A Study of the Latvian Exile-Immigrant Group in Kalamazoo

Henry George Halla

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A STUDY OF THE LATVIAN EXILE-IMMIGRANT GROUP IN KALAMAZOO

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the School of Graduate Studies
Western Michigan University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Henry George Halla
July 1959
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer gratefully acknowledges the guidance and supervision of Dr. Leonard C. Kercher and Dr. Chester L. Hunt during this study.

H. G. H.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The general purpose of this study is to determine whether such families in the Latvian population of Kalamazoo as insist upon considering themselves exiles and refuse to accept their immigrant status are less acculturated and assimilated than are such families that accept their immigrant status regardless of the fact that their original emigration from Latvia was a departure into exile. Also this study proposes to determine what social, cultural, economic and other variables are associated with each of the two types of families.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The Latvians are predominantly Letts. They are a Baltic people whose native country is located in Eastern Europe bordered by Estonia in the north, Russia in the east, Lithuania in the south, and the Baltic Sea in the west. Their country, due to its small size and geographical location, has been overrun by various other nations and occupied or annexed by them for long periods at various times in their history. Perhaps due to these foreign excursions into their country and their distinct ethnic and cultural character they developed a strong sense of national identity.
Since 1929 Latvia was ruled by Carlis Ulmanis, an American educated Latvian. He held what was substantially dictatorial power until his imprisonment and execution by the Soviets in 1941. He officially held the office of premier during this time except for two years between 1933 and 1935 when the premier was an Ulmanis lieutenant. His power was based mainly on army support and a powerful political clique and the factionalism of his opposition.

The living standard of the Latvians before the war was substantially equal to the Scandinavian countries. When the Soviets took over the supporters of the Ulmanis regime were eliminated and a puppet regime instituted which was composed of leftist liberals and communists. During this period the living conditions deteriorated to a very low level. When the Germans succeeded in taking over Latvia in 1943 they repeated the Soviet process. They eliminated the communist collaborators and substituted their own puppet regime composed of surviving Ulmanis supporters and extreme rightists. Living conditions in Latvia were not improved by the German occupation.

The Soviets returned to Latvia in 1944 and have remained there ever since. The Germans naturally were obliged to leave and with them went the majority of the people who now compose the Latvian community in Kalamazoo.
In Germany the Latvians were pressed into the German war effort in various ways. After the fall of Germany they became classified as displaced persons and were lodged in displaced persons camps where they were supported by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency which in turn was supported by the victorious allies.

The Latvians were given the opportunity to return to Latvia if they wished. Except for a few very old persons they all refused this repatriation fearing that the new regime would imprison them or worse.

The population of Latvia has been subject to great fluctuations, in 1800 it was 725,000, in 1914 it was 2,552,000, in 1920 it was 1,597,000 and in 1935 it was 1,940,000.¹

Latvian immigration to the United States has always been very small. It has been a mere trickle except around 1904 when there was a small influx of Latvian social radicals as immigrants to these shores.² This took place as a consequence of political unrest in Russia and its western provinces at that time.

Statistics on the Latvians are hard to get as the United States government prior to 1922 officially included Latvians


with the Russians. As a matter of fact the Bureau of Census lists Latvians as a nationality group only since the 1930 census.

The following table shows the number and percentage of foreign-born Latvians in the United States since 1930 and compares them with the total foreign-born population.

**TABLE I**

**TOTAL FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION AND FOREIGN-BORN LATVIANS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1930 - 1950**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total foreign-born</td>
<td>14,204,149</td>
<td>11,594,896</td>
<td>10,347,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born Latvians</td>
<td>20,673</td>
<td>23,190</td>
<td>31,041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent Latvians among total foreign-born</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from this table the immigration of Latvians averaged only 251 persons per year between 1930 and 1940. Between 1940 and 1950 the number of foreign-born Latvians increased by 7,851 persons of whom approximately 7,200 arrived after 1948, mostly under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948.

The majority of the Latvians considered in this study left their homeland in 1944 before the advance of the Red

---

Army. They went to Germany where they became displaced persons after the war. Until June 1948 their immigration to the United States was stymied because of their low immigration quota which was a mere 236 persons per year. After 1948 they had relatively easy access to United States immigration visas as 4.0 per cent of the displaced persons visas available were given to Baltic refugees.4

Prior to 1948 Kalamazoo had no Latvian population with the possible exception of one or two families. The originator of the relative influx of Latvians to Kalamazoo was the minister of the East Main Methodist Church. He was the Reverend Carlinis Laupmanis who was Latvian born. He received his theological training in Latvia and England where he became an ordained Methodist clergyman. He came to the United States before World War II and served as a minister in various localities in the midwest. He came to the East Main Methodist Church's pulpit in Kalamazoo shortly after the war was concluded and left in 1959. During the years following the war he became interested in the plight of the displaced persons in Europe, in particular with his fellow Latvians situation in Germany. When the Displaced Persons Act was passed in 1948 he recruited sponsors for the Latvian displaced persons from among his parishioners and from various other church groups in Kalamazoo.

He also made a trip to the displaced persons camps in Germany to facilitate the Latvians emigration from there. He never became a leader of the Latvian community in Kalamazoo though in the beginning he did act as a spokesman for the Latvians. He did not try to convert the new arrivals to his church and the Latvians are appreciative of this.

Under the Displaced Persons Act the prospective immigrant had to qualify for the special visa in the same way as any normal quota immigrant. The only differences were that there was no quota limitations and that a sponsor was required who had to be a resident United States citizen who guaranteed to provide the prospective immigrant with housing and employment upon his arrival at his destination. The Latvians began to arrive in 1949 and continued to arrive for two years.

At the present time there are in the Kalamazoo area approximately 1100 Latvians forming about 340 families. 95 per cent of them are Lutheran by religious preference and they have two Latvian Lutheran congregations that are administratively exile churches and adhere to the National Latvian Lutheran Church through their bishop in West Germany. Of the remaining 5 per cent, 2 per cent are Roman Catholics who attend non-Latvian Roman Catholic churches locally and on special occasions attend the Latvian Roman Catholic Church in exile in Grand Rapids. The remaining 3 per cent are members of the Orthodox Church or American churches or are non-church members.
The Latvians have several organizations, associations and a language school in Kalamazoo. They are in approximate order of size and importance as follows:

- Latvian Association
- Latvian Veterans Welfare Society
- Latvian Choral Society
- Latvian Youth Organization
- Latvian Boy Scouts (Church sponsored)
- Latvian Girl Scouts (Church sponsored)
- Latvian Saturday School (Language school)

None of these had its genesis in the United States, all are continuations, revivals or modifications of such organizations that formerly existed in Latvia. None are called "Latvian-American" to indicate that they were founded under the present circumstances. The Saturday School is church sponsored and operates in the parish house, it is attended by Latvian children of all faiths. The same is true of the boy and girl scouts, which, though affiliated with the Boy and Girl Scouts of America, are by special dispensation organized according European lines and wear European type uniforms. One of the primary objectives of all these organizations is to uphold and disseminate Latvian ethnic and cultural traditions among its members. They have no local Latvian newspaper, but they subscribe widely to the Latvian language newspaper "Laiks"
which is published in Chicago. This paper serves Latvians throughout the entire United States. Its contents are devoted to Latvian cultural and social news and it tries to serve all the Latvians without any emphasis in favor of any group or faction.

The Latvians are dispersed throughout the Kalamazoo area with no locality of concentration that would be a Latvian neighborhood.* There are small pockets where four, five and even six Latvian families live in close proximity but these are few. The reason for this dispersal is that when the Latvians arrived in Kalamazoo there was a housing shortage and they were unable to congregate in any one or several neighborhoods if they had so wished. Since the easing of the shortage the dispersal has continued due to the fact that it has become the established pattern and because there is no external pressure to motivate the Latvians to congregate in a given neighborhood.

The arrival of new Latvians to Kalamazoo has ceased due to the lack of Latvian displaced persons and the expiration of the Displaced Persons Act. The occasional arrival is usually a member of a family already here and whose immigration was prevented for health or other reasons earlier.

The background of this study is unique in that the group to be studied differs in two respects from the usual immigrant

*See graph in appendix showing density of Latvian population by census tracts.
group. First, the members of this group had a promising economic future in Latvia and were not motivated to emigrate for the usual reason of economic betterment. They were forced to go into exile from their country due to foreign invasion. Secondly they did not, as usually newly arrived immigrants do, settle in a locality where there was earlier immigration of their nationality. Instead they settled in an area where there was no previous Latvian immigrant community. They were thus put in a position where they had to establish a new immigrant community and pattern in an era when such communities are an anachronism and when immigrant status does not carry its former stigma.

Most immigrant groups have had exile characteristics to some extent. Usually these exile characteristics have taken the form of certain better educated individuals among the group who have felt that assimilation was below them or were unassimilable. These individuals then have become full-time patriots of the old country and professional exiles. They have often tried and succeeded in becoming leaders in immigrant institutions. There have, of course, been notable exceptions such as Syngman Rhee of Korea, Masyryk of Czechoslovakia, Sun Yat Sen of China and many others who were genuine patriots and true exiles. Generally speaking there has not been any real exile groups among America’s foreign-born populations except for relatively short periods as during World War II. An example of the type of exile groups that is referred to here are the Russian emigrees in France.
The concern of this study is not with political or other such objective exile, but rather with subjective exile. By exile in this connection is meant psychological ties and identity with the former country and its culture. To some extent all immigrants possess this type of subjective exile. The extent of this feeling depends on many factors among them the culture of the original country, age at time of immigration, socio-cultural conditions of present environment and many others. The exile in this connotation is a person who consciously or unconsciously is reluctant to abandon his former values and attitudes and resists the acquisition and assimilation of new ones. The immigrant is the opposite of this, he is willing and anxious to abandon the old and accept the new values and attitudes of his new country.
CHAPTER II
HYPOTHESIS AND PREDICTIONS

STATEMENT OF THE HYPOTHESIS

The general hypothesis is as follows: Within the Latvian population of Kalamazoo there can be differentiated two ideal types of families. Type "E" which considers itself to be in exile and which is characterized by an adjustment of accommodation and resistance to assimilation. Type "I" which accepts its immigrant status and is characterized by acculturation and assimilation.

PREDICTIONS

Specifically this hypothesis predicts the following relationships between the "exile" and "immigrant" attitude and various social factors.

Associated with exile classification:

1. Older age group.
3. Retention of Latvian citizenship.
4. Unskilled or marginal employment.
5. Minimal social contact with non-Latvian persons and institutions.
7. Children Latvian oriented.

Associated with immigrant classification:

1. Longer absence from Latvia.
2. Longer residence in the United States or Canada.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The subject of this study were the approximately 340 Latvian families living in and around Kalamazoo. They are distributed by religious affiliations as follows: 10 from various catholic parishes, 120 from St. John's Latvian Lutheran Church, 188 from Zion Latvian Lutheran Church, and approximately 22 from non-Latvian churches or from non-church members. The sample was drawn from this population by a combination of random and purposive techniques.

The actual sample was tentatively to be between 25 and 30 families. The tentative distribution was conceived as follows: Every fifth catholic family, a total of 2; every twentieth family from the roles of St. John's Lutheran Church; every twenty-third family from the roles of the Zion Latvian Lutheran Church; all 7 families that are members of non-Latvian churches or with no church membership. A list of 7 names was compiled from acquaintances in the Latvian community; four professionally established families from among the above four categories. This sample totaled 27 families.

The combination of random and purposive sampling techniques was used because the study was concerned with two ideal types of families and it was felt that a strictly random sample would fail to include the extreme types of families due
to their small proportion and the sample's relatively small size. The purposive technique of preselecting categories such as catholics, professional families and non-members of Latvian churches was used to assure variety.

The actual sample of the completed survey consisted of 27 families distributed as follows:

1. 2 catholic families.
2. 9 families belonging to St. John's Latvian Lutheran Church.
3. 10 families belonging to the Zion Latvian Lutheran Church.
4. 6 families from non-Latvian protestant churches or with no church membership.
5. 4 professionally established families included among the above four groups.

**THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

The interview schedule consisted of a form that ascertained nine facts about each member of the family and 35 questions of which 11 were multiple questions.* The questions for interviewing the sample families were constructed with the aid of the Sociology Department of Western Michigan University. Questions bearing upon the Latvians background, psychological attitudes, economic situation, and sociocultural variables were considered in the light of what was known about the Latvians in Kalamasoo and were chosen to determine assimilation or the lack of it.

*See copy of interview schedule in appendix.
CRITERIA FOR DIFFERENTIATING THE EXILE FROM THE IMMIGRANT LATVIAN

To establish whether a family considered itself an exile or an immigrant family and thus to type them as either type "E" or type "I" family a criteria was established that consisted of 9 direct and indirect questions and this was included in the body of the questionnaire. The criteria for this typing of the families was developed with the aid of five members of the Latvian community, they were two pastors, a college senior, an organization secretary and a librarian who all were aware of this exile immigrant dichotomy. They were submitted a list of statements and definitions that would differentiate between an exile and an immigrant in their community. It is apparent from their evaluations of the items submitted that an exile in their community is self-consciously aware of being an exile and has a number of characteristics that differentiate him as such. The Latvian who has accepted his immigrant role is not aware of it and has not acquired any new positive characteristics that would differentiate him as having accepted his new role. He has only defaulted in maintaining the beliefs and loyalties that made him an exile formerly. The questions used as criteria for typing therefore consist for the most part of exile characteristics. Each of the Latvians to whom the list was submitted was re-
quested to evaluate the importance of each question. Only those questions that the majority of the five considered significant were retained and used.

The following is a list of the questions submitted to the five. They were requested to evaluate the questions as follows: not significant (N), significant (S), very significant (V). These evaluations were given the following numerical values respectively, N -1, S +1, and V +2. The evaluations and total scores are given after each question.

A person who considers himself an exile would most likely feel as follows:

1. Hope to return to Latvia within 10 years.
   \[ 3 - S, \ 2 - N, \] Score +1

2. Hope to return to Latvia during lifetime.
   \[ 4 - V, \ 1 - S, \] Score +9

3. Considers family to be in exile.
   \[ 3 - V, \ 2 - S, \] Score +6

4. Dislikes being designated an immigrant.
   \[ 1 - V, \ 3 - S, \ 1 - N, \] Score +4

5. Maintains his passport validated at all times.
   \[ 1 - V, \ 2 - S, \ 3 - N, \] Score 0

   \[ 3 - V, \ 1 - S, \ 1 - N, \] Score +6

7. Considers modification or change of Latvian name unpatriotic.
   \[ 3 - V, \ 2 - S, \] Score +8
   \[1 - V, 3 - S, 1 - N,\] Score +4

9. Indifferent to learning English well.
   \[1 - V, 1 - S, 3 - N,\] Score 0

10. Definitely wants Latvian churches here to maintain contact and ties with Latvian bishop in West Germany.
    \[4 - V, 1 - S,\] Score +9

   A person who considers himself an immigrant would most likely feel as follows:

11. Not very hopeful of returning to Latvia.
    \[2 - S, 2 - N, 1 - blank,\] Score 0

12. Defines and describes his family as immigrants.
    \[2 - S, 2 - N, 1 - blank,\] Score 0

13. Expects to return to Latvia.
    \[5 - N,\] Score -5

14. Naturalized or soon to be U.S. citizen.
    \[4 - S, 1 - blank,\] Score +4

15. Thinks modification of name reasonable when necessary.
    \[1 - V, 2 - S, 1 - N,\] Score +3

16. Considers intermarriage with non-Latvians as inevitable and not undesirable.
    \[2 - S, 2 - N, 1 - blank,\] Score 0

17. Successful in establishing himself in the United States.
    \[5 - N,\] Score -5

18. Latvian church should join an American synod.
    \[2 - S, 3 - N,\] Score -1
Only items that scored +3 or higher were used to form the differentiating scale in the interview schedule. Thus questions 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, and 15 were used. The score values derived from the evaluations were retained in tabulating the schedules except that questions 14 and 15 which had to do with immigrant characteristics were changed to negative scores, -4 and -3 respectively.

The values for the nine items ranged from -4 to +9 allowing for a possible range of scores from -7 to +48. These criteria questions are included in the interview schedule as questions 5 through 13.*

THE ADMINISTERING OF THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The interview schedule was first pretested and on the basis of this test certain minor changes were made. The questionnaire was administered in the private homes of the sample families. The head of the family was the usual interviewee except in two cases when the wife was the interviewee. In these two exceptions the answers sought and recorded were those attributed to the head of the family.

*See interview schedule in the appendix.
CHAPTER IV

REPORT OF THE RESULTS

The scores on the questions designed to evaluate the "exileness" and "immigrantness" ranged from -7 to +39. There were two pronounced gaps where no scores were recorded, these occurred between +6 and +10 and again between +13 and +18. Using these gaps as dividing points, the sample was divided into three groups as follows: -7 to +6 consisting of immigrants and designated as group "I" containing 12 sample families; +10 to +13 consisting of intermediates designated as group "X" containing 7 sample families; and +18 to +39 consisting of exiles and designated as group "E" containing 8 sample families.

The tabulated results of the survey may be divided into four sections as follows: 1. Background factors, 2. Personal feelings or opinions about family, 3. Economic factors, and 4. Socio-cultural factors.

BACKGROUND FACTORS

The following table consists of what may be considered characteristics forming the background of the sample families. None of these factors were modified for any of the sample families since their arrival in the United States.
TABLE II
BACKGROUND FACTOR OF SAMPLE GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IMMIGRANTS</th>
<th></th>
<th>INTERMEDIATES</th>
<th></th>
<th>EXILES</th>
<th></th>
<th>TOTAL SAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group &quot;I&quot;</td>
<td>Total 12</td>
<td>Group &quot;X&quot;</td>
<td>Total 7</td>
<td>Group &quot;E&quot;</td>
<td>Total 8</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Avg.</td>
<td>% No.</td>
<td>Avg.</td>
<td>% No.</td>
<td>Avg.</td>
<td>% No.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of Education</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation in Latvia:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled or farmer</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent of families that have children</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>77.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In analyzing this above data the most significant differentials are with age and the presence of children. Relative youth is related positively with type "I" families though the reverse is not necessarily an indication of type "E". Lack of children is related directly with type "E" families though again the presence of children is not necessarily related with type "I" families. Education does not vary significantly with the three types and must therefore be disregarded. Occupation in Latvia does not show any differential that may be regarded as significant except that a professional occupation seems to be related to immigrant classification.
OPINIONS AND FEELINGS ABOUT THE FAMILIES FUTURE

The following table consists of the five factors that had to do with the opinions and feelings concerning the families future.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children's future as good in the U.S. as in Latvia (Sample 21)</th>
<th>IMMIGRANTS</th>
<th>INTERMEDIATE IATES</th>
<th>EXILES</th>
<th>TOTAL SAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group &quot;I&quot;</td>
<td>Group &quot;X&quot;</td>
<td>Group &quot;E&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 12</td>
<td>Total 7</td>
<td>Total 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0 11*</td>
<td>85.7 6</td>
<td>33.3 1## 88.9 18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational prospects as good in the U.S. as formerly in Latvia</th>
<th>IMMIGRANTS</th>
<th>INTERMEDIATE IATES</th>
<th>EXILES</th>
<th>TOTAL SAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group &quot;I&quot;</td>
<td>Group &quot;X&quot;</td>
<td>Group &quot;E&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 12</td>
<td>Total 7</td>
<td>Total 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.5 5</td>
<td>26.5 2</td>
<td>none 0</td>
<td>26.0 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expect family to become:</th>
<th>IMMIGRANTS</th>
<th>INTERMEDIATE IATES</th>
<th>EXILES</th>
<th>TOTAL SAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completely Americanized</td>
<td>Group &quot;I&quot;</td>
<td>Group &quot;X&quot;</td>
<td>Group &quot;E&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 12</td>
<td>Total 7</td>
<td>Total 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83.4 10</td>
<td>14.3 1</td>
<td>none 0</td>
<td>40.7 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partly Americanized</th>
<th>IMMIGRANTS</th>
<th>INTERMEDIATE IATES</th>
<th>EXILES</th>
<th>TOTAL SAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group &quot;I&quot;</td>
<td>Group &quot;X&quot;</td>
<td>Group &quot;E&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 12</td>
<td>Total 7</td>
<td>Total 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.6 2</td>
<td>85.7 6</td>
<td>37.5 3</td>
<td>40.7 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Remain Latvian - none</th>
<th>IMMIGRANTS</th>
<th>INTERMEDIATE IATES</th>
<th>EXILES</th>
<th>TOTAL SAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group &quot;I&quot;</td>
<td>Group &quot;X&quot;</td>
<td>Group &quot;E&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 12</td>
<td>Total 7</td>
<td>Total 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>none 0</td>
<td>62.5 5</td>
<td>18.5 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social status same or higher than in Latvia</th>
<th>IMMIGRANTS</th>
<th>INTERMEDIATE IATES</th>
<th>EXILES</th>
<th>TOTAL SAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group &quot;I&quot;</td>
<td>Group &quot;X&quot;</td>
<td>Group &quot;E&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 12</td>
<td>Total 7</td>
<td>Total 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.6 8</td>
<td>71.5 5</td>
<td>37.5 3</td>
<td>59.3 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Satisfied with situation in the U.S.</th>
<th>IMMIGRANTS</th>
<th>INTERMEDIATE IATES</th>
<th>EXILES</th>
<th>TOTAL SAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group &quot;I&quot;</td>
<td>Group &quot;X&quot;</td>
<td>Group &quot;E&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 12</td>
<td>Total 7</td>
<td>Total 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
<td>%  No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0 12</td>
<td>85.7 6</td>
<td>75.0 6</td>
<td>89.9 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 families of group "I" have children.

3 families in group "E" have children.
In analyzing these subjective factors it is apparent that they are very highly significant in differentiating the exile family from the rest of the families in the sample. Item three deals with Americanization and it differentiates the exiles most distinctly for they are the only group that does not expect Americanization and over half expect to remain Latvian. Items one and two deal with the prospects of the children and the head of the family respectively and they both indicate that the exiles are the most pessimistic. Similarly, in the matter of social status the exiles feel that their social status has been reduced. Item number five is not very significant but it too indicates a positive relationship between satisfaction and immigrant identification.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

This section consists of the economic variables tabulated on the following page.

Upon examining the data in table IV the most significant variable is whether the head of the family earns half or more of the family income. This variable is 100 per cent positively related with the immigrant classification. The next most important variable is whether the family head's employment is above the unskilled level. Value of home seems to have importance as it differentiates the type "H" family with the less valuable home. Monthly family income shows some
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Variables</th>
<th>Immigrants Group &quot;I&quot;</th>
<th>Intermediates Group &quot;X&quot;</th>
<th>Exiles Group &quot;E&quot;</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total No.</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly income</td>
<td>10,460</td>
<td>10,142</td>
<td>8,937</td>
<td>9,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family head earns</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>71.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>70.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50% or more of</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of family head:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>59.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled or Professional</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years with present employer</td>
<td>7.6 years</td>
<td>6.4 years</td>
<td>5.3 years</td>
<td>6.2 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
differentiation, but this is undoubtedly only a reflection of
the head of the families employment. Years at present employ-
ment also is a variable more dependent on the family heads
level of employment for unskilled jobs are less stable and
more subject to lay-offs.

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

The fourth section of variables are mainly socio-cultural
and are so tabulated in table V. Some of these variables do
have other implications, but in this study they appear to
have predominantly a socio-cultural significance. There are
ten of these variables and they are tabulated on the follow-
ing page.

Possession of United States citizenship is definitely a
variable that differentiates the two ideal types. The type
"I" families are four times more likely to be naturalized
than the type "E" families. The next variable in order of
significance is the associations of the children. Predomin-
antly American associations are positively related to group
"I" and negatively to group "E". Fluency in English language
is positively related with group "I" and negatively with
group "E". The gainful employment of wives is also positively
related with type "I" and negatively with type "E". Sub-
scription to the Kalamazoo Gazette was more common to the
type "I" families while subscription to Laims was more common
### Table V

**Socio-Cultural Variables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Immigrants Group &quot;I&quot;</th>
<th>Intermediates Group &quot;X&quot;</th>
<th>Exiles Group &quot;E&quot;</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. citizenship</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership in</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>130.0</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>81.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvian organizations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church memberships:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Latvian church</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No church</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife gainfully</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>38/5</td>
<td>66.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children prefer to</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speak English in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent attending</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>77.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>church regularly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family head secured</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employment through:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvian friends</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By other means</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children associate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mainly with</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kal. Gazette</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kal. Gazette and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laiks</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laiks only</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent spoke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English fairly well</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>85.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>66.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Only 11 of group "I" families have children*
to type "E" families. The heads of type "I" families were most likely to have secured their employment through employment agencies and ads versus the heads of type "E" families who had relied mostly on the assistance of Latvian friends.
CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

For purposes of clarity in this discussion it is perhaps best to define certain terms in advance.

Adjustment describes the situation under which the activities of an organism come to rest or equilibrium.

"Accommodation is a process of adjustment, that is, an organization of social relations and attitudes to prevent or to reduce conflict, to control competition, and to maintain a basis of security in the social order for persons and groups of divergent interests and types to carry on together their varied life-activities."\(^1\)

"Acculturation occurs when individuals of different cultures come into contact with subsequent changes in the behavior patterns of either or both."\(^2\)

"Assimilation is a process whereby individuals or groups once divergent become similar, that is become identified in their interest and outlook."\(^3\)

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\(^3\)Ibid, p. 186.
"Amalgamation is a biological process; it is the mingling of blood and blending of racial stocks through intermarrying and intermarriage."4

As this study is concerned with trying to determine whether such Latvian families as identify themselves as exiles are less acculturated and assimilated than families that accept their immigrant role it is desirable to adopt a classification of the stages of assimilation. The classification is a three stage process of assimilation originally suggested by Dr. Jakub Horak and adopted by Smith.5

The first stage is external assimilation which is characterized primarily by a conscious and deliberate adoption of the more outward and superficial elements in the culture of the receiving group. Usually this is denoted as accommodation rather than assimilation.6

The second stage is internal assimilation, at this stage the immigrant begins to appreciate the meanings of the cultural materials appropriated; the adoptions are slowly but surely integrated into their own lives.7

The third stage is creative assimilation, marked changes occur in the more deep-seated attitudes wherupon the immigrant can participate understandingly in our life. We can

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6Ibid, p. 126.
7Ibid, p. 133.
view our culture in a more objective and rational manner than formerly. He can perceive shortcomings in the American life and can make contributions from his ethnic group to the development and enrichment of our culture. At this stage the immigrant has become identified in his interests and attitudes with America.

The Latvian subjects of this study are well along in the first stage of the assimilation process. This was comparatively easy for them for they already upon their arrival had many of the cultural elements that are common to Americans. They come from a culture in which the protestant ethnic is pervasive, the literacy rate is high and the total value system is very similar to that of the United States. Also they had previous experience in adjusting to a completely new environment as most of them had at least five years of residence in a foreign country, namely Germany. Furthermore they have no differences in color of physiononomy which would set them apart from the American population and retard their assimilation.

The primary object of this study then is to determine which of the two ideal types of Latvian families have reached the second stage if any. This stage, which is termed internal assimilation, is characterized by taking possession of the new culture by internalizing it.

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8Smith, William Carlson, Opus citid. p. 137.
9Ibid. p. 143.
Several sociological studies support the contention that mastery of and an attitude of preference towards the English language is of primary importance in the acculturation process.

Brooks and Kunihiro found in their study that education and the use of English language speeds assimilation and is positively related with Americanization of the Japanese in the southwest. Rosenquist found that linguistic changes from generation to generation among the Swedes of Texas was related to their acculturation. Svensrud in her study of the attitudes of the California Japanese towards their language schools found that their attitudes became negative and that they preferred the English language as they became more acculturated. Samora and Deane in their study of language usage among immigrants came to the conclusion that the use

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of English among immigrants was a valid index of accultura-
tion. Sewell and Davidsen\textsuperscript{14} in a study of Scandinavian
students found that English facility was a primary factor in
their adjustment.

The data from the survey as shown in table V indicates
that 92.0 per cent of group "I" respondents spoke English
fairly well, while only 12.5 per cent of group "E" mastered
it as well. The same table also shows that 58.5 per cent of
group "I" depended for news on an English language newspaper
versus only 12.5 per cent of group "E". Another variable in
this table that indicates linguistic attitude is the children's
preference for speaking English in public. 25.0 per
cent of group "I" children were indicated as having this
preference while none of group "E" children did.

It must be stated that whether the religion of a group
stimulates or retards acculturation of the group it depends
on the ethnic character of the religious institution. A
church that is also an ethnic institution is more likely to
be an anti-acculturative force than a non-ethnic religious
institution. Religion is an important factor in accultura-
tion. Religion may be an acculturative as well as an anti-
acculturative force. For example, DeFleur and Chang-soo\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{14}Sewell, William H., and Davidsen, Oluf M., "The Adjust-
ment of Scandinavian Students". \textit{Journal of Social Issues},
XII, Dec. '56, pp. 9-19.

\textsuperscript{15}DeFleur, Melvin L., and Chang-soo, Cho, "Assimilation
of Japanese-born Women in an American City". \textit{Social Problems},
1957, 4-3-Jan. pp. 244-257.
in their study of the assimilation of Japanese-born women found support for their hypothesis that Christian women are more assimilated than Buddhist women. On the contrary, Warner and Srole\textsuperscript{16} report that in their study of Yankee City the Roman Catholic Church is, in certain respects, an anti-acculturative force. Similarly Warner\textsuperscript{17} reports that the Lutheran code of the Norse in Jonesville serves to isolate the youth even in high school and forces the Norse students to form their own social group. Smith\textsuperscript{18} tells how Rosenquist in his unpublished dissertation "The Swedes of Texas" regards the immigrant churches in Texas as "more foreign in character than any other activity found in the Swedish community." Spiro,\textsuperscript{19} an anthropologist, states that religion may be a dependent or an independent variable in acculturation.

The Latvian Lutheran Churches in Kalamazoo are steadfastly identified by the members as a ethnic institution in exile and they make it to remain so by refusing American


church affiliations and retaining their ties to their national church hierarchy now in West Germany. The Latvian churches concentrate on their ethnic identity by sustaining and maintaining unassimilated activities in the exile community. There is ample evidence that these churches are anti-cultural forces among the Latvian they serve. Consequently it is reasonable to hold that membership in a non-Latvian or in no church on part of a Latvian is an index of acculturation. Table V shows that 50 per cent of group "I" had such membership or none, while only 12.5 per cent of group "E" were so classifiable.

"A modicum of economic success, then, will do more to assimilate an alien than any amount of formalistic patriotic training."20 C. J. Bittner states: "As the Lettish immigrants gained economic security they began to participate in the political and social life of America and assumed a conservative attitude towards things as they are."21 Table IV gives the average monthly income of the families of each group. Group "I" averages $550 per month while group "E" averages $445 per month. Considering that 91.7% of group "I" families

20 Smith, William Carlson, Opus cited, p. 166.

had children against only 37.5 per cent of group "E" as shown in table II, it is doubtful that the $105 difference in monetary terms is very significant in differentiating economic adjustment. However more significant is the fact that 100 per cent of family heads in group "I" earned 50 per cent or more of the total income versus only 37.5 per cent in group "E". Also the average of 7.6 years in present job for group "I" versus only 5.3 years for group "E" is indicative of better economic adjustment of the former group. The differential of average values of homes, $10,460 for group "I" and $8,937 for group "E", a difference of over $1,500, is indicative of superior credit and future economic prospects for group "I", thus another variable in favor of greater acculturation within that group.

There is a positive relationship between social mobility and acculturation. Spiro22 states there is a definite relationship between acculturation and class status. Table III lists data that are significant in this connection, 66.0 per cent of group "I" families felt that their social class status was the same or higher as compared to their former status in Latvia, only 37.5 per cent of group "E" felt similarly. Another factor supporting the positive relationship between social mobility and acculturation is the opinions

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22Spiro, M. E. Opus cited.
about the childrens future, all group "I" respondents felt that their childrens future was equally good or better in the United States as it would have been in Latvia, only a third of group "E" families opined likewise. Similarly 41.5 per cent of group "I" family heads agreed that their future prospect were as good here as they were in Latvia formerly, none in group "E" felt so.

A breakdown of the present occupations of the Latvians according to their former occupations in Latvia.

**TABLE VI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORMER OCCUPATION IN LATVIA</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>PRESENT OCCUPATION IN THE UNITED STATES WORKERS:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Profession Technician Skilled Factory Unskilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profession ---</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4 2 2 3 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman ---</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servant---</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer --------</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled worker</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student --------</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong> ---</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4 2 5 15 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In analyzing this data from table VI the most significant thing is the total lack of upward mobility. Only 7 out of the total of 27 are in the same class of occupation as formerly, that is 25.9 per cent. In table III we have the data that 59.3
per cent of the respondents felt that their present social status was the same or higher than in Latvia. Obviously occupation is not a very good index for estimating the person's idea of his social status.

The third stage of the assimilation process is the creative stage. At this stage the immigrant has identified his interests and attitudes with the American culture to a very great extent. This identification is most strongly indicated by naturalization. Fully half of the family heads in group "I" were naturalized United States citizens, while only one in group "E" was naturalized. Another significant differentiating factor is brought forth in item 3, table III, 83.0 per cent of group "I" respondents expect their families to become completely Americanized and none expect it to remain Latvian. None of group "E" respondents expected their family to become completely Americanized and 62.5 per cent expect it to remain Latvian. Table V lists two items that well demonstrate this third stage of the assimilation process. 91.7 per cent of group "I" wives were employed at least part-time and only 37.5 per cent of group "E" wives were. Similarly 91.7 per cent of group "I" children associated primarily with Americans while none of group "E" children did likewise.

Table V contains two items that indicate and measure resistance to acculturation to some degree. They might also be interpreted as indicators of ethnocentrism. 87.5 per
cent of group "E" families had membership in Latvian organizations versus 66.0 per cent of group "I". 62.0 per cent of the interviewees in group "E" had secured employment through fellow Latvians, only 25.0 per cent of group "I" interviewees had depended on the same source.

The following three brief histories of typical families will illustrate the results of the survey.

The first history is of a group "I" family. This family consists of a father 48 years of age, a mother 45, and two sons 18 and 15 years old. The family left Latvia ahead of the Russians in 1944 and after six years in displaced persons camps in Germany they arrived in the United States in 1950. The father was a practicing physician in Latvia and the mother was a college graduate. In Germany the father was unable to practice medicine so he and his wife both worked at marginal jobs to support the family. While there the father managed to do some post-graduate work in medicine. Upon arrival in Kalamazoo, the father was employed as a chemist in one of the paper industries research laboratories. His desire was to resume his medical practice here, but family responsibilities and the time consuming requirements for licensure in Michigan forced him to give up his plan. He has remained at the same employment for the past nine years and is now in a responsible and moderately well paid position there. The family belongs to the American Methodist
church which sponsored their immigration. Both the father and mother are naturalized United States citizens. The family income is $550 per month which is earned by the father. Occasionally the mother works part-time to augment this. They live in a new $17,000 home in an upper middle class neighborhood. They are planning college careers for both sons and expect them to become completely Americanized. The whole family speaks fluent English and is well satisfied with their situation in the United States. They are not very active in Latvian social affairs though they belong to the Latvian association.

The second history is of a group "X" family that is according to the criteria of this study intermediate between exile and immigrant. The family consists of a father 56 years of age, a mother 51, and a son 18. The family left Latvia in 1944 and arrived in the United States in 1949 after a five years sojourn in Germany. The father was a well established architect in Latvia and the mother was an applied arts teacher. In Germany the father became a fully qualified architect, but was unable to find employment at a level higher than draftsman. In Kalamazoo he has worked for various architects and for the last two years he has been employed as an architect though he does not have the qualifications necessary to work independently. The family income is $650 per month of which the father earns the greater part. The mother is
employed as a dressmaker. They live in an old $14,000 home in an upper class neighborhood. Their son is to enter college next fall and to study engineering. The parents expect him to remain Latvian to a significant degree. The family speaks English fluently and is fairly satisfied with their situation in the United States. They belong to the Latvian Lutheran Church and take part moderately in Latvian social life.

The third history is of a couple in group "E" who identify themselves as exiles. The husband is 46 and the wife is 47. They left Latvia in 1944 where the husband was an electrician and the wife was a theatre manager. They arrived in the United States in 1951 under the sponsorship on the Sisters of St. Joseph. The husband is a house painter and the wife is a housekeeper, both have been employed by Nazareth College since their arrival. Their total income is $450 per month earned jointly by both. They live in an apartment rented from their employer at $50 per month. They both belong to the Latvian Lutheran Church which they attend quite regularly. They are members of the Latvian Association, Latvian Choral Society, and the Latvian Veterans Welfare Society. Both speak very little English and both are active in Latvian social affairs.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

It can be concluded from the results of the study that the general hypothesis has been sustained as essentially correct. The results confirm that the two ideal types of families can be differentiated within the Latvian population of Kalamazoo as defined by the criteria of the typing questions included in the interview schedule. Furthermore the results demonstrate that the type "E" family is definitely characterized by an adjustment of accommodation and resistance to assimilation. These families are in the first stage of assimilation termed external assimilation. The type "I" families are all characterized by acculturation and assimilation with a favorable attitude toward further assimilation. For them the degree of acculturation is such that they can be classified as being in the internal assimilation stage. A minority of them can be said to have reached the creative assimilation stage because of the high degree of acculturation demonstrated by them.

The specific assumptions of the hypothesis were not all proven correct. The correct predictions were in the majority however.

The following predictions that were positive for ideal type "E" and negative for ideal type "I" seemed to be sustained by the findings in this study.
1. Age .......................... 55.6 years 45.6 years
2. Membership and attendance in a Latvian church .......................... 87.5% 50.0%
3. Latvian citizenship .......................... 87.5% 50.0%
4. Unskilled or marginal employment .......................... 75.0% 50.0%
5. Dissatisfaction with situation in the United States .................. 25.0% --
6. Children Latvian oriented (based on language preference) ............... 100.0% 8.3%

The following predictions in this group were proven incorrect.

5. Minimal social contact with non-Latvian persons or institutions. No differences observed.

The following predictions that were positive for ideal type "I" and negative for ideal type "E" were correct.

3. Years of education ............ 12.8 years 11.6 years
4. Success in achieving or approaching former or expected level of occupation .......................... 50.0% 25.0%
5. Proficiency in English ............ 92.0% 12.5%
6. Naturalized United States citizen .......................... 50.0% 12.5%
7. Of opinion that family will become completely Americanized .......................... 83.0% None
8. General satisfaction with situation in the U.S. ............ 100.0% 75.0%
9. Children American oriented .... 91.7% None
The following predictions were not proven correct:

1. Length of absence from Latvia. No differences observed.
2. Length of residence in the United States. No differences observed.
7. Membership in American social and cultural groups and frequent contact with Americans. No differences observed.

**SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS**

It appears that the immigrant type of Latvian family is better situated economically, its income is higher and its future prospects brighter, it has a younger head of the family and has been acculturated to a greater extent than the rest of the Latvian families in the sample population. It retains its social contacts with the Latvians in spheres other than social. It has a positive attitude towards assimilation and acculturation and is actively engaged in becoming Americanized.

The exile type family appears to be somewhat lower in income level than the average Latvian family. Both its monthly income and the value of its home are lower than the average. The typical family head in this group is over 55 years of age and somewhat marginally employed with little or not expectation of improving his prospects. It retains its contacts with the Latvian community and depends upon these contacts both socially and otherwise.
As a whole the Latvian community is unlikely to become more exile minded than it already is. To maintain a vigorous Latvian ethnic culture in Kalamazoo would require a continued arrival of new immigrants to replenish the group membership. This is very unlikely because of the situation in Latvia at the present. The lack of new immigration is going to be a great factor in reducing the anti-culturative forces now operating within the Latvian community.¹ Even if the exile minded families manage to resist assimilation their relative strength in the community is bound to wane. Assimilation will undoubtedly gain ground among the Latvians.

Map of Kalamazoo Showing Density of Latvian Population

By Number of Families per Census Tract

Number of families

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<tr>
<th>Key</th>
<th>30+</th>
<th>20-30</th>
<th>10-20</th>
<th>1-10</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:
- Dashed lines indicate boundaries.
- US-131 and US-12 are highlighted.

16
17
12
13
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1

Wilson's Road

Legend continued on page 46.
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Left Latvia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spouse:</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Children:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>#2</td>
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<tr>
<td>#6</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#2</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

**Abbreviations:**
- Latvian Ass. - LA
- Latvian Chorus - LC
- Latvian Vets. - LV
- Lat. Boy Scouts - LBS
- " Girl Scouts - LGS
- Lat. Saturday School - LS5
- Zien Lat. Luth. Church - Zien
- St. John's Lat. Luth. Church - St. John's

* If arrival dates differ, what is reason for this:
1. Approximately, what is your monthly family income? 

2. What is your monthly rent or the value of your home? 

3. Do you expect to get as good a job here as you had or were preparing for in Latvia? Yes No Don't know

   Will your children succeed here as well as they would have in Latvia? 
     Yes No Don't know

   Why do you believe this? 

4. Do you feel that your family has the same or equivalent social position here as your family had in Latvia? Lower Same Higher

5.* Do you consider your family to be in exile? Yes No

6.* Do you expect your family to return to Latvia during your lifetime? Yes No

7.* Do you feel that your children should not marry with non-Latvians? Yes No

   If yes, do you make any exception to any group of non-Latvians? 
     ____________________ Why the objection? ____________________ 

   If no, would you object to any specific religious or racial non-Latvian group? 

   Would you object to your children marrying with Jews, Negroes, or Slavs. No Yes

   How do your children feel about this? 

8.* Do you approve of modifying, changing or Americanizing of Latvian names for practical reasons? 

9.* Do you plan to retain your Latvian citizenship and not to become a naturalized U. S. or other citizen? Yes No Don't know

10.* Do you object to being designated as an immigrant? Yes No Don't know

11.* Do you want the Latvian Church here to maintain its ties and allegiance to the Latvian Bishop in West Germany and to remain an exile church? Yes No Don't know

12.* Are you now or are you preparing to become an U.S. citizen? Yes No Don't know

13.* Do you feel that it is dishonorable to change or modify Latvian names? No Yes

14. Do you feel that you speak English sufficiently well? Yes No Don't know

   Are you trying to improve your English? Yes No

   (Interviewee spoke English: not at all - very little - fairly well - very well)

15. Do you maintain your Latvian passport validated? Yes No

16. Do your children speak Latvian at home? Yes No If yes? Always Sometimes

   Do they object to speaking Latvian in public? Yes No
17. Do you believe that your family will become?  
   Completely Americanized  
   Partly Americanized  
   Remain Completely Latvian  
   How do you feel about this?  

18. If you are a member of a non-Latvian church or a church not established in 
   Kalamazoo, why are you a member?  
   Do you wish that there were a Latvian church of your denomination in Kalamazoo?  
   Yes  No  Why?  

19. How many times did you attend church during the last two months?  
   Comments:  

20. If you are a Catholic, how often do you attend services at the Latvian Catholic 
   Church in Grand Rapids?  
   Do you wish that there were a Latvian Catholic Church in Kalamazoo?  
   Yes  No  

21. Do you or does anyone in your family hold positions of leadership in any church 
   or organization?  

22. What do you like about this neighborhood?  

23. What don't you like about this neighborhood?  

24. Would you like to live in a Latvian neighborhood if such a "Little Latvia" 
   existed in Kalamazoo?  
   Yes  No  Don't know  
   Why do you think such a neighborhood does not exist in Kalamazoo?  

25. How did you get your present job?  
   How long have you worked at your present job?  

26. Considering all your family friends and acquaintances, would you say?  
   Most of my friends are:  
   American  Latvian  
   Some of my friends are:  
   American  Latvian  
   None of my friends are:  
   Slavs  Negroes  Jews  

27. Would you say that your children associate or play with:  
   Mostly Latvian children  
   Equally with Latvian and American children  
   Mostly American children  
   Other:  

28. What do you find most difficult to get used to in the U.S.?  


29. What do you find easiest to get used to in the U.S.?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

30. Are you satisfied with things as you find them for yourself in the U.S.?
Satisfied  Not satisfied  Undecided

Why?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

31. Would you rather live in some other country than the U.S., Latvia excluded, if you had the choice?  No  Yes, in _______________________

32. What newspapers come to your home?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

33. What do you think of the Latvian Government in Exile?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

34. Who do you think is the greatest Latvian leader today?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

35. What Latvian leader did you support before World War II?

________________________________________________________________________
BIBLIOGRAPHY
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