influence in the leaders' ability to speak English. This is in contrast with our earlier findings that in the larger sample (as shown in Table 4), the length of time in the United States was a very important factor in their ability to speak the language. Leader B has only been in this country 2.8 years and he is able to speak good English; leader F has only been here 2.7 years and he speaks it "moderate". However, the author is fully aware that the response of the leader cannot be totally reliable due to their modesty. It is curious to compare the leaders' perception of their own ability to speak English in contrast to how the twenty Puerto Rican non-leaders perceive the leaders' ability to speak English. Ninety-five per cent of the twenty non-leaders said that one of

the reasons for giving the leaders that position was because they speak "good" English, while the leaders classified themselves as speaking English "moderate".

Two leaders have been in United States less than three years while the other four have been here more than five years. In relation to the non-leaders, these individuals have been in this country much longer which might account for their position as leaders.

In Table 10 it should be noted that four of the leaders came from other big cities in the United States. It is significant that these leaders were acquainted with the American way of life prior to coming into the South End. But we should also notice that sixty-five per cent of the non-leaders had also been exposed to the American life before coming into the South End.

The average salary of the leaders was slightly higher than that of the non-leaders. The leaders' average salary is \$75.40, ranging from \$62.00 to \$100.00, in contrast to the average salary earned by the twenty non-leaders which is \$55.30 with a range between \$40.00 and \$81.00. This together with the type of job and additional positions held by the leaders in the Puerto Rican community is shown in Table 11. Table 11 is shown on page 48.

The type of jobs in which the leaders earn their salary does not seem to differ radically from the kinds of jobs held by the non-leaders. It is the additional positions that they hold in the community such as church pastor, and house owner which distinguishes them from the non-leaders. It seems that these additional positions bring them into contact with many Puerto Ricans whom they are able to serve in one way or another. Their

additional positions in the community also shows that they have an additional security besides their jobs, unlike the twenty Puerto Ricans in the larger sample.

TABLE 11

## LEADER'S JOBS AND ADDITIONAL POSITIONS IN THE COMMUNITY

Leader	Additional Positions	Jobs	Salary
A	Real Estate	Restaurant Owner	\$70.00
B	House Owner	Machine Tender	100.00
C	Real Estate	Mechanic	65.00
D	Housewife	Unemployed *	-
E	Pastor of Church	Factory Work	70.00
F	Re-rent rooms	Unemployed	62.00 **

\*D's husband earns \$85.00 per week as a cook at the Sheraton Plaza (big hotel)

\*\*Leader F gets \$62.00 from a veteran's pension for disability.

The author feels that there is one factor of importance which the leaders have in common but which the non-leaders lack. This was discovered in the open-ended question exploring the social activity of the leaders. The common fact concerning the six leaders can be said to be that they are attached to organizations and function within them in positions of responsibility. This is shown in Table 12. Four of the leaders were in the Puerto Rican Club which brings together Puerto Ricans from Boston and its surrounding cities. Two Puerto Rican leaders are members of the adult group in Lincoln House. Three of the leaders are attending the South End Planning Council in an attempt to start a good relationship between the

Puerto Ricans and the other American neighbors. The holding of an office within a club, in addition to being a member, gives these leaders an inner security to function in their own ethnic group as a helper. The fact that they seemed to feel and act secure in a group situation gives them strength and reassurance in their role as they help their fellow Puerto Ricans in adjusting to the "American way of life."

TABLE 12

## LEADERS' SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Leader	Organization	Place	Position
A	Puerto Rican Club	Private Club	Treasurer
B	Puerto Rican Club Church Society	Catholic Center	Committee member
	Dominican Society	Connecticut Church	Member
	South End Planning Council	South End House	Delegate
C	Puerto Rican Club Church Society	Private Club Catholic Center	Member Member
D	Puerto Rican Club Church Society	Private Club Catholic Center	Secretary Member
E	Church Society Social Center	Pentecostal Lincoln House	Member Secretary
	South End Planning Council	South End House	Delegate
F	Church Society Social Center P.T.A. South End Planning Council	Pentecostal Lincoln House Abraham Lincoln School South End House	President Member Member Delegate

Leaders' Conceptions of the American Way of Life

This section of the thesis will deal with the leaders' likes and dislikes about America and their conception of what America has to offer them

in comparison to Puerto Rico. Leaders A, C, and D like America very much and gave as a basic reason the fact that it has better job opportunities and better health and educational benefits for their families. Leaders E and F liked America "moderate" and mentioned jobs, education and health as positive factors in the American culture. Leader B liked America "little" stating that there were no differences between Puerto Rico and the United States. Out of the six leaders four claimed to have American friends, but stated that they visit these friends very little. The six leaders mentioned that the majority of their friends were Puerto Ricans living in the South End.

Leaders' Opinions about Cultural Differences Between Puerto Ricans and Americans

The Puerto Rican leaders were asked a question about the differences between Americans and Puerto Ricans. This is another way in which it was hoped to get more information about their conception, as leaders and as Puerto Ricans, of the cultural differences between Americans and Puerto Ricans. In the leaders' responses there were criticisms of both Americans and Puerto Ricans in relation to the customary way of living in the American community. The leaders were overtly critical of their people in their behavior in the community in reference to their relatively poor adjustment to the American way of life.

The leaders' opinions about the cultural differences between Puerto Ricans and Americans were discussed in three main topics: men, women, and children. For example the leaders stated as a criticism of the Puerto Ricans that they think about the present only, while Americans are more responsible and think more about the future. They also said that the men

do not take their wives out when they go out. This is a clear rejection of the Puerto Rican way because in Puerto Rico it is customary for the wife to stay home and take care of the children while the husband goes out. Four of the leaders stated that the Puerto Ricans are too impulsive, prejudiced, jealous, and envious, unlike the Americans who are practical, quiet, courteous and understanding. Only leader F actually thought that the Puerto Rican way of acting in America is appropriate, for as he stated that American parents have not as much control over their children as the Puerto Ricans. All the leaders feel that the Puerto Rican woman is more faithful to her husband. They also feel that she is more virtuous.

On the whole it can be said that the leaders for the most part favor the acceptance of American customs by the Puerto Rican people instead of the Puerto Rican maintaining his own culture within the American setting. They favor adopting success aspects of the American way of life such as work, planning and house comfort, but they are conservative and they favor the maintenance of family relationships such as respect to older persons and modesty in the woman.

The list of Coffin's<sup>1</sup> ten characteristics of leaders was presented to the leaders who were asked to rank the characteristics in the order of their importance from 1 to 5 as attributes that the leaders feel that they themselves possessed. These characteristics of leaders were the same ones presented to the twenty non-leaders. The results are shown in Table 13.

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas Coffin, "A Three Component Theory of Leadership," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, vol. 39 (March, 1944) p. 64.

Leader B refused to rate himself because he felt that he was too humble to rate himself. Leader F only chose four characteristics for the same reason. The leaders' responses differed from those of the non-leaders. The responses are shown in Table 13. Figures represent the rank order of importance attributed by the leader to each of the characteristics as an attribute of his own personality.

TABLE 13

## PUERTO RICAN LEADERS' CONCEPTION OF THE CHARACTERISTICS THEY POSSESS

Leadership Characteristics	Leaders						Sum of Ranks
	A	B	C	D	E	F	
Sense of responsibility	1				2	4	7
Social responsibility	3		1		3	2	9
Intelligence				2	5		7
Friendliness	5		3	1	4		13
Moral Sense	4		2		1	3	10
Self-reliance				3			3
Imagination			4	5		1	10
Self-determination				4			4
Physical characteristics	2		5				7
Aggressive personality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

In comparing the leaders' responses with those of the twenty Puerto Rican non-leaders presented in Table 7, it can be said that physical characteristics were valued by the leaders whereas the non-leaders thought this had no importance in relation to leadership. Imagination was another characteristic which the leaders themselves felt they possessed, but the non-leaders did not think this was a necessary attribute for leadership. This comparison of the responses of both non-leaders and leaders in regard to characteristics of leadership is best shown by the material in

Table 14.

TABLE 14  
COMPARATIVE RESPONSES OF LEADERS AND NON-LEADERS  
IN RELATION TO LEADERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS

Leadership Characteristics	Sum of Ranks	
	Non-Leaders	Leaders
Sense of responsibility	64	7
Social responsibility	62	9
Intelligence	56	7
Friendliness	40	13
Moral Sense	32	10
Self-reliance	27	3
Imagination	16	10
Self-determination	7	4
Physical Characteristics	0	7
Aggressive Personality	0	0

In specific terms we can say that the leaders themselves felt that they possessed special abilities which the other Puerto Ricans did not have. Leader A expressed self-reliance and friendliness as special abilities. Leader C emphasized physical characteristics and imagination. Leader D stressed imagination and self-determination, leader E intelligence and friendliness, leader F sense of responsibility and moral sense. The leaders as well as the non-leaders did not feel that an aggressive personality was a desirable attribute of leadership. It seems from the leaders' responses that they felt a leader was a type of person who made himself through friendliness, imagination, and intelligence accessible to people. It can be noticed that the leaders did not feel that the "sense of responsibility" was as important a characteristic of a leader as did

the non-leaders who rated this characteristic as one of the most important. This difference in their ratings can perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the non-leaders rated the leaders on the basis of what characteristics they felt the leaders should have in order to fulfill the needs of the Puerto Rican community, whereas the leaders rated themselves according to the characteristics they have as helping people. This can be seen through their responses to the open-ended question about why they help people.

#### Leaders' Perceptions of Themselves as Helpers

All of the leaders cited as their reason for helping the fact that the people in need were members of their own ethnic group. This response represented the sense of responsibility which the leaders themselves took for granted should exist on their part in behalf of their fellow Puerto Ricans. This sense of responsibility the leaders did not equate as a special characteristic of leadership, but rather as a virtue that all Puerto Ricans should have towards their ethnic group members. This is substantiated by the fact that each leader talked about the personal satisfaction which he derived from helping the Puerto Ricans.

In reference to the kind of help extended to the Puerto Ricans by the leaders, it can be said that the leaders mainly acted as interpreters and as referral sources for the Puerto Rican community. In reference to interpreting, they usually escorted the Puerto Ricans to hospitals and social agencies provided by the American community. They referred Puerto Ricans to more effective community agencies when their own source of help became weak.

Leaders' Attitude about the Puerto Rican Living in the South End and their Problems

This section will discuss the leaders' perception of the South End community, the Puerto Ricans in the community, their problems, and finally the leaders' suggestions of how to deal with the Puerto Ricans' problems and needs.

Since these six Puerto Ricans were chosen by the twenty Puerto Ricans in the larger sample, the author feels that she can assume that they have some kind of insight into the difficulties of the Puerto Rican in his adjustment to the South End and to the community as a whole. One of the questions asked of the leaders was about the advantages and disadvantages of living in the South End. Table 15 deals with their responses. This Table appears on page 56.

The factor mentioned most frequently as an advantage was the nearness and convenience of the South End to the shopping district. Other reasons were its nearness to the job and the fact that rents were low. One of the prime disadvantages was that the Puerto Rican leaders felt that the South End had poor housing and undesirable residents such as "bums" and "drunkards". Fire hazard was another disadvantage of living in that area along with that of poor sanitation.

In addition the leaders were asked to state their own impressions of the difficulties the Puerto Ricans experienced living in the South End. In general the language barrier was stated as the most prominent problem of the Puerto Ricans in adjusting to this new culture. Aside from this there were other problems faced by the Puerto Ricans. Leader A and C talked about discrimination in the area of housing, jobs and their dealings with

TABLE 15

## ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN THE SOUTH END

Leader	Advantages	Disadvantages
A	Cheaper Housing Transportation easier	Buildings are deteriorated, fire hazard, poor sanitation, bums in alleys drinking wine
B	None	Many drunkards no decent street too many taxes
C	Low rent More Puerto Ricans "I like to live among them"	Too many bums frequent fires
D	Closer to shopping districts and buses Conveniences near	None
E	Closer to shopping area and jobs	Too many drunkards streets are dirty
F	Strategic geographical position Closer to conveniences and jobs It is a humble district and rents are low	None

the police. Leader B mentioned the problem of individual adaptation to living in the South End. He stated that there was a problem of drunkenness within the Puerto Rican group which has to be dealt with on an individual basis. Leader D stated that the climate and lack of money contributes to the poor health of Puerto Ricans living in the South End. He also added that misinterpretation of the government laws gets people into difficulty.

The last area covered with the leaders in the questionnaire probed their concept of what type of help the community could extend to help meet more fully the needs of the Puerto Ricans. All six leaders agreed that the community needs to set up an office for the Puerto Ricans. They differed a little bit in their points of view about how the office should be administered. The leaders stated that they felt that because of the language difficulty the office should be headed by a Spanish speaking person. They also talked about the head being a person with the ability to help the Puerto Ricans and stated specifically that this person should be bilingual. Leader B more specifically said that this office should be a non-sectarian agency so that all the Puerto Ricans regardless of their religious affiliation could receive benefits. Two leaders, however, stated that they did not feel that this office should be headed by a Puerto Rican person. Although leader C was willing to have this agency headed by a Puerto Rican he stated that this Puerto Rican should be appointed by the government. He and the other Puerto Rican leaders cited an objection to the head of the office being a Puerto Rican. They felt that the Puerto Ricans would be distrustful thinking that this person was profiting from their helplessness. Leader F stated that at the present time he did not

think that there was living in South End a Puerto Rican trained for this job. They also spoke about the qualifications such an officer should possess. All the leaders felt that this person needed lots of time to devote to his job in order to be effective.

Another prime reason given by the leaders for the establishment of this office was that the Puerto Rican population in the South End is increasing. It should be noted that leader C also stated that another needed service for the Puerto Rican population was that of evening English classes to help them in their language. He also stated that there is a need of an employment office for Puerto Ricans.

On the whole these six Puerto Rican leaders in relation to their job of helping their people stated that they lacked sufficient time which is a handicap in offering a more efficient and persistent type of help. Leader D felt that in his role of helping he would prefer to help his Puerto Rican fellows in group activities rather than individual help.

## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to explore leadership patterns among the Puerto Ricans in the South End. The author feels that one of the responsibilities of the social worker in a settlement house is to identify the informal leaders among the groups that form the community, and to help these key people see their role in relation to other Puerto Ricans and to the larger community. If the Puerto Rican informal leaders are helped and brought to the settlement house, they can carry over their leadership skills into other situations as they move beyond the agency setting.

It was hoped that this study would be a guide to the social worker working with the Puerto Rican community that would give some clues about how to effectively use the informal leaders to help the Puerto Ricans get adjusted to the American environment. This study has particular value to the United South End Settlements because this agency is currently working with this ethnic group.

The main subject of the thesis was leadership. It also covered other topics which would provide insight into this cultural group. It dealt with the Puerto Ricans' conception of the American way of life and social values, and their reactions to the South End environment.

#### Characteristics of Leaders and Non-Leaders

In relation to age it was found that the Puerto Rican leaders are slightly older than the non-leaders. This fact seems to support Bogardus,<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Emory Bogardus, Leaders and Leadership, p. 9.

statement that leadership usually goes to the individuals who are older, more experienced, or more conditioned to leadership. The fact that the Puerto Rican leaders are older doesn't necessarily make them more deserving of that position. Perhaps in today's situation they are able to assume leadership roles due to the embryonic stage through which the group is passing. But later, when the Puerto Rican group moves to a new level of organization and adjustment in the community, it will probably demand a type of leadership which this current group of leaders may not be able to provide. Here then, is where the social worker will come into the picture giving support to present leaders and helping them to meet the demands of the new leadership role. The social worker should identify leadership far in advance and develop the leaders' potentials to the fullest so they will be able to assume different leadership roles gradually in time, in relation to group demands.

The fact that the migration of non-leaders is recent is a factor that the social worker should not forget. The work should not only be concentrated on the informal leaders, but also on the members of the community, young adults, teen-agers and children. Their youth is a favorable factor in bringing about a positive adjustment to the American community and in integrating the American social values and ways of life into Puerto Rican culture in such a way as to make their living here easier. The fact that the members of the Puerto Rican migration are young makes their chances for adjustments to changes far more favorable than would be in the case with older people.

#### Puerto Ricans in their Social and Economical Roles

Although in certain groups leadership has its origin in economic

status it does not appear to be so in the case of the Puerto Rican leader in the South End. These Puerto Rican leaders are engaged in the same type of non-skilled jobs as those held by the non-leaders. The jobs do not provide them with good salaries.

The leaders do earn a slightly higher salary than the non-leaders, but this difference is not radical; therefore it is not significant in terms of leadership.

Besides their jobs the leaders hold additional positions in the community such as pastor and landlord. These positions seem to be very crucial in their holding the leadership position. In order to lead there must be a group of followers to follow. Therefore, to lead, the leader must be in contact with people, which is true of pastors and landlords. In the Pentecostal group the pastor is well respected by the Puerto Ricans who see in him a leader (out of the five potential Pentecostal leaders mentioned only one was not a pastor). In this Puerto Rican subgroup the pastor is not only a "helper" but also a "prophet" who represents authority, and who is a spokesman of God and therefore, a person with a special insight as to what is going on in the world.

The Puerto Rican landlord usually lives in the same building as his tenants; his face-to-face contact makes him aware, sympathetic, and more sensitive toward the Puerto Rican problems, and as a result he is willing to help them. The tenants in turn regard him as a father figure to whom they go whenever a distress is present.

The Influence of their Cultural and Educational Background upon their Use of the Democratic Process

Bogardus<sup>2</sup> has said that in order to have efficient democratic

<sup>2</sup>Emory Bogardus, op. cit., p. 22.

leadership there should be present an educated group. The Puerto Rican group in the South End, the leaders as well as the non-leaders, lack knowledge of what is involved in democratic leadership because of their cultural background and lack of education. This is perhaps one of the reasons why their leadership pattern is not a democratic one, but rather paternalistic or autocratic in which one person, the leader in this case, does everything for the follower. This type of leadership is not good because it does not stimulate growth on the part of the followers.

In working with this group the worker should be aware of the fact that these Puerto Ricans are not accustomed to making use of democratic processes but tend rather toward using the authoritarian paternalistic type of leadership. This is why when Puerto Ricans come to the social worker they are not only searching for guidance but also for someone to make decisions for them. This is why the self-determination concept, widely used by social workers in dealing with American clients, cannot be fully applied with this ethnic group.

#### The Use of English in Relation to Leadership

One of the characteristics which heightens distrust among recent Puerto Rican migrants and strengthens the barriers of separation is language.<sup>3</sup> In the South End there are a large number of Puerto Ricans who do not speak English and who lack relatives or kin on whom to rely in case of need. This is one of the situations which drives the non-leaders to seek help from the leaders. Knowing English, speaking it fairly

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<sup>3</sup>Elena Padilla, Up From Puerto Rico, p. 96.

fluently, and using it in social situations where both Puerto Ricans and persons who do not understand Spanish are present, is one of the requirements for leadership among the Puerto Ricans in the South End. It is a requirement because the leaders are expected to interpret for the non-leaders in the different community agencies. In this study it was found that the non-leaders perceive the leaders' knowledge of English as "good" in contrast to the leaders who perceive themselves as speaking English "moderate". This shows the tendency of the non-leader to see the leaders in a higher position.

In this study it was found that among the non-leaders schooling does not seem to determine their ability to speak English, but the length of time in United States seems to be a factor. This is in contrast to the leaders in which case neither length of time in United States nor schooling have a significant influence in their ability to speak English.

#### Community Agencies and their Reactions to the Newcomers

Most Puerto Ricans, when they come to this city, do not come with a job or any other form of economic security. This is one of the main reasons why they need so much help from social agencies in getting settled. The fact that they are new in the community makes them unaware of the available services from which they can receive benefits. It is the Puerto Rican informal leader who makes the first connection between the newcomer and the community agencies.

In this study it was found that the agencies which the newcomers used the most were the Cardinal Cushing Center and Lincoln House which provide them with understanding of the difference in their cultural background, psychological support, and referrals to other co-agencies whenever

necessary. In addition to these agencies the Puerto Ricans use the Department of Welfare. This is mainly due to the fact that they move into the area without having jobs. This agency is used by most of the Puerto Ricans at one time or another in cases of emergency or in case of lack of adequate income. The families receive help only until they find jobs. These cases can be described as "emergency recipients". For most Puerto Ricans to receive welfare money when the man is able physically to work is not accepted as a decent thing to do.

The hospital is another agency widely used by the migrant, mostly by women and children. One of the factors in getting sick is the weather which is unlike that of Puerto Rico. Many of them do not keep warm enough because of the lack of warm clothing or because they do not like to wear winter clothes which they had never worn before.

Any agency such as the Welfare Department, or hospitals, which comes into contact with members of this ethnic group should be aware of the fact that these Puerto Ricans are like children, due to their cultural background, who have to be guided by the hand because they are very naive and shy. The workers in those agencies should be aware that these Puerto Ricans are people who have other values and customs and that one should give them a chance to adjust to this community before one criticizes them. One should not assume that a Puerto Rican is just another client, but rather that he is a citizen with different cultural patterns and who should be helped with more understanding.

The author has known of discrimination based upon misunderstanding in agencies such as school, police, hospitals, and the Welfare Department. Workers of those agencies have expressed their feelings as follows:

"Puerto Ricans are very smart people, they know English but pretend they don't to take advantage of us." Other agencies had refused to offer help to the Puerto Rican who cannot speak English. This is a misunderstanding that exists and which brings about prejudice. What really happens is this: most Puerto Ricans know English sentences such as "what is your name," "how old are you"? They also know how to say "yes". When they are asked the questions above, they are able to respond accurately, so the American people tend to believe that they know English, and they keep on asking questions to which the Puerto Ricans just answer yes or no. The Puerto Ricans are very shy and they would never ask a question again. They prefer to go without knowing what was said. As a result, if the Puerto Rican is told to carry on some further plan, he will not do it. This brings resentment on the part of American workers.

Patriarchal Pattern of Leadership Among the Puerto Ricans  
in the South End

The type of leadership present in the Puerto Rican community in the South End is related to their needs and to the transitional period through which the group is living. The fact that the migration is fairly new in the community demands leadership patterns which deal with their present situation of unrest and disorganization. The leader has to help them to move from their present stage to one of better adjustment. The fact that the Puerto Ricans are new in the community and are dealing with certain primary needs is a factor demanding the "paternalistic", "helper" type of leadership. It seems that this type of leadership is demanded by this group because of their cultural background in which people from the low socio-cultural status do not assume much responsibility in their own

welfare. Some of the Puerto Ricans seem to live for the present day only, and what comes in the future is apparently of no concern. This statement is supported by some of the leaders' answers' about characteristics of Puerto Ricans.

In this study it was found that for the Puerto Ricans it is very hard to think in abstract terms as they could not give a description of a leader as such. They were better able to describe leadership in terms of specific Puerto Rican leaders. This lack of ability in abstract thinking could be due to their lack of formal schooling where the mind is usually trained to think in abstractions. The Puerto Rican leaders as well as the non-leaders see leadership as an already institutionalized office related to political or governmental positions.

Tead<sup>4</sup> says that the leader is conditioned by personal factors plus the opportunity to lead which is furnished by the total environment. It is always related to specific situations and needs. Therefore it is the situation, and not the person alone which allows the leader to function; he gets his powers by virtue of a relationship. In this study there were found both elements mentioned by Tead, personality plus the situation. The non-leaders unanimously felt that a leader should have these characteristics: "sense of responsibility," "social responsibility," "intelligence," and "friendliness". These leadership qualities demanded by the group are based upon the non-leaders' needs and show that there is a

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<sup>4</sup>Orway Tead, "The Art of Leadership," p. 23.

correlation between the characteristics demanded by the group and those needs present in the group. The non-leaders required the above characteristics because they see in the leader a father figure who has "social obligations" towards them. This type of "patriarchal leadership" makes the leader a servant of the non-leaders with very little to gain except personal satisfaction. The leaders themselves did not feel that the "sense of responsibility" was an important characteristic of a leader as did the non-leaders. This is perhaps due to the fact that they are the ones who are offering the help, and therefore they do not perceive themselves as the non-leaders do.

The way in which the non-leaders chose the leaders tends to support the author's "cacique theory" (indian chief-theory) of leadership in which each leader has a small group that he leads. This group of followers is formed by those Puerto Ricans who live around the leader's area. This makes the leader a "cacique" surrounded by his followers who look to him for help and advice. That is why the leaders were chosen by the non-leaders according to where they were living. Some Puerto Rican leaders do use their influence rather negatively and take advantage of the ignorance of the non-leaders. These leaders use them to fulfill their own needs, for instance the author knows of cases where non-leaders have had to pay five dollars to have another Puerto Rican interpret for them in a community agency. Other cases involved a leader who tried to use Puerto Rican groups to get started in business which will benefit their individual needs. This is why the social worker should be aware of all these pitfalls present among some of the leaders who, instead of helping the Puerto Ricans, are exploiting them. It is the worker's duty to

channel, if it is possible, the Puerto Rican leadership potentials in a constructive way.

The leaders are aware that many of the problems of discrimination are due to the difference in cultures. This is why they seemed to favor the acceptance of the American customs by the Puerto Rican instead of maintaining their own culture within the American setting. In general the leaders seem to feel that the South End has many advantages to offer them such as cheap housing, Puerto Rican points of identification, and the strategic position. They are also aware of the disadvantage such as alcoholism and poor housing. But in general they seem to feel that this is a good community for the Puerto Rican to settle. All the leaders feel that in order to supplement the services that are available for the Puerto Ricans, an office should be established to offer them help. They feel that this office is needed because more Puerto Ricans are moving into the community.

Although Community resources and places for Puerto Rican identification are present, they are still not enough to fulfill all the Puerto Ricans' needs. The author feels that with the increase of the Puerto migration into the area more services will be created eventually, and hopefully these services will be based upon scientific research which will be more accurate in tackling the Puerto Rican needs. The author hopes that this study in informal leadership among the Puerto Ricans in the South End will be useful in the future to those working with this ethnic group.

*Approved, May 1960*

*Barbara Ceyes*

**APPENDIX**

## APPENDIX A

QUESTIONARIO SOBRE LIDERATO

Nombre y Apellido \_\_\_\_\_

Direccion \_\_\_\_\_

Edad \_\_\_\_\_ Religion \_\_\_\_\_ Anos de sasado \_\_\_\_\_

Numero de hijos \_\_\_\_\_ Edad del mayor \_\_\_\_\_ Edad del menor \_\_\_\_\_

?Cuantos anos lleva en Boston? \_\_\_\_\_ ?Cuantos en los E.E.U.U.? \_\_\_\_\_

?Habla Ingles? Bien \_\_\_\_\_ Regular \_\_\_\_\_ Poco \_\_\_\_\_ Nada \_\_\_\_\_

?Lo lee? si \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ ?Lo escribe? si \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_

?Ha ido Ud. a la Escuela? si \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ ?Cuantos anos? \_\_\_\_\_

?Que tipo de trabajo hace Ud.? \_\_\_\_\_

?Cuanto dinero gana Ud. semanalmente? \$ \_\_\_\_\_

?De donde vino Ud. a Boston? Campo \_\_\_\_\_ Ciudad \_\_\_\_\_  
nombrelo nombre la

Ha recibido Ud. alguna vez ayuda de otro Puertoriqueno en:

1.- Interpretacion en alguna agencia si \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ ?Cuantas veces? \_\_\_\_\_

a. Hospital si \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ ?Cuantas veces? \_\_\_\_\_ Nombre quien le a-  
yudo \_\_\_\_\_ ?Como le ayudo? y ?en que forma?b. Corte si \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ ?Cuantas veces? \_\_\_\_\_ Nombre quien lo ayudo  
?Como le ayudo? y ?en que forma? \_\_\_\_\_c. Dpto. de Welfare si \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ ?Cuantas veces? \_\_\_\_\_ Nombre quien  
lo ayudo \_\_\_\_\_ ?Como le ayudo? y ?en que forma?

d. Agencias Sociales si \_\_\_ no \_\_\_ ?Cuantas veces? \_\_\_\_\_ Nombre quien lo ayudo \_\_\_\_\_ ?Como le a-yudo? y ?En que forma?

e. Duenos de casa si \_\_\_ no \_\_\_ ?Cuantas veces? \_\_\_\_\_ Nombre quien lo ayudo \_\_\_\_\_ ?Como le ayudo? y ? ?en que forma?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

f. Otra ayuda si \_\_\_ no \_\_\_ ?Cuantas veces? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

2.- Ayuda Economica si \_\_\_ no \_\_\_ ?Cuantas veces? \_\_\_\_\_ Nombre quien lo ayudo \_\_\_\_\_ ?Para que? \_\_\_\_\_

3.- Ayuda en obtener trabajo si \_\_\_ no \_\_\_ ?Como? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

4.- Consejos si \_\_\_ no \_\_\_ ?Cuantas veces? \_\_\_\_\_ Nombre q uien lo ayudo \_\_\_\_\_ ?Como? \_\_\_\_\_

?Cual fue la razon? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

?Que cree Ud. que es un Lider? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Nombre 5 Lideres Puertoriquens en el South End

	<u>NOMBRE</u>	<u>DIRECCION</u>	<u>?HABLA INGLIS?</u>
1	_____	_____	Bien ___ Regular ___ Poco ___ Nada ___
2	_____	_____	Bien ___ Regular ___ Poco ___ Nada ___
3	_____	_____	Bien ___ Regular ___ Poco ___ Nada ___
4	_____	_____	Bien ___ Regular ___ Poco ___ Nada ___
5	_____	_____	Bien ___ Regular ___ Poco ___ Nada ___

Nombre 3 personas que Ud. crea que puedan llegar a ser Lideres si una (unas) persona los ayuda.

	<u>NOMBRE</u>	<u>DIRECCION</u>	<u>?HABLA INGLÉS?</u>
1	_____	_____	Bien Regular Poco Nada
2	_____	_____	Bien Regular Poco Nada
3	_____	_____	Bien Regular Poco Nada

?Por que cree Ud. que estas personas son o pueden llegar a ser Lideres?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

De las 10 caracteristicas siguientes, marque de una a cinco segun su importancia las que Ud. crea que debe poseer un Lider:

- |                                      |       |                           |       |
|--------------------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|
| 1. Inteligencia                      | _____ | 2. Imaginacion            | _____ |
| 3. Sentido de Responsabil.           | _____ | 4. Sentido de Moral       | _____ |
| 5. Caracteristic.Fisicas             | _____ | 6. Seguridad de si mismo  | _____ |
| 7. Responsabil. para con la Sociedad | _____ | 8. Amigable               | _____ |
| 9. Determinacion en sus actos        | _____ | 10. Personalidad agresiva | _____ |

Otras \_\_\_\_\_

?Te gusta el modo de vida en los Estados Unidos?

Mucho \_\_\_\_\_ Poco \_\_\_\_\_ Nada \_\_\_\_\_ Absolutamente nada \_\_\_\_\_

Explique el porque de su respuesta: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX B

QUESTIONARIO SOBRE LIDERATO

Nombre y Apellido \_\_\_\_\_

Dirección \_\_\_\_\_

Edad \_\_\_\_\_ Estado Civil: Casado \_\_\_\_\_

Soltero \_\_\_\_\_

Sexo \_\_\_\_\_ Viudo \_\_\_\_\_

Numero de hijos \_\_\_\_\_ Divorciado \_\_\_\_\_

Religion \_\_\_\_\_ Separados \_\_\_\_\_

?Cuantos años lleva Ud. en los E. E. U. U. ? \_\_\_\_\_

?Cuantos años lleva Ud. en Boston? \_\_\_\_\_

?Habla Inglés? si \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ Bien \_\_\_\_\_ Regular \_\_\_\_\_ Poco \_\_\_\_\_ Nada \_\_\_\_\_

?Lo lee? si \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ ?Lo escribe? si \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_

?Cuantos años de Escuela? \_\_\_\_\_ ?Que tipo de trabajo hace Ud.? \_\_\_\_\_

?Cuanto dinero gana? \$ \_\_\_\_\_

?De donde vino a Boston? Campo \_\_\_\_\_ Ciudad, \_\_\_\_\_  
Nombre lo \_\_\_\_\_ Nombre la \_\_\_\_\_

?Le gusta a Ud. ayudar a sus compatriotas? si \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_

?Cuantas veces lo ha hecho? Muchas \_\_\_\_\_ Pocas \_\_\_\_\_ Hay veces \_\_\_\_\_

?En que forma los ayuda Ud? (De un ejemplo) \_\_\_\_\_

?Porque le gusta ayudarlos? \_\_\_\_\_

?Pertenece Ud. a algun Club of Sociedad? si \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_

Nombre Club, Sociedad, o Centro en el que Ud. participe. Describa en que forma coopera Ud. Comente si el tipe de actividad ofrece o no ventajas al Puertorriqueno.

1. escuela \_\_\_\_\_

2. iglesias \_\_\_\_\_

3. Centro Comunal \_\_\_\_\_

4. Club Social \_\_\_\_\_

5. Otro \_\_\_\_\_

De is 10 características siguientes, marque de una a cinco segun su importancia las que Ud, crea que posee:

1. inteligencia \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Imaginacion \_\_\_\_\_

2. sentido de responsabilidad \_\_\_\_\_ 7. Sentido de la moral \_\_\_\_\_

3. Características físicas \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Seguridad de si mismo \_\_\_\_\_

4. Responsabilidad para con \_\_\_\_\_ 9. Amigable \_\_\_\_\_

5. Determinacion en sus actos \_\_\_\_\_ 10. Personalidad agresiva \_\_\_\_\_

Le gusta la vida en los Estados Unidos?

mucho \_\_\_\_\_ poco \_\_\_\_\_ nada \_\_\_\_\_ absolutame te nade \_\_\_\_\_

Explique el porque de su respuesta \_\_\_\_\_

A que grupo pertenecen la mayoria de sus amistades?

1. Americanos \_\_\_\_\_ Puertorriqueños \_\_\_\_\_ Otros \_\_\_\_\_

Donde viven la mayoria de sus amistades? \_\_\_\_\_

Tiene Ud. amigos Americanos? si\*\*\* no \_\_\_\_\_ Con que frecuencia los visita?

Mucho \_\_\_\_\_ poco \_\_\_\_\_ De vez encuando \_\_\_\_\_ Nunca \_\_\_\_\_

Explique las diferencias que Ud. cree que existe entre el individuo Americano y el Puertorriqueño? (culturales, y de costumbresy manners de pensar) \_\_\_\_\_

Le gusta vivir en South End? \_\_\_ si \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Cuales cree Ud. que son las ventajas y desventajas de vivir aqui en South End? \_\_\_\_\_

Cuales cree Ud. que son los problemas mas agudos que onfrontan los Puertorriqueños en adapamien to a la vida de aqui en South End? \_\_\_\_\_

En que forma cree Ud. que se los puede ayudar para hacerles el proceso de adaptamiento mas facil? (sugiera un plan) \_\_\_\_\_

Como cree Ud. que su ayuda de leader de los Puertorriqueos puede hacerse mas eficaz? Que ayudas necesita Ud.? \_\_\_\_\_

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